NeoTowns

Prototypes of corporate urbanism

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Examined on the basis of a new generation of New Towns –
by the cases of
Bumi Serpong Damai (Jakarta), Navi Mumbai (Mumbai) and
Alphaville-Tamboré (São Paulo)

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A. Introduction

NEW TOWNS ARE BACK

Abstract –
From New Towns to NeoTowns

"Our suburban architecture ... helps us to reveal the spirit and character of modern civilisation, just as the temples of Egypt and Greece, the baths and amphitheatres of Rome, and the cathedrals and castles of the middle ages help us to comprehend and penetrate the spirit of previous civilisations."
(César Daly 1864)[1]

Public authorities planned the New Towns of the 20th Century. This was mainly the case in Europe, the US and in a number of developing countries such as Egypt and Iran. Almost all of the examples emerged in the post-World War II era of strong (Keynesian) states. It is commonly acknowledged that the epoch of modern New Towns ended with this period.

Yet we are currently observing something unexpected: a rising number of privately developed New Towns. This trend is astonishing, as free markets are usually associated with anarchic growth and uncontrolled sprawl rather than with structured urbanisation. While the model is driven by the entrepreneurial logic of the corporate sector and while planning and design are playing merely secondary roles, the typology asks for a closer examination. Our underlying research speaks for the assumption that the phenomenon at hand may represent a new and offbeat typology. We propose to conceptualise this species as Neo Towns.

In order to tackle this void it will be necessary to concentrate on the role of the private sector in expanding the generally accepted duality of the planned (public) and the 'unplanned (e.g. self-organised). Consequently this project seeks to explore the role of the private sector through three selected cases: Jakarta's Bumi Serpong Damai, Mumbai's Navi Mumbai an São Paulo's AlphaVille-Tamboré, as it is believed that any theoretical model requires a tangible base.

The detailed examination of the three cases elucidates significant processes and trends of contemporary urbanisation, which is increasingly privately driven. It demonstrates, for example, that urban forms themselves, as well as the strategies of urban production, are increasingly exposed to trends of standardisation, modularisation and diversification, as they become more and more integrated into a larger set of rationalised economic action. The examples examined also illustrate that while the city and its elements are becoming increasingly rationalised, abstracted, and typified. In this context questions of representation, identity, and appearance are becoming more substantial, while local histories and spatial contexts are tending to become hollowed out and fragmented.

Yet, in addition to the set of general attributes and trends, the examples at hand also portray a series of specific lessons and innovations of chief relevance for the discipline of urban development, planning and design. The case of Navi Mumbai provides us with valuable experiences of resettlement and rehabilitation strategies, low income housing, public private partnerships, or market oriented planning tools; Bumi Serpong Damai provides valuable lessons on themed neighbourhoods, urban 'festivalisation', modular

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[1] "L'Architecture privée au XIXe siecle sur Napoleon III"; Paris; quoted and translated by Robert Fishman's 1987: Bourgeois Utopias: 3

turn-key design, or diversified financial products; and AlphaVille portrays precious findings on process-based development, based on principles and codes, 'automanagement' (self-management), as well as strategies of life-style branding, corporate responsibility and ecological design.

Finally, the cases discussed epitomise numerous complications brought about by contemporary trends: loss of traditional context, annihilation of meaning, the erosion of public space, or the alienation of the consumer etc, yet at the same time we are impressed by strategies which are less and less oriented towards geometry and form but more and more based on processes and rules, and astonished by the resilience, flexibility and adaptability private urban development can also represent. Still, the prospect that various processes of adaptation and transformation in the long run lead to a *paysage de surprise* on the ground is reconciliatory.

→ Illustration a-1: World map with expected NeoTowns
→ Illustration A-2: 13 NeoTowns and Paris (a-g)

About this chapter

The following chapter is introducing the research. Above all it provides the endeavour with a theoretical base. To achieve this goal it is composed of seven major parts: 1. The first part presents an overview and presents the relevance of the topic; 2. The second section provides a brief introduction to the chapter; 3. The third section unveils the goals of the project including its assumptions, deliverables, the target audience and working definitions; 4. The fourth subdivision launches a comprehensive revision of the state of the art research. It comprises three main parts, contextualising our issue in studies related to I. 'Contemporary space', II. New Town research, and III. to 'Urban debates'. This section closes with a conclusion of the knowledge gaps identified and with the demarcation of the own limitations; 5. The methodological spirit as well as the instruments are uncovered in the fifth subchapter; 6. The sixth section clarifies the selection of the three study cases; 7. Finally the seventh part discusses the research design and introduces the structure of this undertaking.

Goals and objectives –
Decoding private urbanism

This research aims to contribute new insights to the question of 21st century urbanisation. Our contribution involves exploring the dynamics of privately driven urbanism and the question of the city as a venture. It follows the broad objective of confirming and bringing to date the 30 year old concept of 'production of space' in the context of worldwide urbanisation and the framework of a 'new economy'. (Henri Lefebvre mainly developed this model in the 1960s and 1970s.) This general objective is explored through a comparative study. This is seen as a 'via regia' of theory formation, as it facilitates the generation of hypotheses and models.

We identified a new generation of privately planned New Towns as the most appropriate study object. This typology is conceptualised in the term NeoTown (or NoT). We argue that NeoTowns reflect the spatial impacts of privatisation in a most direct and unfettered way.

This species is currently emerging on a worldwide scale at peripheral Greenfield sites of mega-city regions in developing countries. It mirrors larger socio-economic shifts from an industrial to consumer-based society and echoes a process of collective individualisation. In order to set a practicable framework we have decided to compare three international examples, Navi Mumbai (Mumbai), Bumi Serpong Damai (Jakarta), and AlphaVille-Tamboré (São Paulo) in order to track the changes of spatial production which occurred in the last 30 years (from Keynesianism to the New Economy).

Objectives

In the light of the aspirations stated above, this research follows three main objectives: Firstly, it seeks to provide a holistic description of the typology of NeoTowns; Secondly, it aims to understand the typology in the context of contemporary urban debates, research and theory; And thirdly, it intends to develop implications comprising a research agenda, as well as the transfer of lessons and experiences. While the first goal relates to a conceptualisation of the subject itself, the second refers to the contextualisation of the topic in a broader framework, and the third part then refers to the operationalisation of the findings, issues and questions. In other words: The research intends to record and describe, to provide evidence and understand, and thus to generate meaning regarding this new urban typology and the processes involved.[2]

Finally, our interpretative analysis in the form of a comparative study aims for "the scientific construction of an (ideal) meaning or context of a pure type (ideal type) of a frequent phenomenon".[3]

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[2] A discussion of notions of 'meaning', 'interpretation', 'comprehension', 'evidence', 'rationalistic method', and 'ideal typology' goes back to Max Weber (1922: I, §I, I; 1ff). He states that:

„All interpretation strives, like all science in general, for ‚evidence '." (1922: I, §I, I; 3ff, (transl. by the author): ["Alle Deutung strebt, wie alle Wissenschaft überhaupt, nach ‚Evidenz'."]

"For the science which is concerned with the meaning of action, to ‚explain' means: detection of the semantic context, as well as its subjective meaning, to which understandable action currently belongs." (Cf. Weber 1922: I, §I, I; 5, (transl. by the author): ["'Erklären' bedeutet also für eine mit dem Sinn des Handelns befaßte Wissenschaft soviel wie: Erfassung des Sinnzusammenhangs, in den, seinem subjektiv gemeinten Sinn nach, ein aktuell verständliches Handeln hineingehört.]

[3] "Comprehension means in all these cases: interpretive analysis: a) of the real meaning of an individual case (for a historical perspective) or b) of the average and approximate (for the mass of sociological observation) or c) for the scientific construc-

If we look at the goals from the perspective of different knowledge spheres we can also state that the conceptual set of goals is mainly related to the generation of process knowledge (applied research), the contextual set of goals is aimed at the generation of system knowledge (theory), and the operational goal-cluster focuses on target knowledge.[4]

The conceptual part aims at a better understanding of the phenomena at hand. It works along a holistic and broad description of the examples intending to portray the whole complexity of contemporary urbanisation. The comparative approach seeks to disentangle the processes involved, extracting the relevant trends, problems, and innovations.

General goals

In general, this project aims to contribute to a better understanding of the 'production' of contemporary urban space. We assume that NeoTowns provide essential insights into the interpretation of contemporary space in general. Consequently, the findings can contribute to models and theories of spatial production in the context of advanced market economies (also referred to as neoliberalism, or the new economy). Moreover, the results aim to provide evidence of a new typology of planned cities, namely the NeoTown (NoTs), as a novel creation of mega-city regions in the South, unprecedented in the industrialised West. Finally, the results will explore the question of 'the city' in general as well as the resolution of specific local problems.

Specific aims

The framework of general goals leads to two specific aims: a) to gain an improved knowledge of NeoTowns in their particular context, and b) to operationalise the findings through the extrapolation of general trends and conclusions. This is achieved by measuring, categorising discriminating between and comparing the selected examples.[5]

With this in view, seven objectives were identified as essential: 1) to gain knowledge about the historical and spatial context which characterises the respective locations; 2) to contour out the physical characteristics of the object of NeoTowns; 3) to delineate the profile of its 'users' (e.g. inhabitants); 4) to understand the role of the authors (e.g. in particular the private sector and their strategies); 5) to disentangle the part that planning and design plays in the process; 6) to discern the relevance of finance and capital (as a central moment of market-based urbanisation); and finally 7) to realise the significance of governance and control. A consequent part examines the commonalities and differences, as well as the contradictions and innovations embodied in the examples. This set of specific goals serves as a basis for formulating primary conclusions in the form of a research agenda along a set of hypotheses, as well as best practice implications. (Cf. below: Structure)

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tion of an (ideal) meaning or context of a pure type (ideal type) of a frequent phenomenon." (Cf. Weber 1922: I, §I, I; 6: " »Verstehen« heißt in allen diesen Fällen: deutende Erfassung: a) des im Einzelfall real gemeinten (bei historischer Betrachtung) oder b) des durchschnittlich und annäherungsweise gemeinten (bei soziologischer Massenbetrachtung) oder c) des für den reinen Typus (Idealtypus) einer häufigen Erscheinung wissenschaftlich zu konstruierenden (»idealtypischen«) Sinnes oder Sinnzusammenhangs.")

[4] This is the terminology of the 'young' discipline of knowledge management (Cf. Moll, Peter; Zander, Ute. 2006. Managing the Interface, From Knowledge to Action in Global Change and Sustainability Science, Munich.)

[5] Behind the primary set of goals resides a bunch of implicit goals. These belong to the main motivation of this research and point to essential topics for an ongoing research agenda. The secondary goals are mainly related to a framework of interdisciplinary urban debates. (Cf. the context section below)

Finally, the research at hand aims to achieve the following effects: 1) To integrate and discuss the intense local discourses on privatively driven New Towns; 2) To generate implementation knowledge in the form of 'lessons', in particular for planning and design of new settlements at global and local levels; and 3) To communicate and disseminate this knowledge to a broader public of stakeholders engaged in the production of urban spaces (scientists, practitioners, developers, community activists etc).

Assumptions

According to the underlying assumptions of this research, NeoTowns are:
- A new and unexpected typology of New Towns, which is on the present agenda of urban development[6];
- A key to understanding the production of contemporary urban space;
- Hitherto unknown in the West;
- A global phenomenon;
- Characteristic of mega-city regions;
- Driven by the corporate sector;
- Concentrations of new wealth in the developing world;
- Demonstrating the effects of rationalisation and economies of scale in the real estate sector of the respective countries;
- Adding to the increased complexity, spatial differentiation and heterogeneity of new mega urban regions;
- Driven by entrepreneurs instead of planners or philanthropic reformers.

Deliverables

Considering the goals and objectives stated above, this work will produce the following deliverables:
- Contribute to the discipline of urban science. This will be mainly done by: a) furnishing the theories of spatial production with new data, and b) catering new knowledge to the field of new town' research.
- Delineate a research agenda on the new urban typology and phenomenon of NeoTowns.
- Integrate and disseminate experiences and lessons (transfer knowledge).
- Generate a set of general planning recommendations (process knowledge, implementation knowledge)
- Produce a modular expandable databank with information on neo-towns (system knowledge).

Audience, beneficiaries

The project targets four groups of beneficiaries:
- Academics: urban research, political economy, sociology, economics
- Corporate sector: developers, investors, consulting companies, architects, and planners
- Public sector: politicians, state planners,
- Civil Society: residents, civil organisations, e.g. New Town Institutes

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[6] Cf. Gotsch und Peterek (2001)

Working definitions

The meaning of terms can be highly contextual. It can vary from place to place and from time to time. If no definitions are provided, the use of expressions can lead to misunderstanding and confusion. This is the case in particular in urban and social sciences where concepts such as 'city', society' and 'culture' have been the subject of debates for many years.[7]

Consequently, the next section will provide explanations of the main terminologies which are fundamental for this work. This is done in order to provide a clear conceptual foundation, a clear delineation of the research, and basis for mutual understanding. It is important to understand these as working definition. A universal validity is not claimed. The series of terminologies was deduced from the title of this work. Accordingly, the most important of these terms which await clarification are: NeoTown, The South, New Town, Planned Settlement, Neoliberal Economy, New Economy, Challenges and Innovations, Contradiction, Private Sphere, Public Sphere, Corporate Sphere, and Privatisation.

Neo Town (NoT)

The term NeoTown, or in its brief form also NoT, serves as the principal working definition within this work. The expression aims to conceptualise a new urban typology of planned settlements dominated by the corporate sector. It is a composite of the terminologies Neoliberal and New Town.

The South

The 'South' is a concept which refers to the common term North-South divide. It groups countries outside of the industrialised nations (e.g. the OECD). It refers to the predominant global socio-economic and political divisions. These comprise developing and emerging economies. It is used as an alternative and more neutral expression than the terms 'Third World', or 'developing countries'.[8]

New Town

The present work uses the term New Town in the context of the post-World WarII British movement, which merged the concept of Garden Cities[9] with modernistic planning principles (Cf. the Context section below).[10]

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[7] Two notable examples from our context are the terminologies 'New Town', and Urban Landscapes. A New Town, for example, can be conceived as a planned city in general (Galantay 1975), as a decongestion type of satellite city (Phipps 1987), a specific typology in post-World WarII Britain, a mix of the Garden City idea and modern planning, a result of the New Towns Act of 1946 (Cf. Osborne 1946: 26), or a traditionalist master planned settlement in the 21st century (Cf. www.newtownatstcharles.com/, r07.07.2009). In addition, Newtown is a common name for newly planned settlements and neighbourhoods in general, from Eschenbach in Bavaria (Germany), to Johannesburg, to Sydney (Australia), to Edinburgh (Scotland), to Williamsburg (United States).

In the same way, the term Urban Landscape (Stadtlandschaft), depending on the perspective, is regarded as a classic painting genre, as a postmodern urban landscape, or as an ideal type of urban reconstruction developed by the German planner Rudolf Hillebrecht in the 1940s and 1950s. (Cf. also the remarks on the terminology of Garden Cities by Frederic J. Osborne in his 1946 edition of Howard's "Tomorrow".)

[8] The term Third World can be seen as a product of the Cold War era, representing the block free movement of states in the late 1950s. The expression 'developing countries' seems difficult to maintain, as the socioeconomic and cultural variety among the countries is constantly increasing.

[9] The term Garden City relates to the concept developed by Ebenezer Howard (1898) adopted by the British Garden Cities and Town Planning Association: "A Garden City is a town designed for healthy living and industry; of a size that makes possible a full measure of social life, but no larger; surrounded by a rural belt; the whole of the land being in public ownership or held in trust for the community." (Quoted in Osborne 1946: 26) While in 1946 Osborn was emphasizing Howard's notion of Cities surrounded by a green belt, the author believes that today, the model should be more closely associated with the products of the post-World WarII Garden City movement. These are mainly suburban settlements of cities with gardens, designed along traditionalist ideals of the reform movement, mainly represented by the "Gartenstadtbewegung".

[10] This understanding of New Towns is generally shared by the mainstream New Town organisations such as the International New Town Institute (www.newtowninstiute.org), or the European New Towns Platform (www.newtowns.net).

Planned Settlements

This universal and widely applicable term refers to human settlements which are controlled by a certain power and planned according to specific rationales (ideals). The typology stands in contrast to unplanned, organically grown, or emerging settlements. Both models have been central in the history of urbanisation. Planned settlements are not necessarily equal to towns or cities. Only if these achieve a certain mix of use and size, they may achieve a complexity characteristic for the latter (Cf. below: context).

Neoliberal (Economy)

This term is generally used in relation to the renaissance of liberal economic ideals, mainly propagated by a group of scholars from the University of Chicago[11]. It is used by critics and proponents alike. Anti-globalisation movements, such as Attack, mainstreamed the notion to criticise the effects of an increasingly abstract and footloose global economy, as well as an naïve uncritical belief in the almighty power of the market. We use the notion in a more neutral way, pointing the chief characteristics of the late 20th and early 21st century economy.

New Economy

New Economy is a more impartial term used to describe the specific characteristics of the contemporary economy. It emphasises the contrast to previous systems. The expression is used throughout this work parallel to the term neoliberal. In addition to these two terms, a vast amount of individual conceptualisations with different inclinations exist.[12] Indeed, the struggle for new definitions points to a young and evolving subject that is difficult to capture with old tools.

Challenges and Innovations

The notion of challenges and innovations is used as a pair of mutually exclusive but interdependent elements of a dialectical framework of contradictions. It characterises the approach underlying this research. While challenge stands as a synonym for problem, innovation is used an as equivalent to potential (Cf. the methodological framework of this research below).

Contradiction

The notion of contradiction is used as a concept which describes the tension in a dialectical framework, e.g. between thesis and antithesis. This understanding points to the fact that most processes imply ambiguous results implying winners and losers. Depending on the framework and the perspective chosen, the results may be perceived as gains and losses, problems and innovations. Example: When a new town is built, developers and residents are most probably on the winning side, while local villagers may be on the losing side. When a person is driving a car, he or she is on a winning side, whereas the beetle on the street is probably on the losing side.

Innovation

This work is largely interested in innovations in urban planning and design made by the corporate sector. Innovation describes a novel approach, which differs from existing solutions and habits. It resolves existing problems and provides added value, responding to a framework of needs and relying on an enabling environment. While innovation may be interpreted as a synthesis of the above-described dialectical model, this synthesis is not without new contradictions.

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[11] Such as Friedrich August von Hayek, or Milton Friedman. (Cf. below: Context)

[12] Some selected examples comprise: 'Informational Economy' (Castells 1989), 'Late Capitalism' (Jameson 1984), 'Post-Fordism' (Harvey 1989), 'Advanced Capitalism' (Ward 2002), or 'New Capitalism' (Sennett 2006).

Private, Public, and Corporate spheres

Among the essential conceptual means of this work is an equilibrium model of three spheres – the private, the corporate, as well as the public. This concept is based on the classical idea of a private-public nexus, which was extended by the sphere of the economy. It is based on the notion that in market-based societies, economic organisations develop into independent institutions. The result serves as an appropriate representation for the majority of stakeholders in capitalist societies. Weber 1922 (II, § 14) conceptualises this development in distinguishing between the individual household and the capitalist corporations. (Cf. also the methods section below.)[13]

Private sphere

The space of individuals, households, and communities applies to the category of 'private sphere'. This concept is also closely associated with the notions of civil society, or the everyday (as the sphere of daily life). Notably the term 'private sphere' must not be confused with the term 'private sector'.

Corporate sphere

The term 'corporate sphere' accounts for the economic sphere of enterprises, companies and corporations. These are non-personal and commercial institutions, which are fundamental elements of market based societies, and which are demarcated by an own interest for profit (Cf. Weber 1922: II, §41). Other expressions for this domain are 'market sphere', or 'economic sphere'.[14]

Public Sphere

This terminology points to traditional levels of society representing state powers, government institutions, formal administrations and public regulations. It is closely related to the ancient public political domain (For example the Greek 'Agora Eleuthera'[15], or the Roman notion of the 'Res Publica').[16]

Privatisation

The notion of privatisation is a concept closely related to the triangular model of the public, private and economic poles. In the context of this work, it is intended to describe an increasing domination of the corporate sector as opposed to the private or public spheres. The related term of Commoditisation points to an increasing colonisation of the private as well as the public (and the sacred) spheres by the corporate logic of exchange values.

→ Illustration A-3: Shift of equilibrium from Keynesianism to Neoliberalism

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[13] Conceptualisations of different societal domains date back to ancient Greece. As early as 300 B.C. Aristotle had asked for a strict division of the public and religious sphere (agora eleuthera) from the economic operations represented by the market domain (the agora anagkaia) in the seventh book of the Politeia.

[14] The fact that this sector is also often called the 'private sector' points to the origins of economic action in the sphere of the ancient extended household structures: the Greek Oikos, or the Latin Familia. Oikonomia means the 'rule of the house'.

[15] Cf. Aristotle, Politeia, Book 7

[16] The classical public domain had also comprised elements of the sacred and the ritual. These performed important disciplinary roles. Today these functions have been secularised. (For a discussion, compare for example to May Weber's "Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft" [Theory of social and economic organisation], 1922.

Context –
Space, New Towns and urban narratives

*Some people have strange ideas that they live by the circulation of coins.
Whereas the world is mainly a vast leaf-colony, growing on and forming a
leafy soil, not a mere mineral mass* (Geddes 1949: 217)

The following section presents the most important current scientific positions in relation to this project. This contextualisation of the topic not only reconfirms the originality of the research subject; it also clarifies the goals, the questions, the working methodologies and the organisation of this project. In other words, the examination of the existing research provides the foundation of this project, providing the analytical tools and sharpening the gaze for the analysis of the specific case studies. While this work seeks to introduce a new species of planned cities, urban science and its environs have many narratives which are of relevance for this work and vice versa.

Notably, three pillars emerge which are substantial for this project:

- Theory and critique of space and spatial production;
- Research on New Towns; and
- A set of narratives investigating particular urban problems.

The subsequent part highlights the key concepts, proponents, trends, the respective research gaps and the questions of relevance.

I. Research on contemporary space

The subsequent part grounds Neo-Towns within relevant models of spatial production and current political-economic theories. This project began with the question of space in the age of the new economy. The most important cornerstones of this question are critical research and theory contributing insights to the production of contemporary space. In order to determine which particular elements within this discipline are relevant, we recall two of the central questions at hand: How is contemporary urban space, the human environment, produced? Can NeoTowns provide a clue to a better understanding of the production of contemporary space, e.g. space in the age of the new economy?

These questions suggest that we have to take a broad, holistic and synoptic approach, as we have to perceive the city as a combination of space, economy and society. It also follows that our inquiry of NeoTowns has to be grounded in three important steps which will equip us with the necessary conceptual tools:

- Firstly, we need models and theories relating to space itself;
- Secondly, we need a better understanding of the economic sphere and its current condition;
- And thirdly, we need clarity of the concepts which describe the interrelationships among contemporary space and economy.

Indeed, the fundamental importance of these broad aspects becomes clear when we bring in our main operational hypothesis which presumes that: If Neo-towns are exceptional

paradigmatic species of neoliberal space, it follows that a comparative study of NeoTowns can contribute to the elucidation of the genus of neoliberal urbanism.

Introduction – Theories of space

The next part elucidates why we ask the question on space, which relevant theories and models of space exist, and why Lefebvre's model is of central importance.

A better understanding of the question of space is a central prerequisite for conducting urban research, including this study. The conceptual thinking of the French sociologist, critic and philosopher Henri Lefebvre is of fundamental importance for this work.[17]

It can be claimed that Lefebvre developed a 'relativity-theory' in the social sciences. As Einstein's theory linked space, time and energy, Lefebvre developed a relativistic model of space linking space, time and society. (Cf. Gotsch 2002) His work triggered a 'spatial turn' in the social sciences and had tremendous impacts in social and cultural science, political economy and urbanism.[18] [19]

The spirit of the 'spatial turn' implies that space is not a neutral container but a field of opportunity, spanned in time, marked by political and ideological conditions, and produced, colonised and appropriated by various stakeholders, and which in turn also reproduces the above.[20]

Of particular relevance for our work is Lefebvre's meta-narrative of spatial production and urbanisation, which he developed in contrast to historical materialism.[21] The other fundamental concept is Lefebvre's dialectic model of space, which contrasts a linear logic that is often the base of technocratic positivist thinking.

Lefebvre can be considered one of the first critics of modern globalisation as he debated the impacts of rising commoditisation and urbanisation: observing that, in the modern world, space would be produced on a total and a global scale. Importantly, his critique addressed a culture that is disproportionately dominated by abstract organisations, such as the modern bureaucratic state, or the international business corporation.[22]

Spatial concepts – from 'absolutism' to relativism

> "*Every spirit makes his house, but afterwards the house confines the spirit.*"
> (Geddes 1915: 210)

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[17] A good introduction to Lefebvre's thinking and biography is represented by an obituary published in the journal Radical Philosophy. (Cf. Kelly, Michael 1992: Henri Lefebvre, 1901-1991; at: http://www.radicalphilosophy.com/default.asp?channel_id=2191&editorial_id=9838.php, r05.07.09).

[18] Lefebvre's work was predominantly adapted in the "Anglo Saxon" world. His major oeuvre "La production de l'espace" was translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith and published in 1991 in the UK and the US. Authors such as David Harvey (1989), Edward Soja (1989), or Frederic Jameson (1984), among others, have spread the ideas.

[19] Nowadays the reception of Lefebvre's thinking is widespread in geography, political science, critical theory, or post-colonial debates: Castells 1989, Sassen 1992, Gregory 1994, Schields 1999, Dear 2002). Lefebvre's 'spatial dialectics' also had implications for the post-colonial debates of Anthony King (1990, 2000) and Abidin Kusno (2002, 2006): „... space, through its spatial program, might articulate a unifying and dominating power... if we treat the formation and transformation of space as a basis for understanding history, we will then be able to question the tradition of historical understanding which has been based on the intrinsic development of time." (Kusno 2006: Space. Power and Identity in Urban Indonesia: A Historical Sketch: 1-2.

[20] Cf. Lefebvre, 'Reflections on the Politics of Space', translated by M. Enders, Antipode 8, 1976, 31.

[21] The label 'spatial materialism' is sometimes used in the Lefebvre reception (for example by Cf. Shields 1999, or Cf. Lash 2002). Lefebvre, however, never used this expression.

[22] The assessment was developed in an era of rising critique of abstract organisations, represented for example by Jean Luc Godard's feature film *Alphaville*, or the Paris revolts of 1968.

What has been said about space? Before we return to Lefebvre's models, the following section presents a brief summary of spatial conceptualisations. This is done in order to validate and verify our position.

The majority of the existing debates on space are polarised. They are either focused on spatial determinism or on spatial fetishism. While the first position claims that it is mainly the content that determines the form (E.g. that societal structures lead to the structural formations of physical environments such as cities), the second position is inclined to see form as the predominant determinant of content (E.g. stressing the impact of spaces on societal structures). The first is traditionally prevalent in most of the social science disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, and cultural studies. In contrast, architects, planners, engineers, geographers, and also ecologists emphasise the latter.[23]

→ Illustration A-4: 'Form and content' (figure ground)

After all, the debates on the nature of space – between matter and spirit, or form and essence, or empiricism and rationalism – date back to the origins of science and philosophy: Greek thinkers, such as Aristotle conceptualised the cosmos as a system of spheres[24]; in the 17th century René Descartes mistrusted the illusions of the mind and individual thought and confined all objects within a net of causal relations marked by an absolute coordinate system (1632, 1641); it becomes the container of Isaac Newton's mechanics (1684); Immanuel Kant, in contrast, argued for space as an ideal transcendental concept (1746, 1755). The absoluteness of space (and time) is being deconstructed as modern 20th century physics develops the concept of a space-time-energy continuum (Cf. Einstein 1916), which also comprises highly uncertain phenomena (Heisenberg 1927).[25]

Einstein's and Heisenberg's works mark a watershed: Their meta-science (re-) reaches significant metaphysical and existential boundaries. It heralds the end of the great narratives of space and time, paralleled by global synchronisation, 'space-time compression', and the rise of absolute relativism. The notion is later portrayed by poststructuralist, deconstructivist, or postmodern thinkers such as Lyotard (1979: La Condition Postmoderne), Niklas Lumann (1984: Gesellschaftliche Systeme), Michel Foucault (1977: Of Other spaces)[26], or Francis Fukuyama (1992: The End of History And The Last Man).

At this point (synchronisation, end of history), it seems that meaning has to be created from the bottom: by individual and collective forms of cognitive perception and imagination. Spatial theories become re-focused on the interior cognitive space of the individual subject.[27] As Werner Heisenberg notes prophetically: "The reality, that we can talk

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[23] The sociologist Herbert Gans substantiates this debate when he writes in his introduction to "The Levittowners" that: "The impact of the settlement on the residents has a long tradition in sociology. The ecologists claim that the local economic conditions and the geographical situation influence the behaviour of the residents. The sociologists, in contrast, think that the community as well as the behaviour of its residents is largely determined by the regional, as well as national structure of society." (Translation by the author from the German version: Cf. Gans 1969: 21 quoting Duncan und Schnore)

["Der Einfluß der Siedlung auf die Bewohner ist innerhalb der Soziologie seit langem theoretisiert worden. Die Ökologen behaupten, daß örtliche wirtschaftliche Verhältnisse und geographische Situation das Verhalten der Bewohner prägen. Die Soziologen dagegen meinen, daß das Gemeinwesen sowie das Verhalten seiner Bewohner weitgehend von der regionalen und nationalen Gesellschaftsstruktur bestimmt seien." (Gans in the German translation of 1969: 21)]

[24] Cf. David C. Lindberg, The Beginnings of Western Science. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1992.

[25] These theories demonstrate, among other things, that two parallels are able to meet, that light can travel around the corner, and that matter can be unpredictable and thus destroy the axioms of classical Euclidean geometry and of the Newtonian mechanics.

[26] Luhman and his colleagues worked on the role of autopoietic (e.g. self-referential) systems and the relevance of difference in a polycontextural world.

[27] Only some late Marxist thinkers, such as, Frederic Jameson (1984), David Harvey (1989), or Manual Castells (1989) attempt to rescue a great narrative of dialectic materialism.

about, is never the reality as such, but … a reality which is formed and produced by us."[28]

The idea of this individually constructed and differential space reverberates in the metaphysical thinking of Martin Heidegger's (1953: Bauen, Denken, Wohnen [Building, Thinking, Dwelling]), Maurice Merleau-Ponty's 'phenomenological space' (1945), Gaston Bacchelard's 'Poetic Space' (1957: La Poétique de l'éspace), or Michel De Certeau's 'Space of Everyday Life' (1980: L'Invention du Quotidien). [29] The tendency is also portrayed by poetic concepts, such Rainer Maria Rilke's 'immersed reality'.[30]

The following quotation of Merleau-Ponty portrays the rising importance of individual space:

> "… the question is to know how an object in space can become the speaking sign of an existence, and how on the contrary an intention, a thought, a project can be detached from a personal subject and become visible out of him in its own body, in the medium where it is built." [31]

From the space of the individual it is only a small step to a socially constructed model, as developed by Henri Lefebvre. Blending Marxist dialectics with the constructivist perspective of the individual, his concept of social and differential space becomes crucial for this work.

Lefebvre's 'production of space' – a metanarrative?

Two major elements of Lefebvre's work are of central value for this work. The first is his narrative of urbanisation, the second his dialectical and relational model of space.

Following a materialist tradition, Lefebvre observes the fundamental conditions and trends, which underlie societal and economic organisation. He proposes, however, to abolish the historical materialism in favour of a 'spatial dialectics'. He makes this suggestion on the basis of the observation of tendencies such as urbanisation, globalisation, and commoditisation. These lead him to the conclusion that in our times the spatial relations of things (geo-politics) become more important, while the temporal relations (tradition, history) tend to lose significance[32]. He postulates for example:

> Today our concern must be with a space on a world's scale, as well as with all spaces subsidiary to it. The forces that shape this space – basically forces of production: market of commodities, labour, capital, technology, science and demographic trends-- are of a power, scope, and effectiveness hitherto unknown and unimaginable. (Lefebvre, 1974: 307)

Trends

Lefebvre's observations are based on the method of identifying and discussing important trends such as growth and expansion, commoditisation, or abstraction. He recognises

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[28] Die Wirklichkeit, von der wir sprechen können, ist nie die Wirklichkeit an sich, sondern […] eine von uns gestaltete Wirklichkeit. (Werner Heisenberg, Physik und Philosophie, S. Hirtzel, Stuttgart, 1959)

[29] Elsewhere we compare spatial theories represented by the works of Kevin Lynch, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, and Henri Lefebvre (Cf. Gotsch 2002).

[30] As discussed by Peter Sloterdijk 2005: 301

[31] "… la question est de savoir comment un objet dans l'espace peut devenir la trace parlante d'une existence, comment inversement une intention, une pensée, un projet peuvent se détacher du sujet personnel et devenir visibles hors de lui dans son corps, dans le milieu qu'il se construit. » (Phénoménologie de la perception, p. 401, transl.. by the author).

[32] As a matter of fact Lefebvre actually reads human history as a record of spaces: from absolute, cosmological, symbolic, to abstract space (the older spaces continue to exist, new ones are superimposed on each other and add to the complexity of the system). (Lefebvre 1974: 31)

that, in a modern world, economic activity, whether production or consumption, does not remain bounded to particular locations. In contrast, an expanding economical sphere colonises the globe and penetrates all aspects of life. In addition the force of commoditisation subjects and abstracts every object on the Earth's surface. This new condition encompasses a 'total' production of space. Every thing finds itself 'thrown' onto the market.[33] The whole cosmos of objects (whether persons, cows, leaves or rocks) is measured in terms of exchange value. While all places on the globe are being explored, pacified and becoming interconnected, the conditions of production turn out to be transferable. As spatial affairs become more important than the historic circumstances, space turns into the absolute product: [34]

> *"Space is marked out, explored, discovered and rediscovered on a colossal scale. Its potential for being occupied, filled, peopled and transformed from top to bottom is continually on the increase: the prospect, in short, is of a space being produced whose nature is nothing more than raw materials suffering gradual destruction by the techniques of production."* (Lefebvre 1974: p.334)

Urbanisation and the 'production of space'

Indeed, urbanisation emerges as one of the fundamental meta-trends of the 20th century. An all-encompassing economic colonisation leads to an urbanised globe.[35] The narrative of spatial production materialises as the logical bottom line, resolving earlier contradictions between city and hinterland.[36] From here the questions on the production of a mature urban space and on the spatial relations of life move into the focus of Lefebvre's investigations:

> *"The 'object' of our interest must be relocated from objects in space, to the essential production of space". (Lefebvre 1974: 37)*

At the same time as holistic urbanisation resolved a number of vital problems of the industrial age (e.g. the contradiction between the industrial and working class), it engenders new contradictions (for example economy–nature, formal–informal, space–place, individual–collective, or perception–comprehension).[37] Accordingly, the stage of global urbanism is a transitory process and not the end of history.[38]

Effects in space

In addition to developing a model of a complete 'production of space' and the general trend of urbanisation, Lefebvre also delineates particular qualities of contemporary space. He relates to a space, which is dominated by the rationalising logic of capitalist production as abstract space.

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[33] To borrow an image from Vilém Flusser (1993) quoted in Gotsch 1995: 19.

[34] Parallels of this narrative can be drawn to Guy Debord's "La Societe du Spéctaclé", 1967, which at that time represented one of the most extreme scenarios of commoditisation. He states that: "Commodities are now all that there is to see ... social space is continually being blanketed by stratum after stratum of commodities. ... With the advent of the so-called second industrial revolution, alienated consumption is added to alienated production". (29).

[35] Lefebvre claims that the new urban age is dominated by a mainstream of middle classes, as opposed to the industrial classes, which dominated the previous era. This is something that Marx did not envision (Ibidem: 485).

[36] "Capitalism has taken possession of the land, and mobilized it to the point where this sector [e.g. Space] is fast becoming central." (Ibidem: 335). Or: "The entire area is treated on the model of private enterprise, of private property, the family of the reproduction of relations of production, in line with biological reproduction and genital" (Ibidem: 433).

[37] For a list of contradictions see Gotsch (1995: 93).

[38] "What many people take for a terminal period, the end of this or that (capitalism, poverty, history, art, etc). can be conceived as a transition" (Ibidem: 469).

This space is affected by three fundamental trends: homogenisation, fragmentation and polarisation (Cf. Lefebvre 1974: 31): It becomes homogenised, as each locality is transformed in a container for commercial activities, and while all elements are subsumed to a holistic network of economic exchange (Cf. Castells 1989). It becomes fragmented, as all associated compartments and particles become specialised, and as firm boundaries are needed to guarantee the identification of each part (Harvey 1989). Finally, it becomes polarised, as market economies explore, reproduce and reinforce differences.[39][40]

Dialectic and relational model of space

Lefebvre's other concept, which is highly influential for this work, is his dialectical and relational model of space. In this model Lefebvre resolves the above-described duality of space and content, or spatial determinism versus spatial fetishism: Space is understood as a dialectical construct and placed between physical- and socio-economic poles. This condition of space is also relational, as it is bound to a particular historical, cultural, economic, and physical medium inherent to a specific context. A notable consequence of this dialectical model is that it itself allows for contradictions to emerge. Dialectical and relational space is a moment and a process, something that is actively produced, and since stakeholders engage in individual resistances, interpretations, and appropriations with this characteristic it is also political and ideological:

> *"Space is political and ideological. It is a product literally filled with ideologies"* (Lefebvre 1976: Reflections on the politics of space.)

The dialectical model of space is composed of three particular spheres: firstly the conceived (concu), secondly the perceived (percu) and thirdly the represented (vecu). While the conceived relates to an abstract world of thought, ideas, and plans, the perceived is rather portrayed by passive experiences, emotions, and the routines of the 'quotidien' (everyday life). The represented, then, depicts a sphere of re-actions, resistances, and appropriations. In can be said that 'concu' and 'percu' for a classical dialectical pair of thesis and antithesis, and the 'vecu' describes the 'creative' moment of synthesis (Cf. Schmid 2005).

Lefebvre preferred Friedrich Hegel's dialectic over formal logic as early as 1939 when he published the work "dialectical materialism". He believed that this concept transcended both idealism and materialism. The resolution of contradictions was seen in practical activity and representation of the everyday.[41]

In order to understand the context of this model it is important to keep the struggles of the 68' movement and the Paris revolts in mind. Lefebvre applies this concept to criticise looming contradictions of his time: The domination of daily life and individual creativity by an abstract and alienated state and economic apparatus. Regardless, the model

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[39] Polarisation, for example, is accentuated by the emergence of new centralities (E.g. global cities), or the consolidation of the 'other' informal sector (Cf. Sassen 1989).

[40] The idea that abstract space homogenises, fragments, and polarises space is not new. Patrick Geddes' narrative of a Paleo-technological age dwells on the notion that capitalist space is abstracted by economics and politics as well as on the production and exploitation of differences (Geddes 1915: 154). Lefebvre's achievement, though, is that he formulates a concise model.

[41] Schmid traces back the three cornerstones of the model to the work Hegel, Nietzsche, and Marx, and notably these are authors that Lefebvre translated into French. In this context Marx's materialism can be attached to the perceived, Hegel's idealism to the conceived, and Nietzsche's role of individual spirit to the represented (Cf. Schmid, 2005).

is of such fundamental relevance that it can be applied for analysing almost any context of spatial production.[42]

Implications of Lefebvre's concepts

Lefebvre's concept of a global urban sphere has fundamental impacts for this work. His theory asks for an update and exemplification. Moreover it equips us with some fundamental instruments and methods for a holistically oriented examination of space.

The French intellectual has rarely exemplified his models in concrete places or situations. Indeed, it seems highly relevant to verify his thinking through current examples. Moreover, his work asks for an update and revision: The ideas emerged in a time of an advanced and 'saturated' modernity, a highly bureaucratic state apparatus, large hierarchical economies of scale, and of standardised mass production. How can we remap these in regard to the impact of the informational economy, as well as a consumer-oriented society along his narratives?

While in the present day aspects such as labour division, economic rationalisation or international monetary flows have reached unprecedented dimensions, the concept of 'abstract space' asks to be extrapolated. The remapping may also serve as a confirmation. Can meta-trends such as urbanisation, abstraction and commoditisation be validated in today's context?

After all, Lefebvre's models are of central methodological relevance for this work. He furnishes our research with valuable analytical perspectives of a space which is: 1) actively produced and reproduced by various agents, 2) formed by major trends, and 3) which is part of a dialectical framework. Moreover, the dialectical and relational model of spatial production constitutes a remarkable holistic and synergetic approach. It facilitates this research, which seeks to tackle the complexity of urban spaces and the fragmentation and specialisation of disciplines.

The model sharpens our gaze for identifying contradictions which are emerging among the spheres such as conception, perception, and representation (*concu*, *vecu*, *percu*) and among the major stakeholder groups (public, private, civil society). Hence it will implicitly guide the process of the evaluation of our examples.[43]

If Lefebvre would be alive today he would certainly be interested in the question of spatial production in an even more globalised and urbanised world of informational and networked economies – with an increasing restructuring of the corporate, the public and the private sectors. The work at hand proposes that privately developed New Towns may be among the paradigmatic spaces representing some key characteristics of the production of contemporary urban space.[44]

Yet, before this work turns to the exploration the imprints of current trends and forces at real sites, a closer look into the logic of the economic, as well as neo-economic, order will provide additional clues for the comprehension of current spaces.

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[42] Christine Brunn, for example utilised it to elaborate conflicts of constructing mosques small German towns (Cf. Brunn 2005). The Swiss research project "Die Schweiz – ein städtebauliches Portrait" utilised Lefebvre's gaze to examine the urban systems of the Switzerland (2005).

[43] Some examples of questions related to Lefebvre's concept include: How do developers conceive the new town in a relative void of public regulations and with the logic of the market? How do residents appropriate the space conceived by the developers? How does the NeoTown impact the daily life of locals and villagers?

[44] Christian Schmid's (2005) scientific reconstruction of Lefebvre's theories has provided important impulses for this work. Schmid thinks that the potential implications of Lefebvre's analysis for social research has not been explored very seriously, and that the theoretical and empirical relevance of his theory is by far not exhausted (Ibidem: 13, translation by the author).

The spirit of the free market (capitalism)

> *This time the neotechnic order, if it means anything at all, with its better use of resources and population towards the bettering of man and his environment together, means these as a business proposition.*
> (Patrick Geddes 1915: 38)

The following section proceeds in refining the analytical gaze of this research. It explores some relevant models and concepts on the contemporary economic sphere and deducts implications for this research[45]: In order to understand how contemporary urban environments and societies work, it becomes crucial to grasp some of the basic principles and rationales, as well as the inherent language of our economic system (free market capitalism) in general, and the major aspects of the contemporary 'new economy' in particular. In addition, it will be important to verify the state of research of contemporary thinking on the relation between the 'new economy' and urban form.

The exploration follows a dual set of goals: A better understanding of some general economic and socio-political principles of present times will enhance our perception of NeoTowns as new urban phenomena. On the other hand, a better grasp of new urban phenomena such as NeoTowns, will also help to elucidate some of the underlying logics of economic and political systems. While we want to explore the qualities of the new, or neoliberal, or informational economy, we have to know how this economy is different from the 'classical economy'.[46]

The general framework of this question is represented by reverberations of the historical transition from Fordism to Postfordism; Modernity to Postmodernity; Keynesianism to Neoliberal Economy; the Industrial Age to Post-Industrial Age; Machine-Age to Informational Age, or Industrialism to Consumerism.[47]

For many scholars the new era is particularly characterised by new information technologies and communication networks[48]. Manuel Castells (1989), in particular, described the emergence of a new informational society as a result of a combination of an 'informational mode of production' with a 'capitalist mode of development'.[49]

General attributes of the free market economy

> *"Capitalism, then, is by its nature a form or method of economic change and not only never is, but never can be stationary. ... The fundamental impulse that seems to keep the capitalist engine in motion, comes from the new consumers goods, the new methods of production or transportation, the new markets, the new forms of industrial organization that capitals enterprise creates."*(Cf. Schumpeter 1934: 82, 83)

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[45] The approach explored in this section can be called materialist, examining the economy as the bedrock of space and society. The theoretical framework as used in this work was predominantly formed from the works of Frederic Jameson (1984), David Harvey (1989), Manual Castells (1989), Siskia Sassen (1991), but also Jean Baudrillard (1993), or Richard Sennett (1994).

[46] The general question of spatial production in the informational age was elaborated as part of the masters' thesis of the author (Cf. Gotsch 1995: The In-Formation of Space, Columbia University, New York N.Y.).

[47] The terminologies originate from various disciplinary debates from politics, sociology, economics, law, urban science, and cultural studies, among others. This work mainly draws on the concepts of critical theory, political science, sociology, cultural science, and urbanism. Daniel Bell (1974) and Alain Touraine (1971), for example, are accounted as the most prominent proponents of the term Post-Industrial Society, while the Post-Modern Condition is mostly associated with Jean-Francois Lyotard (1979).

[48] Cf. Machlup 1962, Drucker 1969, Tofler (1980), Sonntag (1985), among many others.

[49] Thereafter (2000) Castells revised his concept towards the notion of a 'network society', emphasising the importance of network principles for the economic operations and the constitution of contemporary societies.

The flexibility, elasticity and resilience of modern capitalist markets, their ability to survive crises and contradictions and to constantly reinvent themselves, points to the assumption that the system must be based on a series of rules and principles, a genetic code, rather than a fixed framework. Indeed, core thinkers such as Adam Smith, Karl Marx, Max Weber, Josef Schumpeter, or John Maynard Keynes have explored various aspect of the underlying order of capitalism.[50]

The 'invariant elements and relations' of Capitalism, as Marx puts it[51], include:
- The fact that capitalism is a distinct system[52];
- An inherent need for self-reproduction;
- A set of basic rules;
- The necessity for constant growth and expansion;
- A related drive for the reduction of complexity, rationalisation, abstraction and technological innovation;
- Governance: structures of management, command, power and control;
- The objectification of power and exchange relations;
- Companies as abstract, distinct, well-regulated, and contractual regimes[53]
- The necessity to create, and explore differences;
- The central role of money as a medium of exchange;
- The transformation of matter into commodities, or man- and brainpower into services;
- The fundamental role of private ownership;
- The existence of markets and
- A dependency on infrastructure and networks.

We are familiar with the fact that a steady rate of growth is essential for the health of a capitalist economic system. Growth is perceived as progress, which is inevitable and 'good'. There is a necessity for generating a surplus and accumulating value. Lack of growth constitutes in this context a crisis for capital. In addition, the combination of power and private ownership leads to the distinction of haves and have-nots. Capitalism, for structural reasons, depends on the polarization and creation of the 'other'. The process implies the necessity of generating differences through uneven development patterns. In order to secure a profit margin there is also a need for constant innovation. Today, technological and organisational innovation is becoming crucial for the perpetuation of the system.[54]

The perception of capitalism as a self-organising system rather than a form implies that we can only trace its effects in space, while the logic, the programming of the system itself remain hidden to our perception. This implication is important, because it underlines our approach to examine the hidden logic of the system by exploring space.

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[50] Geoffrey Ingham 2008 seeks to disentangle the key concepts and basic elements of 'Capitalism'. George Ritzer 1993 explores the validity of Weber's account of economic rationality in the context of the service economy and coins the term 'McDonaldization of society'.

[51] Cf. Karl Marx "*The Capital*", Taken from Harvey, (1989), p.181

[52] Indeed in Luhmann's (1984) language it could be called an autopoietic system.

[53] "Gesellschafen" as opposed to "Gemeinschaften", (cf. Tönnies 1887, Weber 1922).

[54] Some of these principles have been explored and described in more detail by Gotsch 1995: 45.

Weber and the rational logic of capitalism

The principle of a rationalising logic – corresponding to a system's drive to reduce complexity – is one of the most fundamental principles of capitalism. It has far-reaching effects on the spatial organisation of production, and in the age of a total production of space also on the entire urban form. In describing this property we are indebted to Max Weber who has elaborated the characteristics of formal rationalization.

Weber traces the emergence of modern western society along a process of increasing rationalisation. The rationality he refers to is based on the supremacy of modern science, causal logic and technology.[55] From this perspective the modern state as well as the capitalist economic apparatus are two consequent subsystems of increasing societal rationalisation. Both are organised along a rational logic which can be compared to that of machines.[56][57]

Weber's genus of formal rationalism can be classified into four interrelated subcategories: 1) efficiency, 2) calculability, 3) predictability, and 4) control. [58]

> - The attribute of *efficiency* relates to: The employment of modern technology, standardisation and management techniques along the drive to optimize production, decrease costs, and increase turnover rates and processing times.
> - The capacity of *calculability* is associated with the employment rational and standardised methods of capital accounting. It relates to practices of objectification, measurement, bookkeeping and quantification in order to produce ever better products with less money.
> - *Predictability* is associated with the ideal context of a free market (without any irrational interference), as well as the presence of a reliable legal framework and a government capable of enforcing the law.
> - The ability to *control* relates to: the domination of all physical means of production as the property of autonomous private enterprises, as well as the readiness of free labour to be employed or dismissed upon demand. [59]

Among the most significant implications of an increasingly rationalized economy are the four tendencies of growth, expansion, standardisation and diversification. In this context

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[55] Altogether resulting from the transcendental drive of humanity.

[56] These rationalised regimes trigger an important social revolution: society is equalised, as every citizen becomes a legal object and a potential consumer. (Cf. Weber, 1922: Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft; 1, II, § 30, and, 1, III, §2)

[57] Weber explores the concepts of economy, the state, and bureaucracy in the following key sections:

 "Von Wirtschaft wollen wenigstens wir hier vielmehr nur reden, wo einem Bedürfnis oder einem Komplex solcher, ein, im Vergleich dazu, nach der Schätzung des Handelnden, knapper Vorrat von Mitteln und möglichen Handlungen zu seiner Deckung gegenübersteht und dieser Sachverhalt Ursache eines spezifisch mit ihm rechnenden Verhaltens wird. Entscheidend ist dabei für zweckrationales Handeln selbstverständlich: daß diese Knappheit subjektiv vorausgesetzt und das Handeln daran orientiert ist." (Cf. Weber, 1922: Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft; 2, I, §1 "Wesen der Wirtschaft")

Der „Staat" überhaupt im Sinn einer politischen Anstalt, mit rational gesatzter „Verfassung", rational gesatztem Recht und einer an rationalen gesatzten Regeln: „Gesetzen", orientierten Verwaltung durch Fachbeamte, kennt, in dieser für ihn wesentlichen Kombination der entscheidenden Merkmale, ungeachtet aller anderweitigen Ansätze dazu, nur der Okzident. Und so steht es nun auch mit der schicksalsvollsten Macht unsres modernen Lebens: dem Kapitalismus. (Cf. Max Weber, Gesammelte Politische Schriften; Potsdamer Internet-Ausgabe; http://www.uni-potsdam.de/u/paed/pia/index.htm, r1207.2009)

„Der entscheidende Grund für das vordringen der bürokratischen Organisation war von jeher ihre rein technische Überlegenheit über jede andere Form. Ein voll entwickelter bürokratischer Mechanismus verhält sich genau wie eine Maschine zu den nicht mechanischen Arten der Gütererzeugung. Präzision, Schnelligkeit, Eindeutigkeit, Aktenkundigkeit, Kontinuierlichkeit, Diskretion, Einheitlichkeit, straffe Unterordnung, Ersparnisse an Reibungen, sachlichen und persönlichen Kosten sind bei streng bürokratischer, speziell: monokratischer Verwaltung durch geschulte Einzelbeamte gegenüber allen kollegialen oder ehren- und nebenamtlichen Formen auf das Optimum gesteigert" (Weber 1922: Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, 2, IX, §2: Wesen, Voraussetzungen und Entfaltung der bürokratischen Herrschaft; Online at http://www.zeno.org/Soziologie/M/Weber, r12.07.2009).

[58] These principles can be deduced from Max Weber's writings, for example: General Economic History. New York: Collier, 1961, Ch. 22, 27-30; online at http://www.spc.uchicago.edu/ssr1/PRELIMS/Theory/weber.html#WEBER5, r13.07.2009).

[59] George Ritzer (1993) applied Weber's principles in the context of consumer-oriented economies through the example of the fast-food chain McDonalds and coined the process 'McDonaldisation'.

firms increasingly seek to produce more products of better quality for larger and larger markets. This is, however, paralleled by ever-increasing turnover rates, and crises of oversaturation, which then spur the need for further innovation. And astonishingly capitalism has proved to be resilient beyond expectations. It has survived all crises and contradictions, while refining the rationale of organisation and control has developed new modes of production.[60]

The meta-trend of rationalised economic exchange, as well as the sub-categories as elaborated above, have fundamental effects on the production, organisation and on the appearance of space. The logic of efficiency and rationality, for example, was always driving processes of spatial concentration and deconcentration. While in the time of the steam engine factories tended to cluster around resources, such as ore, coal or water, in the era of the large Keynesian company (as well as the car and the electric grid) the availability of human labour became a major factor, and in times of informational production the availability of knowledge and talent has become crucial.

It is important to note that, when we assume along the lines of Lefebvre's models, that today worldwide economic processes have led to a hitherto unknown, pervasive, and holistic colonisation of space, Weber's story will help us in qualifying the specific impacts that economic rationality has on places and localities. The general dynamics, such as homogenisation, fragmentation and polarisation, as well new dimensions of centralisation and decentralisation (Cf. Sassen 1991) confirm this observation.

The two most important questions emerging in this context are: What spaces and strategies emerge when the major stakeholders producing space comply with the economic logic of efficiency, calculability, predictability and control? And to what extent do contemporary urban typologies, like other commodities, conform to the logic of growth, standardisation, abstraction, and diversification?

The 'new economy' and 'neoliberalism'

As the last section examined the underlying logic, the 'DNA', of modern capitalism in general, this section examines the differences of the contemporary economic sphere in contrast to previous periods. This is done to clarify some fundamental terminologies, extract relevant concepts, and to facilitate the contextualisation of our research in state of research discussions. It is important to see to what extent the spatial effects of the informational, neoliberal economy has been examined by contemporary research and critique, and to what extent theories of neoliberal space have been formulated. Moreover, to prepare an ongoing conceptualisation and theory formation it will be necessary to extract specific trends attributed to the contemporary (informational and neoliberal) market economy.

Consequently, in the following aspects of the informational economy, the new economy as well as neoliberalism will be examined. The work of Manuel Castells (1989: The Informational City) will be used as a basis to describe the notion of the 'informational economy'. The major concepts of neoliberalism are represented by figures such as Friedrich von Hayek (1960: The Constitution of Liberty), Milton Friedman (1982: Capitalism and Freedom), or John Williamson (1989: What Washington Means by Policy Reform [E.g. The Washington consensus]). At the same time, critical positions such as those of David Harvey (2005: A Brief History of Neoliberalism), Luc Boltansky and Eve Chia-

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[60] We argue elsewhere that today the rationalised logic of capitalism increasingly utilises the means of informational production along the logic of electronic networks (Cf. Gotsch 1995: 58, 71).

pello (1999: Le Nouvel Ésprit du Capitalisme), or Patrick Geddes' early critique in (1915: Cities in Evolution), help us to elucidate the topic from a critical side.[61]

Informational economy

While some central protagonists of our 'post', 'late', 'after', 'neo', and 'hyper' era have been introduced before, at this point we return to Manuel Castells' (1989) concept of the informational society. This is crucial as Castells outlines the emergence of a new informational society as a blend of new information technologies ('informational mode of production') and the modern market economy ('capitalist mode of development'). For Castells, constant reproduction and continuous expansion are the most important laws underlying capitalism.

Box 1: Castells' characterisation of the informational economy[62]

For Manuel Castells the recent restructuring of capitalism has three major components: 1) Expanding rates of productivity and exploitation[63]; 2) the restructured role of the state[64]; 3) and new dimensions of economic globalisation[65]. These "differentiate societies vertically and homogenise markets horizontally" (ibidem: 346).
At the same time, the informational mode of production is characterised by: 1) an intensifying concentration on knowledge generation[66]; 2) a flexibilisation and diversification of a) labour (part time, informal, freelance), b) the reconfigured state (public-private partnerships), and economies (economies of global scope, international division of labour); and 3) the restructuring of firms from vertical pyramids, to horizontal networks.[67]

Castells validates the relevance of the general principles of capitalism, such as growth and rationalisation, as outlined in the previous section. He brings to the fore the relevance of information and knowledge as the new 'raw matter' of contemporary economies. In particular, financial markets, as well as the stakeholders involved (e.g. banks, lawyers), emerge as the key players of this informational economy. Their use of modern technology not only engenders an unprecedented mobility of capital around the globe, it also facilitates the emergence of new virtual (secondary and tertiary) markets in a 'space of flows' (Cf. Sassen 1989, Harvey 2005).

Notably, Castells addresses the question of space in the framework of diametric tendencies of concentration and deconcentration, as well as synchronisation and fragmentation. A significant phenomenon which has a fundamental impact on contemporary space is the placeless 'space of flows'. Notably, it is the intersection of this 'space of flows' and

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[61] An overview of the most recent concept of neoliberal space is portrayed in the works of David Harvey (1982: Limits to Capital, and 1989: The Condition of Postmodernity), Neil Brenner's (2002: Spaces of Neoliberalism, 2002: Cities and the Geographies of „Actually Existing Neoliberalism), Jason Hackworth's (2007: The Neoliberal City), Erminia Maricato's (2005: Globalization and Urban Policy on the Periphery of Capitalism); or Kiran Sandu's (2006: Transformation or Transgression? Impact of Neo-urbanism Paraphernalia on an Infant Metropolis in the Developing World). Notably all of these works focus on large-scale processes and spaces, instead of on the dimension of local places and novel typologies. (Cf. also below)

[62] Cf. Gotsch 1995: 46

[63] Made up of factors such as: decentralization to cheaper locations, restructuring of work process, expansion of informal economy, or the restructuring of labour markets

[64] From a system of central authority, general supply and paternalistic planning, to a body which steers, enables, and regulates decentralised processes, albeit securing its integrity.

[65] Which is defined as: "the accelerated internationalisation of all economic processes at the international level with the system working as a unit, worldwide in real time."

[66] While information continues to be produced in highly hierarchical circuits, and access to knowledge and control of information becomes a crucial variable, the core centres remain the only indispensable parts of the system while the peripheral supply networks become interchangeable.

[67] Along a variable geometry of corporate strategies

the traditional 'space of places' that engenders the historically unique condition which characterises contemporary space. While the 'space of flows' is represented by new forms of rationality, abstract exchange, new information technologies and communicational networks, the 'space of places' relates to the place of the cities, bodies and the 'every-day'.[68]

Neoliberalism

> *In the name of this scientific programme, converted into a plan of political action, an immense political project is underway* (Bourdieu 1998*)*

While models such as Manuel Castells' 'informational society' stress the impact of new technologies on economic organisation, the concept of neoliberalism ponders the ideological and political rationales of contemporary economic systems. While globalisation was a buzzword of the 1990's, neoliberalism became a catchphrase in the first decade of the new millennium. The term experienced a boom in the 1990s as an analogy for exploitative economic globalisation along unfettered markets.

Neoliberalism is a school of thought, as well as a parallel critique on the ideology of this school. As a school of thought it dates back to new liberal economic ideas and policies, which thrived in several economic schools from the 1930 to the 1960s and beyond.[69] Among the central figures and protagonists of the concept are economic scholars such as Friedrich von Hayek and Milton Friedman. The economic theories and models developed by the school and its alumni provided the conceptual and ideological basis, as well as some manpower, for a new era of privatisation, liberalisation and deregulation worldwide.[70] In addition, the concepts have largely influenced the economic reforms of the Reagan (1981-1989) and Thatcher (1979-1990) eras (sometimes also referred to as 'Thatcherism' and 'Reaganomics'), and became paradigmatic guidelines of international organisations such as the The World Bank, the IMF and the OECD.[71]

It has to be stressed that the success of the new doctrine was largely triggered by a combination of various push and pull factors.[72] In general, Neoliberalism can be seen as a strategic response to the global recession in the late 70s (Cf. Brenner 2002). Other causes relate to overbureaucratisation and a fundamental crisis of the Keynesian welfare state, the 1973 oil crisis, debt crises, or the 1974 deregulation of international financial

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[68] Castells writes: "The historical emergence of the space of flows is superseding the meaning of the space of places. By this we understand the deployment of the functional logic of power-holding organizations in asymmetrical networks of exchanges, which do not depend on the characteristics of any specific locale for the fulfilment of their fundamental goals. (Ibidem 348)

[69] According to its origins, neoliberalism is an early-twentieth-century political philosophy. The term was coined in 1938 by the German sociologist and economist Alexander Rüstow. The label refers to a redefinition of classical liberalism, affected by the neoclassical economics. Neoliberal thinking became famous as a paradigm of several economic schools, such as the Freiburg School, The London School of Economics, and the Chicago School. The public use of the term became passé for the first time in the 1960s when Keynesianism became popular (Cf. Wilke, 2003).

[70] Among others, 25 Chilean alumni of the school have been instrumental for the economic reforms in Chile under General Pinochet (1973, Chicago Boys).

[71] "One of the most famous moments in neoliberal political history occurred when then-U.S. President Ronald Reagan's advisers successfully lobbied for the deregulation of the thrift industry, by convincing Reagan that deregulation would lead to increased growth and investment. Reagan signed the deregulation bill in 1982, saying, "All in all, I think we've hit the jackpot."" (Cf. Conason, Joe. 2004. "Reagan without Sentimentality." Salon.com, June 8.; quoted in Wikipedia at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Neoliberalism#cite_note-86)

[72] David Harvey comments: "The capitalist world stumbled towards neoliberalization as the answer through a series of gyrations and chaotic experiences that really only converged as a new orthodoxy of what became known as the 'Washington Consensus' in the 1990's" (16)

trade. [73] The 1989 ending of the Cold War in particular implied a major boost of neoliberal thought, for example along the lines of the Washington Consensus (Cf. Williamson 1989).[74]

These days, foundations and think tanks play a major role in promoting neoliberal thoughts. The US-American Heritage foundation, for example, seeks to "formulate and promote conservative public policies based on the principles of free enterprise, limited government, individual freedom, traditional American values, and a strong national defence." [75] [76] [77]

The ideological core of neoliberalism is based on classical liberalist values such as: the amplification of individual freedom and happiness, private property and a free market, in a framework of a constitutional state with as few regulations as possible (E.g. the absence of the state).[78][79]

While Lefebvre has described the increasing commoditisation of the globe and all its aspects as a trend, for the proponents of neoliberalism this is a postulation. The neoliberal concept believes that the scarcity of goods could be prevented, or even overcome, if all recourses are efficiently tapped and utilised. One important prerequisite for this are global and free markets. The other is a privatisation of all public resources, such land, water and genes.[80] Accordingly, neoliberal scholars such as Friedrich von Hayek are known for their critique of paternalistic and developmentalist states and centrally-steered economies (1960: The Constitution of Liberty). Milton Friedman became known for his opposition to the socialisation of natural monopoles and as a proponent of flexible currency exchange (1962: Capitalism and Freedom).

Neoliberal critique
Even more than an economic concept, neoliberalism is a notion that is constructed by the opponents of globalisation and economic internationalisation. Its critics come from a variety of political, disciplinary, and geographic backgrounds. They are united by the critique of the negative effects of an unbounded economic globalisation: a worldwide hegemony of international corporations, an increasing loss of state sovereignty, novel

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[73] For Hackworth (2007: 9), neoliberalism: "is an ideological rejection of egalitarian liberalism in general and the Keynesian Welfare state in particular, combined with a selective return to the ideas of classical liberalism, most strongly articulated by Hayek (1944, 1960) and Friedman (1984, 1962)."

[74] Williamson's list of recommendations describes how Keynesian types of states should be reformed. The state comes forth as an element of control that must provide the essential legal and physical security, while the economy emerges as the major player generating development. The list includes the following formulae: Prudent oversight of financial institutions, legal security for property rights; fiscal policy discipline; public spending reforms (from supply side to demand side); tax reforms; privatization of state enterprises; deregulation of hitherto restricted markets; market-based interest rates and exchange rates; liberalization of trade and foreign investments.

[75] It has actively pushed for privatization, deregulation, cuts in social spending, and pre-emptive military strikes (cf. www.heritage.org/about, r12.07.2009)

[76] Other organisations such as the Cato Institute demonstrate that neoliberalism is a novel crosscutting paradigm that can not be clearly linked to traditional distinctions of right or left (www.cato.org, r12.07.2009).

[77] Think-tanks such as the Tellus Institute seek to address some of these contradictions by actively exploring future scenarios for a global citizenship, the reconciliation of individualism and equity, or the corporation of the ????? in the 21st century (cf. www. tellus.org; r15.07.2009).

[78] Harvey defines neoliberalism in the following way: "Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade ... it emphasizes the significance of contractual relations in the market place." (Cf. Harvey 2005: 2, 16)

[79] A well-known reference quotes Margret Thatcher who once declared that "'no such thing as society existed, only individual men and women' – and she subsequently added, their families." (Cf. Harvey, 2005, P.23)

[80] Significantly, the vice president of The World Bank Anne Krüger suggested metaphorically that fluid capital may constantly increase productivity levels, and that such as rising flood of goods and finances may eventually also elevate the boats of the poor (Cf. Anne Krüger, 2002: "Lifting all Boats"; in Finance and Development; 9/2002, quoted by Oestereich, Jürgen 2004: Lokale Legitimität als missachtete Entwicklungsressource. Für ein Grundrecht auf kommunale Entwicklung und gegen „Privatisierung". Unpublished manuscript).

forms of atomisation and objectification of labour, the worldwide exploitation of inequality, the privatisation of public space and communal resources, degradation of local cultures and communitarian values, or rising levels of environmental degradation by the unfettered excavation of resources etc.

Some of the most significant critique is represented by: Pierre Bourdieu (1998: The Essence of Neoliberalism); Noam Chomsky (1998: Profit Over People: Neoliberalism and Global Order), Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2001: Empire. Globalization as a New Roman order, Awaiting its Early Christians); David Harvey (2005: A Brief History of Neoliberalism), Richard Sennett (2006: The Culture of the New Capitalism). Erminia Maricato, (2005: Globalization and Urban Policy on the Periphery of Capitalism) represents a critical voice from emerging economies, while Steven Slaughter (2005: Liberty beyond Neo-Liberalism: a Republican Critique of Liberal Governance in a Globalising Age) represents a discussion on the conservative, republican side.[81]

For David Harvey, the "redistributive effects and increasing social inequality have in fact been such a persistent feature of neoliberalization as to be regarded as structural to the whole project." (Harvey 2005: 16). Moreover, Pierre Bourdieu regards the alienation of economy and society as the core of the problem when he characterises neoliberalism as "a programme for destroying collective structures which may impede the pure market logic". Crucially that this "logic of contemporary markets"... "constructing, in reality, an economic system conforming to its description in pure theory" ... and "a sort of logical machine that presents itself as a chain of constraints regulating economic agents" can be seen as a advanced stage of formal rationalisation, according to Weber's narratives as described above. [82]

After all, neoliberalism in the informational age seems to lead to a new order. This is characterised by ultra-rationalisation through the introduction of novel technologies and electronic spaces. Indeed, it resembles more an organic and evolutionary order a la Darwin than a mechanistic world of machines, which is characterised by "the struggle of all against all at all levels of the hierarchy" ... "with the cult of the winner" (ibidem).[83]

The critique of neoliberalism reflects the real-world effects the practice has on the ground: "...the world is there, with the immediately visible effects of the implementation of the great neoliberal utopia." (Cf. Bourdieu 1998) [84]

Critics such as Bourdieu, as well as Harvey, unmask the political and ideological face of neoliberalism. Harvey (2005) circumscribes neoliberalism as a "global capitalist class power restoration project". Bourdieu (1998) stresses the aspect of a technocratic and rationalist utopia: "What if, in reality, this economic order were no more than the im-

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[81] The critique of capitalism is older. Patrick Geddes refers to the industrial capitalist system as a Paleotechnic order, which must be overcome by a Neotechnic era. He writes: "The material alternatives of real economics, which these obsessions of money economics have been too long obfuscating, are broadly two, and each is towards realising an ideal, a Utopia. These are the Paleotechnic and the Neotechnic— Kakotopia and Eutopia respectively. The first has hitherto been predominant. As Paleotects we make it our prime endeavour to dig up coals, to run machinery, to produce cheap cotton to clothe cheap people, to get up more coals, to run more machinery, and so on; and all this essentially towards 'extending markets'. The whole has been essentially organised upon a basis of 'primary poverty' and of 'secondary poverty' (to use Mr. Rowtree's accurate terminology, explained later)..." (39) "The Paleotechnic philosophy is thus complete; and trade competition, nature competition, and war competition, in threefold unity, have not failed to reward their worshippers." (41) Notably for Geddes the slum is among the essential 'achievements' of the Industrial (Paleotechnic) age. (Ibidem 58)

[82] All quotes from Bourdieu 1998

[83] Cf. the structural description of AlphaVille in chapter 4, and Cf. Gotsch 1995.

[84] Howell and Diallo, for example, describe the increasing polarisation of income levels in the US. According to the economists, neoliberal policies have contributed to a U.S. economy in which 30 percent of workers earn 'low wages' (less than two-thirds the median wage for full-time workers), and 35 percent of the labour force is "underemployed"; only 40 percent of the working age population in the U.S. is considered adequately employed. Another prominent example is the widespread debate about the privatisation of water services in many countries worldwide, whether in Buenos Aires (Cf. Loftus 2001), or Jakarta (Douglass 2005, Bakker 2008). (2007: "Charting U.S. Economic Performance with Alternative Labour Market Indicators").

plementation of a utopia - the utopia of neoliberalism - thus converted into a political problem? One that, with the aid of the economic theory that it proclaims, succeeds in conceiving of itself as the scientific description of reality?" [85]

Consequently, for its critics neoliberalism emerges as an economic and a political project aimed at reconfiguring class and power relations in societies: "Neoliberalization has not been very effective in revitalizing the global capital accumulation, but it has succeeded remarkably well in restoring, or in some instances ... creating, the power of an economic elite." (Harvey, 2005: 19).

The "utopia of a pure and perfect market" ... "draws its social power from the political and economic power of those whose interests it expresses"... "The doctrine is maintained by those agents who dominate economic relationships: big politics, international corporations, and beyond all the world of international financial institutions and money markets. Notably the "movement... is made possible by politics, such as action towards financial deregulation".[86]

The overview above provides us with a better understanding of neoliberalism as an economic theory as well as an ideological and political doctrine. It contributed to a better understanding of the logic of contemporary economies as well as on some of its societal impacts. At the end of the day, the contemporary neoliberal economy emerges as a contradictory system that driven by a combination of ultra-rationalist organisational principles along 'Weber's lines' in combination with new technologies, and an apparent 'irrationality' on the part of the stakeholders driving the process.

While the examination at hand has implicitly helped us to qualify many of the attributes and effects associated with a neoliberal economic mode, a specific spatial perspective on neoliberalism is still missing. The next section therefore draws some attention to a brief delineation of contemporary research and thinking on neo liberal space. Do concepts of neoliberal space, or neoliberal cities exist? If not, which other models could provide us with the right conceptual elements for the development of such?

Towards neoliberal space

How does the structural logic of the market affect the logic of space? What is the spatial imprint of the liberalised and global market economy? Does neoliberal space hold a particular grammar? Which theories and models (of neo-urbanism) exist in this regard?

The accounts presented above describe implicit trends and the effects of capitalist market economies on space. The most important of these concepts are: the framework of an abstract 'space of flows' versus a local space of places, the discussion of the centre-periphery nexus, as well as the homogenisation, fragmentation, and polarisation of the urban fabric, caused by the forces of rationalisation and commoditisation. Notably none of the above concepts was centred on space.

This part of the context chapter provides an overview of narratives on contemporary urbanism of relevance for our work. It will be important in particular to determine the most recent theories of neoliberal space.

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[85] Other critics stress neoliberalism's normative 'religious' character, describing it as a social and moral philosophy, which is qualitatively different from liberalism. (Cf. Treanor, Paul 2007: Liberalism, Market, Ethics).

[86] Monica Prasad asserts that the role of private capital is expanded through the state. A state-centric approach argues that the state maintains a critical role in enabling and reinforcing the system, as politicians are among the central actors of implementation. (Cf. Prasad, Monica 2006: The Politics of Free Markets: The Rise of Neoliberal Economic Policies in Britain, France, Germany, & The United States; Chicago).

Neoliberal space

Indeed, only a few models can be identified which directly conceptualise the impact of neoliberalism on space and cities:

Among the few neoliberal perspectives on contemporary space are Neil Brenner and Nick Theodore's (2002: Cities and the Geographies of Actually Existing Neoliberalism) and James Hackworth's (2007: The Neoliberal City: Governance, Ideology, and Development). Brenner and Theodore attest that today cities and regions are more than mere passive recipients of trends. In contrast, the production of space as an economic good has transformed cities into significant motors of neoliberal capital accumulation. Urban environments become the battleground for diverse experiments: place marketing campaigns, private infrastructure schemes, public private partnerships, superblock developments, regional terminals, deregulated investment zones, enclaves for elite consumption, or standardised urban typologies. The work of Hackworth verifies this view by describing exploring US American inner city revitalisation schemes as 'soft spots' of neoliberal modernisation.

Finally, the work of the above, as well as their colleagues from the South, such as Kiran Sandhu (2006), or Erminia Maricato et al (2005), tends to focus on spaces and policies, while Hackworth's perspective remains bound to the old core of the North American city as the 'soft spot' of neoliberalism. The most important contribution shared by all accounts is the portrayal of an ideological and political dimension of space. Indeed, this is something most other narratives on contemporary space still miss. On the other hand, the narratives tend to focus on spaces and processes, leaving out places and typologies.

Indeed, we find that a theory of neoliberal space has not been established yet. What is also missing is a deeper examination of the very places and typologies which in return may lead to a better understanding of the entire genus.

Space and the contemporary city

While this first conclusion alone may underline the relevance of the present endeavour of a comparative study of NeoTowns, for now we will open the field for additional narratives that examine the condition of contemporary space without being openly grounded to the terminology of neoliberal critique. We imply that these contain important elements and methodologies to facilitate a conceptualisation of neoliberal space and hence equip this research with various essential components.

The narratives are explored in three steps. These correspond to different scales and in addition to some extent to a chronological order. They range from 1) models of the contemporary city which can be traced from the West Coast of the US, via 2) a perspective of global narrations, to 3) observations in particular global regions. An additional integrated categorisation which emerges is that of materialist and idealist narratives.

The US post-industrial city

The cradle of conceptualisations of the contemporary – postmodern, post-industrial, consumerist – city lies in North America. Jean Gottman's Megalopolis (1961) informs us of the emergence of asymmetrical and polynuclear global city-regions. The urban designer Kevin Lynch (1960: Image of the City) teaches us that the perception and imagination of the individual may be one of the essential clues to comprehending contemporary urban landscapes. Melvin Webber (1963: Urban Place and the Non-place Urban Realm) explores the notion of urbanity beyond physical neighbourliness. Venturi, Scott-Brown and Izenour (1972: Learning from Las Vegas) examine modern cities as symbolic systems (iconographies) in the case of Las Vegas. Frederic Jameson (1984: Postmodern, or the

Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism)[87], unlocks the fragmented and 'autoreferential' logic of the late-capitalist postindustral city through the example of Los Angeles. He also makes sense of the symbolic rhetoric of pastiche and nostalgia in a setting that is stripped of histories.[88]

Spaces of globalisation

A second tranche of narratives on contemporary space opens up the perspective to the global. The 'materialist' gaze of scholars such as John Friedman (1984), Saskia Sassen (1989: The Global City), Dorothy Massey (1985: Spatial Divisions of Labour), or Manuel Castells (1989: The Informational City) explores the interrelationships of economic globalisation and spatial restructuring and diagnose that the new economic era is leading to new spatial constellations between the centre and periphery on global, national and regional scales: Forces such as homogenisation, fragmentation, and polarisation penetrate all spatial scales, while the national level loses significance, the regional level becomes more important, and the urban fabric undergoes a major restructuring. Peter Marcuse and Ronald von Kempen (2000: Globalising Cities: A New Spatial Order) study the reconfiguration of inner city neighbourhoods by global elites. Roger Simmonds and Gary Hack (2000: Global City Regions), among others, document and explore the arrival of the polynuclear metropolitan region on an international scale and introduce the notion of global city regions. Patsy Healey (2001: 205) introduces the terminology of the extended urban region, which is a terminus favoured by this research.

→ Illustration A-5: Patsy Healey's 'multiplex urban region'

Cultural and ethnographic bottom-up narratives complement the materialist top-down gaze on space in the era of neoliberal globalisation. Most of these draw the role of personal imagination, and the interpretation of cities as symbolic landscapes. Most notably, Marc Augé (1995: Non-lieu) explores the nature of new forms of abstract space (malls, terminals, virtual domains, hotel rooms, or highways) under the label of the 'non-place'. These emerge as supermodern and ultra rational domains of 'solitary contractuality', as opposed to the places of the habitus. Moreover Augé's elaboration on the role of the monument helps us to conceptualise the nostalgic revival of monumental forms as supermonuments (Cf. Chapter 5: Evaluation).[89]

→ Illustration A-6: Gursky's '99 cent store' as an example of the 'non-lieu'

In addition, the anthropologist Arjun Appadurai (1996: Modernity at Large) teaches us that individual imagination is not only relevant in the context of a multipolar urban region, but also highly essential in the context of a complex, asymmetric and multicultural global space. Moreover, Appadurai maintains that we must not only take into account individual, but also social imagination in order to understand the 'making' of contemporary space.

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[87] And other representatives of the Los Angeles School

[88] Which he develops in the context of Jean Baudrillard's media theories (1976).

[89] Augé states in this context that: "The monument… is an attempt at the tangible expression of permanence, or at the very least duration. … Without the monumental illusion …. history would be a mere abstraction. The social space bristles with monuments… which may not be directly functional but give the individual the justified feeling that, for the most part, they pre-existed him and will survive him … Strangely, it [the monument] is a set of breaks and discontinuities in space that expresses continuity in time." (60ff) "Perhaps the relationship with history that haunts our landscapes is being aesthetisised, and at the same time desocialised and artificialised" (Augé: 72)

View on the periphery

Several scholars from the North as well as from the South explore the production of contemporary space in the global peripheries, thus adding another dimension to the global perspective.

Notably it is Robert Fishman who discovers the 'global suburb' as the paradigmatic place of modernisation in the peripheries, in shifting his investigation to suburbs abroad (2002: Global suburbs).[90] Anthony King and his peers (2002: Spaces of Global Cultures) develop the concept of 'indigenous modernities'[91]. They reconfirm the strategic relevance of peripheral modernisation and discuss the specific significance of 'Supraburbs' and 'Globurbs' in the age of a global modernisation (as opposed to the colonial modernisation). Moreover, we are informed by historical evidence that modernity has always been subject to indigenous transformation and adaptation.[92]

It is Terry McGee who points as early as 1991 (The Extended Metropolis) to the emanation of the Desakota region as a unique indigenous form of Southeast Asian (sub-) urbanisation. In addition, Peter Rimmer and Howard Dick discuss the emergence of a new species of New Towns in the region by the end of the 1990s – finding of major importance for this work (1998: Beyond the Third World City).

While Fishman and King fail to portray the specific ideological and political dimension of spatial production, this point is emphasised by a series of local scholars from the South such as Erminia Maricato (2005: Globalisation and Urban Policy on the Periphery of Capitalism), Flavio Villaca (2001: Espaço Intra-urbano no Brasil), Teresa Caldeira (2000: City of Walls: Crime, Segregation and Citizenshp in São Paulo), Kiran Sandhu (2005: Transformation, or Transgression? Impact of Neo-Urbanism Paraphrenelia on an Infant Metropolis in the Developing World). Their portrayals of peripheral cities underline the assumption that the effects of neoliberal practices in the South are more dramatic and extreme than in the North. The forces of economic liberalisation seem to have an easier play in postcolonial environments, which are characterised by unsettling growth and socio-demographic change and which tend to be governed by elite regimes. Indeed, the observations by most of the local scholars speak for the fact that the import of supermodern (or ultra rational) practices from the North in many instances reinforces existing contradictions and leads to super segregation and super fragmentation. Globurbs and Supraburbs, for example, become an element of an enclavic and insular urbanism.

Finally, the typologies and mechanisms described above comply with a model of a contemporary space, which is generated by the principles of advanced economic rationalisation (along the lines of Max Weber's formal rationalisation), in combination with the self-reproducing impulse of global and local elite regimes. The tendency is based on a trend towards collective individualisation and consumer-oriented lifestyles, and produced by the combined imagination of globally operating private corporate representatives, in combination with the dreams of the new bourgeois. Neoliberal space is an iconographic and contractual domain that is driven by the logic of codes and symbols. Its 'solitary individuality' (Cf. Augé 1995) rationalises (i.e. it subjects) individual behaviour and excludes social imagination. While it also remains to be adapted and appropriated by traditional forms of community and publicity, the term 'indigenous supermodernity' is a good label to describe the situation.

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[90] Indeed this work expands this notion as it presumes that peripheries of the peripheries are among the most significant localities of modernisation in a general global context.

[91] Abidin Kusno as well as Jyoti Hosagrahar explore these concepts in Indonesia and India respectively.

[92] In addition King and his peers represent a significant methodological approach as they investigate the production of contemporary space along a multi-stakeholder approach. They also employ a plura-disciplinary perspective, in particular a combination of postcolonial and cultural studies.

Arrival at the 'indigenous supermodernisation in the peripheries of the peripheries'

An important conclusion of the context presented above is the observation that the global suburb in the South emerges as the paradigmatic urban space of the 21-century. Indeed, we combine the concepts presented above we arrive at the bulky but fundamental notion of an 'indigenous supermodernsation in the peripheries of the peripheries'. Hence the examination of the conceptual context affirms that novel typologies of Globurbs and Supraburbs, or as we say NeoTowns in the South, are among the most radical and unfettered representations of privately driven urbanism.

Hence, the above-presented context essentially reinforces the relevance of this research. While it provides us with essential conceptual tools, it also brings to the fore some important gaps. We observe that a large amount of the models are concentrated in the West, and produced by western scholars, notably the US and Europe. While studies of (and from) third world cities exist, they remain isolated and fragmented. As a result, the question of how neoliberalism operates in the periphery remains open, and much of the alphabet which would make up a theory of neoliberal city is sill missing.

II. Legacy of New Town planning and research

The benefits of new towns as opposed to 'sprawl' are that they provide for public space and amenities in one or the other way. (Alexander Garvin 1996)

The following section is going to contextualise Neo-Towns into the framework of New-Town research. This perspective is the second of the three conceptual pillars forming the base of this research. A third pillar is composed of a specific range of relevant urban disciplines and will be presented thereafter.

We seek to address the question of 'where we stand' in terms of NeoTown research. The perspective of New Town research will provide us with the necessary definitions and classifications of New Towns and planned cites. It will enable us to address the question of whether NeoTowns are a new species in the genus of planned cities called New Towns. Moreover, the other cases will provide a first comparative background of innovations, potentials, limitations and problems.

Some of the relevant questions in this context are: How can we define Neo-Towns? What are the essential differences from traditional New Towns? Reform? Are Neo-Towns a viable strategy of urban-regional expansion in our present time?

Therefore the following section presents an outline of definitions, a historical perspective, as well as the latest in research on New Towns. It concludes with an exploration of local debates.

Definitions

Major characteristics

Ervin Galantay's 1975 classic "New Towns: Antiquity to Present" is a fundamental work on the topic of New Towns and planned settlements. The classifications and definitions used here serve as a fundamental orientation for this work. Nevertheless, some of the concepts needed fine-tuning in order to fit to the purposes of this research. This section therefore explores these definitions and exhibits the adaptations.

Among the most notable differences between our work and Ganlantay's is the fact that the latter uses the term new towns as a synonym for planned cities in general, while this work prefers to refer to this genus in reference to a typology, which mainly emerged the post-WWII Keynesian era (cf. below).

Planned cities

Galantay comes up with five major criteria for planned cities (in contrast to 'organically' grown settlements). He ascertains that these share: 1) a distinct vision, or an 'act of will'[93]; 2) a central authority which is capable of implementing and controlling the project; 3) a distinct moment of foundation; 3) a formalised rational plan; 4) quick implementation of a 'critical mass'; 5) huge amounts of space and 'virgin land'; 6) a quest for balanced communities; 7) a radically new and distinct identity; 8) and an independence and autarchy based on a social and economic mix (Cf. Galantay 1975: pp. 1).

Our project agrees with most of the criteria as summarised above. Nevertheless, it gives a different weight and priority to the categories. As a result, we demarcate planned cities through three major characteristics: 1) urban dynamics (based on size and hetero-

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[93] Galantay refers to Edmund Bacon 1973 stating that a planned new towns with a preconceived form or master plan is creation of an "act of will" par excellence. (Ibidem: ft.1)

geneity), 2) central authorship and control, and 3) a moment of ideology and reform. While the fist and second characteristics relates to the aspect of the 'planned', the third aspect relates to the question of how a city and an urban space can be defined. (Cf. above: Definitions)

1. When we speak of planned cities we prefer to refer to urban places. Urbanity is our basic general criteria which distinguishes a city or town from a monofunctional neighbourhood, or a village. We see urbanity as a 'function' that is predominantly, but not exclusively, based on heterogeneity and size. Urban life presupposes a basic heterogeneity of the elements resulting in an emergent dynamic that is larger than the sum of its parts. In other words, an urban dynamic implies an advanced economic specialisation (division of labour) as well as a mix of private, public, sacral, and economic spaces.

And because various elements consume space, a city, at least in a traditional sense, also needs to be a certain size.[94]

Furthermore, the above criteria are interrelated with the aspect of autonomy. This is important when we want to speak of a town or a city. Autonomy means that an urban place is relatively self-sufficient, e.g. that it provides for the basic daily needs of the populations (most notably by providing jobs).

2. Indeed, a distinct body of authorship and control is among the crucial elements that distinguish planned from organically-grown settlements. They are: controlled and implemented by a distinct authority (emperor, state, military, developer etc.); conceived and planned according to a master plan; take the form of a fixed project, with a beginning, a defined set of outcomes, deliverables, costs, size, boundaries and structural patterns and a certain rational logic behind it.

3. In addition, planned cities reflect distinct visions and ideologies. They present a discrete form, a constructed identity and a symbolic unity. As it is new and rapidly implemented, a planned city portrays many of the ideals of its authors, as well as the major trends of a time in a direct and unobstructed way. Nonetheless, the reality is also a mix of idealism and ideology, because the main stakeholders act according to their own logic and agenda.[95]

The above criteria are a necessary basis and point of departure for this study. They largely facilitate the refinement of our classification and thus the aggregation of appropriate examples of NeoTowns. It becomes evident that the examples selected have to comply to the criteria of size/heterogeneity, central authorship/control and idealism/ideology. [96]   In our case the factors have been narrowed down to a maximum size of 100.000 residents, to control by the private sector, and to a neoliberal ideology. (Cf. below: Selection of cases)

Categorical three

Galantay's categorisation of planned settlements suggests the placement of NeoTowns as a group that follows 20th century decongestion nodes. Planned settlements are placed in

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[94] Apparently things get more complex when modern transport and novel information and communication technologies increasingly replace the logic of proximity with a logic of connectivity and access (Cf. for example Melvin Weber's 1963 discussion of 'Community without propinquity'.)

[95] The last point is seen as very crucial. While it remains omitted by most examinations of planned cities, it has been added in this context in reference to the input provided in the theory section above. Our discussion of Lefebvre's concept and neoliberal space above has affirmed the ideological and political status of space in general and of abstract and conceived space in particular. A further stimulus came from Mumford 1922, who stresses the relevance of the idealistic and utopian moment and from de Klerk 2007 who accentuates the moment of 'reform'.

[96] For example, we expelled the case of Gökturk, a suburban cluster of gated communities in Istanbul, early on because it lacked central authorship. Likewise the case of Nordelta was dropped in favour of AlphaVille, after it became clear that Nordelta did not achieve a basic urban mix and heterogeneity (Cf. the definitions and the selection matrix.)

five major groups (and by a predominantly chronological order): Firstly: military camps, secondly: new capitals, thirdly: colonial cities, fourthly: industrial towns, and fifthly: decongestion nodes. A majority of 20th century projects fall in the two last groups. New Towns fall in the relatively young species of decongestion nodes.

→Illustration A-7: Positioning of NeoTowns in Ganlantay's classification of planned cities

Subsequently, decongestion nodes are ordered according to four sub-categories: a) parallel cities, b) independent new towns, c) satellite cities, and d) alternate growth poles. The classes relate to the distance and day-to-day dependence to the mother city (Cf. Ibidem: 53).

→ Illustration A-8: Typologies of decongestion nodes

Planned cities as lighthouses of modernisation
An interesting angle regards planned settlements and new towns as model projects of societal modernisation. Galantay observed that planned cities mark transitional phases in the history of human society, emerging at crucial turning points of history.[97] The author regards planned cities as paradigmatic models and forerunners for the subsequent restructuring and modernising of the larger surrounding urban fabric. [98] In this context decongestion type new towns are related to the process of tertiarisation and the shift from an industrial to a service-based society.[99] All of these findings are important for the context of this work.

→ Illustration A-9: Patty's law (Reworked from Galantay 1975:2)

Four central motives
Among the reasons of the stakeholders to create as well as to relocate to NeoTowns, four major motives can be emphasised: 1) decongestion, 2) economic development, 3) security, and 4) representation. We have deducted these from Galantay's basic categorisation of planned cities (new capitals, colonial towns, industrial towns and decongestion nodes). Moreover we seek to revise them from the perspective of a contemporary demand side. Notably these drivers play a major role in each of the subchapters on the NeoTown population. (Cf. below)

   1) Decongestion and deconcentration: The development of new cities on the periphery of larger centres is a classical motive for easing spatial constrains of large metropolises. Historical examples range from Leonardo da Vinci's proposal for 10 satellites for the medieval city of Milan[100], Ebenezer Howard's paradigmatic concept of Town Magnets (Howard 1898), to the post-World War II spread of satellite schemes from Europe to the

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[97] This observation is founded on the models of the French economist Jean Fourastié, who cultivated the model of the three-sector-theory, (e.g. agriculture, industry and services). The model is also referred to as Petty's Law.

[98] "New towns have been created throughout history by different civilizations, but not as a continuous activity. In explanation of this phenomenon we may advance the hypothesis that the new towns arises at transitional phases in the evolution of society. Each "new tot wave" represents an effort to develop a new community structure that would correspond to the changed economic base." (Galantay 1975: 2)

[99] "...the problem of decongestion of large cities by the creation of satellites and expanded towns heralds the transition from industrial to a post-industrial society oriented toward leisure and consumption, with a predominance of white-collar jobs" (Ibidem: 4).

[100] "Leonardo proposed to abate the congestion and squalor of Milan by building a group of ten cities of five thousand houses, limited to thirty thousand inhabitants each." The plan foresaw a complete separation of pedestrian and horse traffic, and gardens attached to a municipal irrigation system. (Cf. Mumford 1946, in to introduction to the 1946 edition of Howards 'Garden Cities of Tomorrow')

US, Japan, India, Egypt, Iran, or China. From the perspective of the inhabitants the quest for decongestion represents the desire for more space for less money.

2) Economic development is a second important motive of developing new settlements. The core examples here range from the masses of industrial townships from Ciudad Guyana (Venezuela), to Nova Huta (Poland) and Magnitogorsk (Soviet Union). In combination with political control, the motive also plays a dominant role in the installation of colonial cities. These mostly developed as centres of business and trade. An important aspect of this work is the examination of the trend that today the profit motive is also becoming a central factor in the development of New Towns, as urban space increasingly becomes the means of production. Notably the real estate of the NeoTown also becomes a means of economic investment from the point of view of the user and consumer.

3) Security and segregation. This was a classical reason for the construction of military towns, castles, and fortifications throughout all ages. It is represented by the parallel urbanism of many colonial centres, from Casablanca's Ain-Dab, to Hyderabad's Secunderabad, or Jakarta's Menteng. Importantly, it appears that the motive of security is thriving again in many mega-city regions worldwide which are associated with high risks. It is closely interrelated with the quest for a higher quality of life, which is demanded by an increasing amount of affluent populations.

4) Political control, power and, representation is the foremost motive of new capital cities such as Alexandria, Jaipur, Versailles, St. Petersburg, Karlsruhe, Washington, Islamabad or Brasilia. However it was also an important factor for many colonial cities from the Roman Empire, to medieval Zähringer and Karolinger townships, Filarete's Sforzinda, New Delhi and the cities mentioned above. 'Global' skylines represent contemporary significations of power and prestige from Dubai to Pudong (Shanghai) and Alsunut in Sudan. Notably these dynamic and rapidly developing technopoles of the South are among the places that portray the recent trends in the most clear and unobstructed manner. Aspects of power, representation and prestige are among the most demanded aspects from the demand side as well. The new middle classes of emerging economies predominantly demand these.

Research narratives

Ideal cities and utopias

Planned settlements are one of the most prominent and fascinating topics of urban and social debates. As ideal cities, these are closely linked to the idea of utopia, presuming that a perfect society must also be based in an ideal city.[101] Among the most prominent narrative concepts of ideal societies are: Plato's 400B.C Politeía, Tomas Morus' 1516 "Utopia", Campanellas's 1623 "City of the Sun", or Herbert George Well's 1915 "Modern Utopia". The first opus of the famous architectural historian and philosopher Lewis Mumford (1922) is devoted to the "Story of Urban Utopias". Mumford maintains that human history has always been characterised by the juxtaposition of the cluttered developments on the ground, and the idealistic longing for perfect societies.[102] [103]

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[101] 'Eutopos' in Greek means better place.

[102] Mumford discusses Plato's Republic, More's Utopia, Andreæ's Christanopolis, Bacon's New Atlantis, Campanella's City of the Sun, Fourier's Phalanxes, Cabet's Icaria, Bellamy's Looking Backward, Morris' News from Nowhere, and finally H.G. Wells' utopian fiction.

'Real' planned cities are not restricted to Western culture. The history of worldwide examples presents them as an integral part of human civilisation. The most prominent exemplars comprise: Mohenjo-Daro 4000 B.C (Indus valley), Akhetaten 1500 B.C. (Egypt), Xi'an 1100 B.C. (China), Kyoto 794 (Japan), or Tenochtitlán (Mexico) 1325.[104] [105] [106]

New Town between 'Garden City' and 'Ville Radieuse'

„The end I venture to now set before the people of this country and of other countries is no less ‚noble and adequate' that this, that they should forthwith themselves to the test of building up clusters of beautiful home towns, each zoned by gardens, for those who now dwell in crowded, slum infested cities." (Howard: 128)

"... the old, crowded, chaotic slum towns of the past – will be effectively checked, and the current of population set in precisely the opposite direction – too the new towns, bright and fair, wholesome and beautiful." (Howard: 111)

This work operates with the concept of New Towns as the last major type of decongestion nodes of the Keynesian era. This type of planned settlement is deeply modernistic. It emerged in the third quarter of the 20th century in Western countries, during a transitional period between an industrial and a service-based society. The era was characterised by strong developmentalist states, many of these preoccupied with post-World WarII reconstruction and modernisation. Due to this set up, the era was also a high time for planners, architects, and engineers, which worked for the strong governments – from Constantinos Doxiadis, Le Corbusier, Oscar Niemeyer, or Robert Moses.

A basic knowledge of New Towns is important, as they are largely considered the last 'dinosaur' species of planned cities in history, and are associated with many problems and mistakes. (Indeed, this aspect makes the emergence of NeoTowns even more fascinating.) Consequently the next section is going to elucidate the rise and fall and the implications of modernistic New Towns.

→ Illustration A-10: Ville Radieuse and Garden City

Howard and Le Corbusier

Certainly Ebenezer Howard's Town Magnet 1898 and Le Corbusier's 1935 Ville Radieuse are two schemes which have had the greatest influence on the concept on post World War II New Towns.[107]

Garden City

The Garden City is among the most important and successful typologies of 20th Century urbanism. Ebenezer Howard's 1898: "To-morrow. A Peaceful Path to Real Reform" became one of the most influential works of 20th century urban planning and the main

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[103] Other accounts are provided by Rosenau 1959: The Ideal City; Reiner 1963: The Place of the Ideal Community in Urban Planning; Münter, 1930: Die Geschichte der Idealstadt; or Asesh Maitra 2007: New Town Movement in India and the Changing Paradigms of Development Explores the Indian Legacy of Planned Cities.

[104] Benevolo 1975, Galantay 1975, or Maitra 2007 list many more.

[105] Galantay states that the first planned towns in history were most probably the capitals of ambitious rulers (ibidem: 6).

[106] Of particular interest is also his exploration of ideal layouts based on codified and cosmological rules. These are mainly represented by the codes of the Chinese Chou-Li (China), the Indian Shilpa Shastra, or the Spanish Law of the Indies (Cf. Galantay 1975: 7,8,31).

[107] Fishman 1977 discusses these, and also Wright's Broadacre city.

basis for the Western new town and garden cities movement.[108] Howard sought to draft a blueprint for what he called a 'Town-country magnet'. This 'device' was supposed to resolve the blight and squalor as represented by the central cities of the time.[109]

The new solution is designed around the motives of light, air, and space[110], which should be realised by the resources of modern science.[111] Howard consequently proposes a compact city of 1000 acres (400 hectares) and 30.000 inhabitants. The town is based on railway and electricity and surrounded by an agricultural greenbelt of 2.400 hectares. The farthest walking distance to the city centre is 600 yards (550 metres). It thrives on communal land ownership and the reinvestment of profits, which elsewhere remain in the pockets of capitalistic landlords.[112]

Howard has not only drafted the physical structure and functional contents of the garden city; of the same importance are his innovations of the financial and managerial setting of the Town-magnet. He strives for no less or more than a redistribution of wealth along a system a communal land ownership.[113] The method is based on the idea of buying up cheap land in the suburbs and utilising the land appreciation triggered by development to build infrastructure and amenities. The surplus is reinvested in infrastructure and communal facilities of the highest standards: The city features 130metre avenues (lined by schools and churches), a modern rail system, three lined roads, and a crystal palace. Ample sites are provided for a town hall, museum, picture gallery, theatre, concert hall, hospital, schools, churches, swimming baths and public markets. Every household has its own garden and access to electricity.[114]

The financial feasibility of the format is demonstrated in great detail.[115] Howard estimates, for example, that a school in the Town-country magnet can have a ten-fold size for the same amount of money as compared to in central London.[116] Notably, Howard requires that Urban Design should play a predominant role.[117] The town is managed by an administration, with "no sharp division between municipal and semi municipal enterprise." (EH: 92, 96)

Howard was the founder of the Town and Country Planning Association in 1998 (succeeded by Sir Frederic Osborne). His concept has been implemented in two model projects in London's periphery. Barry Parker und Raymond Unwin, two of the most re-

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[108] Levis Mumford refers to Howard's concept as one of the two most important inventions of the 20th century – along with the airplane. (Cf. Mumford in his introduction to the 1946 edition of Howard's book)

[109] This strong decongestion motive is best understood when Howard writes: "There is no thought of pride associated in my mind with the idea of London ... the heedless casualty of unnumbered thousands of men. A great Englishman, Cobbett, called it a wen. If it was a wen then, what is it now? A tumour, an elephantitis sucking into its gorged system half the life and the blood and the bone of rural districts." (EH 1946: 42)… "It is the purpose of this work is to show how a first step can be taken in this direction by the construction of a town-country magnet... The construction of such a magnet, could it be effected, followed, as it would be, by the construction of many more…"(EH 1946: 48, 49).

[110] "so that a Garden City that, as it grows the free gifts of Nature – fresh air, sunlight, breathing room and playing room ... shall be still retained in all needed abundance, and by so employing the resources of modern science that Art may supplement Nature and life may become an abiding joy and delight." (EH: 127)

[111] Garden Cities represent the highest skills of the modern engineer and the best aspirations of the enlightened reformer. (EH: 152)

[112] "...though rents may rise, such rise will not become property of private individuals, but will be applied in relief of rates... it is this arrangement which will be seen to give Garden City much of its magnetic power". (EH: 59)

[113] "…there is a broad path open, through the creation of new wealth forms... and in which the distribution of wealth forms so created will take place on a far juster and more equitable basis." (EH: 130) ... "The land subsists, and the land is almost the only thing that subsists." (EH: 132)

[114] This becomes a model for many other satellite schemes elsewhere (Cf. the Navi Mumbai chapter).

[115] "Its entire revenue is derived from rents... and one of the purposes of this work is to show that rents will be sufficient. (EH:58).

[116] The chapter on finance is among the central parts of the proposal. Howard calculates the price of land at 100 pounds per hectare, as compared to 20 000 pounds in central London.

[117] "A town, like a flower, or a tree, or an animal, should, at each stage of its growth, possess unity, symmetry, completeness, and the effect of growth should never be to destroy that unity, but to give it greater purpose." (EH: 76)

nowned British architects of the time, designed Letchworth Garden City in 1903.[118] Welwyn Garden City (WGC) was co-founded by Howard and designed by Louis de Soissons. It became Howard's and Osborne's home.

The destruction from the two world wars facilitated the spread of a garden-city movement throughout Europe and beyond.[119] While the formal language of the garden city is becoming a successful brand, in most cases it is stripped of its layer of idealism and reform, while targeting the rising bourgeoisie: Early garden cities appear, for example, in Stockholm (1912: Bromma); Jakarta (1918: Menteng); São Paulo (1912: Ciudad Jardim); New York (1924, Sunnyside Gardens) and Buenos Aires (1944: Jardín Lomas del Palomar).[120]

Ville Radieuse

The other fundamental component whose spirit has had an enormous impact on the post-World WarII New Town is Le Corbusier's La Ville Radieuse. Indeed, this 'Contemporary City for Three Million Inhabitants' epitomises the spirit of the modern architecture movement.[121] The ultra rationalist scheme seeks to accommodate the six-fold population of Paris of that time on 15 percent of the ground, providing more green and a better transportation. Corbusier believes in the ideals of the sun, light, and air. Moreover he refers to organic metaphors, such as the lung, as key elements for living (Cf. Corbusier 1935). Triggered by the advancements of modern science and the discovery of the human physique (e.g. by advanced microscopy), the body, as well as the city, are perceived as machines. As much as Howard, Le Corbusier perceives the industrial metropolis as an ailing and diseased body.

Consequently, Corbusier proposes a tabula rasa scheme. La Ville Radieuse is composed of green spaces and parks and megalithic skyscrapers. Each building of the largest cruciform species is supposed to accommodate five to eight hundred thousand people. Notably, the surfaces of the mega structures are folded in order to 'bathe in light and air'. This is what Corbusier refers to as a 'radiateur', the French term for radiator or heater.[122]

La Ville Radieuse's ideal scheme represents a radical break with the traditional city. While it has proven too radical to be implemented, it influences Corbusier's urban proposals for Algiers, Barcelona, Buenos Aires, or São Paulo. Its essence has deeply affected the modern architecture movement well into the second half of the 20th century.

Post-World WarII New Towns

Howards and Corbusier's concepts appear very contradictory. Yet, both are united a) by a radical idealistic moment of societal reform, and b) by their approach to modern science and technology. Both break with the traditional industrial city of the time. Moreover they focus on certain trends: La Ville Radieuse can be seen as an epitome of industrial rationalisation and scientific thinking, while The Town-Magnet aims to represent an holistic tool to reconcile the increasing alienation of economy, culture and nature. From this perspective it seems only consequent that the New Town planners of the post World

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[118] Parker was also to design the first Garden City suburbs in São Paulo (Cf. the AlphaVille chapter).

[119] Hans Kampffmeyer, for example, founded the German Garden City association as early as 1902 in Berlin. (Cf. Hans Kampffmeyer 1909: Die Gartenstadtbewegung; Leipzig.)

[120] It is worth noting that Howard was influenced by models of colonial town planning stemming from Wakefield's (1849) Art of Colonization (Cf. Howard 1946: 114).

[121] The concept was exhibited in 1922 at Salon d'Automne in Paris and published in 1935. The ideas also reverberated in various documents of the Congress International de Architecture Moderne (CIAM).

[122] Cf. Philipp Oswalt 1994: 'Wohltemperierte Architektur'; Heidelberg.

War II era, consciously or not, combine the benefits and eliminate the drawbacks of these two dominating concepts, while they are facing the actual task of reconstruction.

The post-World WarII era has seen a worldwide spread of the New Town idea throughout Europe and beyond.[123] The idea of building decongestion nodes to ease the increasing contradictions of large metropolises is spreading via the British New Town strategy.[124]

The North American version of the Garden City idea spreads via the Regional Planning Association of America (Core members: Clarence Stein, Lewis Mumford, and Benton MacKaye, Henry Wright).[125] The project of Radburn (1929), designed by Clarence Stein and Henry Wright[126], emerges as the paradigmatic model on the North American continent. "The town for the motor age" combines automobile and pedestrian circulation along a comb-like structure.[127] [128] Radburn is the precursor of more New Towns and planned cities. A study conducted by the Urban Land Institute[129] lists 529 planned communities of mote than 300 acres".[130]

Nevertheless, the North American history of master planned communities has also its own thread. Notably, this legacy goes back to the early 19th Century. It is essentially based on private entrepreneurs. Garvin stresses that in the US the demand of the market and profit driven private sector, rather than utopian ideas and ideology, was driving the process. He refers to Frederic Law Olmstead as the paradigmatic figure whose company was involved in the planning of 450 new neighbourhoods between 1857 and 1950.[131]

Planned settlements in the US are dominated by corporate urbanism: from the Levittowns of the 1950s (Cf. Gans 1969), to the new towns of Irvine (1960) Reston, Virginia (1961) and Columbia, Maryland (1962); to contemporary urban design concepts such as Celebration, Florida. Nevertheless, these are connected to respective government incentives and programmes. (Cf. AG: 99)[132]

Legacy of private settlements

Private settlements have a significant legacy in the context of western town planning and development. Yet most of the projects can be classified as neighbourhoods. Historic examples range from the Terrainbaugesellschaften in Berlin, to the case of Companhia City in São Paulo[133], to the North American context of bourgeois suburbs and lifestyle com-

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[123] The idea is mainstreamed by Eliel Saarinen's 1943 The City: Its Growth, its Decay, its Future, or Frederic James Osborn's 1946: Green Belt Cities – The British Contribution.

[124] Important milestones are Sir Patrick Abercrombie's Greater London Plan 1944, who proposed eight to ten new satellite towns and the preservation of a country belt in London as well as the passage of the New Towns Act in 1946 in Great Britain. Among the most important milestones are Stevenage, Aycliffe, Corby, Harlow, Runcorn or Milton Keynes. (Cf. www.englishpartnerships.co.uk/newtowns.htm, www.halton.gov.uk/newtown/links.html r12.07.2009; Also cf. Osborn 1969: The New Towns, The Answer To Megalopolis, London)

[125] Cf. Stein 1951: Toward New Towns for America)

[126] Clarence Stein had spent a significant amount of time of his education in Paris, Wright originated in a Quaker family.

[127] Cf. Stein 1965 at www.radburn.org, r12.04.2009

[128] A momentous account of the US American situation is presented by Alexander Garvin 1996: „When senior Olmstead retired from active practice in 1895 there were five automobiles in America. In 1928, when Clarence Stein and Henry Wright started laying out Radburn, New Jersey, there were 21.3 million. (AG: 270)

[129] ULI 1965: Planned Communities, New Towns, and Resort Communities in the United States.

[130] Carol Corden's 1977: Planned Cities, New Towns in Britain and America, represents a comprehensive overview of British and US American New Towns; Stanley Buder's 1990: Visionaries and Planners. Garden City Movement and The Modern Community, examines the interrelated history of the British and the American Garden Cities movement.

[131] "America's suburban subdivisions, like urban neighbourhoods, vary in size and quality. But they look very much alike because virtually all of them are imbued with the design philosophy of one man: Frederic Law Olmstead, Sr." (AG: 265)

[132] Garvin stresses in particular the relevance of the National Housing Act of 1934, which resulted in the FHA mortgage insurance system: "this legislation ... converted the desire of home ownership into consumer demand" (AG: 155)

[133] The case of Companhia City is presented in the AlphaVille chapter of this work (Ch.4)

munities (cf. Garvin 1996 and the table above).[134] The North American context is particularly interesting for its form of life-style communities, gated and retirement resorts. Yet, with a few exceptions such as Suncity in Arizona (cf. the table above), the model has never achieved significant momentum and proportions. The box below documents the increasing diversification of private communities based on lifestyles and classes in the US.

Box 2: Typologies of private communities in the US[135]

Golf Communities, Retirement Communities, Oceanfront Communities, Neo-Traditional Communities, Equestrian Communities, Mountain Communities, Active Adult Communities, Communities with Marinas, Land Conservation Communities, Communities with Tennis Facilities, Communities with Boating, Lakefront Homes Communities, Communities with Fitness Centers, Communities with Fishing, Million Dollar Homes, Communities, Recreation Communities, Skiing Communities, Aviation Communities.

Idealisation

Indeed, in the third quarter of the 20th century, New Towns became an idealised paradigm of urban development (Cf. Frieling 2007, Provoost 2007). In this context, numerous big metropolises operate with satellite cities as the non-plus-ultra strategy of urban development. The satellite new town has emerged as the urban development tool of choice: from France, to Sweden, Russia, to Venezuela, Egypt and Iran.

Selected examples include: Kebayoran Baru (1948: Jakarta), Vällingby (1950: Stockholm); 23 de Enero (1955: Caracas); Selenograd (1958: Moscow); Tapiola (1960: Helsinki); Toulouse le Mirail (1962), Gropiusstadt (1962: West Berlin), Senri (1965, Osaka); Zoetermeer (1968: The Hague); Louvain la Neuve (1971); Marne-la-Vallée (1972: Paris); Egbatan (1975: Teheran); Marzahn (1977: East Berlin); Sadat City (1980, Cairo).[136]

→ Illustration A-11: Examples of 20th Century planned cities (New Delhi, Tama New Town Tokyo)

With the advent of worldwide privatisation and liberalisation programmes in the 1970s, New Town programmes significantly lost momentum. Nevertheless, countless planners and new town organisations maintain the belief in New Towns as the non-plus-ultra mode for 'good' urban development.[137] New Town development strategies at a large scale also continue to be en vogue with strong governments: most notably China, Korea,

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[134] Cf. Christoph, Bernhard 1998: Bauplatz Gross-Berlin. Wohnungsmärkte, Terraingewerbe und Kommunalpolitik im Städtewachstum der Hochindustrialisierung (1871-1918) emphasises the role played by private developers, or 'Terraingesellschafen', who developed entire neighbourhoods (Wilmersdorf, Grunewald) in the Berlin of the early industrial era.

[135] Cf. Looking for a Specific Lifestyle?; at www.privatecommunities.com, r02.08.2009

[136] This list is based on my own research mainly at: www.newtowns.net, www.halton.gov.uk/newtown/links.html, www.inti.net; www.villes-nouvelles.equipement.gouv.fr/; www.inta-net.org, www.newtowns.net, www.housing-utility.gov.eg/english/conferance111.asp; Irion 1991: Neue Städte. Experimentierfelder der Moderne; Kravchuk, Jakov Terentevch 1973: Formirovanie novych gorodov; Topfstedt, Thomas 1988: Städtebau in der DDR 1955-1971.; and Philipps, David R.; Yeh, Anthony G.O. 1987: New Towns in South-east Asia

[137] The International Urban Development Association (INTA) regards decentralised growth strategies by the means of Satellite Cities as the best development strategies for Third World Metropolises (cf. Sudarskis, Michael 2006: New Towns as a Concept of Sustainable Development of Megacity Regions). Moreover, Len de Klerk, Professor of Urban and Regional Planning from Amsterdam states in the founding publication of INTI, the International New Town Institute in Almere (Holland): "It is my view that there will be a need for new towns in Asia and Africa, because most of the present megalopolises have the same kind of growth problems that our large industrial cities had at the end of the 19th century". (de Klerk; Len A. New Towns Development Policy: An Introduction: 12, In Frieling 2007).

Taiwan, Egypt and Iran.[138] [139] Indeed, New Towns continue to be regarded as best practice 'solutions' from the West.

Interestingly, the rationale of New Town development seems to merge well with the spirit of New Urbanism. Several projects for China and the Philippines drafted by Peter Calthorpe, one of the founding fathers of the Congress for New Urbanism, exemplify this case when they state: "Throughout Southeast Asia, and especially in metropolitan Manila, the effects of unbridled urbanization are written across the landscape. ... This New Town of 30 square miles and 500,000 inhabitants will establish a different path."

Critique

The fact that New Towns remain to be seen as the best option for urban development is astonishing, because the concept of the modern satellite city is also regarded as a problematic solution.

Most of the new towns of the 20th century are criticised as synthetic and anti urban.[140] The expression of the 'New Town Blues' became widespread early on.[141] European satellite cities in particular are stigmatised as hotspots of crime, segregation, social neglect, poverty, unemployment, and abandonment. Likewise, the functional destitution is topped by frequent economic bankruptcy (Cf. Garvin 1996: 343). As New Towns are seen as an unloved heritage of the post-war generation, a dinosaur species, experts are struggling with the question of how to resolve their growing problems.[142]

Alexander Garvin (1996) unmasks the intent of most New Town schemes to resolve most of humanity's problems as overstated and heroic[143]: "Building ... miniature utopias has nothing to do with fixing cities"(AG: 352); and that these should be regarded as one of several alternatives: the "The new-town-in-the-country... is simply a form of urbanization... it should be allowed to flourish wherever there are developers, investors, and lenders that are willing to risk their money... government should simply ensure that they do not damage out environment... and step out of the way..." (AG: 314). Moreover, he claims that in most cases small scale urban development may be at least as sustainable: "Planning a large piece of land as an entire new-town-in-the-country may not produce better results than dividing it into smaller sites that are planned and built by different designers and developers." (AG: 352)

The South has also received the strategy of planned deconcentration with an increasing amount of critique. The Brazilian researcher Claudio Acioly, for example, unveils many of the shortcomings of the Egyptian new town strategies.[144] Chengri Ding and

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138 Cf. Kirkby 1987; Yousry 1997; www.youngcities.org/, r12.06.2009.

139 In an introductory chapter of her book on Navi Mumbai, Annapurna Shaw (2004: 28) describes the Satellite Town building experience in Asia: Tokyo's Capital Region Development Law (modelled after the British New Town Policy); Hong Kong's and Singapore's development of largely residential Satellite Towns; South Korea's ten Satellite Towns around Seoul; Shanghai's 9 satellite cities since 1957; India's controlled urban expansion through the building of satellites represented by six ring towns around Delhi, four around Hyderabad, three new tows around Chennai and two around Kolkata..."

140 Cf. for example: Mayer, Han 2007: What makes a new town a real town? (42), and Reijndorp, Arnold 2007: Growing pains of New Towns.

141 (Cf. Time 1961: The City: New-Town Blues; at: http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,872684,00.html, r12.04.2009)

142 Cf. Provoost, Michelle 2007: New Towns of the modernist experiment: expectations and experience (60), cf. also www.crimsonweb.org/spip.php?article90, r12.06.2009; Philipp Oswald's at: Shrinking cities project at www.shrinkingcities.com/publikationen.0.html, 12.06.2009.

143 Garvin states in relation to the legislation such of the US American Housing and Urban Development Act of 1970 that "New Towns were oversold as devices for reducing "inefficient and wasteful use of land", preventing "destruction of irreplaceable natural and recreational resources", providing "good housing", increasing "unduly limited options for many of our people as to where they may live", increasing "employment and business opportunities", supporting "vital services for all citizens, particularly the poor and disadvantaged", reducing "separation of people within metropolitan areas by income and race", and even increasing the "effectiveness of public and private facilities for public transportation." (AG: 343)

144 Acioly 2000: Guided Densification in Brazil versus Informal Compactness in Egypt.

Kellie Bethke (2005) present another critical overview of "International Lessons on Satellite Town Development Strategies". Evaluating case studies from South Korea, Egypt, India, Netherlands, and Singapore, Ding and Bethke find that new towns triggered a serious imbalance in jobs, incomes and travel times.

Finally, there are signs that the general spirit of idealising New Towns is changing. Several metropolitan regions, including the regions of our case study sites, Mumbai, Jakarta, and São Paulo, realise that they are overwhelmed by a new dynamism of urban growth. In this context, top-down planning approaches are increasingly replaced by strategic plans, urban management and market oriented planning.[145]

Selected lessons

The history of planned settlements and New Towns constitutes a vast mine of lessons and experiences. Some significant background research on these was made in the context of this project. However due to the limited scope of this research a detailed discussion and formulation of the results remains impossible at this stage. For this reason a short summary of the findings is presented in the table below.

The examination reveals that today's new cities exist in a long tradition of concepts and strategies: from landscaping, holistic urban design, and theming, to self-management by resident associations.

Table 1: Selected milestones and lessons (with an emphasis on master planned communities in the USA)[146]

City	Location	Date	Authorship	Innovations
Karlsruhe	Germany	1715	Markgraf Karl-Wilhelm	Economic privileges for the new residents, theming along the Versailles model
Riverside	IL, US	1869	Olmstead Vaux and Company	Railway community, blends park and settlement, valorisation by design (i.e. landscaping) resulting in a 'village with character', 90,000 trees and pocket parks, Homeowner Associations handle maintenance and design approvals, use of gates & gatehouses
Town Magnet	England	1898	Ebenezer Howard	New 'third alternative' between city and country, autarchic system, social reform and communal land ownership, reinvestment of profits, functional segregation of land uses, bedrock of garden city and new town movements
New Delhi	India	1912	Edwin Lutyens	Mutation of Beaux Arts and 'Garden City' and monumentalism, enlightened and 'hygienic' city model
Beverly Hills	US, CA	1914	Burton E.	Vacation refugee settlement, Ho-

			Green	tel development as trigger
World Centre of Communication	12 locations worldwide	1915	Christian Andersen, and M. Jean Hébrard	Idea of a global system of Beaux Art science cities and technopoles
Coral Gables	FL, US	1920	Edgar Merrick	Lifestyle community with themed neighbourhoods and resident associations
Radburn	NJ, US	1928	Clarence Stein and Henry Wright	Garden city in the age of the automobile, clustered system of neighbourhood modules, comb structure, comprehensive design, Radburn Resident Association, 'superblocks' and cul-de-sac bring savings which are used to finance communal spaces
Palos Verdes Estates	CA, US	1939	Olmstead & Cheney	Theme and Vision of Amalfi coast, Self management by resident association
Levittown	NY, US	1947	Lewitt & Sons	Industrial rationalised production (80 steps to build a house) cost-optimised demand-driven design, privately developed master plan, response to federal mortgage programmes. Mass suburbanisation of lower middle classes, gold-plating with exchangeable facades (in Willingboro), houses come with TV-sets, flexible prototype design, one-step-purchase
Irvine	CA, US	1960	William Pereira	Large inherited land bank, largest privately developed master planned new town, modular system of 'urban villages', relevance of design guidelines, synergy with University of California and tertiary sector spinoffs
Sun City	AR, US	1960	Del E. Webb	Lifestyle retirement community, modularisation and mass customisation of housing types
Columbia	MR, US	1962	James Rouse	Clustered hierarchical design based on neighbourhood modules, network of open spaces
Milton Keynes	England	1968	Davies and Walker	Decentralised cluster of nodes, 'community without propinquity'
Ethans Glen	TX, US	1975	Hines	First cluster developments (Planned Unit Development), entire area is treated as one lot

Almere	Netherlands	1975	Teun Kolhaas	Polynuclear structure, division of traffic modes, high quality design
Sea-Side	FL, US	1979	Plater-Zyberk	New Urbanism, 'community of the post-motor-age', modular design with eight building types
Celebration	FL, US	1996	Disney Development Company	Theming, Neo-traditionalism,

→ Illustration a-12: Matrix of US American master planned communities

The enigma of a new wave of planned cities

The above discussion affirms the end of satellite cities and New Towns. They are rendered obsolete as an integral part of a state driven urbanism that dominated many societies worldwide mainly in the third quarter of the 20th century (and which continues to reverberate in several nations, such as China, Iran, or Egypt to date). While 'new' New Towns are out of demand in the shrinking, or stagnating, societies of the West, the strategy has been outclassed by the rapid development in the South.[147]

While in the context of neoliberal economic and societal restructuring[148] many states have retreated from the role of the developer and maker to that of an enabler and facilitator, it seems that the rug was pulled out from under the concept of planned cities. The concept of New Towns appears antagonistic to modern market economies, as these are commonly associated with a large number of stakeholders.

Yet the experience on the ground suggests that new towns are on the agenda again. We observe that in the fast growing peripheries of emerging mega-city regions worldwide a fresh town species is thriving on the (idealistic) burial ground of Keynesian New Towns. This is very surprising from the perspective of the above context.

Research on private New Towns in the developing world

Our examination of the growth patterns in many mega-city regions in the South reveals that planned cities are on the agenda again. Notably, this time these are driven by the private sector. Their size and number suggests that the phenomenon may represent a new typology.[149],[150]

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[147] The Indian scholar Annapurna Shaw summarises the Asian experience of deconcentrated growth through New Towns as follows: "In the last forty years, urban development policies over much of Asia have shown a marked change with a shift in emphasis from metropolitan growth control strategies (new towns etc) to policies for diffusing urbanisation (Rondinelli 1991) ... Physical controls in the form of greenbelts and satellite towns have been some of the most widely adopted means to restrain and decelerate the expansion of large metropolitan cities in Asia (Rondinelli 1991, Simmons 1979). But attempts to halt the growth of large metropolitan cities have been either ineffective or extremely slow to produce results. This is reflected in the experience of satellite town development throughout much of this region. Satellite Towns, on the whole, have proven to be ineffectual in meeting original objectives... (Cf. Shaw 2004: 4)

[148] As political powers have been decentralised, public domains (such as infrastructure and services) privatised and markets liberalised, development strategies have shifted from a supply to a demand orientation during the neoliberal turn of the last 30 years (Cf. the section on neoliberalism above).

[149] This observation was first made by the author in 2001 (Cf. Gotsch 2001).

[150] Original materials present the most interesting data and statements: Peter Calthorpe's plan for a 'Green City Manila', for example, amounts 8 000 hectares and 500 000 inhabitants. The project description delineates the situation as follows:
"Throughout Southeast Asia, and especially in metropolitan Manila, the effects of unbridled urbanization are written across the landscape. An economy that was mostly rural is now increasingly modern. Private automobiles are appearing by the millions, and housing is in short supply as a burgeoning middle-class strives for the "good life" on an enormous scale."
Calthorpe Associates from project description of Green City Manila at:
www.calthorpe.com/projects_international%20master plans.html, r12.05.2009.

A closer look at the respective countries reveals a thread of western researchers who are engaged in the examination of new towns in the South, as well as an ever-growing amount of local experts. Nevertheless, most of the work remains focused on the respective regions, e.g. predominantly South East Asia. In this context it also stays isolated and fragmented.

Richard Kirkby (1987) examines Chinese new town policies in the case of Shanghai (in Yeh 1987). Jo Suryadi Santoso, one of the first hour planners of the New Town of Bumi Serpong Damai in Jakarta inspects "The Relationship Between New Towns and Central Cities in the JABOTABEK Area" and "The Role of Private Sector in Urban Development in Indonesia." (Cf. Santoso 1987 and 1989). An early example from Brazil is presented by Yolan Nagy's 1989 study of closed neighbourhoods in São Paulo, which focuses on the quality of life in newly developed elite projects such as AlphaVille, Tamboré and its predecessors. Her colleague Fabio Gonçalvez 1998 compares São Paulo's elite neighbourhood of Morumbi with the New Town projects of AlphaVille and Barra da Tijuca in Rio de Janeiro.

The merit of works such as German Harald Leisch's 2000: "Gated Paradise? – Quality of Life in Private New Towns in JABOTABEK, Indonesia", lies in the fact that they combine research on gated communities and new towns and internationally disseminate the research results. Kelly Shannon (2000) describes the emergence of privately planned cities in Vietnam (Cf. Shannon, Kelly 2000: A Tale of Two Cities. Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City). At the same time Gotsch (2001) examines the New Town Saigon South from the perspective of a neoliberal production of space. In addition, Michael Leaf (2004) explores" The New Town Impulse in Asia: Pathway to an Urban Future or Modernity's Last Gasp?" mainly through the example of Jakarta.

Around the same time, Alex Borsdorf and Alejandro Hidalgo (2004), explore "New Privately Developed Megaprojects on the Other Side of the Pacific Ocean in Santiago de Chile". Moreover, Gotsch and Kohte (2007) as well as Reinhold Baxi (2007) delineate the Indian context of privately developed megaprojects.

Nevertheless, conceptualisations of novel forms of planned cities at a larger scale are rare. Only two studies stand out in this context: Peter Rimmer and Howard Dick (1988: Beyond the Third World City) have developed a basis for the discussion of a new category South-East Asian new towns. And Gotsch and Peterek seek to lay the foundations for a global agenda on the topic of privately developed New Towns (Gotsch and Peterek eds. 2001: New Settlements; and Gotsch and Peterek: Neue Städte im Süden – Urbane Modelle für das 21. Jahrhundert?).

Summary of the most recent developments in New Town research

The previous section examined the state-of-the art context of New Town research. While first chapter of the context section established a perspective of NeoTowns as the paradigmatic spaces of neoliberal urbanism, the above section has set up the panorama of NeoTowns as a novel typology in the legacy of planned cities.

In this context, our research has been fixed with conceptual knowledge needed to classify the cases at hand. Moreover, the inquiry of research on New Towns throughout various generations has equipped us with important knowledge of lessons and experiences, needed for a critical evaluation of three examples.

The background of terminologies and typologies and definitions was largely based on the account of Ervin Galantay (1975). It was confirmed that all cases of planned cities are defined by a three-tiered set of criteria: 1) size and heterogeneity, 2) central authorship and control, and 3) idealism and ideology. Moreover, Galantay provided us with the

insight that new settlements can be seen as testing grounds of modernisation in particular times of socio-economic and political change, as was the case with the shift from agricultural to industrial economies and societies. In addition, we found that NeoTowns, if confirmed as a new typology, will fall into the category of decongestion nodes.

In the following we have concentrated in particular on the context of the New Town, as this is regarded as the model, and direct precedent of the NeoTown. This investigation has provided us with valuable experiences and largely reconfirmed the relevance of our research.

Indeed, blending innovations from the Garden City, as well as from the modern architecture movement, New Towns emerge as an extremely prominent tool of urban modernisation. The strategy becomes a general paradigm of urban planning of the post-World-War-II era. Alternative models have spread in Europe and the US. In the later case we can observe a merger with a tradition of private urban development.

New Towns become a prominent instrument in the context of postcolonial modernisation in many countries worldwide. However the paradigm of the modernistic New Town and the strategy of decentred concentration ends in parallel to the bankruptcy of the strong hand of the Keynesian welfare states (and other developmentalist regimes) and the parallel rise of free market reforms. Likewise, urban experts start to question the effectiveness of New Town policies.

From this perspective the recent re-emergence boom of planned cities of enormous size, driven by the private sector, appears as an unexpected spin and a historic surprise.

Has the western gaze overlooked the rising phenomenon while it was preoccupied with the resolution of the problems of the own New Town legacy? Are we overburdened with catching up with the conceptualisation of new phenomena in an increasingly changing reality? Or is the problem that NeoTowns developed out of the backyard of mainstream elite research?

A closer look at the new phenomenon of a new generation of planned cities in the South reveals that many of the examples have a longer history than expected, and that a significant amount of local research on the phenomenon exists.[151] This fact notwithstanding, our examination of the research context above confirms that the respective efforts are highly fragmented and isolated. In addition, we observe that a conceptualisation of the phenomena is lagging being the development on the ground. A large share of the recent boom of privately planned megaprojects in peripheral countries remains understudied: from India's booming Integrated Townships, to Chinese New Town policies, to Chile's 'mega-ciudades walladas'.

Hence it is important to conclude that, with the exception of one study on SE-Asia (Rimmer 1998) and the work of the author (Gotsch 2001), research has not taken notice of the phenomenon of privately developed New Towns. Indeed, a general conceptualisation of privately developed cities would largely enhance the understanding of this new urban typology and assist the resolution of problems on the ground. (At the same time, numerous hitherto fragmented and isolated approaches could acquire a new meaning when integrated into a holistic framework). Indeed, this finding largely reconfirms the objective of the research project at hand.

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[151] Sometimes another terminology is applied, for example from research on gated communities or urban segregation (Cf. Nagy 1989, or Leisch 2000.

III. Urban debates

NeoTowns originate in a framework of an urban dynamics that is global, regional, informal, suburban, fragmented, postcolonial and thematic.

The two sections above explored two fundamental theoretical pillars of this research: a meta-framework of theories and models on the production of neoliberal space, as well as the legacy of New Town research. The following section will present the third pillar: a context of relevant urban debates. While the first two pillars stand for important foundations, the urban discourses represent a general set of questions of relevance for this project. Moreover, they also comprise important elements for the formulation of a research agenda.

The following approach of seven urban narratives seeks to capture the topic in a holistic and interdisciplinary manner (cf. section of methodology below). For this reason a set discourses has been selected which covers a broad range of aspects from six thematic angles.

The selected scientific discourses include: 1) global cities; 2) urban regions, 3) mega cities, 4) sprawl and suburbanisation, 5) spatial fragmentation and gated communities, 6) postcolonial spaces, and 7) themed landscapes.

Evidently, this work is not capable of resolving the elaborate problems that are part of the debates. Rather, these discourses are designed to sharpen our analytical gaze, broaden our view and confirm the relevance of the project.

As a matter of fact each of the themes embodies a central field of tension in which central questions and contradiction are inscribed: 1) global-local, 2) centre-periphery, 3) formal-informal, 4) urban-rural, 5) fragment-network and 6) homogenisation-indigenisation. Our expectation is that these juxtapositions posed by the framework may have cross-fertilising effects.[152]

As a detailed discussion of the seven discourses also overstretches the scope of this work, the presentation of the six thematic angles will be limited to a brief outline as well as a synoptic table. In addition to the seven urban themes, the table also summarises the first two theoretical perspectives on neoliberal space and new towns. It presents a summary of selected references, keywords, associated trends, research gaps, 'to do' points, and questions in the context of our research.

→ Illustration A-13: Framework diagram

1. Global City

Relevance

NeoTowns are important terminals and interfaces of global economic and cultural flows. This perspective is important, because cities and regions are gradually more defined by various dimensions of global flows.

Global city research explores the relationship between cities and novel forms of global processes, mainly from an economic angle. It describes the emergence of networked urban systems and new hierarchies of cities and urban spaces along the narrative of centre and periphery. Cities are nodes of control of innovation in dynamic globally networked systems and complex geographies of power (based on a new international division of labour).

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[152] These angles represent a personal prioritisation. The range of topics is far from complete. Debates which are missing include discourses on semantics, semiotics, public space, modernity, culture, sustainability, urban land markets, or urban economics.

So far, the focus on global city research has been on places of production, such as office centres (global cities, edge cities, technopoles) rather than on places of daily life and consumption. While production and consumption become increasingly blurred and cities become products, the question emerges as to whether the focus of global city research must change? NeoTowns could be heralding this transformation, as they impersonate this combination of product and produced.

References

Milestones of global city research are represented by Immanuel Wallerstein's (1979) examination of the "Capitalist World System"; John Friedman's (1986) "World City Hypothesis". Moreover, Dorothy Massey's (1984) "Spatial Divisions of Labour, Social Structure and the Geography of Production", Saskia Sassen's (1991) "The Global City", or Manuel Castells' (1989) "The Informational City" are some of the significant contributions. Cicollela's and Mignaqui's 1992 account of the "The Spatial Reorganization of Buenos Aires" are among numerous 'localisations' of the global city narrative.[153]

Questions

The central questions in the context of global city research are inquiring into the role of NeoTowns in a system of global nodes, the impact of global and local forces, as well as the specific relevance of financial flows:

Are NeoTowns a new form of centrality? What role do they play in the hierarchy of global nodes (as centres for the production and reproduction of globally oriented goods, classes, symbols, classes, etc)? Where to place them in the geography of advanced global production, the division of labour? What is the specific impact of global and of local economic trends and forces? Which networks, links, and divisions exist? ...to and from where? …visible, or invisible? What is the quality and quantity of money flows and prices, investments and turnovers? Which products are produced? Are NeoTowns a new form of fixed capital assets? What impact do globalised financial systems have? What relevance does a corporate real estate sector have? How is global culture produced here?

2. Regional City

> *'Town' and 'city' will be, in truth, terms as obsolete as 'mail coach'... We may for our present purposes call these coming town provinces 'urban regions.'* H.G. Wells 1902[154]

Relevance

NeoTowns are integral elements of postindustrial 'multiplex urban regions'.
The discourse on the regional city, or multiplex urban regions, describes a new and 'mature' dimension of the city in the age of consumerism. The regional city is based on transport infrastructure (mainly for individualised mass transport). In contrast to unqualified sprawl, it comprises novel regional nodes (such as technopoles and edge cities), which compete with the former centre.

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[153] Cf. also Sassen's 1992 introduction to her volume "Global Networks/ Linked Cities: available at:
www.journalinks.nl/Mijn%20webs/Locating%20Cities%20on%20Global%20Circuits.doc, r12.08.2009.
[154] Quoted by Garvin 1996: 283

References

A major landmark of the narrative is Jean Gottman's (1961) concept of the "Megalopolis", based on the notion of an urban corridor between Boston and Washington (BosWash). Jane Jacob's (1984): "Cities and the Wealth of Nations" impressively describes the relevance and urban ecology of urban regions. In "Global City Regions", Roger Simmonds and Gary Hack (2000), as well as Alan. Scott, John Agnew, Ed Soja and Michael Storper (2001) link the phenomenon to the narrative of globalisation and present a compendium of examples from an international context. Fu-Chen Lo with Yue-man Yeung (1998) describe the rise of urban mega-corridors in the East and South East Asian context. Terry McGee (1991, 2001) focuses on typologies of the Desakota regions in this context.

Stephen Graham and Simon Marvin (2001) describe the splintering urbanism of the novel regional city. In the same volume, Patsy Healey introduces the terminology of Multiplex Urban Regions favoured by this work. (Cf. Graham 2001: 205)

Questions

The questions of relevance for this topic address the relationship between NeoTowns and extended urban regions: Are NoTs substantial elements of the new geography of the multiplex urban region? How do these planned nodes drive and structure the process of regionalisation? What is the mutual impact of local and regional infrastructure systems – both for the region, as well for the NeoTowns?

3. Megacity

Relevance

NeoTowns appear as genuine products of mega-city regions.
The third thread of urban discourse of importance for our research relates to the study of rapidly emerging Megacities in the South. Private New Towns in particular seem to be among the new typologies born in the context Megacities.

Numerous observations speak for the fact that the urban environments of the third world more and more depart from the classical notion of the 'third world periphery'. The urban agglomerations in the South are characterised by processes of change and growth of a hitherto unknown pace and magnitude.[155] This occurs in a unique set of trends, problems, strategies and spatial typologies. The parallel rise in middle classes as well as informal populations in most of the locations represents one elementary tendency.

In this context, cities of the South also embody a significant scope for unique practices of modernisation and innovation of which many are based on bottom-up informal processes. Yet, so far, most of the innovative dynamics, including new forms of private urban development, remain understudied.

References

International institutions such as the United Nations or The World Bank group contribute enormously to the state of research in mega city studies. An influential link between global and mega city research and the new urban challenges has been provided by Fu-chen Lo and Yue-Man Yeung's "Globalization and the World of Large Cities" in 1998. Milestone references include the flagship reports of the United Nations Centre for United

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[155] The real estate consultancy Cushman and Wakefield (2008) estimates that developing countries received in 2007 500 percent more international real estate investments than in 2002.

Nations Centre for Human Settlements on Urbanisation and Slums (UNHCS, 2000, 2003), as well as The World Bank's 2009 World Development Report. Peter Hall and Ulrich Pfeiffer also provide a basic elaboration of the context in their 2000 publication: Urban 21. Report on the Future of Cities. Janice Pearlman's Megacity Project, a renowned NGO seeking to promote the exchange of best practice experiences, underlines the pragmatic inclination of most of the publications on megacities.[156] A scientific perspective with a long tradition of investigating urban phenomena of the Third World is mainly represented by the discipline of geography – a perspective which, however, is highly fragmented by experts on specific regions. Finally, an exemplary work is Karl Husa's and Helmut Wohlschlägl's (1999) collection of essays comparing Jakarta, Mexico City, and Bombay.

Questions

Facing the perspective of mega^city research, we have to query the following issues: Why do Neo-Towns emerge in the peripheries of Megacities, and not in the Western context? Are these typologies bound to specific types of Megacities? Which roles do practices of bottom-up planning and self-organisation play? What are the problems and innovations that may be of relevance for the larger framework? Do NeoTowns represent an aberration, which soon awaits normalisation?

4. Sprawl and 'Antisprawl'

Relevance

NeoTowns appear as new centralities in the periphery. On the other hand they trigger new sprawling forms of urbanisation.

The discourse on sprawl, suburbanisation, and 'antisprawl' accounts for one of the central debates of urban planning in the second half of the 20th Century. Like the phenomenon itself, the dispute originates in the USA.[157] In the meanwhile, the suburban way of life became the dominant form of urban life in many western societies. The forms that growth, as well as the reactions to it, engenders are called Sprawl, Zwischenstadt, Boomburbs, Edge-Cities, Peri-Urban Interfaces, Desakota, Urban Landscapes and New Urbanism etc.

Today, the issue of suburban growth (and the forms this growth engenders) becomes increasingly relevant for the context of megacities in developing countries, as in most of the locations spatial expansion tends to outpace the immense population growth.

State of research

The suburb is one of the most contested terrains of issue planning and urbanism. It is tackled from a perspective of suburbanisation (pro-sprawl), and anti-sprawl (i.e. New Urbanism) as well as from a more neutral phenomenological perspective. In the context of the latter, the terminology of the urban landscape (Stadtlandschaft) becomes increasingly important.

An abstracted profile of the discussion spans from the visionary design of Frank Lloyd Wright's (1932, 1958) Broadacre City, to Victor Gruen's (1958) critique of the American "Citycape and Landscape", Melvin Webber's (1963) delineation of a 'non-place urban

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[156] Cf. www.megacitiesproject.org/, r12.08.2009

[157] While in 1940, 15 per cent of North American population lived in suburbs, half a century later that percentage had climbed to 46 percent. By 1966 single-family homes accounted for 77 percent of US American housing stock. (Cf. Garvin 1996: 154)

realm', Herbert Gans' 1967 sociological studies of the Levittowners, Victor Gruen's quest for a sustainable form of a 'Cellular Metropolis' (Cf. Wall 2005); Robert Fishman's examination of urban (1977) and 'bourgeois utopias' (1987), Joel Garreau's (1991) discovery of the 'Edge City'; to Peter Calthorpe's (1997) pledge for a 'next American city', and Duany's & Plater-Zyberk critique of 'The Suburban Nation' resulting in a Charter for a New Urbanism[158], to the recent defence of the suburb by Robert Bruegmann's (2005) 'Compact history of Sprawl'.

Indeed, while the sprawl and anti-sprawl debates can be regarded as 'thesis and antithesis', the notion of a new 'urban landscape' emerges as a synthesis. Two examples are portrayed by Thomas Sieverts' (1997) notion of the 'Zwischenstadt' (in-between-city), or Silvio Macedo's (2003) account of the "Paigagismo Contemporaneo no Brasil". Another more practical 'synthesis' is the 'Landscape Urbanism' approach coined by the landscape architect James Corner (2003).[159]

Questions

The above discussion suggests that it will be important to localise the phenomenon of New Towns in the framework of the suburbanisation, new-urbanism, and landscape urbanism debates. What kinds of element on the periphery are NeoTowns? Are they an alternative to sprawl, a part of sprawl, or a new type of sprawl?

5. Private urban enclaves and gated communities

Relevance

Gated neighbourhoods, residential enclaves and their inherent organisational forms (i.e. Homeowner Associations) are among the most important components of NeoTowns.

Closed neighbourhoods are one of the dominant contemporary trends in urban development. This fact has also generated a significant scientific discourse.

As with many other cases of contemporary urban trends, the typology was pioneered on the western coast of the US, as well as in Florida. About ten years ago, 8,5 million US residents lived in gated communities and more than 40 percent of all new residences were constructed behind walls (Cf. Blakely 1997). The trend is often associated with lifestyle, prestige and security motives. Affluent populations, as well as economic polarisation seems to be its most important triggers. Private enclaves and life style communities are not restricted to North America; they emerge in many rapidly developing economies world wide: from Brazil, Argentine, China, Malaysia and the Philippines, to Indonesia, Australia, India, Saudi Arabia, Israel and Bulgaria etc. Many of these countries have the highest income inequality in the world. The motives differ from lifestyle prestige to physical and financial security, to quality of life issues. Only central Europe seems to be more or less immune so far, despite the fact that is was referred to as the 'largest enclave in the world'. (Cf.: Personal comment of an Argentinean student during a field visit to Nordelta in 2003).

State of research

The research on gated communities is based on a larger body of inquiry into socio-spatial segregation and urban fragmentation. This research narrative is represented by Castells and Mollenkopf's 1991 study of novel trends of polarisation in the 'Dual City' of New

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[158] http://www.cnu.org/charter, r12.08.2009

[159] A detailed bibliography of state of research discussions can be found for example at :
http://lj.uwpress.org/cgi/content/refs/27/2/247, r12.08.2009)

York. The thread is expanded in 2000 by Peter Marcuse and Ronald van Kempen in a volume on "Globalizing Cities: A New Spatial Order". New patterns of inequality of segregation and fragmentation are also major topics of the UNHCS (2000) volume on "An Urbanising World". Franz Josef Rademacher (2002) explores and refines the concept of inequality benchmarks and stresses the scenario of 'Brasilianisation' for the developed world. The volume of Graham & Marvin (2001) investigates the relationship of infrastructure and a new fragmented condition of cities with the notion of „Splintering Urbanism".

A strong tradition of theorising the segregated city also exists in Brazil. Here Oscar Ribeiro (1997) and Flavio Villaça (2001) are among the pioneers. Among the overarching works are Theresa Caldeira's (2000) remarkable and complex study describing the "City of Walls: Crime, Segregation and Citizenship in São Paulo" and Abdu Maliq Simone's (1997) account of the logic of polarisation and segregation in African cities.

Research on gated communities is well organised. Its multidisciplinarity is notable (cf. www.gatedcommunities.de): Major landmarks include Evan McKenzie's (1995) examination of "Privatopia: Homeowners Associations and the rise of Residential Private Government"; Edward Blakely's and Mary Snyder's (1995) "Fortress America. Gated Communities in the United States"; or Setha Low's (2003): "Behind the Gates: Life, Security and the Pursuit of Happiness in Fortress America". Glasze's and Webster's (2005, eds.) "Private Cities: Global and Local Perspectives" stands for a strong presence of scholars from central Europe.

Meanwhile, the investigation of gated communities and residential enclaves enjoys a strong international presence: Richard Grant (2003) devotes his studies to „The rise of gated communities in Ghana"; the Argentinean context is explored by Maristella Swampa (2001); the Chilenean by Borsdorf and Hidalgo (2005); in the Brazilian context Oscar Ribeiro (1997) prefers to stress a historic legacy of segregation and closed residential enclaves.[160] In addition, Maria Loffredo (2006) inventories the recent rise of 'Condominios Feachados' in the metropolitan region of São Paulo; and Karina Landman (2002) promotes the South African case.

In conclusion, it can be stated that gated community research provides a valuable background of studies and questions for our context. Once more our study of NeoTowns is reconfirmed, as many of the above studies describe large agglomerations of closed gated enclaves, and while a conceptualisation of large gated community agglomerations is missing.

Questions

The above discourse of urban segregation and gated enclaves brings to the fore the following riddles: Are NeoTowns a particular form of agglomerated gated-communities (Mega-enclaves)? Are self-controlled communities a 'natural' benchmark? What are the limitations of bottom-up initiatives and self-organised governance?

6. Postcolonial spaces, hybrid cultures, new modernities

Relevance

> *"... the belief that the solutions of urban problems lie in starting anew before correcting old problems has been the most pernicious..."* (Shaw 2004: 20)

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[160] Cf.: Oscar Ribeiro 1997: Dos cortiços aos condomínios fechados: as formas de produçao da moradia na cidade Rio de Janeiro.

The sixth of the urban narratives presented here belongs to the discipline of postcolonial studies and cultural science. In addition to a context of globalisation, regionalisation, megacity dynamics, suburbanisation, and fragmentation, NeoTowns originate in a context of postcolonial modernisation.

In providing a perspective of the historical, political, cultural, local and imagined, the narrative of postcolonialism and cultural studies rounds up the other debates, in particular those based on economics and materialism. The perspective queries the political role of urban space in forming the identity of the individual, the collective and the nation. It scrutinises the role of modernisation, the impact of the global versus the local, and the centre versus the periphery, while interpreting urban spaces as power landscapes.

The gaze of the postcolonial challenges simplistic models of a (western) centre and a (southern) periphery in favour of heterogeneous and complex models based on mutual dependency and cross-fertilisation. The discourse applies and mediates post-disciplinary concepts of modernity, capitalism and colonialism. While the dominance of the power of western concepts is not contested, a more complex picture is drawn and a more elaborate story developed.[161]

State of research

An important school representing this gaze is located at the Fernand Braudel Centre of the Universiy of Binghampton (NY). Anthony King is among the most prominent representatives (Cf. above: Theoretical context). King (1990, 2004) has published extensively on the impact of colonialism, postcolonialism and globalization, on cities and the built environment, and on the social production of building form.[162] The Indonesian scholar Abidin Kusno (2000: Behind the Postcolonial: Architecture, Urban Space and Political Cultures in Indonesia), as well as Indian Jyoti Hosagrahar (2004: Indigenous Modernities. Negotiating Architecture and Urbanism), are among the most prominent names from the school.[163]

Another important thread is presented by cultural anthropology: For example Arjun's Appadurai's (1990) book on "Modernity at Large", or Ulf Hannerz's (1997) essay "Scenarios for Peripheral Cultures".

The wide scope of the topic ranges from Gewndolin Wright's (1991) "The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism", to Edward Said's (1993) "Culture and Imperialism", to Michael Hardt's and Antonio Negri's (2005) "Empire". A postcolonial perspective is applied by Annapurna Shaw's (2004) account of "The Making of Navi Mumbai"[164]. Finally, Richard Sheldon (1997: Migration and Development A Global Perspective) focuses on the complex geography of contemporary migration.

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[161] From one to two centuries ago... local translations of European and especially British architectural paradigms helped to shape the architecture of the city centres and suburbs of both England as well as India, Egypt and elsewhere... From the 1990's ... the rapidly expanding suburbs of particular Indian cities are currently being transformed by an equally historically, culturally and geographically specific interpretation of transnational culture. (King 2004: 130/131)

[162] For example in 1990: Urbanism, Colonialism and the World Economy. Cultural and Spatial Foundations of the World Urban System; and in 2004: Spaces of Global Cultures. Architecture Urbanism Identity

[163] An introduction to a conference organised by the Fernand Braudel Centre at the University of Binghampton in 1998 on Transmodernity, Historical Capitalism, and Coloniality: A Post-Disciplinary Dialogue reads: "Modernity will be problematized beyond Eurocentric definitions of reason, freedom, and progress, and in favor of a more contradictory, historicized, and plural understanding of the modern. Capitalism will be analyzed as an historical system of global reach, and an historical dynamic full of contradictions and contingencies, in light of the operations of changing processes and the actions of multiple agencies. Coloniality will be explored, not simply as a juridico-political relationship between empires (actors and institutions) and colonized bodies (political and personal) but above all as a basic category for the explanation of the imperial-colonial underpinnings of economic, political, and cultural relations in the modern world." (Cf. fbc.binghamton.edu/transmod.htm, 412.07.2009)

[164] In particular in her introduction to the topic

Questions

The discourse on postcolonial culture suggests an examination of the following questions: To what extent are NeoTowns products of the 'periphery', to which degree do they reflect the results of global modernisation? How does local adaptation and appropriation operate? Do NeoTowns contain novel forms of indigenous modernities?

7. Theming and branding, tourism and the flaneur

Relevance

Thematic architecture and branded neighbourhoods appear as most important strategic elements of NeoTowns. While hitherto theming was commonly reserved for 'extraordinary' locations such as theme parks, hotels, malls, or restaurants, New Towns appear as archetypes of themed environments of daily life.

State of research

A specific branch of (applied) urban discourses focuses on theming, branding and the leisure society: Wolfgang Sonne (2003: Representing the State. Capital City Planning in the Early Twentieth Century) tackles this question with the case of new capital cities. The phenomenon of theming is studied by architectural and urban theorists such as Rem Koolhaas (1978: Delirious New York), critics such as Michael Sorkin (1991: Variations on a Theme Park: Scenes from the New American City), geographers such as Mark Gottdiener (2001: The Theming of America: American Dreams, Media Fantasies, and Themed Environment), or ethnographers such as Scott Lucas (2002: The Themed Space: Locating Culture, Nation, and Self).[165]

Dean MacCannell (1976: The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class) discovers the important perspective of tourism as a benchmark of modern society. His British colleague John Urry's lifts this perspective to a global context (1990: The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies).[166]

Naomi Klein (2000: No Logo: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies) approaches the tactics of theming and branding from the perspective of a critique of economic globalisation. Klein's work has influenced a large amount of peers.

Other narratives are geared to the role of urban branding strategies and themed urban landscapes, such as the Daimler City und Sony Center Berlin, Migros Westside Bern, VW Erlebniswelt Wolfsburg, albeit from a Western and predominantly European perspective.[167]

Questions/ To Do's

The debate underlines the importance of the systematic analysis of strategies of theming and branding. It also underlines the need for a detailed classification the semiotic vocabulary of NeoTowns. The questions raised include: How can the semiotic vocabulary of New Towns be described? Which methods does the strategy of urban branding apply?

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[165] See also Tagungsbericht Staging the Past – Themed Environments in Transcultural Perspectives. 23.04.2009-25.04.2009, Freiburg, in: H-Soz-u-Kult, 21.07.2009, at: http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/tagungsberichte/id=2699, 424.06.2009.

[166] Indeed this perspective, could also be red as an expansion of Benjamin's flaneur, who has gone international and then global (Cf. Benjamin, Walter (1991): Der Flaneur, in: ders: Das Passagen-Werk. Gesammelte Schriften V.1+2, Hg. Rolf von Thiedemann und Herrmann Schweppenhäuser, 1. Bd., Frankfurt/M : 524-569).

[167] Cf. Höger 2007: City – Branding: Marken bauen Stadt, in Helmut Bott, Franz Pesch, Johann Jessen, Eckhart Ribbeck: Inszenierung, Branding, Stadtmarketing Stadtgestaltung in der Globalisierung; Stuttgart; Friedrich von Borries: 2003: Nike-Urbanismus, Branding und die Markenstadt von morgen.

Which spaces and typologies are produced? Are NeoTowns the places of the ultimate spectacle?

Other debates

There are a series of additional debates which are both interesting in the context of our research and to which, in turn this research could provide useful insights. A methodological conceptualisation of these disciplines and perspectives, however, goes beyond the capacity of this work. The aspect of NeoTowns as benchmarks of modernity, or as a new form of lifestyle products, for example, could provide valuable contribution to debates on contemporary space and culture. An examination of sustainability aspects could support the solution of important problems on the ground.

Actuality, Gaps, Limitations

The above investigation of the current state of research demonstrates that this project is necessary and important. NeoTowns are worthwhile to be studied at two major levels: one in regard to system knowledge and theory formation, the other to operational knowledge and the exchange of best practices.

NeoTowns give the impression of a new urban typology. For this reason they are interesting from a scientific point of view. We need a better understanding and conceptualisation of this typology, which emerges in a context of a unique historic constellation of global and local dynamics. Therefore, investigations need to be done into the motives, the urban form and typology as well as into the local impact of the phenomenon.

Essentially, Neo Towns represent newly planned cities built from scratch on Greenfield sites under the guidance of the private sector. In this context they are particularly well suited to reflect on the structural logic of the contemporary liberal market economy. In addition to enhancing our conception of contemporary space, the investigation of this unique typology will also provide valuable contributions to the sub disciplines of urban research, as presented above.

Finally, our study is also vital as it facilitates the identification, discussion and transfer of the respective innovations and challenges on the ground. The research promotes a reflection on the experiences made and provides stakeholders with valuable implementation knowledge.

Gaps

The examination of the current state of research leads to the identification of a series of comprehensive research gaps.[168] These comprise five aspects:
- Firstly, the informational age lacks theories of spatial production;
- Secondly, the debate on neoliberalism in particular is lacking a spatial side;
- Thirdly, NeoTowns are not recognised as a new typology;
- Fourthly, local debates remain isolated;
- And fifthly, the ever-increasing specialisation and fragmentation of research contradicts a deep understanding of complex problems.[169]

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[168] Cf. also the 'framework table' of relevant research fields

[169] Obviously only the third and fourth gaps, as identified above, can be tackled directly, while the other three reassure the approach this effort has taken and establish a horizon of targets and objectives.

Models of production of space in the informational age remain marginal
The inquiry into the concepts of the production of contemporary urban space reveals a lack of theories of spatial production in the informational age. Postmodern and post-structuralist thought might state that we finally find ourselves in a parallel and synchronised world, which allows for a multiplicity of simultaneous models. This research, in contrast, assumes that models such as Lefebvre's theory of production of space have a viable potential for validation and update. We can even postulate that these concepts need to be updated within the framework of the neoliberal, or new, economy.

To address the increasing contradictions produced in our era of 'supermodern rationalisation' new models of space are needed (Cf.: Context). While natural science (and philosophy), went through a revolution of relativity and uncertainty about 100 years ago, this 'revolution' of thinking has not made its way to our conceptualisation of society and space. Yet, the relativity revolution in regard to space is still waiting to reach mainstream conscience and thinking. The real world remains to be governed by the mechanistic and technocratic principles of advancing rationalisation.

As space is produced by a combination of these principles with the collective imaginaries of power elites, new solutions, forms and typologies are produced, but at the same time an increasing number of contradictions arise. We think that these contradictions can only be addressed when the character and the role of spatial production in the informational age is re-evaluated. The rising gap between an individual and collective imagination/production of space and its abstraction and institutionalisation (supermodern, ultra-rational) can only be addressed by a comprehensive reform of the way space is understood.[170]

Neoliberal critique lacks a spatial side
An important rift in the present debate on neoliberalism can be identified in that the debate lacks a spatial perspective.[171] This is important because we live in an era of space where every part of the globe is under economic control, and nowadays cities, bodies and lifestyles have become the central means of production. Hence, while the debate on neoliberalism unmasks important political and ideological aspects of socio-political development, it is missing half of the reality: the essential spatial component. Consequently, we argue that what is essentially needed to understand contemporary space and society is a theory of production of neoliberal space. This requires a profound conceptualisation regarding the rise of new urban typologies, forms and places.[172]

NeoTowns not recognised as a new typology
The scientific and applied investigation of planned settlements includes various categories: military camps, new capitals, colonial cities, industrial towns, or decongestion nodes (Cf. Galantay 1975). These have many subspecies. The typology of modernist state-driven New Towns and satellite cities is largely regarded as the most recent class. Some have also regarded it as a terminal class of planned towns, while a liberalised market framework was not believed to have the capacity to come up with its own typology of new cities. This work observes the opposite: it notices (and explores) the emergence of a significant number of privately driven new towns on a world wide scale and proposes to

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[170] See also to Gotsch 1995

[171] Cf. below discussion of Brenner 2002 and Hackworth 2007

[172] We have seen that attempts to describe neoliberal space are only fragmented and mostly related to the western world (Brenner 2002, Hackworth 2006). Brenner and his colleague talk about the transformation of the relationships of geographical spaces and scales (nation, territory, and place), but not about a spatial logic and typologies. Jameson (1984), Harvey (1989), Castells (1989), Hackworth (2006), among others, are mainly describing processes, or specific examples (US American Downtowns, or the famous Buenaventura hotel in LA). What is lacking however is a theory or model in the background. Henri Lefebvre 1973 has laid out some of the essential grammar.

include this phenomenon as a new typology into the family of planned settlements. It proposes to name this new species NeoTown, because it is regarded as representing a paradigmatic original of contemporary space (whose production is unilaterally dominated by economic institutions).

Local debates remain isolated

The examination of local debates brings to the fore a large amount of debates and discussions.[173] Among the authors are interested scholars, unsettled architects, curious journalists, busy real estate representatives, concerned politicians, and socialising residents (Cf. references in the respective chapters). Yet, while each of the NeoTown examples has its own story (history), many of the local discussions lack a conceptual perspective. Moreover, most are not aware of the global framework. Few are aware that similar topics are being discussed at many other places worldwide. It therefore becomes part of the extended agenda of this research to conceptualise the matter in a global perspective and to provide a platform for linking the respective discussions.

Specialisation of disciplines contradicts an integrated holistic approach

The examination of the research context reflects that trends such as rationalisation, specialisation and diversification do not stop when it comes to research fields. The respective disciplines appear ever more focused and specialised (every urban aspects have their expert fields: informality, downtowns, suburban villas, malls, highways, etc). This increasing specialisation leads to growing quantities of knowledge. However, a holistic, critical picture of the whole tends to get lost. This research seeks to address this gap by working with different tools and by combining several disciplines.[174]

Limitations

What this research cannot do.

This project is an explorative study which seeks to demarcate a new track for research. It compares three selected examples of privately developed cities: AlphaVille (São Paulo), Bumi Serpong Damai (Jakarta), and Navi Mumbai (Mumbai). The research is motivated by the question of contemporary urbanism and the concurrent production of space. The issue is contextualised in state of research concepts. The work operates along a series of hypotheses and produces a research agenda. It aims to produces some essential theoretical as well as practical modules (system knowledge and operational knowledge).

The above perspective allows us to clarify what the research cannot achieve:

- This undertaking cannot provide a historical narrative. It compares NeoTowns in space. The comparative study seeks to contextualise NeoTowns in a present global context. It aims to verify whether the phenomena at hand constitute a new typology. In contrast to this approach, the development of a systematic genealogy of NeoTowns in relation to other forms of planned settlements, in particular in relation to modernistic New Towns emerges as an attractive point for a future research agenda.

- The comparative and holistic focus of this study does not allow an undertaking of profound empirical work at the respective places. Participatory field research, as is for example common in anthropology, is precluded at this stage. This is pitiable in particular when it comes to the examination of the imagination and the value sys-

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[173] The cases are explored in newspapers, scientific articles, PhD theses, books, YouTube videos, Internet blogs, or real estate brochures, and to a lesser extent by researchers.

[174] A specific long term-challenge challenge lies in the reconciliation of materialist economic perspectives related to economic globalisation, and an ideal gaze, which investigates subjective imagination and cultural form.

tems of individual stakeholders. On the other hand, the hypotheses and the research agenda produced will essentially guide and propitiate these modes.

- Last but not least this study is not capable of producing specific local planning-fixes. It can neither address local problems such as social tensions, lacking infra-structure, environmental degradation etc., nor can it produce strategies and road-maps for particular planning, technical, financial, ecological, management problems. The approach rather is to undertake a first step towards theory formation in generalising the basic findings of the comparative study. This enhanced conceptual framework can then facilitate a better understanding of particular problems.

Methods and tools – Postdisciplinarity rediscovered

The goals of this project, to contribute to a better understanding of contemporary space in general, and to examine the production of privately driven new town typologies in particular, ask for appropriate formulae and instruments. The following section is devoted to the delineation of the techniques and instruments that are applied. What is at stake is not only a set of rational techniques, but a specific attitude of practicing urban science in a postmodern context deprived of meta histories and narratives.

Methodological spirit

The methodological spirit of this research can be circumscribed by seven principal attributes. These are: 1) postdisciplinary, 2) explorative, 3) theory based 4) comparative, 5) holistic-synoptic, 6) critical-dialectic, and 7) subjective.

1. Postdisciplinary

A vital point of departure for this research is a postdisciplinary perspective. While postdisciplinarity includes interdisciplinarity, it goes further. Interdisciplinarity is a first step of addressing the dilemma of increasing specialisation in a context of increasing complexity. Scientific disciplines, like other social systems, are predisposed to constrain their members in disciplinary mechanisms and micro-political issues. Postdisciplinarity, in contrast, makes an effort to operate beyond disciplinary constraints. Moreover, it favours a scientific approach that is guided by an overarching question, rather than by a disciplinary agenda. Instead of being bounded to the perspective of a particular discipline, it benefits from a combination of various approaches.

In this context our project seeks to be a postdisciplinary platform, which maps out and combines different disciplinary approaches on the production of contemporary space. The content is approached with the code of different disciplines: architecture, planning, sociology, economy, anthropology, political science, social policy, philosophy etc. This combination of various analytical angles and disciplinary jargons reduces the risk of failure and increases the innovative potential, in particular when it comes to unravelling complex and multilayered problems.[175]

2. Explorative

This research is also explorative. This follows from the post-disciplinary context as well as the fresh research field. A new field with many uncertainties and unpredictables suggests an exploration of the topic. The domains of city and society are marked by a high degree of complexity: multiple stakeholders, various scales, diverse local conditions and historic narratives. Research becomes a true exploration that has to continually grope

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[175] Arguments which discuss the issue of 'post-disciplinary studies are presented by: Abbott, Andrew D. 2001: Chaos of Disciplines, London; Kosko, Bart 1994: Fuzzy Thinking: the New Science of Fuzzy Logic, London; Sayer, Andrew R. 2000: Realism and Social Science, London: Sage, Wallerstein, Immanuel 1999: The End of the World as We Know It: Social Science for the Twenty- First Century, London.

ahead. This tactic leaves space for adaptation and change during the process. Guidance is provided by the underlying theoretical base.[176]

One example of the explorative strategy is the preliminary examination of various NeoTown samples before a set of three study cases is selected. Another example is the formulation questions from the examination of state of research.[177]

The explorative approach includes the freedom to juxtapose contradicting positions and media and to explore the new reality these confrontations produce. In this manner our project explores: Scientific articles, blog entries, business reports, theory, you tube movies, own observations, Wikipedia entries, stakeholder opinions, fiction writing etc.[178]

3. Theoretically guided

The framework of this undertaking is delineated by theory. Our question of contemporary space is embedded in a framework of theory. Theory is the point of departure and the goal, the base and the roofing. In order to achieve results, an explorative approach needs an orientation. Theory formation occurs through the identification of new trends and typologies and the formulation of hypotheses. Concepts of spatial production, basic economic models, neoliberal narratives, and also the genealogy of new towns are analysed and evaluated in the context chapter. These serve as the starting point. In addition, a matrix of disciplinary narratives is defined, which have an imminent relevance (research on: global cities, megacities, regional cities, sprawl/ anti-sprawl, segregation/ fragmentation, and postcolonial studies).

4. Comparative

It is the most difficult thing to study an object alone. A juxtaposition of several objects works better, as relative facts can be better established. ... A comparative study of the material is always beneficial. The search for similar cases in one civilisation, or one historic period, or several leads to the right track.[179]

The major modus operandi of this project is a comparative study. A comparative study is the classical method of theory formation (Cf. Mills 1969). It allows for the identification of trends, typologies, and for the establishment of hypotheses.

The comparative approach at hand is spatial. It compares a selected set of simultaneous examples from several of locations. In contrast, a historically motivated comparative study would compare a set of examples in time: For example Baroque settlements, with modernistic Satellite Cities and private Neo Towns. Both of the procedures are relevant and important. However, the spatial approach constitutes the first step in identifying general trends and typologies.[180]

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[176] Cf. Simon, H. 1996: The Sciences of the Artificial. 3.ed., Cambridge).

[177] On explorative strategies cf. for example to: Churchman, C.W. 1971: The design of inquiring systems.

[178] The Situationists referred to the technique as détournement as: "... the flexible language of anti-ideology. It appears in communication that knows it cannot claim to embody any definitive certainty." (Debord 1967: §208)

[179] Cf. Charles Wright Mills 1969: The Sociological Imagination; Translation by the author from the 1973 German edition.

[180] The approach was motivated by Patrick Geddes, among others, who as early as 1915 in his work on "Cities in Evolution" formulated a holistic approach of urbanism and planning: The book will show how trends and tendencies can be made evident by a survey of each city, and bring its ordinary citizens to an understanding of its possible future (Patrick Geddes 1915: V)

The motivation to conduct a comparative study is also a product of the quest of a western researcher to produce a valid contribution when researching new urban phenomena in the South. This external perspective allows the observer to take a relatively unobstructed position as an outsider. This is an advantage, as it allows for a relatively neutral evaluation of the subjects. The external view facilitates a fairly unbiased approximation of local debates, and eases the placement of the relationships in a greater global context.

The core of this project is made up of the examination of three cases of privately developed New Towns. This number was considered minimal for a comparative study, to allow for the identification of trends, tendencies and for the formulation of hypotheses. On the other hand this was the maximum quantity to be handled in our capacity.

A standardised descriptive framework facilitates this examination. It is modelled as a spatial system of multiple stakeholders and comprises six elements: 1) a general spatial and historic context (the atmosphere), 2) the form and structure (the playfield), 3) the residents (the players), 4) the developers and architects (the authors), 5) the finances (the ball as the means of exchange), as well as 6) the regulatory framework (the rules). (Cf. below: Structure)

5. Synoptic-holistic

> *The general principle is the synoptic one, of seeking as far as may be to recognise and utilise all points of view...* (Geddes: 114)
> *Town planning requires a synoptic vision of nature to enable a constructive conservation of its order and beauty in the development of the new wealth of cities* (Ibidem: v)

Our general post-disciplinary and explorative framework implies a holistic and synoptic approach. This entails a comprehensive or broad (e.g. synoptic) view from multiple analytical, conceptual and scalar angles. This tactic is diametric to reductive methods.

The modus operandi model implies that planned settlements are regarded as urban systems that are more than just the sum of their parts. The method is closely related to ecological thinking, whose objects of study is composed of multiple and dynamic forms and processes. The concept of holism originates in Jan Smut's thinking (1925: Holism and Evolution). The notion of a synoptic perspective relates to Patrick Geddes' (1915: Cities in Evolution).[181] [182]

A holistic approach is aware that, independent of the number of perspectives used, the behaviour of the system can never be entirely predicted. Moreover, it takes into account that systems may produce surprisingly unexpected and paradoxical behaviours.[183] These dynamics cannot be understood without a holistic and synoptic perspective.

In our context, space in general and New Towns in particular are regarded as complex emerging systems. These exist between past and present, form and content, matter and spirit etc. We deem that their problems can only be tackled by taking a holistic and synoptic approach. The approach corresponds with Lefebvre's concept of a produced

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[181] Smut, who is regarded as the father of the holistic approach to science, writes: "Abstract procedure with its narrowing of concepts and processes into hard and rigid outlines, and their rounding off into definite scientific counters, temporarily simplified the problems of science and thought... AMONG the great gaps in knowledge those which separate the phenomena of matter, life, and mind still remain unabridged. The solution must therefore ultimately depend on our more extended knowledge of these series and the discovery of interconnections between them (1925: 2,3).

[182] The concept is also influential in systems and complexity theories. (Cf. Ludwig von Bertalanffy, 1968: General System Theory. Foundations Development Applications. Allen Lane.)

[183] Cf. for example Thomas Shelling 1978: Micromotives and Macrobehaviour.

space, as discussed above. It is also validated when Anthony King postulates that: "'Space'… implies the production of space … and the economic, social, political, and above all cultural conditions in which space is produced." (Anthony King 2004: 127) Only through a combination of histories, theories, morphologies, processes, actors, and rules, does the reality of the subject, the NeoTown, become tangible.

6. Dialectic

A dialectic approach is an essential methodological technique within this work. Notably, the concept is not used in an ideological sense. It is neither materialist not idealist. It is rather applied as a basic model to perceive complex, dynamic and contradictory systems. Despite the fact that a thorough description of the subject is an essential starting point and base, a complex matter such as the city cannot remain descriptive. (This is also true for the above-described methodological body). The processes and elements that compose and produce space are vibrant and conflicting. The city is a complex assemblage of economic, cultural, political, individual subsystems.[184] A balance of forces makes up the structure. Many of these have contradictory motives.

Progress is often not linear, and occurs along turning points and creates contradictions: Urban growth leads to the consumption of nature, the car creates mobility but destroys traditional urbanity, collective individualisation endangers a collective spirit, market economies create wealth, yet also difference, a new town which was meant to prevent sprawl may trigger more urban growth and sprawl, etc. In short, an approach aiming at an understanding of an urban system needs to take this ambivalence, contrariness, and inconsistency into account.

Yet, the use of dialectics in our context is very different from its employment as a rhetoric device. Rhetorical dialectics tends to produce results and construct argumentative lines based on argument and counterargument. This approach often follows a political rather than scientific agenda. In this context, inconvenient and bothersome convolution tends to be blended out. The discussion of social and environmental problems is rarely the subject of real estate brochures: the critics of new privately driven projects rarely discuss the innovations produced by the real estate sector.

A scientific point of view looks upon dialectical rhetoric with a sceptical eye. Here dialectics seeks to reflect a complex and contradictory reality. The method is based on the notion that truth can be best approximated through the inspection of difference. In this way the unfolding of the whole drama of contrasting realities is regarded as a precondition for the projection of solutions.

The dialectic approach is as old as science and philosophy.[185] 'Modern' dialectics are particularly represented by Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel.[186] Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels are renowned for having inverted Hegel's idealistic dialectic, which resulted in the approach of a dialectical historical materialism. In particular the idea of contradiction, represented by class struggle, is central to Marxist dialectic thought.[187]

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[184] A perspective which is represented for example by Michel Anglietta's 1976: Theory of capitalist regulation.

[185] The 'fluid' philosophy of Heraclitus' and Plato's Socratic dialogues represent the ontological and discursive focus of the method. For Heraclitus the essence of being means becoming on the basis of contradictions, stability is a result of movements, and form is an outcome of processes. (Cf. Pleines, Jürgen-Eckardt 2002: Heraklit. Anfängliches Philosophieren; Hildesheim.)

[186] Hegel's 1807 work affirms the notion that, "dialectic" is the formula by which history unfolds: history progresses as a dialectical process. Dialectic can overcome the limitedness of the partial categories of understanding. (Hegel's Science of Logic: at http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/hegel/works/hl/hlbeing.htm#HL1_82, r23.07.2009).

[187] Cf. Uchida, Hiroshi 1988: Marx's Grundrisse and Hegel's Logic, at: www.marxists.org/subject/japan/uchida/index.htm, r12.07.2009; and Engels, Frederick, (1883) Dialectics of Nature:II. Dialectics; at www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1883/don/ch02.htm, , r12.07.2009.

In the following, dialectic concepts reverberate in the work of Joseph Schumpeter[188] via Lefebvre's spatial dialectics, to recent strategies of scenario planning[189]

Dialectics is commonly regarded as the 'lingua franca' of critical theory.[190] Guy Debord, for example, regards critical thinking as a social practice of its own.[191] This work agrees with the main idea of this perspective, which stresses an evaluation of the findings. We believe, however, that its ideological and rhetorical gaze can also obstruct reality.

Finally, the base line of this work is the concept of spatial dialectics, which was developed by Henri Lefebvre (cf. above). His relational and dialectical model serves as a major reference for the analysis of contemporary urban forms, the evaluation of contradictions and gaps that emerge in the process of production of novel spaces, and the identification of strategies to master these contradictions.

7. Subjective

Before concluding our delineation of the methodological spirit driving this project, it has to be stressed that the work remains subjective and personal. We think that in our time a scientific framework can only be relational. This holds in particular for cultural, political, urban and social sciences. Numerous eminent scientists and philosophers accept that science is socially constructed and that objectivity can only be an approximation.[192]

This perception, however, does not preclude a 'traditional' approach to research. The object of study, including the methods and tools, can and must be scientifically delineated. On the other hand the dependence of the system on other systems cannot be objectively controlled. This is true for the content of the system as well as for the scientific project. The author/scientist is an integral part of distinct cultural and social systems. He produces these and at the same time he is also reproduced. These have, consciously and unconsciously, formed his perception, his views, and his personal integrity. In this context the research at hand must remain constrained to the selected perceptive elements of a specific gaze. A large part of the reality remains excluded. What our work aims to achieve, however, is the maximisation of the likelihood of a common perspective.

While it is seen as an advantage to conduct this research on NeoTowns in the South from an outsider's view, the author cannot escape from his central European background. He is part of a distinct research culture and socialisation. This is part of his biog-

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[188] Who coined the concept of 'creative destruction', as a basis of economic development and innovation (Cf. Schumpeter 1942: Capitalism, Socialism, Democracy)

[189] This is an increasingly popular toll used by the military, business and the economic world for drafting strategic long term plans. It is used in the context of volatile and dynamically changing systems. Examples include military battle strategies, global markets for oil, or the future constellation of the European Union. Cf. Schwartz, Peter 1991: The Art of the Long View).

[190] Critical theory has to be communicated in its own language — the language of contradiction, dialectical in form as well as in content: the language of the critique of the totality, of the critique of history (Debord 1995 (1967): 144).

[191] "In the language of contradiction, the critique of culture manifests itself as unified: unified in that it dominates the whole of culture — culture as knowledge as well as culture as poetry; unified, too, in that it is no longer separable from the critique of the social totality. It is this unified theoretical critique that goes alone to its rendezvous with a unified social practice." (Debord 1995 (1967): 147)

[192] Hegel has stated in this context that: "Truth is not like some finished product in which one can no longer find any trace of the tool that made it" (Quoted by Debord 1968). The sociologist Herbert Gans affirms: "An investigation of livelihoods requires evaluations and personal judgements. I personally believe that there are multiple ways to achieve a good life and to cope with all kinds of problems." (Herbert Gans 1968: 27). Bruno Latour has argued that science is socially constructed. Scientists actively promote the credibility of their research, and personal rhetoric, social beliefs, and technical artefacts play a predominant role in the construction of scientific facts (1979: Laboratory Life). In the abstract view of Niklas Luhman's system theory (1984:) reality can only be constructed by the interior conditions. Cognition can only emerge from the inside of a system; this precludes any access to a greater 'objective' reality. The respective system is driven by the logic of its own reproduction (Autopoiesis).

raphy. Finally, it is up to the critical reader to approve or disapprove, to be fertilised or disillusioned – and to construct his own piece of reality on the basis of this enterprise.

Synergies of methods and structure

Whereas a combination of all of the elements of the methodological framework, as delineated above, is valid for the research in general, specific components become particularly important at various stages of the project.

While the early contextual stage of this work is post-disciplinary and theory-guided, the question of spatial models plays a predominant role at this stage of our inquiry. Various disciplines are explored to approximate the 'problem'. But Lefebvre's spatial dialectics play an essential guiding role.

The operational descriptive level makes up for the main and the most extensive part this research. Here three cases of NeoTowns are portrayed in a synoptic-holistic, descriptive and explorative manner. The narrative panorama is composed of six positions: context, form, user, author, medium, and rule. This design represents a basic structure of a 'game' that efficiently allows for a combination of a synoptic range of lookouts.[193] The aspects of 'context and form' provide a temporal as well as a spatial view, the two medium elements, user and author, focus on the stakeholders, while the last two give attention to aspects of immaterial means and rules.

Each of the angles is subdivided into a series of more distinct descriptive categories. The question of form, for example, is discussed at multiple scales from the urban region to the local building typology. The 'rules of the game' are examined in the framework of control in relation to stakeholder groups, as well as in regard to codes. This structure is used for each of the samples in order to facilitate their comparability. While various voices and materials are studied, the respective narratives of Navi Mumbai, Bumi Serpong Damai and AlphaVille produce a unique indigenous variety and divergence. The complete structural body is presented in the 'structure' section below.

The concluding phase inevitably merges the initial questions set out by theory models, New Town research and specific urban debates, with the base of holistic data, trends and typologies explored in the core. Consequently it allows for a generalisation of system as well as operational knowledge at a higher level. Here the trends and typologies, as well as 'best practices' and problems are identified.

Tools

The essential methodical instruments used to realise the goals of this research include: a review of secondary literature, the examination of a vide range of primary data (from various disciplines and in a multitude of media), expert interviews, rapid spatial appraisal and observation, analytical and explorative mapping techniques, databanks of information and pictures, as well as a catalogue of privately developed New Towns.

> - The formulation the conceptual framework of this research is based on an intensive literature review of theoretical concepts related to the 'production of contemporary space', political economy, neoliberalism, the state-of-the art in New Town research, and a set of related spatial disciplines (cf. the context section).
> - A comprehensive range of primary and secondary case data (from newspaper articles to scientific papers, planning reports, legal documents, statistical reports, in-

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[193] The setting was influenced by game theory. We do not, however, intend to run a simulation.

vestor brochures, or Internet blogs, among others) constitutes the main information body and basis of the project.

- Expert interviews with key planners, developers, and public sector officials provided essential expert knowledge from 'behind the scenes' and valuable input for the evaluation of the respective situation. As was mentioned earlier we have abstained from methods of quantitative empirical analysis. These seem appropriate at later periods, on a general conceptual framework has been established.

- Personal site visits and rapid spatial appraisal methods, as well as participatory observation provided further detailed information and helped to assess the other data.

- The preparation of analytical and explorative maps, as well as conceptual drawings, has been used as another means of improving the understanding of spatial and organisational data.

- Two electronic databanks have been programmed and developed in the manner of file-cards, to facilitate the compilation and the evaluation of text and image data.

- Finally, an electronic catalogue of privately developed new towns was developed. The databanks and catalogues are intended for use beyond this stage of the project. They will also serve as an informational basis for a website on the topic (www.neo-town.org).

Selection of the cases –
Three NeoTowns with a graceful age

The three study cases have been selected out of a sample group of 16 shortlisted examples. These have been identified as representative and potentially paradigmatic examples during an extensive preliminary research phase. To be included in the general data bank an example had to comply with a majority of the NeoTown criteria, as established in the context section.[194] These include: a minimum size and mix of use, the availability of own services and infrastructure, a dominant authorship and control by the private sector, and a distinct ideological moment (cf. to the context chapter).[195] In this comprehensive databank, Asia emerges as a clear leader for the quantity of the projects. Latin America and Africa come up in a distant second and third place.

In order to select the three cases for the main study, the 16 most promising examples from the databank were selected and a comparative matrix was drafted.[196]

→ Illustration A-14: Comparative chart

The three study cases were selected according to the criteria of size, mix of use, democratic context, private sector authorship, maturity, and project region. To be chosen, a scheme had to embrace more than 100 000 residents as well as a broad mix of land uses (with the exception of heavy industry). Moreover, a position in a democratic context associated with a free market economy was required. It was implied that in this context it would best epitomize the logic of the private sector. Moreover, the candidate was required to present a physical reality to be analysed, and thus manifest an advanced state of implementation. This was an important prerequisite to deducting fundamental trends and important lessons.

Additionally, the location of the candidates was important: the three study cases were aimed at displaying a great geographic spread. The Asian region was differentiated to South-East Asia, India, China, and the Middle East, because it contained such an enormous amount of instances.[197] The criteria of project maturity reduced the choices to five. As two of these cases are Chinese (Anting and Shenzhen) these were abandoned and the number boiled down to three. The selection process along this filter leads to a clear identification of Bumi Serpong Damai (Jakarta), AlphaVille (São Paulo), as well as Navi Mumbai (India). This was affirmed in expert interviews and further qualitative investigations.[198]

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[194] The initial process lasted more than one year. The result was a first data bank of potential NeoTowns, which is continuously being expanded. In July 2009 the databank has more than 80 entries. This part of the research was based on intense reviews of primary and secondary literature, expert interviews. All available information sources and media have been used.

[195] The rule of being a component of a megacity region in the south played an implicit role. Yet it seems that it is a sufficient but not a necessary criteria. Our observations speak for the fact that phenomenon of NeoTowns is primarily emerging in extended urban regions of the South. The few contemporary capital cities such as Astana (Kazakhstan) and Abuja (Nigeria) are primarily triggered by the public sector.

[196] At first the chart also contained five reference cases from the West. Irvine was the most promising Western reference case. Yet the approach was dropped, as the addition of a fourth and possible fifth case would have ruined the feasibility of this project. Indeed, another comparative study of Irvine with NeoTowns comes out as a vital point for a future research agenda.

[197] The criteria 'democratic context' has ruled out hundreds of planned cities emerging in contemporary China, the criteria of 'maturity' dozens of Indian examples. Both of these regions remain interesting for future studies!

[198] Nevertheless, the choice of Navi Mumbai appeared problematic and raised a series of questions. It is commonly known that the Indian state of Maharashtra is driving the project (Cf. for example Shaw 2004). Even so, the selection could be

→ Illustration A-15: Selection chart

confirmed while it emerged that the developer is a non-profit company. It became clear that Navi Mumbai would be a particularly good example to demonstrate an ongoing proliferation of privatisation strategies. Yet the fact that Navi Mumbai is a semi-public venture has, in addition to the geographic diversity, also increased the disparity of authorship among the three cases. Bumi Serpong Damai is in the hands of a large industrial conglomerate, while AlphaVille was developed by a local real estate start-up. This composition, once more, promised a maximisation of findings and experiences.

Research design & structure – Games on theoretic turf

The following section describes the structure that was selected to unfold and present this research. The model of the structure may be described as a three-story building. A core of three stories is framed by a theoretical basis and a conceptual roof.

Research design

The structure of this project thrives on the methodological esprit as described above. It emerges from the desire to contextualise the fresh topic in a theoretical framework, to operationalise the matter in a synoptic-holistic way and to conceptualise the results in formulating a research agenda and summarising the most important experiences.

The research object of NeoTowns is contextualised within a framework of relevant debates. This is done to delineate a specific research context as well as to mark out the criteria (indicators) for a measurement and evaluation. Contextualisation is, in other words, the 'subjection' of the research into a system of other objects – it describes the effort of integrating an object into an existing system. This is accomplished through a technique of differentiation.

Opposed to this contextual method of differentiation, the operationalisation refers to a detailed, holistic description of the topic itself. The examination of the respective case study examples, the respective floors of the building, must propitiate the comparability of the three cases. It refers to the interior, to a description of the inner guts of a system. The goal here is to discriminate the sub-elements of a complex topic into manageable parts. Describing the object from as many angles as possible achieves this.

The third step of conceptualisation refers to the act of giving meaning to something, the process of becoming conscious about an issue, its complexity and its implications. To conceptualise a problem, to 'have a concept', is in other words, the precondition that enables us to fully debate and criticise something.

The synoptic and multidisciplinary view is inspired by Patrick Geddes (1915: Cities in Evolution), Herbert Gans (1967: The Levittowners), Henri Lefebvre (1974: The Production of Space) and Alexander Garvin (1996: The American city. What Works, What Doesn't).[199] The approach of this work customises the descriptive angles of the above authors to fit the specific needs of this project. At the same time the layout of the structure is inspired by concepts stemming from systems and game theories (cf. above). The resulting structural prototype contains six major elements: 1. context, 2. form, 3. users, 4. authors, 5. finances (media), and 6. control.

→ Illustration A-16: Elephant metaphor

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[199] Geddes develops the methodology of systematic, holistic, and multidisciplinary surveys as a prerequisite for successful urban development (in the context of the early industrial city). The identification of trends and typologies plays a central role in his methodology. Gans analyses the suburban life in Levittown (Pennsylvania) along a multi-stakeholder perspective of planners, designers, politicians, and residents. He also uses discursive analysis unmasking the ideology of mainstream critique (in the context of the industrial city). Lefebvre comes up with a dialectical model of space, which is produced, experienced and transformed by multiple stakeholders (in the context of the Keynesian city). Finally Garvin takes the gaze of developers into account when describing urban phenomena from the unorthodox but surprisingly effective holistic perspective of the market, location, design, financing, entrepreneurship, and time.

Structure

In order to contextualise, operationalise and conceptualise our topic the work was structured into five chapters: An introductory chapter, three chapters on the case studies, and a concluding evaluative chapter. (A building with three levels)

→ Illustration A-17: Diagram of research structure
→ Illustration A-18: Drawing of the narrative panorama inspired by game theory

Introduction

The opening chapter – e.g. this chapter – is composed of five parts: Part one establishes and communicates the goals of this research; part two explores the theoretical base of state of research, delineates the relevant research gaps, and affirms the relevance of this research.

This is achieved respectively: A. by the perspective of concepts on contemporary space; B. from the angle of relevant questions and definitions of New Town research, and C. in relation to a selected range of urban debates with a strong relevance to the topic.

The third section makes transparent the underlying methodological rationale and defines the substantive tolls; part four defines and affirms the case study samples; and part five delineates the research design and structure.

Central part

Chapters two to four represent the core of this work. They enclose a systematic and synoptic description of the three cases.

The structural set up of these sections is modular. On the one hand this facilitates an autonomous description of the particular cases, creating an individual narrative for each of the examples. On the other hand the methodical construction of the subchapter makes possible a systematic measurement and evaluation of the subjects.

→ Illustration A-19: List of comparative indicators

Context

The context subdivision provides the local referential framework and grounding for each case. It employs a multiscalar as well as historical technique: Firstly, a set of basic national and regional indicators is examined in order to get a better understanding of the context. Then the project is examined according to a set of comprehensive demographic, economic, cultural, and social variables. Special consideration is given to the identification of relationships of the figures as well as to the elaboration of the essential spatial trends. Thereafter, a historical thread is established. This anchors the individual narratives, both on a national as well as local scale. The gaze is further refined along a political, economic and a spatial perspective, which seeks to identify the major milestones and historic trends of each project. The chapter concludes with an examination of the predecessors and peers of New Town planning with a focus on the specific contexts.

Only this panorama is able to inform us about the relevance of each of the cases in their individual situations. It makes it possible to understand whether privately planned

cities as well as all their respective components are a norm or an exception; whether their population is well off or disadvantaged; if the technical features represent the mainstream or the avant-garde; whether to think of the strategies of imagination, survival, power, or profit as innovations or as standards. We become equipped to be able to name conspicuous behaviour as corrupt or culturally constructed; and understand whether the pattern we observe is truly new, or only 'old wine in new bottles'.

Form

The next level of the examination and comparison of the respective examples is devoted to form. It is composed of two main parts and follows a multiscalar technique. The first part examines the direct relationship between the case and its greater environment. The central question is of how the project integrates into the particular region. This is examined inter alia by examining the mobility and accessibility as well as the quality and quantity of infrastructure networks. Secondly, the inner morphology and physiognomy of the project is disentangled. Here we have reached an important watershed.

At this point the interior logic of the project gets the full attention. Our analytical zooming technique reduces the level of the complete town, the neighbourhoods, as its main building stones and modules, down to the blocks and buildings and streets. The analysis is done along quantitative and qualitative criteria. Of particular interest are parameters, such as size, density and mix of use, but also the structural organisation, growth patterns, and land use, including their distribution. Specific attention is given to the development of key modules and specific typologies at various periods. These are then mostly examined through particular examples. The examination of forms also suggests a first exploration of the design ideas.

As a result, we seek to understand the structural logic of the particular scheme, and to discern the global and local factors of this system-process. Once more, only this perspective enables us to get a sense of the innovations and problems and empowers us to generalise trends.

Users

While the second part is devoted to understand the formal logic of the system, the third section of each chapter aims to recognise the players and users in the system. Among these in particular are the residents, but often also significant on-site populations affected by the projects. The 'user' section provides an overview of the demographic, social, economic and cultural profile of the residents. Moreover, it aims to understand the needs of the demand side and the particular set of motives of opting for new dwelling environments. Of specific weight is also the matter of bottom-up social organisation and control. How do the individual players, who are, in the case of a fresh New Town, foreigners to one another, co-ordinate themselves? And which top-down support do they obtain from developers and the public administration? These questions have been addressed by the inquiry for residence associations, or cooperative forms of bottom-up organisation.[200]

Authors

The fourth level of the portrayal of the three NeoTowns is an inquiry into the nature of the authors. This point considers the role and spirit of the private sector in particular.

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[200] After all, it must be mentioned that the episode on the users and players is bound to remain on an indicative level. The scope of the work programme does not allow for empirical and participatory investigations on a deeper level, which is customary in the social sciences. Regardless, the perspective is a valid and essential part of the entirety. It can hardly be missed.

Yet it also provides a reason for revisiting the role of spatial disciplines such as architects, landscape architects, urban designers, planners, or structural engineers.[201]

Both developers and 'spatial disciplines' are studied at the level of persons, organisations and through the examination of value systems and ideologies. We are interested in finding out how contemporary New Towns are designed, marketed and maintained, and how the tactics of privately driven urbanisation relate to the strategies of the mainstream trade and industry practices. As in the other sections, particular attention is given to the identification of novel trends and innovations in both of the disciplines.

Finance

The fifth analytical angle of our comparative study deals with the role of finance. While money is the central medium of market-based economies, this aspect is also of central importance for privately driven entrepreneurial urbanism. Today, price tends to become a universal measure (even of good and bad). Profitability becomes the final benchmark of survival or default. Urban development becomes privatised. This is also true for New Town projects. Obviously money becomes a core matter of urbanism.

From this perspective it becomes important to observe why privately developed cities do better than their public peers. Moreover, it becomes essential to learn about the strategies behind the apparent success, and to examine the question of the effects that financial logics and strategies have on space.[202]

The section addresses this query by considering the demand and supply driven perspective of the buyers as well as the developers. The factors examined are cost, profitability and the availability of financial means. Questions such as land prices, access to mortgages, spread of products, the availability of foreign funds, or the diversification of products in financial markets, are among the important components of the inquiry. Moreover, a distinctive emphasis is put on the evaluation of the impacts of the financial logic on the production of urban space.[203]

Control

One of the vital ingredients of a complex and self-organised system, including a planned town, is the existence of basic codes and regulations as well as of systems of control. Consequently, the sixth and last of the standpoints from which we look at our object of study is the examination of the regulatory framework and the question of power and control. Here the main focus is laid on the role of the public sector.

In accordance with the problem, the material is divided in two sub-aspects: Initially we examine the power-landscapes of, and among, the stakeholders. Subsequently the framework of laws, rules and regulations is investigated. At both levels four essential scales of nation, state, region, and municipality are considered.

In this context we seek to identify: Who has political control of the place? Whether hybrid organisational forms (such as public private partnerships) exist? Whether federal rules are significant? Whether official master plans are relevant? Which other local (formal and informal) codes are of importance? And which official regulations have been developed in response to the projects? It is also interesting to discover how these aspects mutate in history and how they are related to a macro level of economic liberalisation."

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[201] Indeed, the fact that the background of the author of this work lies in architecture and planning, and that planners are among the main target groups of this investigation, is also a reason for the increased focus on this topic.

[202] Alexander Garvin (1996: 352) declares the idea of the modernistic new town as bankrupt. He observes that Irvine remains the only one profitable New Town on the North American continent (350). Garvin quotes the risks associated with long-term investment and down payment cycles as the most serious obstacles. He contends that: "new towns may be more costly than scattered development".

[203] Once more it has to be stated that this investigation cannot replace a professional inquiry by experts in the field.

Evaluation and conclusion

Whereas chapter one elaborates the basis of this work, chapter five represents the roof. This section aims to specify the common features as well as the specific characteristics on the projects discussed. Here the findings of chapters two to four are distilled and synthesised. This is achieved by the same structural set up that was used before (context, form, users, authors, finances, and control). The findings are implicitly measured against the criteria of the theoretical base. Moreover, the major contradictions, problems, innovations and paradoxes are summarised. Selected variables describing the major features of the three cases are contrasted in a common matrix. The chapter closes with the formulation of a research agenda (system knowledge) and with a recapitulation of the major experiences (operational knowledge).

B. Case 1:

BUMI

SERPONG

DAMAI

THEMATIC

PARADISE

Abstract

The New Town Bumi Serpong Damai, in the Tangerang District of the greater Jakarta region, is planned to reach a size of 6.000 hectares for 800.000 residents. This makes it the largest privately developed New Town (i.e. NeoTown) in developing countries. The project was conceived in 1984 by a group of private developers. Finalisation was planned for 2015 in three project stages. Ground breaking took place in 1989. Today, a first phase with 1.300 hectares and 100.000 residents is almost completed; the second stage went into implementation. The town's developer BSD PT is a subsidiary of Sinar Mas, one of the largest industrial conglomerates of Indonesia. The superior motives of economic development and life-style representation hitherto result in the emergence of an astonishing thematic landscape.

Table 2: Key indicators – Bumi Serpong Damai

Name of NeoTown	Bumi Serpong Damai *
Country, State, Region, District	Indonesia, Banten, Jabodetabek (Jakarta Region), Tangerang
Start date (planned completion)	1989 (2015)
Phases (finished, total)	1 (3)
Size (present, planned)	1.300 (6.000)
Population (present, planned)	100.000 (600.000)
Local Population (phase 1, II-III)	30.000 (120.000)
Structures (number of houses)	21.000 (135.000)
Developer (name of developer)	Sinar Mas **
Major motive ['1' = decongest; '2' = economic development; '3' = security; '4' = lifestyle and representation]	2, 4, 3, 1***
Type ['A' parallel city; 'B' satellite town; 'C' regional node; 'D' independent new centre; 'E' others]	C

*The name means 'Peaceful Land of Serpong'
**Previously a joint venture of 3-10 developers. The composition has changed several times

Introduction –
The New Town 'par excellence'

The New Town of Bumi Serpong Damai[1] in the periphery of the megacity Jakarta, is one the of the three main study objects of this thesis. The 'Peaceful Land of Serpong', according to the meaning of its name, represents the largest contemporary New Town development in the developing world in the hands of one private enterprise.[2] If finished as planned, BSD may also become the contemporary New Town with the largest population.[3]

The New Town of Bumi Serpong Damai was the forerunner and role model of the unique New Town boom that occurred in Jakarta's periphery between the early 1980s and the late 1990's. With a planned area of 6.000 hectares and a planned population of 650.000 it was also the largest New Town project that went into implementation.

On the surface of it Bumi Serpong Damai is an example par excellence of the typology of Neo Towns. It was developed, implemented and it is run entirely by the private sector. As a result, it is highly affected by the principles of 'market oriented strategic planning'. Hence, it appears to be a perfect case to study the question of how new urban spaces are produced by the dynamics of the new economy, when market-orientated state of the art business strategies and standards become localised and landed.

In correspondence with the general approach of this thesis the following chapter seeks to generate a broad understanding of the various processes producing this case. While our methodology was termed holistic, comprehensive, synoptic and explorative, the information will be compiled from six different angles and dimensions. The resulting chapter is an element that can be examined on its own, and which, in addition, serves as one basis element for the comparative study.

In view of the synoptic method this chapter will be structured along the following topics: A summary of 'key indicators' will be presented at the beginning; The first comprehensive vista on the phenomenon will be taken by the elaboration of the 'general context' of the project; Secondly, a full description of the 'physical structure' of the project will be given; The third position focuses deeply on the 'population profile', while the fourth perspective is disentangling the qualities and motives of the 'developers and planners'; 'Project finance' constitutes the fifth viewpoint on the object of study; The sixth angle, finally, circumscribes BSD's framework of control. A systematic summary of the findings, as well the presentation of important implications, concludes the chapter.
*** Subjective ranking

→ Illustration B-1: Map of Indonesia

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[1] The scheme will be in the following also referred to as BSD. Moreover it will be referred to as a New Town, as well as a NeoTown, the first pointing to the general typological family and the latter to its presumed species. BSD PT refers to the New Town enterprise. 'PT' Is the Indonesian abbreviation for 'perséroan terbatas'. It means 'Incorporated'.

[2] As far as size is concerned, the New Town of Irvine in California, run by the Irvine Company, takes the uncontested lead with a size of 21.200 hectares.

[3] Several planned New Towns of India's Integrated-Township-boom amount to 8.000 hectares or more. (Cf. DNA India 2007)

General context –
Dynamic peripheries

Introduction – Multidimensional metamorphosis of a nation

Bumi Serpong Damai is a new urban element of significant size. It emerges in a specific spatial, political, historical, and cultural setting and cannot be comprehended without understanding the same. This section, therefore, elaborates the broader framework of the Indonesian NeoTown. Bumi Serpong Damai will be approached from a macro scale: step by step and from a broad, across-the-board perspective.

Like other countries in a postcolonial development setting, contemporary Indonesia is dominated by several vibrant macro and mid-level trends. These have profound impacts on practically any new development: The country's demographic growth and rapid urban transformation are of historical dimensions. At the same time the forces of globalisation and privatisation are acting with an unprecedented vigour, but it is not only globalisation. From a historical perspective the country of 17.500 islands was affected by the dominance of the Javanese culture, a thriving Islam, as well by Dutch colonisation. During post-independence two authoritarian figures, Sukarno and Suharto have put significant marks on the national landscape. The early 21st Century is marked by democratisation and decentralisation programmes. Indeed, it is correct to say that all these large-scale trends fuel a "multidimensional metamorphosis of a diverse nation..." (Cf. Sarosa 2006: 159)

According to the objectives of this section the following fundamental aspects, will be examined below: Firstly, a general set of key indicators of Indonesia's history and political system (politics, economy, demography, culture) will be presented; A second part will expose the (quite dramatic) sequence of historical milestones (epochs) fundamental to the development of Bumi Serpong Damai and other similar New Towns in the Jakarta region. A special consideration will be given to the characteristic spatial typologies of each era; The impact of Indonesian culture as well as a framework of risks and disasters will be marked out in the fourth and fifth sections respectively, while the legacy of urban development in the Jakarta region will be presented in the seventh part. Thereafter specific attention will be given to the physical characteristics of the region, current problems and development trends, urban planning strategies, and the relevant political and institutional landscapes. Finally, the legacy of BSD's predecessors in the Indonesian context will be drawn.

Indonesia

Profile

Name of country	Republic of Indonesia
Year of independence	1945
Political system at groundbreaking of NoT	Dictatorship
Political system 2009	Parliamentary democracy
Urbanisation rate and growth	48 percent, 4,3 percent
Population earning less than 2US$ per day	55 percent
Literacy rate	91 percent
Households with breadwinners in the formal sector	16 percent
Average Income (GDPpc)	US$ 814
Economic growth rates (1998-2008)	4-6 percent
HDI	72
Year of liberal reforms	1991
Cars per 1000 people	12
FDI	72
Number minority Chinese	1,8 Million (460000 in Jakarta)

Table 3: Key indicators – Country-level Indonesia[4]

Name, country

Bumi Serpong Damai is located in Indonesia. The country has a population of 225 million residents (Cf. Sarosa 2006). This makes it the fourth biggest nation in the world. A majority of the population, three fifths, reside on the island of Java. (Cf. Spreitzhofer 2003)

Urbanisation rate and growth

Indonesia's urban population is growing at 200 percent of the national growth rate. While the country's population increased by 1,15 percent per annum between 2005 and 2007 (ADB 2007), the urban residents grew at a rate of 4,3 percent (UN-Habitat, Dorléans 2002: 41). With almost half of the country's population (48 percent) living in cities (Sarosa, Asian Development Bank, UN-Habitat), the country reflects general urbanisation trends in the world.[5] The proportion of people living in urban areas is predicted to reach 60 percent by 2025. Most city and county governments (Kabupaten) are overwhelmed by the ever-increasing demand for urban services, infrastructure, housing and facilities, and employment (Sarosa 2006).

Year of independence

Indonesia declared itself independent in 1945. After a process, referred to as the Indonesian National Revolution, the Dutch accepted the declaration in 1949. (Cf. Reid, 1974)

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[4] Cf. Appendix: Chart of comprehensive indicators

[5] According to the UN, in 2007 half of the world's population was living in cities. India's population is to 30 percent urban and China's to 40 percent.

Political system

Postcolonial Indonesia has a long history of struggle to define its identity. This is paralleled by a history of authoritarian governments. Only in 2004 under President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono did the country become a parliamentary democracy.

Market attitude

After decolonisation Indonesia's markets have been highly regularised. Under the regime of the first president Sukarno, the country focused on a nationalist strategy of export substitution. Indonesia's second president General Suharto started massive liberalisation and deregulation incentives in the 1980's (cf. below: National milestones).

Centralisation and decentralisation

Since its unification by the Dutch colonisers, the country of 17.500 islands finds itself in a permanent struggle of centralisation versus decentralisation. Nevertheless, all efforts of decentralisation have only reinforced the importance of Jakarta as the centre of political power and as an economic node.[6] [7]

Migratory movements

Enormous population movements also reflect the struggle of centralisation versus decentralisation. Migration – if politically or economically motivated, forced or voluntary, for push- or pull factors – has always been a part of the dynamics of this diverse nation. The region has a unique culture of seafarers, traders and mobile ethnic groups. This fact has historically facilitated the spread of Islam, as well as the emergence of a modern multicultural society (cf. Tirtosudamo, 2007). In 1990 for example, about 17 million people or 9.9 percent of the total population moved across the country.

Migration has always been a significant factor of Jakarta's population growth. In 1990, 39.9 percent of the total population in Jakarta were migrants (Tjiptoherijanto, 1995). Significantly, Suharto's regime that has tried to 'clean' up Jakarta and to counter this trend by promoting a programme called Transmigrasi. Many people, in particular the poor, were forced to relocate to other islands. Conflicts and waves of violence paralleled the process.[8]

Infrastructure and services

Indonesia features a stark divide in the provision of infrastructure and services: Only 39 percent of urban areas are connected to formal water supply; Road density levels are 1.6 km per 1000 people with 12 people in every 1000 owning cars; Electricity consumption is just 319 kilowatt-hours (kWh) per capita, with 45 percent of households not connected to electricity; Only 3 percent of urban areas are served with fixed-line telephones,

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[6] Also known as Batavia (Dutch name), or Jabodetabek (Name for the greater region).

[7] Efforts to decentralise the country date back to colonial rule. The Dutch enforced a Decentralisation Act in 1903. A Local Council Ordinance followed 1905 and strengthened the powers local governments. Since independence, the character of the country was stressed by the national motto of 'Unity in Diversity' (Bhinneka Tunggal Ika) (cf. Nas 2002: 13). While Sukarno's 'National Consolidation' brought back a strong emphasis on centralisation based on Jakarta, Suharto's 'New Order' era, as well, relied on a unified nation state. Significant amounts of infrastructure were built in the country and various efforts were made to redistribute powers to regional governments. At the same time these activities, reinforced the supremacy of the capital region. Only after the fall of Sukarno's "New Order" policy the country is undergoing further decentralisation.

[8] Besides the intention of relieving population pressure... 'Transmigrasi' was aimed at promoting national integration and ... the protection of the relatively uninhabited borders of the archipelago. (Cf. Nas 2002: 8)

with only 27 lines per 1000 people (cf. Douglas 2005). The literacy rates in the country amount to 91 percent (ADB, 2008).[9]

Economic framework

GDP and average income

Indonesia is a developing country and an emerging economy. Its economic growth rates are on a fast track. While the total GDP of the country was at 173 billion (The World Bank 2004)[10], the average income per head (GDP) was a mere US$ 816 (The World Bank 2004).[11] In contrast, the average income per capita for the Jakarta region was estimated at about 4.667 US$ of GDP per year. This is 4 times as much as the average national gross product per capita.[12]

National economic growth

During the last years Indonesia's economy was among the fastest growing in the world. Economic growth amounted to 6.3 percent in 2007 and 6.5 percent in 2008. (Cf. BPS, Jakarta; Goldman Sachs 2007).

Change in share of, manufacturing, services, agriculture

Indonesia is rapidly emerging into a service-based economy, reflecting mainstream trends. Between 1992 and 2002 the value added by agriculture decreased from 56 to 46 percent, accordingly the share of services rose from 30 to 37 percent. Indeed, looking at the fast urbanisation and the peripheral development some authors see Indonesia among the countries which take a shortcut from an agricultural to a service oriented society.

Rise of middle classes

Like in other emerging economies, the middle classes are the segment of the population that is rising fastest. The life style of the new middle classes is increasingly oriented towards a consumer society. (Cf. below: Population) This is reflected by the fact that the growth rates related to consumption grow at a much faster pace than population numbers and the rates on the production side. Unfortunately a large segment of the poorer population seems to stay behind.

A good indicator for the boom of consumer society is the quantity of shopping space construction: Here, in last 25 years almost 100 new shopping malls emerged in the Jakarta region. Only in 2003 20 new malls were constructed (Douglass 2005: 4). Jakarta's shopping space ratios per person are as high as Singapore's.[13] It is revealing to see that while the value of Jabodetabek's Shopping malls amounted to IDR 20.000 billion IDR (20 billion US$) in 2005, at the same time 'only' IDR 15.000 billion went towards nationwide commercial housing development (Cf. Hoek-Smit, 2005).

Availability of cars

Another indicator for the rising relevance of the middle classes is the disproportional growth in the ownership of cars. While only 1,2 percent of people actually own a car, the

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[9] A massive program of education for all was launched in Indonesia in 1984. The literacy rate of population aged 10 years and over has increased dramatically from 59.6 percent in 1971 to 84 percent in 1990. (Cf. Tjiptoherijanto, 1995)

[10] Moscow's GP is at 181 billion. The GDP of New York City is at 1.100 billion. (Cf. citymayors.com)

[11] In PPP (Purchasing Power Parity) the number was at US$ 3.500.

[12] Jakarta's GDP was prognosticated to grow from 100 billion US$ in 1005 to 253 US$ in 2020. (Cf. Appendix: Table 'Parallel cities')

[13] Three million square meters of new shopping space have been constructed since 1985.

number was growing at an annual rate of 10 percent in the last couple of years.[14] Jakarta's road networks, however, only expanded by a mere 2 percent per year.[15]

Housing affordability

Despite its status as a developing country, Indonesia's general affordability level for housing[16] is remarkably good. Households need to pay the 3 to 3,6-fold amount of their annual income for a house.[17]

Middle- and lower-middle income households have a long tradition of receiving subsidised fixed rate loans. Yet, the demand for mortgage debt for this group is artificially conditioned to the number of subsidised loans issued by government (Hoek-Smit, 2005). A typical starter house has a size of 36 square meters. The typical starter lot has about 90 square meters. The current maximum income level required to qualify for a grant is IDR 1.5 million per month (about US$ 150). The house-price is then limited to IDR 42 million (4.200 USD). (Ibidem)

The problem, however, is that an average Indonesian household, can barely afford to pay for a loan from the private market, even for a lot in a rather poor location. This is because the transaction costs for loans are extremely high. These account for 2-3 monthly incomes. In addition, households have to allocate at least 30 percent of their income towards mortgage payments (Cf. Hoek-Smit, 2005).

Income and distribution

Despite the rapid growth of middle classes it remains unclear if the dynamic growth can trickle down to all segments of the population. Indeed, Indonesia, as much as other emerging economies, seems to be a path towards an increasing polarisation of incomes.

Poverty and informality

An enormous number of Indonesia's population is poor: One fifth of the country's population lives below the poverty line[18]; 55,3 percent earn less than US$ 2 per day (UN-Habitat, 2001). Moreover only 16 percent of the population is employed in the formal sector (Hoek-Smit 2005). Poverty is progressively concentrated in cities. Here more than 40 percent of the population live below the poverty line[19] and 43 out of 100 children die before reaching the age of five (The World Bank 2004).[20] In addition, it is estimated that 85 percent of Indonesia's new housing stock is informal (Spreitzhofer 2003: 58).

On the other hand, the number of people living below the poverty line decreases each year by about 12.6 percent. The fastest decrease is taking place in the rural areas (16.3 percent per annum), while in urban centres the rate stagnates at 0.6 percent. (Cf. Tjiptoherijanto)

Gini index

Indeed, Indonesia's income gap seems to be widening. In 2007 a share of 10 percent of populations earned more than 30 percent of the total income. The country's GINI index,

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[14] At the same time GDP Growth was around 6 percent, and population growth around 2 percent. (Cf. The World Bank 2004). The equivalent car ownership rate for Argentina was 16,6 percent, and for Germany 51,6 percent.

[15] Cf. Cowherd 2002: 20, quoting Dewanto 2000 and the Statistik Kendaraan 1997.

[16] E.g. the average cost of a house divided by the average annual income.

[17] Shortly before the 2008 credit crisis comparable levels in some western countries reached 11,5 (Orange County), and 7,7 (London).

[18] Earning less than 1 US$ per day.

[19] Cf. The World Bank 2003, from Sarosa.

[20] This is twice the amount of China, and eight times as much as in Europe.

a UN measure on inequality, has climbed to a rate of 37 (United Nations Human Development Report, 2007).[21]

Internationalisation, foreign direct investments
The rise of Neo Towns in the peripheries of mega-city regions worldwide is not only related to the growth of local middle classes, developers of large real estate projects such as BSD increasingly flourish on investment capital from global money markets.

Indonesia's real estate sector focuses on projects financed by equity investments and houses pre-financed by the owners.[22] (Cf. Smit-Hoek 2005)

Because the banking sector remains reluctant to provide large loans, industry companies are increasingly turning to the bond market to raise funds. Until 2008 a huge amount of money was available on global markets.[23]

After a sharp fall as an effect of the Asian crisis, the flows of international investments have regained ground very fast again. According to data from the Investment Coordinating Board (BKP), the actual numbers for Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) during the first six months of 2006 amounted to US$ 3.51 billion. This was a rise of 5 percent compared to the previous year (Jones Lang Lasalle 2006: 7).

Notably, Japan remains the most important investor not only in Jabodetabek but also in the whole of Indonesia. It is followed by two other countries from the region: South Korea and Singapore.

Indonesia has become one of the largest bond markets in Asia (Cf. Asia Sentinel 2006b).[24] Despite a dramatic development in domestic fuel prices and high interest rates, investors have bought up a record $3.5 billion in bonds as macroeconomic performance has improved and President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono has attempted to repair the government's credibility.

WB loans, foreign aid
Indonesia currently receives annual credits of about 1,2 billion dollars from The World Bank and about 1,1 billion from the ADB (ADB 2007).[25]

Culture

> *"It is the operation of culture that remains the most complex and least understood aspect of how Jakarta and other cities have been transformed under the pressures of global economic expansion." (Cowherd 2002: 38)*

To understand the context of Bumi Serpong Damai and Jakarta's New Town boom, it is also important to have an impression about the region's political and economic culture.

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[21] The GINI Index is an index of income inequalities. A number of 100 represents total inequality, while a number of 0 means absolute equality. The GINI index for Germany is 30, Chile 57, US 41.

[22] The reason for this is the laissez faire experience that has lead to the financial crisis of the late 1990's. (Cf. below)

[23] The Economist (2007) estimated that in the past four years the global supply of dollars has risen by an annual average of 18 percent: "Worldwide, an abundance of liquidity has lured investors into riskier assets in search of higher returns." Low returns in western bond-markets encouraged many investments in emerging market bonds, equities and property. Share prices have risen by 243 percent on average from 2003, in the large BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India, and China) and beyond. (Cf. Goldman Sachs 2007)

[24] Trimegah Securities, Indonesia's biggest investor in corporate bonds, reckons the corporate debt market is worth over US$ 7 billion. Moreover: "Government and existing corporate bonds have become primary investment options not only for the country's pension funds, but also for local and foreign mutual fund managers." (Cf. Asia Sentinel 2006b).

[25] During the Suharto Regime Indonesia received a yearly amount of 1 billion dollars of World Bank loans. In reaction to the corruption government and the financial crisis of 1998 the Bank has reduced the loans to US$ 400 million for several years. (Cf. Perlez 2003)

At a first glance Indonesia looks like a homogeneous country, unified by a main language, religion and a central government. On the other side, however, the country is very diverse. Its 220 million people are spread over 17.500 islands and speak some 300 languages and dialects.

In his exploration of the development of urban space in Indonesia within the Suharto period, Robert Cowherd (2002) points to the role of culture as one of the critical elements in understanding the urban development. Cowherd thinks that while corruption and the economic speculation have arguably been the most significant forces in the transformation of Jakarta, these were tolerated and to a great means carried out through cultural means. (Cf. quotation above)

Political culture – the Asian version of the new economy
Indonesia's political culture is founded upon common values such as order, harmony, tolerance, and syncretism. These are also built upon traditional hierarchies and power structures. On the whole, these 'Asian' values are one important, and a widely underrated factor, that largely contributed towards the liberalisation of the economy and that has led, as some experts assert, to the emergence of an Asian version of their own neoliberal economy. Characteristically, the combination of Asian values and neo-economic principles has been nurturing Monetarism[26], without paying too much attention to problems related to human rights and democracy.[27]

Like other Southeast Asians, Indonesians place a strong emphasis on a culture of 'harmony' in political as well as in private life. As to all members of society 'Maintaining ones face' is very important, open critique is regarded as a taboo. The result is also a hierarchical society with a strong role of the 'elders' and authorities.

However, despite the harmony-culture Indonesia has been rated as one of the most corrupt countries in the world (Transparency International, 2007), at the same level with Russia. [28]

A unique feature is Indonesia's system of bottom-up governance on block and neighbourhood level. The block level self-government is called Rukun Tetangga (RT), while the neighbourhood unit is called Rukun Warga (RW)[29]. The system is valid for the whole country and for all segments of society and makes a certain level of bottom-up governance possible.

Ethnicity, e.g. role of the Sino-Indonesian
The capital region of Jakarta is Indonesia's melting pot and international gateway. Six major ethnic groups make up the population: Javanese (35 percent), Betawi (28 percent), Sundanese (15 percent), Chinese (6 percent), Batak (4 percent), Minangkabau (3 percent) (cf. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies 2003). The ethnic plurality is also reflected in the

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[26] Economic theory stemming from the Chicago Scholl arguing that government should seek to control prices and inflation, but not the supply of money.

[27] Wust (2002) refers to an Asian version of Neo-liberalism represented by ASEAN, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations: "ASEAN vertritt die Haltung eines Asiatischen Liberalismus, der gemeinsame kulturelle Werten wie Ordnung, Harmonie, Toleranz und Synkretismus repräsentiert, der aber auch auf traditionellen Hierarchien und Machstrukturen aufbaut. Alles in allem haben diese ‚asiatischen' Werte vor allem eine großen Beitrag zur Liberalisierung der Wirtschaft geliefert und den sogenannten Monetarismus gefördert ohne ihre Aufmerksamkeit allzu sehr auf Probleme wie Menschenrechte oder Demokratie zu richten."

[28] Indonesia has been assigned the level 2,3 on a scale from 0= most corrupt, to 10 least corrupt. Cf. the CPI Index on the Transparency International Website (Retrieved in March 2008).

[29] The layout of the New Town Pulo Mas has been strictly designed along this hierarchy (cf. below: Predecessors).

spatial pattern of the city. Most of the groups, particularly the lower income sector, tend to cluster in their own communities.[30]

The Chinese population is of particular importance for the understanding in our context. This is the case because Jakarta is a hot spot for the Chinese community and many of Jakarta's projects have been financed by Indochinese banks, developed by Indochinese conglomerates, and appropriated by Indochinese families. The Chinese arrived in Java as early as in the 13th century. They belonged to a class of merchants, artisans, and middle-men collecting taxes from native populations (cf. Worden 1993). The Chinese lived for the most part in segregated communities, went to Chinese oriented universities and always maintained strong trading networks throughout SE-Asia and into their homelands (cf. Pratiwo 2002: 150). Many Chinese have always belonged to the high-income classes. Several of Indonesia's largest corporations, such as Lippo and Sinar Mas are in Indochinese hands. (Ibidem)

Notably, the antagonism between the Chinese and Indonesian communities became an important factor during critical historical periods, such as the transition from the Sukarno to the Suharto era, or the 1997 financial crisis.[31] For example, the experience of Chinese residents of being targets of several violent riots during the 1997 crisis encouraged many wealthy Chinese to seek the security of New Towns and gated communities in the periphery (Cf. Dick and Rimmer 1998, quoted in Firman 2004:16).[32]

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[30] Kusno 2006 describes threefold division of Indonesian cities during the Dutch occupation into European-, Chinese-, and 'other' Quarters.

[31] Historically the Chinese were facing a considerable hostility from both Indonesians and Europeans, largely because of the economic threat they seemed to pose. "In 1740, for example, as many as 10.000 Chinese were massacred in Batavia apparently with the complicity of the Dutch governor general". (Cf. Warden).

In 1959 Sukarno authorised a directive (PP 10/1959) forcing Chinese Indonesians to relocate from rural to urban areas. As part of the state's enforcement of this law, in 1967 incident in Western Kalimantan, 42,000 accused separatists were slaughtered. (Cf. Purdey, Jemma 2002: Anti-Chinese Violence in Indonesia, 1996–1999; Melbourne, at: http://repository.unimelb.edu.au/10187/1022. r12.03.2009.)

[32] During the riots, the property of Indonesian-Chinese descendants was target of mobs and was looted and burned. The riots also included peripheral locations, e.g. when the Super Mall in Lippo Karawaci was burned. (Cf. Firman 2004:19)

Jakarta

Table 4: Key indicators – Jakarta

Population (Region / Centre)	21 / 9,1 million
Size (Region / Centre)	6.900 / 660 km2
Percent of FDI going to Jakarta	66
Population growth	~ 3 percent p.a.
Peripheral Growth 1983 to 2003	300 percent
Density (Region / Centre)	30 / 140 p/ha
Metroshare of Country population	13 percent
GDP (per capita)	4.667 US$
Share Metro-GDP of Country-GDP	19 percent
Ratio GDP p.c City/Nation	400 percent
House Prices (AAA, Centre)	~ 200.000 US$
House Prices (AAA, Periphery)	~ 80.000 US$
Affordability threshold of lower income groups	~ 5.000 US$
Mercer Quality of Life Index rank	150 of 215 cities worldwide
Share of Informal Sector	~ 66 percent
Number of High-rises	500
Percentage of Sino-Indonesians	6

→ Illustration B-2: Map of the Jakarta Region

City

Jakarta is the nation's capital. It is the seat of the government and the countries main economic centre. It is a capital region, which is a province in itself. The city is divided into five municipalities and ruled by a governor. Most of Indonesia's largest banks and corporations and many headquarters of multinational companies are located in the city. (Cf. Spreitzhofer, 2003)

The city is growing beyond the administrative boundaries of central Jakarta and forms a metropolitan region of 21 million residents on an area of almost 7000 square kilometres. The region houses almost 10 percent of the Indonesian population. The metropolitan region around Jakarta was named Jabodetabek. This is a combination of the initials of Jakarta as well as five of the main municipalities (Jakarta, Bogor, Dekasi, Tangerang, Bekasi).

Population

The present population of the greater Jakarta region of Jabodetabek is estimated at 22 Million (Cf. Demographia 2007). Jakarta's central district (DKIJ, or Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta) houses 9.1 Million residents.

Growth

From 1990 to 2000 the population of Jabodetabek jumped from 17 to 21 million, by an average of more than 800.000 people per year (Douglas 2005: 3). With growth rates

around 3 percent per annum (Santoso 2004, UN-Habitat 2001) another 50 percent of residents will be added in the next 15 years.[33]

Structure of the region

Jakarta's urban system is a good example for the emergence of a multiplex urban region in the context of a developing country in Southeast Asia (cf. McGee 1991). The city developed from a mono-centric core to a multi-polar agglomeration of nearly 7.000 square kilometres (cf. Demographia 2007). Urbanisation has spread into the adjoining province of West Java engulfing some smaller regional centres (Douglas 2005). These 'smaller' towns, however, account for Indonesia's largest cities.[34] Two main development axes structure the regional urban system: a 120-kilometre corridor connecting Bekasi to the East and Tangerang in the West as well a 200-kilometre north-south corridor that from Jakarta's northern districts towards Bogor and Bandung.

While the country was decentralised, significant central functions of Jakarta have been reinforced.[35] In this context, parts of the central city have been increasingly internationalised and restructured into global business hubs. The trend is represented by an ongoing boom in the construction of office space i.e. skyscrapers[36]. These dot the urban fabric in a patchwork-like pattern. (Spreitzhofer 2000)

Type of newly planned quarters

Types in newly built quarters range from condominium towers, gated communities and open suburban arrangements. Apartment towers in central locations are most prominent for the higher income classes at the high end of the market (cf. Jones Lang Lassalle, Cushman & Wakerfield). Detached houses are the preferred dwelling forms for all other classes, formal and informal.

Distribution of wealthiest neighbourhoods in the region

It can be observed that Jakarta's wealthiest neighbourhoods are mainly concentrated in a sector of affluent development from North to the Southwest, stretching from the central city to Kebayoran Baru, Pondok Indah and beyond (cf. below: Predecessors). This segment was also the focus of the highest infrastructure investments in the past (cf. Douglas 2005; also cf. to the map of New Town predecessors below).

Distribution of informal settlements

In contrast, informal settlements and Kampongs are equally scattered around the region. They comprise the majority (around 85 percent) of all structures.

Structure of the periphery

Desakota

Jakarta has a 'tradition of low density urbanisation'. The mega-city region comprises relatively low urban densities of less than 30 people per hectare (Cf. Demographia; Bertaud 2004)[37]. Jakarta's peripheral fabric was characterised by a mix of agriculture, villages, industrial estates, and half empty and unfinished New Towns (Firman 2004: 11). The intensifying regional development has created a new local peri-urban typology. The

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[33] Under Dutch rule Jakarta was known as Batavia. The city served as the capital of the colony. It grew from 6,1 hectares at the time of occupation to 107 hectares in 1770.

[34] 5 out of the 12 largest cities in Indonesia are in the Jabodetabek metropolitan region.

[35] The massive deregulation of banking and financial institutions between 1983 to 1988 (cf. below: Milestones, Suharto's era) has lead to enormous injections of foreign capital into the country with an enormous focus on the capital city region. 66 percent of all foreign investments of the 90's went to Jakarta.

[36] Particularly in areas such as the 'Golden Triangle'. (Cf. Cushman & Wakefield; Jones Lang Lassalle)

[37] These are numbers that can be compared to Western European Cities.

geographer Terry McGee (1991) named this urban form Desakota (desa= city; kota= village). The Desakota is based on a seamless transition of Java's high density agricultural into the urban service sector economies.[38] McGee describes how, in the extended regions of Southeast Asian Metropoles, such as Jakarta, or Manila, rural lifestyles directly merge with urban typologies. This rural city, or urban village, thrives on the combination of the advantages of rural self-organisation working for the post-industrial global economy.

Sleeping land

Large patches of idle, 'sleeping land' ('tanah tidur') remain an important feature of Jakarta's periphery. The landscape is dotted by thousands of undeveloped hectares. These lower the densities and result in a fragmented regional structure. The economic crisis of 1996 had revived an appreciation for land in the rural areas, not only as a means for food security but also as an asset (Suhendar 1998: 60f. from Spreitzhofer 2003). Many of the land areas that had been acquired by then remain idle by today.[39]

Box 3: Jakarta's speculative land banks in the 1980s

The megacity of Jakarta probably features the largest speculative land banks worldwide. It is estimated that the area, when urbanised, could accommodate a population of 10 million. It could accommodate Jakarta's housing market for several decades. Since the 1980's land speculation has been both more intensive and more unfettered in Indonesia than in the rest of Asia. This has led to an amassment of private land banks in Jakarta's periphery of historically unique dimensions. Suharto's neo-liberal reform programmes, channelling-in global financial flows, had a deep impact on Jakarta's land markets and consequently on urban landscapes. The metropolitan area of the capital, Jakarta, has been the particular focus of land transfers. The amount of land in the hands of private developers eventually surpassed the size of Jakarta's central district. Encouraged by government programmes for privatisation, the real estate industry embarked on producing New Towns. With the support of generous grants by the National Land Agency (BPN) by the mid-1990s, there has been a massive land ownership transfer from the previous landowners, notably poor farmers, to the new developers supported by the government. Land became a scarce and contested resource.

In the 80s and early 90s most of the land on the outskirts of Jakarta changed hands and became controlled by only a handful of private developers (Firman 2004: 8). Between 1983 and 1988 over 48.000 hectares of Botabek land was held under Location Permits, mostly for housing development. A handful of conglomerates started to erect many New Towns and industrial estates. By 1988 only 10 percent of this land had been developed leaving the rest idle (Cowherd 2002: 33). By early 1990s about one-half of the total land area under land development permits was being held off the market by the developers (Leaf, 1991 and 1993, from Firman 2004: 10).[40] From 1989 to 1992, the municipality of Jakarta granted building permits to real-estate developers amounting to 36.000 hectares. The transactions were estimated to be worth US$ 71 billion (Dorléans 2002: 52).[41]

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[38] Java Island has among the highest rural population densities in the world. Java's population density of almost 1000 people per square kilometre is more than five times New York State's population density of 160 people on the same area. A paddy field of 1000m2 can nurture up to eight persons.

[39] World Bank consultant Maria Hoek-Smit (2005) ascertains that "...large tracks of urban land are held by public agencies and private developer land banks and are not coming to the market... Because much developable land in locations in need of residential development has been tied up, actual urban development is pushed further to the outskirts. Unfinished New Towns take a large share of the empty land and add to the problem.

[40] A study of the National Mortgage Bank (Bank Tabungan Negara) showed that the high demand areas of Botabek had a 28 percent completion rate of housing projects, while the lower demand areas outside the region featured completion rates of 76. This indicates that higher demand was actually more likely to produce speculative practices than actual housing production (Fergusson 1993: 60, quoted in Cowherd 2002: 33).

[41] This amount must have been significantly exceeding the city's GDP. The total annual GDP of Jakarta in 2005 was estimated at US$ 100 billion (cf. Demographia).

According to the estimations (cf. below) the accumulated size of the land bank surpassed a size of 170.000 hectares by the 1990's, making it almost three times as large as Jakarta's inner city district. The value of the transactions has regularly exceeded Jakarta's annual GDP. Tragically more than 50 percent of the respective land remained idle.[42] [43]

As a result the supply of developable land is severely constrained. This in turn affects the availability of the housing options for lower income groups. According to the Indonesian government's own Ministry of Public Housing, by 1999 the amount of land brought into the market by 'appropriational development' was sufficient to meet the country's need for new homes for the next 100 years. In contrast, only 5 percent of Jakarta's population of 10 million people had access to clean water (Realtor 2001).[44]

Centralisation vs. decentralisation

Jakarta transformed from a centrally orientated city, towards a decentralised regional system. This development is reflected by migration trends. Central Jakarta's (DKIJ's) population has doubled from 2,9 million in 1961 to 6,5 Mio 1981 to about 9.2 million at the turn of the century. Since the mid 1980's, however, the focus of major growth has principally shifted towards the periphery. Populations that migrate to Jakarta from other parts of the country increasingly move to peripheral locations. An increasing number of households also move from the centre of Jakarta to the region. Consequently the population of suburban Botabek (e.g. all parts without the centre) has increased by 300 percent in the last 20 years (Spreitzhofer 2003: 54). In the same period, the central district (DKIJ) featured negative growth rates.

The numbers of newly constructed houses reflects the above trend. While in the year 1981 almost half (48 percent) of all new housing was realised in the central district, the number has decreased to only 5 percent in 1993. In 1993 95 percent of housing (246.000 units) has emerged in the region (Spreitzhofer 2003: 56).

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[42] Pangestu (1998) noted that according to the West Java Land Office, the government has issued 122.000 hectares of land permits for housing until August 1996 – 112.000 hectares of these, or 89 percent were in Botabek, or the city's periphery – the total area of central Jakarta (DKI) covers 66.000 hectares. A total of 720 square kilometres, or 12.500 hectares per year, of development permits were issued from November 1993 to July 1998 in the areas of Bogor-Tangerang and Bekasi (Botabek) (cf. Firman 2004: 09, Pangestu 1998).

[43] Spreitzhofer (2003) reports that only between 1993 and 1998, the Indonesian Land Agency issued land permits to private developers accumulated to about 2500 square kilometres (or 250.000 hectares).

[44] The virtual capacity of this area would amount for a virtual population of 10 million residents. Assuming a density of 4000 persons per square kilometre, a number slightly higher than the current average density of Jakarta region (Cf. Demographia 2007 and, own calculations). Tommy Firman points out that this amount of land that is sufficient to house more than 8.5 million people, assuming 60 percent housing coverage and a density of 200 persons per hectare.

Risks and disasters

A general framework of risks greatly contributes to the desires and markets for secure spaces in Jakarta's periphery.

The landscape of the mega[city] Jakarta is not only rocked by economic and political crises. Daily catastrophes such as traffic jams, air pollution, frequent flooding, earthquakes, and terrorist attacks, produce a permanent state of emergency and lower the quality of life.[45] Moreover during the 1998 crisis period, the city experienced a significant increase in the level of riots, looting and arson. (Cf. Spreitzhofer 2003:58). In this situation high quality urban space, secure and strategic locations, became contested and highly valued assets.

Water and sanitation

With 13 rivers flowing through the city, half of Jakarta's land area is prone to frequent flooding.[46] Less than half of the population of Jakarta has access to some kind of water supply service other than bottled water purchase or open river and only 1.9 percent of the population of Jakarta is served by a city sewage system (Anwar 2003: 2, quoted in Douglas 2005: 6). Yet, the whole city is experiencing continuously decreasing ground water levels.[47] Indeed, from 1979 to 1991, land in some parts of the city, mainly North Jakarta, subsided at a rate of about 25-34 centimetres per year (Cf. Douglas 2005: 5).

Infrastructure, traffic jams

As many other Megacities in developing countries Jakarta suffers from a constant gap between the demand for basic urban infrastructure and the existing financial ability of the government to provide for it. This gap became extreme during the 1970s, when an economic crisis struck Indonesia during a decade of enormous population growth (cp. above). Pangestu (1997) estimates the gap at that time was about one third of all necessary means.[48]

The fact that Jakarta's traffic transport is predominantly based on roads, results in a set of interrelated problems such as traffic congestion, air pollution sprawl, job accessibility, and urban polarisation (cf. Hutabarat 2002: 57). Notorious are Jakarta's traffic jams. Sometimes commuting times amount to a total of 4-6 hours per day.[49]

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[45] Mercer Consulting's 2008 quality of life index rates Jakarta at a score of 64 points of 100. The city is ranked at the 189th place of 215 cities (cf. www.imercer.com/golpr, r07.2008)

[46] Flooding in 2002 claimed 77 lives, damaged 50.237 houses and 529 schools. (Cf. Douglas 2005)

[47] Levels of groundwater in Jabodetabek have been decreasing by an annual rate of 0.03-2.95 cm/year. The water quality of the main water suppliers (e.g. the Ciliwung, Sunter and Krukut Rivers) is disastrous: 80 percent of groundwater in Jakarta is polluted with pathogenic, disease causing bacteria (cf. Douglas 2005: 5).

[48] During the Repelita VI, Indonesia's fourth five-year development plan 1984 to 1989, the demand for investment in urban infrastructure was estimated at IDR 30.1 trillion, whereas the amount available from the given sources was approximately IDR. 21.1 trillion. This resulted in a deficit of 29.8 percent. (Cf. Pangestu 1998)

[49] Typical middle class families have to start commuting at 5 a.m. in order to bring their children to the private school and to commute to the workplace. During the morning and evening peak hours, a 16-km journey to work may easily take 2 hours. During peak hours, a 20 kilometre commute from Bintaro Jaya to UKI can take as long as 2,5 hours. (Stakeholder report, personal observation)

National milestones

Introduction

The Indonesian archipelago was colonised, unified and ruled by the Dutch from 1619 to 1945. In its quest for independence and identity the country was dominated by a history of strong authoritarian regimes. Under its first president Sukarno, the country embarked on an independent and introverted path of national consolidation and modernisation. After 1967 the second regime, of General Suharto, brought economic liberalisation and reforms under a pro western authoritarian rule. After a transition period of 6 governments in 6 years (1998 – 2004) Indonesia finds itself today in an era of post-liberal democratisation. While all of these postcolonial epochs are part of and ongoing process of dynamic growth and modernisation, every one portrays explicit architectural styles, planning strategies and urban forms. Significantly, these either paved the ground, or form the background of the development of Bumi Serpong Damai and Jakarta's other New Towns. Accordingly, the next sub-section examines the characteristics of these periods (national, liberal and democratic), as well as their spatial representations.

→ Illustration B-3: Milestone chart Indonesia, Jakarta, BSD

Dutch tradition

Contemporary Indonesian town planning is highly influenced by the colonial tradition. The Dutch occupy Indonesia from 1619 to 1945 and they import the concept of the European City into the Indonesian context. The general Dutch planning legacy is famous for designing cities exclusively for the Europeans. These traditions remain highly influential after independence.[50] [51]

Sukarno's postcolonial state project 1957 – 1966

General

On 17 August 1945 Sukarno[52] along with Mohammad Hatta leader of the Indonesian Nationalist Movement, declares the independence of Indonesia. Sukarno is the first president of Indonesia and rules the country from 1957 to 1966. His era is referred to as a period of 'national consolidation' and as a 'nation building process' (Kusno 2006: 9). Sukarno is a trained engineer and architect. He aims to develop Jakarta as a new centre of Indonesian Identity – as well as an eternal monument for himself (cf. Kusno 2006: 10; Leclerc, 1993). The young country is to be positioned on the world map. Consequently all elements of the national capital are shifted back from Bandung to Jakarta (Spreitzhofer 2003: 54).[53]

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[50] The prevailing town Planning Ordinance (presented in 1938, legalised in 1948), the new Bill on Spatial Planning (presented in 1951), and the curriculum at the universities are all still based the Dutch models. (Cf. Kusno 2006)

[51] One of the most influential representatives of colonial planning traditions, and beyond, is Herman Thomas Karsten. His major achievement is the design of an extension area for the city of Semarang. Notably Karsten also devises first Kampung improvement programs. He presents a planning concept, which takes into consideration of the needs of all ethnic groups, including the indigenous populations. (Cf. Nas 1986 and 2002, Roosmalen, 2004) Abidin Kusno writes: "Karsten, translated the idea of „development" into a spatial and physical form…" … „One major architectural input was the coordination of perspective in the urban space to enhance authority, discipline and function. The other was to change the way the city was organised from what was previously an exclusive racial-based spatial order into a space programmed according to class and status mobility (Kusno 2006: 9).

[52] It is very common not to have a first name in Java.

[53] Sukarno is one of the leading figures of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). During this movement several states seek to establish an alternative block, independent from the US American as well as the Soviet block. Essentially, this leads to the

Space – land reforms and modernist urban space, transformations of the 1950s and 1960s

Spatially Sukarno's era is characterised by broad reforms seeking to transform space into a public good. It is marked by land reforms of a grand scale and the symbolic transformation of urban public spaces by modernist principles.

Sukarno's policy stresses 'the social function of land', and demonstrates a culture of the rejection of land as a commodity. Notably, during his time it becomes possible to expropriate lands from private ownership back into communal ownership.[54] (A factor that should come to play a role in the context of Jakarta's New Town development.)

In addition to focusing on land reforms, Sukarno appropriates the city using a combined language of modernism and symbolism. Urban symbolism serves as a method of building a sense of common nationality in a relatively short time. The regime believes in the creation of founding myths and symbols. As a consequence urban space is arranged in a theatrical way: harnessing traditional conceptions of space, however by the use of modern typologies (Kusno 2006: 10). This is done by the execution of a number of landmark projects, such as the national monument (Monas) and the Istiqqlal mosque, as well as a number of colossal statues, such as the Hanuman statue (Dirgantara).

Indeed, the identity order and orientation are restored along lines that lets one suppose that the president was a reader of Kevin Lynch (1960). In symbolic gestures Sukarno shifts the zero meridian from Greenwich to Jakarta and also renamed the Indian Ocean to Indonesian Ocean (Vittachi, 1967 quoted in Kusno 2006: 10). The linga-style landmark structure of the Monas marks the epicentre of the universe.[55]

While consolidating the country, Sukarno's policy, also reinforces the significance of the capital city region as the seat of power. Consequently, in 1966 (shortly before Gegeral Suharto takes over the leadership of the country), Jakarta is pronounced a "special capital city district" (Daerah Khusus Ibukota), gaining the status equivalent to a state or province. This act facilitates the channelling of large sums of capital into the region.

Finally, Sukarno's policy is not able to reverse Indonesia's tradition of a spatial development, which is produced by, and geared towards, power elites. By the dawn of Sukarno's time, a network of western style highways, prepares the ground for a period of urban regional growth and an intense exploitation of the peripheries (e.g. land speculation), without being able to cope with the mainstream problems of megacity urbanisation. Hutarabat (2002:66) affirms: "By 1965, Jakarta had a chaotic array of freeways, roundabouts, monuments and skyscrapers, yet it had no effective transport services or sanitation for the bulk of its population."[56]

Suharto's pro-western 'New-order policy' 1967 – 1998

General – A Southeast Asian version of liberalism

The direct history of Jakarta's New Town begins with Suharto's version of Southeast Asian Neoliberalism (cf. Wust 2002). A military regime overthrows Suharto's govern-

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development of the notion of the "Third World". An important milestone of this non-aligned movement is the Bandung Meeting from 18 to 24 April of 1955.

[54] For this purpose a national authority (hak menguasai negara) is established. Land can be expropriated for the purpose of granting land rights to local authorities or traditional communities. The law is based on the Indonesian Constitution of 1945 and the Basic Agrarian Law of 1960. It limits the size of private land holdings and ... protected local communities from negative impacts of speculative development.

[55] The Monas remains, by law, the highest structure of Jakarta for several decades, long into the Suharto era.

[56] Abeyasekere (1987: 222-230) reports that the American Secretary of State and Economic Affairs and American oil companies (which had participated in the independence discussions) supported Sukarno's highway projects.

ment in 1967 in the context of a rising pressure towards Westernisation (e.g. the West's rising interest in Indonesia's resources). From the late sixties to the late nineties (1967 to 1998) General Haji Mohamed Suharto rules Indonesia. His 'New-order' period is characterised by a strong focus on economic development policies. Indonesia opens to the West and deploys neoliberal strategies on a large scale (Spreitzhofer, 2003, Kusno 2006). The country becomes an early adopter of what becomes known as Market Enabling Strategies. (Cowherd 2002: 22). A rising demand for natural resources (e.g. the oil crisis of 1972) brings about a new focus on the own exploration of oil and other natural assets.

Power elite

Significantly Suharto's period is characterised by new power elites. These are represented by certain industrial and commercial classes which form powerful alliances.[57] [58] Even the extended clan of the President's family greatly participates in various undertakings.[59]

Financial deregulation and liberalisation

Suharto's comprehensive deregulation and liberalisation of the finance sector aims to facilitate the outflow of products and the inflow of foreign investments.[60] In 1988 Indonesia adopts a comprehensive deregulation of the financial and banking sectors. As a result: "The banking system, non-bank financial credit and investment institutions, and capital markets see considerable expansion and deepening as well as increasing international integration... " (Hoek-Smit 2005)[61]

Instrumental to the situation in the 1980s are neo-liberal The World Bank and IMF credit policies. A large New Town Conference, organised by The World Bank in Jakarta, contributes to an environment of easy credits and laid the foundations of large real estate ventures and New Towns. (Cf. Personal interview with Santoso 2004). When in the early seventies a consortium of developers around Sinar Mas sought to develop Bumi Serpong Damai, the president endorsed the project is person, against the vote of Jakarta's Governor (Cf. Ibidem, cf. also below 'Regulatory framework').[62] [63]

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[57] Abidin Kusno (2006: 12) describes how, "Jakarta in the 1980s played an amazing drama of political and economy intrigues ... in the name of the market", and how "the most remarkable aspects of the urban transformation of Jakarta were carried out by groups of investors working together with the president and his family...".

[58] Asiaweek Journalist Salil Tripathi circumscribes these elite networks in the following way: "The power web of Suharto's family is part of the new web of big capital: The family has teamed up with prominent Indonesian-Chinese groups such as Salim and Barito Pacific and with the armed forces. SocGen-Crosby Securities estimated the family's business assets in Indonesia at about 11 trillion Rupiah (or US$ 5 billion). An estimate from the American CIA puts the family's total wealth at about US$ 30 billion. His eldest son, Sigit Harjojudanto, was running the Hanurata Group with his brother-in-law, Lt.-Gen. Prabowo Subianto. Second son Bambang Trihatmodjo controls the Bimantara Group, the biggest of all known family businesses. Youngest son Hutomo Mandala Putra, or Tommy, runs Humpuss. Suharto's daughters are also in on the act. The eldest, Siti Hardijanti Rukmana, or Tutut, controls the Citra Lamtoro Gung Group, which includes the Jakarta toll road. Second daughter Siti Hedijanti Herijadi runs a finance company and chairs the Capital Markets Society of Indonesia, while youngest daughter Siti Hutami Endang Adyningsih is the co-owner of Tutut's Citra group." (Cf. Tripathi, 1998)

[59] The president's family is also part of the New Town business: In the 1980 a presidential decree facilitates the construction of a 30.000-hectare New Town project. A son of the President runs the consortium. The project is called Bukit Jonggol Asri (Beautiful Jonggol Hills) and is located South of Jakarta. If it were realised it would have been the largest project of its type in the region. (Cf. Firman 2004: 10)

[60] Winarso (2005:6) stresses the relevance of the 1988 financial, monetary, and banking reform. The Deregulation policies follow a neo-liberal agenda and aim at improving domestic savings, advancing resource allocation and developing a framework for monetary management, in particular through indirect intervention rather than direct regulatory control (Hill 1996). In addition, the deregulation of the banking sector enables the entry of foreign banks in the form of joint ventures and encouraged genuine competition (Hoek-Smit 2005).

[61] Between March 1989 and June 1993, the number of private banks' branches almost doubled, while the state bank in the same period expanded only by 24 percent. (Winarso and Firman 2002)

[62] Crucial is also the fourth Five Year Development Plan 1984 to 1989 (REPELITA IV), which promoted on export-oriented industrialisation and large-scale development of urban infrastructure.
(http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_hb020/is_/ai_n28809719/, r20.06.2009)

[63] Essentially, the chain of events, that has ultimately also triggered Jakarta's boom of New Towns, is not only related to a national framework of neo-liberal deregulation and privatisation policies of Sukarno's era, it is also closely interrelated with a

Appropriational development, boom in real state and land speculation

While the government facilitates land consolidation and housing finance, it seeks to harness the dynamics of the private sector in order to construct housing and infrastructure in large amounts and with superior qualities. This strategy is characterised by the keyword 'appropriational development'. A massive development of housing led by the private sector began (Hill, 1996), as many investors start to diversify their investments away from banking and industry towards real estate projects (Douglass 2005: 4). As a result Land speculation becomes intense in Jakarta and Indonesian banks compete to provide credit for it. The banks make excessive loans to property firms; many of them belong to their own business groups (Winarso and Firman 2002).[64] The real estate sector is attractive, because of its low regulation, the potential for huge speculative profits, and low land and property taxes.[65]

Consequently, in the course of the 90's an enormous boom in real estate markets emerges. The number of registered land development companies triples.[66] A total of 27 thousand hectares of rural land in the hinterlands of Jakarta are urbanised. The number of housing sales rises from 91 thousand units in 1990 to 250 thousand units in 1997 although most of these sales are speculative. (Cf. Simanungkalit, 2002: from Winarso 2005).[67]

Spatial aspects of Sukarno era

The (re-) privatisation and commoditisation of urban land is a central element of the 'appropriational development policy' of Sukarno's era. Suharno's process of public land reform was immediately halted. Urban land markets are to become an integral part of the economy and cities are to be developed along the 'efficient' logic of the market.[68] Some critics compare the policies such as the 'Kampong Improvement Project', the 'New Town' and the 'Transmigration' programmes to strategies from colonial times. (Cf. Kusno 2006: 12)

Finally, the country remains highly focused on the capital Jakarta. While Indonesia's growth is based on the extraction of raw materials – mostly oil and timber – from the outer islands, Jakarta is reinforced as a centre of industry, trade and power. New power classes construct elevated highways, shopping malls, high-rise office buildings and condominiums. Nevertheless, like in earlier periods the majority population is left behind.

Crisis of 1997

The chain of events from liberalisation policies, to huge sums of investments, to the real estate boom and its culmination in a New Town boom, triggers an avalanche, which eventually buries the initiator. A financial crisis, the Asian crisis of 1997, develops, because most of the property firms and developers over invest (using short-term money

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macro-framework of global events. Douglass (2005: 2) discusses how Japan's bubble economy of the late 1980s eventually triggered a large wave of mega-projects in Pacific Asia. With the money flows from Japan drying out, many Asian banks were forced to turn to international Investments and started to accept speculative investments from around the world.

[64] By October 1998 property loans provided by Banks in Indonesia reached almost R. 73 trillion. This was almost 13 percent of the total loan volume of IDR 574 trillion in 1998. Almost three-fourth of these were non-performing loans (Properti Indonesia, December 1998, in Firman 2004: 11).

[65] Dorléans demonstrates that eventually only 0,1 of the property market value had to be paid (2002:53).

[66] From 907 companies in 1990 to 2312 companies in 1997

[67] Dorléans (2002: 54) describes how this unrestrained frenzy gold-rush: „The Municipality of Jakarta has granted business licenses to more than 150 real estate developers, but there are more than 250 developers doing business within the limits of Jabotabek. Some of them have purchased up to 3000 hectare of land ...while borrowing the bulk of the funds needed.

[68] Sometimes the principles of communal land ownership were turned upside down. This was the case when the argument for a 'social use of land' was used in cases when communities resisted selling their properties to private developers (cf. Aksoro 1994: 93).

with high market interest for long-term projects, including offshore loans). At the same time the banks disperse the money without putting much emphasis on the creditability of their clients and overstretching their lending capacities.[69] In the following many developers are unable to repay the loans facing unpredicted risks and a wide field of competitors. Consequently the banks get into financial trouble.[70]

Post 1998 crisis – 'looseness at the centre'

In 1998 the East-Asian financial crisis hits Indonesia. The crisis results in the freezing of public projects, widespread social and political unrest, rioting, and the resignation of General Suharto. The country's GDP shrinks by 14 percent, the Jakarta stock market looses half its value and the inflation rate rises to 75 percent (Cf. Firman, 2004). The property business, which is mostly run by Sino-Indonesian conglomerates, is in chaos. More than 450 developers go out of business. Suharto resigns after weeks of violent protests (Hill 1996; Kusno 2000; Winarso and Firman 2002). In the following period the country witnesses three presidential successions in 6 years. During this time the relationship of Government and population is undergoing a profound change.

The turn of events strips away many areas of centralised control. Abidin Kusno 2006 describes a profound change in the relationships between the population and the state: "The people of Jakarta today have been witnessing an unprecedented change in their relationships to the nation and its government... The upper middle class protected themselves and their properties day and night, often with firearms... the centre was falling apart... everyone was responsible for himself." (Cf. Kusno, 2006: 15).

Today, Indonesia finds itself in a post-liberal era. The country finally embarked on a process of the so-called „big-bang decentralisation" (The World Bank 2003) and subsequent democratisation (Sarosa 2006). September of 2004 sees Indonesia's first democratic elections. Since the 20th of October 2004 Democratic President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono runs the country.

In this post-Suharto era, the countries intellectual elites aim at a more regulated moderate view on free markets and new economies, including the way urban planning is done: „Neo-Liberalism is dead, we need an integrated planning approach" (Cf. Suryadi Santoso in a personal interview 2004). Yet, at the same time most of the peripheral land banks remain in private hands and the land issue waits to be resolved.

Furthermore, with the large trends rolling on, the metropolitan region experiences new waves of laissez faire suburbanisation. Based on the existing freeway and toll road networks informal settlements as well as residential enclaves for the upper income classes mushroom more than ever. (Cf. Hutabarat: 68) In this context Jakarta's New Town ventures such as Bumi Serpong Damai face a loosened framework of fierce competition.

Planning framework

Introduction

The examination of the historic milestones above reveals that while New Towns such as Bumi Serpong Damai were mainly planned and implemented by the private sector, the

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[69] In the early 1990s the interest rates of the bank loans amounted to about 25-29 percent per year (Dorléans: 54).

[70] Apparently many of the "Banks had close ties with the real estate industry, which facilitated investment in the sector, but also caused less prudent underwriting of real estate projects." (Hoek-Smit, 2005) This situation occurred not only in Jakarta, but also to many large cities in Southeast Asian countries, including Bangkok and Manila (cf. Quigley, 2001, or Firman 2004: 11).

government played a decisive role as a facilitator and regulator of the trend.[71] In this context the following section examines the framework of public planning underlying Jakarta's real estate and New Town boom of the 1980's. Moreover, it elaborates on some of the respective implications and impacts on urban regional form and structure: A first part outlines the relevance of urban planning in presenting Jakarta's master planning strategies, as well as the underlying urban planning paradigms; a second part recalls some of the decisive legal and financial instruments in the context the 'market enabling strategies' of Sukarno's era; and finally a third part discusses some of the urban-structural implications of the plans and policies. It emerges that, while legal and financial instruments were essential for the implementation and realisation of Jakarta's New Town projects, the level of master plans and guidelines was less influential.

Urban planning strategies

From superblocks to New Towns
Jakarta's New Towns of the late 1980s were not only made by politicians, architects and planners also conceived the concept. Essentially, a combination of superblocks and the strategy of 'bundled deconcentration' resulted in Jakarta's New Towns formula. The model was instrumental in devising Jakarta's master plans and development strategies.

The upgrading of inner city infrastructure as well a structured peripheral growth was to be achieved by the means of self-sustainable growth poles and sub-centres, or 'super-blocks'.[72]

The superblock strategy was institutionalised by the presidential Keppres-Decree 678 in 1994. To qualify as superblocks areas had to have a minimum size of 20.000 square meters. In the periphery the strategy of superblocks was combined with a strategy of bundled deconcentration. Larger counter-magnets, or New Towns, were supposed to act as 'self-sufficient' nodes to the central area (DKIJ).[73] The model served as an essential guiding principle for Bumi Serpong Damai and its peers.

The concept of debundled concentration, however, was only short lived. It became clear as soon as the early 1990s that ongoing concentric urban expansion would cause too many problems in ecologically sensitive areas i.e. Jabodetabek's the northern coast and the higher elevations in the South. As part of this paradigmatic shift a new development strategy, the Pantura model, was developed in the late 1990s. This strategy prioritised the development of the region along an east-west axis.[74]

Master plans
The above strategic models have led to a series of formal planning documents. Jakarta's framework of urban development is represented by national, regional and local structure land use plans. The following section will explore some of these. It will be important too

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[71] Soegijoko confirms that „…new physical developments were clearly induced by government policy to deregulate the economy and to promote industrial estates as a necessary step to attract foreign firms" (Soegijoko 1996: 406 from Spreitzhofer 2003: 56).

[72] This approach can be deeply grounded in Western urban planning traditions, e.g. Stein's neighbourhood-unit based development for the Metropolitan region of New York (Perry, 1929), or the programmes by the CIAM movement.

[73] Western, mainly Dutch planning consultants have played a major role in this process. Cowherd (2002: 21) describes how the planners were affected by the Dutch Randstaad concept. They explored at least two alternatives patterns of placing the New Towns, a concentric, as well as a radial one. In the 1980s a cross pattern of sub-centres arranged along the spines connecting Jakarta's centre with Tangerang, Bekasi, and Bogor was chosen as the underlying spatial development pattern for Jakarta. (Cf. also Giebels 1986, quoted in Leisch 2002: 100)

[74] The Indonesian name of the northern coast is Pantai Utara (Cf. Cowherd 2002: 22)

see, how the instruments are handled in the Indonesian context and whether these are important for Bumi Serpong Damai's planning process.

The first in a series of plans is Sukarno's 'Outline Plan for Jakarta' of 1957. The scheme that was developed with the support of USAID and which emulated the US American Federal Highway programmes demonstrates an ongoing impact of the West. (Cf. Cowherd 2002: 19)

Thereafter, from 1965-1985, Suharto's Government developed several Metropolitan Development Plans with the support of The World Bank. Known as the Jabodetabek Metropolitan Development Plans (JMPD) these were elaborated under governor Sadikin[75] (Cf. Cowherd 2002: 20). The documents recommended the development of state of the art infrastructure (e.g. highways) as a remedy to prevent further uncontrolled suburbanisation.[76] Notably this was to be achieved by the involvement of the private sector (Cf. Spreizhofer 2003: 54).[77]

More influential than Jakarta's master plans was the Government's version of five-year economic development plans, the REPELITA (Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun). The fourth Five Year Development Plan 1984 to 1989 (REPELITA IV), sought to diversify the Indonesian economy (away from a one sided dependence on oil, focused on export-oriented industrialisation, and notably also fostered the development of urban infrastructure.[78]

In 1985 the Jakarta Master Plan was replaced with the Structure Plan for the Special Capital Province of Jakarta 1985 to 2005, or RUTRK Jakarta (Rencana Umum Uang DKI Jakarta Tahun 2005). The plan was approved in 1987 and served as the basis for many subordinate documents, also the basic land use plan for BSD.

Notably, only a small part of the master plans were finally enforced. The implementation was obstructed, among others, by the fact that the region consists of different administrative levels (DKI Jakarta, province of West Java, several districts, cities and villages). (Cf. Leisch 2002: 89) For these reason the plans never served as a legal basis for practical use. (Cf. Abeyasekere 1987: 222-230).

Additional difficulties of the master plans have been related to the implementation and monitoring processes. Various critics assert that that the Indonesian master plans are too theoretical and complex and that this fact overburdens the local administrations.[79] In addition, in most of the cases the plans were only drawn up on large scales, giving no concrete details. (Cf. Cowherd 2002: 30)

In the case of Bumi Serpong Damai, the master plan for the New Town existed ahead of the structure plan for the respective Municipality (Tangerang). A group of consultants, partially related to the developer (Ciputra), drew the structure plan for the local government.[80] [81]

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[75] Jakarta's Governor in the Sukarno's era, appointed in 1966

[76] The Jabotabek Urban Development Project was located in the Jabotabek metropolitan region. It was expected to cost about US$ 224 million equivalent and included expenditures for: (a) upgrading of primary and secondary arterial roads, (b) provision of development roads on the city periphery, (c) major intersection improvements and (d) traffic management and road safety measures." (Cf. The World Bank Project ID: P003923).

[77] A consecutive programme, the Integrated Urban Infrastructure Development Strategy was a means to stimulate urban development through integrated infrastructure improvement on a national basis. (Cf. Sarosa: 164)

[78] Cf.: http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_hb020/is_/ai_n28809719/, r20.06.2009.

[79] For example: Indonesian land use plans are established at six levels of administrative hierarchies, whereas the British planning tradition has only two levels (Cowherd 2002: 22).

[80] Cf. Winarso 2000, footnote 31, quoted in Cowherd 2002: 31.

[81] The exiting plan for Serpong town foresaw a satellite city of 150.000 residents. To accommodate BSD's 6.000 hectares the plan was revised at a scale of 20.000 hectares. Its name is Rencana Umum Tata-Ruang Perkotaan, or (RUTRP). In addition a detailed plan was drawn up for BSD. (Cf. Personal interview with Suryadi Santoso in August 2008)

Legal and financial instruments: 'Market enabling strategies'

Whereas the above planning instruments helped to conceptualise Jakarta's New Towns, two particular 'market-enabling strategies': A) Land permits and B) credit subsidies, have played a crucial role in their implementation.

Location Permit – the green card for profit

The legal instrument of the Location Permit turns out to be one of the most decisive elements behind the real estate boom and the prevailing success of the New Towns in Jakarta. In order to foster private housing construction Sukarno's government developed land-purchasing programmes. The key tool within the land-purchasing programmes was the exclusive right to develop an area. The government's approval is generally referred to as the Ijin Lokasi, while the actual development right is named SIPT (Surat Izin Pembasan Tanah).[82]

With this permit the government granted the exclusive rights to purchase the land in a given project area to one developer. The instrument was an indirect way of price fixing. It protected the developers from speculative rises of the land price before the purchase (Dorléans: 54). On the other hand it has helped them to cash in on all the speculative rises after the acquisition. Other competitors were deterred, as the national land agency (BPN) banned the sale of singular plots until early 2000s.[83] [84]

Crucially, the developers were not penalised if they did not develop the land within the given period as contracted on the permit. As a result, soon large tracks of land were withdrawn from the market without additional costs to the new owners (Hoek-Smit, 2005). This fact significantly contributed to the transformation of Jakarta's periphery into one of the largest speculative land banks in the world (cf. above).

Credits and loan subsidies

The second important pillar of the market enabling strategies consisted of subsidised loans for the supply side.[85] Notably this practice was pooled with the land permit model. The programme linked Middle- and low-income housing developments to finance subsidies at fixed interest rates. These included both construction and mortgage finance in one package. The state housing bank, Bank Tabunga Negara (BTN) dominated this subsidised market and added implicit subsidies by accumulating high defaults. (Cf. Hoek-Smit 2005, Winarso 2005: 6)

Significantly, both of the above 'strategies' triggered a trend towards large-scale development. The programmes focused on an integrated development of large tracts of land, as a rule from 50 to 800 hectares (BSD with 6000 hectares was therefore an exception). Hence, they required huge long-term financial commitments. These, in turn, could only be afforded by big private enterprises.

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[82] These two instruments are closely interrelated. Ijin Lokasi is a recommendation issued by Land Management office (BPN - a central government institution) and Surat Izin Pembebasan Tanah is the exclusive permission to acquire and develop the land, issued by the local government. (Cf. Interview with Santoso August 2008)

[83] The official argument behind the permits was to discourage land speculation and in order to foster the development of New Towns. (Cf. Firman 2004: 13)

[84] The right of a Location Permit was initially grated for a limited period of three months, than for one year. It could be renewed, when the developer succeeded to purchase more than half of the desired land (Cf. Dorléans: 54, Cowherd 2002: 31). However, it was common practice to extend Location Permits indefinitely, a practice that was made official policy in 1997. (Cf. Harsono, quoted in Cowherd 2002: 33)

[85] Cf. also to the finance section below.

Conclusion: legal and financial planning instruments

Crucially, the subsidised housing programs and the location permit supported a practice of using single-family homes (including luxury homes) as speculative investments. Critics refer to the land permits as the essential toll behind the excessive land speculation, the real estate boom, bank frauds and the later crisis (cf. Cowherd 2002). The Government is accused of having misused this legal instrument by allowing the private sector to acquire land far in excess of even the artificially inflated market demand. Indeed, from 1974 to 1996 the private sector produced some 360.000 housing units, whereas at the same time the federally run housing company (Perumnas) produced only 86.000 houses. (Cf. Cowherd 2002: 31) Nevertheless, a large part of the privately developed entities were held off the market. Significantly, much of the private sector housing production, subsidised by the government, remained empty.[86] Hence, as increased demand pressure further fed the escalating value of the properties, luxury housing became the most attractive investment opportunities available in Indonesia.

Implications – New Towns as triggers of sprawl and fragmentation

Opposed to the initial idealism and good intentions of the stakeholders it can be argued that Jakarta's New Town boom has largely contributed to sprawl[87], an increasing fragmentation of the urban structure and a continuing polarisation of the population (rich and poor, formal vs. informal). These results can be related to the respective dynamics, as well as the operational logic of the public and the private stakeholders. As a matter of fact, neither side was prepared to handle the complex job of urban development.

New Towns and Sprawl

The direct transfer of western concepts, here the strategy of New Towns as part of a regional pattern of decentralised concentration has lead to results, which are completely different to those in Western countries. Indonesia's public planners have tended to regard New Towns as non-plus-ultra strategies. Enforced by the policies of international lending bodies, the public hand delegated the strategy to the corporate sector. At the same time, however, it was not prepared to face the dynamics of the private stakeholders[88]

The government was unable to develop and implement a proper regulative framework for the New Town developers. It also failed to provide for regional infrastructure in a timely manner. In addition, it did not succeed in safeguarding the environment.

On the other hand, the private (real-estate) developers were faced with a regulatory void. The 'invisible hand' of the market was not able to generate integrated development on a regional scale. Instead, the unbundled dynamics of private stakeholders, resulted in monopolised, speculative, and also oversaturated markets. In a 'gold rush' situation, dozens of projects ('products') were implemented side-by-side without proper coordination.

Hence, the 'noble' intention of Jakarta's planners to utilise counter magnets as a strategy towards decentralised concentration was turned upside down. Therefore, it can be argued that Jakarta's New Towns have actually triggered more sprawl and suburbanisation.[89]

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[86] Preliminary investigations in several neighbourhoods found that occupation rates of 20 to 50 percent were not uncommon." (Cf. Cowherd 2002: 32) Bumi Serpong Damai's neighbourhoods feature vacancy rates of 20 to 80 percent (Own estimations, cf. Physical structure, Neighbourhoods)

[87] Here seen, in a negative sense, as unregulated development.

[88] And the dynamics among the local governments (cf. below: Control, Stakeholders)

[89] Asian Development Bank Consultant Wicaksono Sarosa describes this land pattern when he writes: "It is clearly visible to anyone travelling on roads between the major cities that the conversion of land tends to be disorderly rather than carefully

Fragmentation

In addition to fostering regional sprawl and decentralisation, Jakarta's New Towns have also contributed to increasing patterns of socio-spatial fragmentation and urban divide. This is the case, because the projects, in optimising their respective profit strategies, have followed a self-perpetuating logic of ever-increasing size. Skimming the market for the most profitable higher income groups, required large sums to be invested in the New Towns in order to stay competitive.[90]

… and polarisation

Despite the vast investments and profits, Western Java's lower-income and no-income groups continue to have a hard time to find appropriate housing. The lack of supply of serviced land and burdensome permitting procedures hinder developers to use available land for middle and lower-middle income houses. High costs and long delays in acquiring subdivision and building permits add to the inefficiency of the land supply systems (cf. Hoek-Smit 2005). Indeed, the Centre for Indonesian Property Studies has estimated that in the course of Jakarta's property boom 4.5 million people had to relocate from their homes between 1968 and 1998. The compensation to evicted homeowners was generally worth only one twentieth of the market value of the properties.

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planned. Industrial factories built on what used to be paddy fields are very common along the major roads, and making for a distinctive settlement pattern" (Sarosa 2006: 160).

[90] Peter Rimmer and Howard Dick (1998) precisely observe in this regard that: "The solution of increasing competition in the 90's, was to buy up even larger tracts of land for integrated residential and commercial complexes. The externalities are therefore internalised…." Consequently: "A developer with 10 hectares can build a suburban block, with 100 hectares, an entire suburb, but with 1000 hectares a New Town."

Local predecessors

Box 4: Legacy of NeoTown predecessors in Indonesia

Weltevreden, Jakarta (Daendels, 1809); European Quarter, Bandung (Algemeen In-genieurs- en Architectenbureau, 1917); Menteng and Gondanglia, Jakarta (1918); Ke-bayoran Baru, Jakarta (van Roermondt, Soesilo, 1948); Pulo Mas, Jakarta (Yayasan Pulo Mas Jaya,1957); Pondok Indah,Jakarta (Ciputra, 1974)

Introduction

The tradition of planned cities in Indonesia is as old as its urban history. The development of comfortable enclaves has always served the needs of the ruling elite and constituted a tool of power and control.

Despite being triggered by various international factors[91], the typology of privately built New Towns in Indonesia has a long history of local predecessors.[92] Most of the important cases cluster in Bandung and the capital. Jakarta's New Town model can be traced along a line of affluent development from the North to the Southwest. Planned Urban settlements like Weltevreden, Kebayoran Baru and Pondok Indah stretch from the North to the South of the city and represent three different epochs.

Pre-colonial and colonial traditions

The ancient Javanese city

Indonesia has a unique pre-colonial town planning culture with an emphasis on Java.[93] The island's ancient aristocracy organised the Javanese city as a fixed centre of power surrounded by a flexible fabric. The centre consisted of the palace (Kraton) and a central square (Alun-Alun), a series of controlled quarters. (Cf. Nas 2002: 12, Kusno 2006: 3)[94]

The European colonists (Dutch, Portugese, English)

The European traders started to construct fortified New Towns (cf. Sujarto: 76)[95]. The Dutch power in Indonesia was based on a polar urban pattern of highly served urban enclaves for the ruling elite. From the very beginning, the efforts of controlling security, flooding, and disease led to a relocation of the European ruling class to alternative sites. This resulted in a dual urban form of colonial town and the 'other' (indigenous) city (Cf. Hutabarat 2002: 64). The bulk of the population was excluded from the provision of modern amenities. The fortified enclave of the early Jakarta neighbourhood of Messter Cornelis (17th century) stands for this approach.

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[91] Such as the global oversupply of western money, the specific agenda of neo-liberal aid policies geared towards a market driven housing production, reformed lending policies, or demands the rise of new middle classes (cf. above).

[92] I can be observed that the Indonesian scientific debates on New Towns are largely confined to local narratives and histories. An awareness of similar parallel phenomena in other mega-city regions is rare.

[93] Cf. Werheim, 1958, Santoso 1983, Nas 1986, Zahnd 2005.

[94] Interestingly, Kusno (2003: 3) relates the flexibility of Indonesian's vernacular housing typologies to the frequently changing power landscapes on Java: "With a periphery in constant flux in relation to the centre, the capital city was more a complex of quarters rather than a single walled-in fortress town." In case of warfare... these houses are subjected to abandonment and re-built in a matter of two days in different locations."

[95] Islamisation and Chinese immigration since the 13th century have 'only' resulted in the import of regional urban typologies from South East Asia. (Cf. Zahnd 2005: 26)

Modern town planning

The pre-war colonial period from 1900 until the end of the Second World War is regarded as the period of modern town planning. Rapid economic development during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries profoundly changed the lives of both European and indigenous residents. By 1930 Batavia had a population of more than 500000 people. Surabaya had nearly 300000 people and other large cities – Semarang, Bandung, Yogyakarta, and Surakarta – had populations between 100.000 and 300.000 (Warden 1993). During this time modern urban typologies (E.g. road systems, urban squares and boulevards, railway stations, museums, police, town administrations) were installed. The indigenous city became recognised as an integral element of the city (Cf. Wertheim et al. 1958). The emerging hunger for raw materials led the Dutch to install estate towns around the country.

The Dutch planner Herman Thomas Karsten in particular propagated the principles of scientific town planning and was the first to put the development of Kampungs back on the agenda. Karsten also participated in the design of about 30 New Towns of the early modern period (Santoso 2004).[96] Kusno (2006: 9) delineates the linkages of this period of modernisation to the subsequent epoch of decolonisation: „As early as in the 1920's, a 'theory of modernisation' in its aim of constructing a bourgeois middle class was already in place in the colony.., [the modern colony] in turn affects the subsequent imaginary of the utopian project of decolonisation."[97]

The Dutch and also other Westerners preferred to live in European-style urban areas with wide streets and abundant greenery (Warden 1998). The Dutch neighbourhood of Weltevreden[98] is among the important examples in this regard. The enclave of the early 19th century is based on estate typologies and open curvilinear street patterns. Here, at 12 kilometres from Jakarta's centre, the Europeans could find a serene life in the mid of the country.[99]

European Quarter, Bandung

The fact that in 1910 the Dutch decided to shift several ministries to the better climate of Bandung has created a number of significant models for Indonesia's New Towns (in particular for the early phase of Bumi Serpong Damai). The plan for the European quarter, an extension plan for the northern part of Bandung, was presented in 1917 by the General Engineers- and Architects Bureau[100] (cf. Roosmalen 2004). The quarter exemplified a blending of modern and native architectural styles and several new city landmarks.[101]

During the same period, in Jakarta (Batavia) in 1918 new highly influential layouts for the elite residential areas of Menteng and New Gondangdia were presented. Notably, these neighbourhoods represented various formal ideas of the Garden City movement. They consisted of villas, lots of green space and curvilinear streets lined by trees.[102]

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[96] Cf. his paper 'Indian Town Planning' (Indiese Stedebouw) at the Indonesian Decentralisation congress in 1921 (Kusno 2007)

[97] Cf. also: Bogaers, Erica (1983): Ir. Thomas Karsten: De Ontwikkeling van de Stedebouw in Nederlands-Indië 1915–1940; Doktoralscriptie planologie; Universiteit van Amsterdam. pp. 62.

[98] This means as much as 'very satisfied'.

[99] Firman 2004: quotes Leaf 1996; Cf. also: Meyers Konversationslexikon aus dem 19 Jahrhundert: (http://www.retrobibliothek.de/retrobib/seite.html?id=101687, r12.08.2008).

[100] Algemeen Ingenieurs- en Architectenbureau – AIA

[101] In the 1930s, Bandung was known also as an architectural laboratory. Many Dutch architects made experimented with new architectural designs. Albert Aalbers added the expressionist architecture style to the Art Deco by designing the Denis bank (1936) and renovated the Savoy Homann Hotel (1939). C.P.W. Schoemaker was one of celebrated architects who strongly added native elements in his artworks, including the Villa Isola (1932), Hotel Preanger (1929), and the regional military headquarter (1918), Gedung Merdeka (1921) and ITB Rectorate Building (1925). (Cf. Wangsadinata 1995)

[102] The neighbourhoods are functional to date.

→ Illustration B-4: Suburbs in Semarang
→ Illustration B-5: Villa in Bandungs's European quarter
→ Illustration B-6: Plan of Menteng

Jakarta's New Town's

Kebayoran Baru

After Indonesia became independent, all government functions were shifted back from Bandung to Jakarta. To accommodate the emerging housing need for civil servants, the government promoted the construction of the New Town of Kebayoran Baru in Southern Jakarta. The satellite city was the first systematically planned New Town of Jakarta in the postcolonial period.[103] It turned rapidly into an integral sector engulfed by the mushrooming urban fabric.[104]

Implementation started in 1949 with the idea to develop a model project for growing towns of Indonesia and other Asian countries that would demonstrate 'the advantages of the planned town'. (Cf. Roosmalen 2004: 12). The plan was based on Karsten's philosophies. Significantly, the area was divided into blocks labelled along an alphabetical order (A to S) and the highest amount of housing remained reserved for civil servants (cf. Jakarta Post 2001). Each of the residential areas had their own identities divided by streets or green belts. While built-up space occupied half of Kebayoran Baru's 730 hectares of land, the other half remained free for parks, infrastructure and services 12.500 houses were planned to accommodate about 100.000 inhabitants.

Notably Kebayoran Baru represents several key experiences of New Town development in the context of emerging Megacities: When the New Town was finished in 1954 it did not fulfil the goals set at its birth. Initially designed for all income groups, the total area was 'colonised' by moderate and higher income groups as soon as it became clear that the location was very valuable.[105]

The second feature that proved an illusion was the one kilometre green belt around the New Town. As soon as during the construction stage began, many new buildings mushroomed along the connecting four-lane road between Jakarta and Kebayoran. Only shortly after construction was the New Town engulfed by the growth of the remaining city and became another neighbourhood. The quarter remained recognizable no more than by its distinctive street layout.

→ Illustration B-7: 1950s dwellings in Kebayoran Baru
→ Illustration B-8: Kebayoran Baru 'before and after'

Pulo Mas

An additional planned neighbourhood of the early Suharto era with the lower income groups in mind was Pulo Mas. The project was intended to materialise the objectives of the 1957 Outline Plan for Jakarta (cf. above), namely the need for peripheral developments and for the creation of self-contained settlements at a reasonable distance from the centre (cf. Roosmalen 2004: 12-15).[106]

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[103] Cf. Vletter; Voskuil; van Diessen 1997: Batavia/Djakarta/Jakarta: Beeld van een Metamorfose; Purmerend (NL).

[104] The idea was based on a Dutch scheme from the 1930. V.R. van Roermondt a professor at the Technical University in Bandung drafted the first general plan (Cf. Jakarta Post: Kebayoran Baru, RI's first housing complex, 18.08.2001; at: http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2001/08/18/kebayoran-baru-ri039s-first-housing-complex.html, r12.12.2008)

[105] Significantly, the Neighbourhood housed only 75 percent of the planned population, and of the planned houses only less than half (4.720) were built (cf. Roosmalen 2004: 12).

[106] Pulo Mas was a prestigious low cost housing project in the vicinity of Jakarta under Sukarno. It was intended to serve as a demonstration project of mass housing for low-income people. Notably it was the first modern settlement scheme in Indonesia based on pedestrians. The project of 270 hectares intended to house approximately twenty to fifty thousand people in

As in Kebayoran, the implementation of the original plan proved to be illusory. The project was adjusted to the stark demand of middle- and high-income groups. Detached villas replaced a considerable number of high-rise and two-storey buildings. A horse race-track substituted the central axis that was intended to become the 'town centre'. As a result the density rate dropped by 80 percent, from an intended 500 people per hectare to 100.

Pondok Indah

While Kebayoran Baru and Pulo Mas represented public schemes, Pondok Indah became the first privately driven urban extension without socio-romantic illusions. An outcome of Suharto's ,New Order' policy, the 720-hectare project was entirely driven by the desire to make profits. Arranged around a golf club and equipped with modern shopping mall facilities Pondok Indah (beautiful home), was built by the private sector as a settlement for middle and high-income classes (Cf. Santoso 2004, Firman 2004). Located on a former rubber plantation, the new neighbourhood emerged in 1974 to the South of Kebayoran, on Jakarta's ,axis of wealth' (cf. illustration above). The low-rise area was sophistically planned and contained tree lined cull de sac streets. Access to the neighbourhoods was restricted. Consequently, Pondok Indah became a symbol of a wealthy residential area and an important role model for the New Town boom to come (Winarso 2005: 8).[107] [108]

→ Illustration B-9: Map of Jakarta's sewerage networks indicating Jakarta's industrial and elite neighbourhoods

New Town Boom

On the basis of the greater trends and the specific policies as described above, Jakarta experienced a boom of privately driven New Town projects from the 1980s to the 1990s. The end of the 1980s recorded more than 10 New Towns of 500 hectares or more in Jakarta's periphery.[109] By the mid-1990's already 25 large subdivision projects existed. These ranged respectively from 500 to 6.000 hectares. The total area exceeded Jakarta's central district. Yet, by 2002, only about 60 percent of the projects survived the prolonged economic crisis (Cf. Firman 2004, Table 1; Graham and Marvin 2001). Only, few of the New Towns, e.g. Bumi Serpong Damai and Lippo Karawaci featured excellent infrastructure and service facilities, including schools, shopping malls, cinemas, and hospitals (Cf. Firman 2004).

→ Illustration B-10: Map of Jakarta's New Towns
→ Illustration B-11: New Towns before and after 1997
→ Illustration B-12: Focus areas of Indonesia's real estate sector

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several neighbourhoods. The scheme represented Sukarno's ideal of Indonesian society transformed in urban form. Each neighbourhood consisted of four housing units (rukun tetangga – RT) that formed one neighbourhood unit (rukun warga – RW). Four neighbourhood units formed one city quarter (keluruhan), and four city quarters formed one sub district (kecematan). (Cf. paragraph on Culture).

[107] Bakker and Kooy 2008 describe that Pondok Indah was one of the few new areas of the city in the 1970s where the water network was extended on the base of existing network in Kebayoran Baru. This description thus supports a hypothesis that Jakarta (as much as São Paulo), in a situation of general demand for urban services highly surpassing the supply, developed along certain elite areas featuring the best infrastructure and services: "The installation of primary pipelines to direct urban water supply further southwards into this new area of residential development mimicked the development of Jakarta's first upper-class residential development – Kebayoran Baru."

[108] An early example of a public space developed by the private sector was Taman Impian Jaya Ancol, a large leisure and entertainment park in Jakarta's North. 'Ancol' was the one of the first public private partnerships in Jakarta and made possible the recreational access to the sea in a city at the seashore without public access to the waterfront. The place was recently renamed to Jakarta Bay City.

[109] Properti Indonesia, June 1995: 28, from Winarso 2005:9.

Summary BSD's context

The above chapter elaborates the greater historical as well as socioeconomic context of Bumi Serpong Damai. In order to achieve this, it firstly portrayed the social, economic, cultural and demographic profiles as well as the major trends in urban development of Indonesia and the Jakarta region. Secondly, a historical framework was established in delineating historical milestones as well as the respective urban forms. Thirdly, it discussed locally specific planning strategies and cultures and last, but not least, a substantial tradition of local predecessors were presented.

Indonesia

Indonesia is a South-East-Asian nation comprising 17.500 islands and more than 300 dialects. With a population of 225 million it is the fourth most populous nation of the world. The country is characterised by rapid and ongoing demographic and economic growth. Almost half of the population is concentrated in urban centres with a strong focus on Java-island (60 percent). The country's culture is located between harmony and hierarchy. Informal practices in business and politics (from a western perspective often interpreted as corruption) are very common.

Indonesia is a poor country: in 2004 the GDP per capita was 816 US$. While the economy is growing rapidly, more than half of the population earns less than US$ 2 per day. On the other side, less than 20 percent of the inhabitants have a regular formal income. These middle-classes are playing a central role in economic development. As one of the consequences the consumption rates are expanding considerably faster than the population.

Jakarta

Bumi Serpong Damai was developed in the periphery of Jakarta, Indonesia's capital city and undisputed national powerhouse. The region of five municipalities and 21 million residents encompasses almost 10 percent of the national population. The metropolitan territory is called Jabodetabek, a composition of the initials of Jakarta and 4 regional districts. While the locale adds a million people per year, twice the velocity of the country, the public sector lags behind in providing sufficient infrastructure and services.

In the last 30 years Jakarta was transformed thoroughly from a city orientated towards the centre to a polycentral regional system. During this period the population of the urban region has increased by 300 percent. Notably, Jakarta's periphery is characterised by locally distinct modes of urbanisation. This has been termed Desakota. Literally meaning village-city, the term describes a rural landscape, which has arrived in a service based epoch, leapfrogging industrialisation.

Jakarta is Indonesia's melting pot and international gateway. Six major ethnic groups make up the population. The Sino-Indonesian (ethnic Chinese) minority plays a particular role for Jakarta's New Towns. The majority of the Jakarta's New Town projects, including BSD was financed by Indochinese banks, developed by Indochinese conglomerates, and appropriated by Indochinese families.

The fact that the megacity Jakarta is also a framework of amplified risks, fuels the desire for safe heavens and alternative life-styles in New Towns. The hazardous landscape is not only composed of periodical disasters such as the notorious earthquakes and flooding, but also of myriads of everyday catastrophes, such as traffic jams, health hazards related to environmental pollution, crime, or financial insecurity.

In the last 25 years, the periphery has experienced a historically unique boom of large real estate projects and New Towns. This burst was triggered by deregulation and liberalisation policies of the so-called 'New Order' Era of the late 1980's. Besides, Western paradigms of bundled deconcentration and superblock development have affected the official planning strategies.

In spite of that, the 'invisible hand' of the private (real-estate) market was not able to automatically produce integrated development on a regional scale. In contrast, the unbundled dynamics of privatised real estate markets have resulted in very congested, competitive, and monopolised markets. Significantly, in the late 1990's private developers controlled a speculative land bank of 25.000 square kilometres in Jakarta's periphery – an area four times the size of central Jakarta with a capacity to house ten million residents. Indeed, throughout this process the initial goals of the regional plan were turned upside down. It seems that New Towns and other large real estate projects have left Jakarta's periphery in a status of sprawl and fragmentation.

Only on a macro scale, a ribbon shaped development along two criss-crossed axes can be observed: A 120-kilometre corridor connects Bekasi to the East and Tangerang in the West. A 200-kilometre corridor connects Jakarta's seashore with Bogor and Bandung. The present master plans are inspired by this structure.

National milestones

Indonesia's, and BSD's, history is marked by a tradition of 'strong' authoritarian governments – from the Javanese aristocracy, to the Dutch colonisers, and the authoritarian regimes of the post-independence era. Significantly, all of these stand out for their particular spatial representations, catering to the powerful elites of their times.

The Javanese aristocracy founded an indigenous urban tradition and developed mechanisms of political domination and control by the means of urban form and spatial organisation. The Dutch made Batavia (Jakarta) their capital and refined the strategy of orchestrating space as a means of power and control and imported the principles of modern 'hygienic' city planning. General Sukarno Nation Building Programme consolidated the country and strengthened the role of the capital as a national hub (and virtually, the centre of the universe). Jakarta became a 'special capital district'.

Indonesia's second president General Suharto embarked on a pro-western policy of economic liberalisation, deregulation and export-oriented industrialisation. The policy gave rise to a broad Bourgeois metropolitan class. Moreover, the era was characterised by influential alliances among industrial and political elites.

Sukarno's programmes were also affected by The World Bank policies. These promoted a deregulation of the financial sector prompting enormous injections of foreign capital into the country, i.e. the capital city region. The privatisation of urban development became an integral part of the new spirit. Yet, it resulted in a supply-side orientated production of housing by large conglomerates. This was the cradle of Jakarta's New Town movement and importantly, Bumi Serpong Damai was one of the showcase projects.

The fact that most of the fresh money was preferably invested into the 'virgin' real estate markets, has led to the rise of the vast speculative land bank as described above. This has since then impeded 'conventional' urban growth. The bubble burst in 1997, as a result of over investments with short-term money at high interest rates for long-term projects.

During the following national crisis the disaffected population overthrew Sukarno. The country embarked on a democratic path. The major trends, however, such as the rise

of the middle classes and their drift to the suburbs, continued. At the same time the real estate markets remain characterised by an unregulated and risky dog eats dog competition.

Planning framework

The government has played a decisive role in the emergence of Jakarta's real estate boom and the relating New Town passion of the 1980's. While the master planning level was influential for the formal conception of Jakarta's New Towns, legal and financial instruments were crucial for the implementation and the realisation of the projects. Jakarta's master plans of the postcolonial era reflect western planning-paradigms geared at the combination of superblocks and the strategy of bundled deconcentration. This has eventually resulted in Jakarta's New Towns formula.

In spite of this, the formal documents faced several problems: The region was neither ever a political entity, nor had the plans of a legal basis for practical use. An implementation was also impeded by the complex and nested structure of the plans in combination with the lacking capacities of local governments.

In contrast to the master plan documents, the two particular 'market-enabling strategies' of land permits and credit subsidies, have played a crucial role in the implementation of the projects.

The legal instrument of the Location Permits of the 1980s turns out to be one of the most decisive elements behind the real estate boom and the prevailing success of Jakarta's New Towns. The permit granted the exclusive rights to purchase the land in a given project-area to one developer. The fact that this instrument had practically no time limitations significantly contributed to the transformation of Jakarta's periphery into one of the largest speculative land banks in the world. In addition the developers also received subsidised loans, as middle- and low-income housing developments, were linked to various finance subsidies.

Critics refer to the land permits as the essential toll behind the excessive land speculation, the real estate boom, bank frauds and the later crisis (cf. Cowherd 2002). As a result the subsidised housing programs and the Location Permit supported a practice of using single-family homes as speculative investments. Moreover, both of the above instruments have boosted a preference of large enterprises, because only these were able to meet the official requirements.

In conclusion, it can be argued that, opposed to the initial idealism and good intentions of the stakeholders, Jakarta's New Town boom has largely contributed to further uncontrolled growth, an increasing fragmentation of the urban structure and continuing polarisation of the populations. While the job of building the city was given into the hands of the corporate sector, the public hand was not prepared to face the consequences of the private-market dynamics. The government was not only unable to develop and implement a proper regulative framework for the New Town developers; it has also failed to provide for larger scale regional infrastructure in a timely manner. Instead, in Indonesia, the unbundled dynamics of privatised real estate markets, have resulted in highly monopolised, speculative, and also inevitably oversaturated (competitive) markets.

Predecessors

New Towns in Indonesia have a long history of predecessors. Indeed, their common ground is, that all have been realised by governing elites. The early examples range from the Javanese cities as power centres, European fortifications (e.g. Meester Cornelis, fort of Batavia), or the Dutch suburban settlements, such as Weltevreden. An influential ref-

erence point and experimental field for new architectural styles, modern infrastructures and low-density urbanisation is the European Quarter in Bandung.

The New Town predecessors in Jakarta can be traced along an axis of wealth from the North to the Southwest: From centrally located Menteng, Jakarta's early Dutch suburb; the post independence New Town Kebayoran Baru (significant for Sukarno's consolidation); to Pondok Indah, as an early example of a privately developed residential district with golf clubs and shopping malls (exemplary for Suharto's New Order). The 1980's brought a New Town boom with dozens of projects such as Bintaro Jaya, Bumi Serpong Damai, and Lippo Karawaci, which are extending the axis.

Physical structure –
A 'new' cluster planning approach

Introduction

After the wider framework of Bumi Serpong Damai is delineated, the following section seeks to examine the physical characteristics of this New Town. It will explore the spatial materiality and functionality of the case at hand along a multi-scalar analysis, which is a well established technique used by planners, geographers, designers and architects. Additionally the links and cross-references to the other perspectives of this chapter will remain essential. Consequently, in our context, the material characterisation of space serves as a dialectical antipode, a counterweight, to the other reference points (subchapters), which are focusing on the dynamics of the stakeholders (population, developers) and of processes (finance, regulation).

The section is divided in to two parts. The first examines the relationship of Bumi Serpong Damai with its context. The second marks out the schemes inner structural logic and fabric. Here the project will be described at three essential scales: a) the Town, b) the Neighbourhood, and c) the Building. The presentation is enriched by the discussion of several significant neighbourhoods. In conclusion, the findings are summarised and some lessons are extrapolated.

Regional context

Share of metro population	*2,9 percent*
Share of metro area	0.9 percent
Number of other 'New Towns' in the Region	25
Major interregional road arteries	2
Number of Regional Malls (existing, planned)	3 (6)
Universities and Colleges	1
Distance to centre	25 km
Commute to centre	40-120 minutes
People living and working in BSD	< 20 percent
Major mode of internal mobility	Walk, Car
Major mode of external mobility	Car

Table 5: Key indicators – Bumi Serpong Damai's regional context

Relationship of the project to the region

→ Illustration B-14: BSD and its competitors
→ Illustration B-15: Photograph of BSD's vicinity

Location, environs

Bumi Serpong Damai, or BSD, is located about 25 kilometres to the West of Jakarta. The Cisadane River, a major river in the region, divides the project area. The first existing phase of the scheme is located to the left of the waterway; the planned phases two and

three will be built on the right side.[110] BSD's surrounding area portrays a Desakota struc-ture,[111] a dynamic landscape of urbanising villages, featuring various services for the growing city. Until recently a strong focus was laid on materials for the booming con-struction sector: e.g. the exploitation of building materials, such as sand and gravel.[112]

Political boundaries

Bumi Serpong Damai is part of the regency of South Tangerang in the Indonesian prov-ince of Banten. The New Town emerges only a few kilometres to the North of the city of Serpong. Tangerang, the districts centre, is one of the four Municipalities that are part of the Jabodetabek region (Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi). The first phase of the project is located within the sub-district (Kecematan) of Serpong.[113] [114]

Size in relation to the centre

The 60 square kilometres of BSD make up a 0,8 percent share of Jakarta's regional area (cf. Demographia 2007) and 9,1 percent of Jakarta's central area (DKIJ) of 660 square kilometres.[115]

Presence of other New Towns

In addition to the Desakota structures described above, BSD's surrounding is dotted with private residential enclaves ranging from gated communities to New Towns. The region of Jakarta has an extremely high occurrence of these, most likely the highest in the world.[116] The area of all New Towns and industrial estates currently under development in the Jabodetabek region almost equals the total area of the central District. [117]

The New Towns and gated communities became an omnipresent mode of urbanisa-tion. Rather than acting as counter magnets, or 'urban acupuncture', the developments tend to group. In this context today BSD is a part of a cluster of New Towns and Gated Communities, which are competing for the market of detached middle class family houses. At the same time, the smaller species are profiting from the central facilities (e.g. malls, schools, hospitals etc) of the larger sort such as Bumi Serpong Damai.

The neighbouring schemes range from the 1.500-hectare New Town of Lippo Karawachi[118], to smaller enclaves such as Ciba Raya, Gading Serpong, Alam Sutera, Vila Mela Timas, or Modern Land. An important competitor is also the 4.000-hectare large, agglomeration of residential clusters, Bintaro Jaya that is located in-between BSD and Pondok Indah.[119]

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[110] The functional, spatial as well as ecological Integration of the river into the town will be a major challenge of the future urban development.

[111] Cf. above: Jakarta, Structure of the periphery; Cf. McGee 1991

[112] Significantly, the streets are filled with trucks transporting building materials and many of the sites are characterised by out of scale truck garages, which have been erected next to traditional village buildings (Cf. Own exploration in December 2004). As, however, many of the supplies become exhausted a significant part of the population has to find new livelihoods. The Institute of Technology Indonesia (ITI) in Serpong studies the livelihoods of the local population of the area. Its planning lab has developed a concept of fish farms for hundreds of the gravel ponds. (Cf. Interview with Prof. Koesparmadi, of ITI Serpong in December 2005)

[113] Until October 2008 the area was regarded as Kabupaten (principally a rural area). Thereafter the city (Kota) of South Tangerang (Tangerang Selatan) was spilt up from Tangerang (cf. http://wapedia.mobi/id/Kota_Tangerang_Selatan; cf. http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2007/01/15/tangerang-close-forming-new-city.html, r21.06.2009).

[114] The phases two and three will belong to the subdistricts of Legok, Cisauk District and Pagedangan.

[115] Own calculation. (Cf. Appendix: Comparative Matrix)

[116] This hypothesis awaits scientific verification.

[117] The available data points to a number of 25 to 30 New Towns of 500 to 6.000 hectares with an accumulated area of more than 600 square kilometres. (Cf. Graham 2001; Firman 2004; Cowherd 2002; Cf. also to the sections on land banks; and the New Town boom above)

[118] Cf. McDougall 1996, Rimmer 1998, Loveard 2001, Vinh 2002.

[119] Cf. Tremmeling 1999, Matin 2000, http://www.jayaproperty.com.

Accessibility

BSD has a linear distance of 15 kilometres to Jakarta's western edge, 22 kilometres from the centre (Monas) and about 18 kilometres from the airport. The place features only a small number of jobs. Less than one fifth of the new residents work on-site. (On the other hand a significant number of service and educational facilities exist. (Cf. below)) The rest commute to Jakarta (cf. below Population). The major mode of transport is the car and depending on street conditions travel times to the main central destinations may vary from 30 minutes to two hours or even longer. The average commuting time from BSD to the city centre of Jakarta (CBD) is between 1-2,5 hours. This accounts for a burdensome 2-4 hours of commuting time per day, sometimes even more. (Cf. Interview with Santoso 2008)

Jakarta is also connected by a railway link. The station is located between Serpong and BSD. However, the service is overloaded and is of a low quality, and hence predominantly used by lower income populations. Furthermore the management of BSD offers a private bus service to Jakarta.

Notably, BSD's first segment was completed in advance of the regional transport infrastructure. For a long time the only option to commute to Jakarta was the Jakarta-Tangerang toll road, which had to be accessed via an 8-kilometre commute towards the North.[120]

Finally, the accessibility of Bumi Serpong Damai is steadily improving. While new jobs, services, shopping, and recreation facilities are continuously added (cf. next chapter), the New Town is gradually integrated into the region. In 2005, after long delays[121], the Jakarta-Serpong toll road, a direct toll road connection to South Jakarta, was completed.[122]

The connectivity will further improve when Jakarta's third highway ring will be completed. This will run through the areas of phase 2 and 3. In addition, a plan to modernise the existing railway and install a dual-track system is fairly advanced.

→ Illustration B-16: Unfinished bridge of the Jakarta Serpong toll road (2006)
→ Illustration B-17: Access Map of the German Centre (2006)

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[120] While the airport, for example, is only 15 bee-line km away, the current commute takes around 90 minutes via Western Jakarta, or Tangerang.

[121] Which were mainly caused by land disputes.

[122] The construction of the Serpong toll road started in 1996. BSD-City PT is one of the main shareholders of the venture (cf. below; and Pangestu 1998).

Local dimension

Whereas the last paragraph describes the physical relationship of the New Town to the adjoining county, this paragraph focuses on the 'internal' physical characteristics of the New Town. The project is approached three dimensionally: Firstly as a whole entity; Secondly, at the scale of the neighbourhood; And Thirdly from the street-view angle of block and building. Finally, the examination of a number of 'model' neighbourhoods provides tangibility.

New Town

Table 6: Key indicators – Bumi Sepong Damai's local context

Size	*1.350 (5.990) hectares*
Phases completed	1 of 3
Population	100.000 (600.000)
Houses	21.000 (135.000)
Schools	41
Commercial outlets	4.100 (e.g. most in Shop House Typology)
Average density (per/ha)	81 (100)
Area owner by developer	85 (50)
Residential land use	53 percent
Village areas	14,3 percent
Number of neighbourhoods	80 (in 17 sectors)
Type of neighbourhoods	70 percent gated enclaves (30 percent former non-cluster areas)
Lots per neighbourhood	30 – 200 lots
Size of neighbourhoods	~ 800 persons
Density of neighbourhoods	~ 70 persons per hectare
Vacant lots	20 – 40 percent
Major mode of local mobility	Car and walking
Size of average house	~ 60 square metres (starters 28 metres)
Predominant FAR	1- 1,5
Predominant housing type	Themed turn-key villa, or row house
Local Typology	SE-Asian style shop houses
Amount of public housing	0 percent
Milestone examples	Sector 1 (Mixed development, 1989); Pavilion Residence (Low income scheme, 2006); Latinos and The Green (New cluster

approach, 2006)

Basic data

Bumi Serpong Damai was planned in the early 1980's for a capacity of between 600.000 and 800.000 people with 135.000 building structures, and 140,000 to 180.000 jobs on 5.950 hectares. These days, in 2008, the New Town features about 100.000 residents in 20.600 homes and has 4.100 commercial outlets.[123] It offers around 16.000 formal jobs (BSD PT, 2003).[124] Currently the project has an average population density of about 81 persons per hectare.[125] When finished densities are expected to climb to between 100 and 130.[126]

Growth pattern and status

The project is supposed to emerge in phases.[127] As of July 2008 the first phase BSD Timur (BSD East) is almost completed. The second stage, BSD Barat (BSD West) entered the implementation and marketing stage. The New Town was supposed to be finished by 2005 (Winarso 2005: 10). However, the schedule has been continuously deferred.

The growth of the New Town takes place in an incremental way, sector-by-sector, and neighbourhood-by-neighbourhood. The fact that the developers have exclusive rights to develop the land facilitates long-term planning.

Structure

Bumi Serpong Damai East is a system of 17 hierarchically clustered sectors and 80 neighbourhoods.[128] All in all the system follows the principles of modernistic town planning (e.g. hierarchies of circulation systems, segregation of land uses). Most of the new neighbourhoods are grouped in clusters. Each of these includes 30 to 600 lots.

At a closer look, the structure displays a strong hierarchical arrangement.[129] The town follows a strategy of functional separation that gives it a cellular appearance. The structure reflects a gradual transition from private to public spaces: Houses are based on the household's private space; the Neighbourhoods are semi-private; the sectors semi-public; finally, the town is public.

Indeed, the organisation of the town-system is based on the private car. A ladder like structure of boulevards structures the fabric of phase-I.[130] In general two different street typologies are characteristic: semi-private, bended, or cul-de-sac streets serve the neighbourhoods, multiple-lane boulevards and toll roads generate higher network connectivity. Notably, the semi-private streets are built along the facades of private homes,

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[123] Cf. The Jakarta Post, May 10th 2008

[124] In late 2004 a steep rise in Jobs was reported. While in 2003 only 700 employers have been listed in the area, only one year later a number of 1.300 employers were reported (BSD PT, 2005). This was the year when a major new shopping centre opened (Cf. Neo Town, Infrastructure, ITC Shopping).

[125] Calculated with 100.000 residents on 1.300 hectares.

[126] This meets the density of residential neighbourhoods in central Jakarta (DKIJ). The region of Jabodetabek has average densities of 30 persons per hectare.

[127] 1st stage: 1.300 hectares, 2nd stage: 2.000 hectares, 3rd stage: 2.700 hectares (BSD PT).

[128] The names of the 17 sectors are: Griya Loka (Sektor I), Anggrek Loka (Sektor II), Puspita Loka (Sektor III), Giri Loka 1,2 & 3 (Sektor IV), Taman Giri Loka (Sektor IV), Taman Tirta Golf (Sektor V), Bukit Golf (Sektor VI & VII), Taman Telaga Golf (Sektor VIII), The Green (Sektor IX), De Latinos (Sektor X), Taman Tekno BSD (Sektor XI, Industri Area), Kencana Loka (Sektor XII), Nusa Loka (Sektor XIV), Griya Parahita, Griya Asri, and Griya Sarana (Cf. BSD AT, 'faq' section on 'frequently asked questions'; accessed in July 2008).

[129] The cellular structure resembles the concept of cluster planning known from New Towns of the post-World WarII era (Cf. Gruen 1956, from Wall 2005).

[130] The steps of the ladder are Jalan Pahlawan Seribu, Jalan Letnan Sutopo. Its steps are Jalan Arten Barat Timur, Jalan Griya Loka Raya, and the Jalan Tol Jakarta.

while the lager road system strictly avoids building frontages at the roadside. The later brings access to the larger service facilities, which are arranged to the outside of the neighbourhoods and clusters. The industrial or commercial areas are located in respective clusters. Major facilities are arranged at important street intersections (e.g. the developer's marketing office, or the new ITC Mall).

Significantly, the structure for BSD's planned second phase suggests an even more homogeneous character, strictly following the principles of organic 'cluster design'. The neighbourhoods are designed as mono-functional cells of a confined capacity with bended interior streets. Service nodes are located outside of the clusters (Cf. BSD PT 2006: 43). Moreover, a large edge-city-CDB with thousands of office jobs and six mega malls is supposed to become a regional centre.

→ Illustration B-20: Neighbourhoods from various periods

Land use
Prior to the project's implementation the land was mainly used for agricultural purposes – palm oil plantations and paddy fields. Population densities amounted to less than 10 people per hectare.[131]

The contemporary land use is based on BSD's strategy to portray a fully-fledged autonomous structure. To reach this objective the city is made up of five elements: 1) residences (Wisma), 2) industries (Karya), 3) public facilities (Suka), 4) infrastructure (Marga), 5) as well as social and environmental infrastructure (Penyempurna) (cf. BSD PT 2004). All of these have a land use dimension.

The shares of the planned and the existing land uses diverge: The master plan foresees that about half of the land (52,7 percent) is taken up by housing, another quarter (25,3) is non-residential, and 7,7 percent is public. Significantly, local villages take up the remaining part (14,3 percent).[132] In the newly developed area of phase-I: 80 percent is taken up by housing, 10 percent by commercial land use and another 10 percent by industries (BSD PT 2006: 25).[133]

The low commercial share is mainly caused by the problems with the implementation of the Central Business District (CBD). This was delayed several times, for reasons of land acquisition and lacking demand.[134] The industrial land use is represented by a multipurpose industrial area (Taman Tekno), which was designed to accommodate high-tech, environmentally friendly industries and to create spin-off synergies with the University of Serpong. The area was among the pioneers in Indonesia to be implemented along eco-standards (BSD AT 2004).

Infrastructure
Modern infrastructure (Marga) of western standards is one of the essential building blocks of Bumi Serpong Damai (Cf. BSD AT 2004). The town features two toll-road access points, western standard drainage systems, around-the-clock water management, bus terminals, bridges, abundant electricity, a cable TV network, telephones and a super fast fibre optic telecommunication system. The infrastructure is frequently maintained

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[131] Cf. Personal interviews with Santoso 2004; Interview with BSD Planning Staff in December 2005.

[132] Personal Interview with BSD Management, October 2004.

[133] The master plan for the finished town (phase 1-3) plans for 4.650 hectares (77,5 percent) of housing, 436 hectares (7,2 percent) of commercial areas (7,2 percent), a central business district of 448 hectares (7,5 percent), and an industrial zone of 270 hectares (4,5 percent, as well as a 150 hectare central park (2,5 percent).

[134] Currently a new CBD is supposed to take shape in West-BSD. It will contain a series of office high-rises and a ring shaped central public area that acts as a connecting element of six gigantic mega malls.

and upgraded.[135] This results in a quality of life, much better than in any other part of Jakarta: Traffic is low, the air quality higher, the water is treated, garbage is collected, and the streets are cleaned.[136]

In 2005 a series of new infrastructure projects was completed, causing the developers to proclaim a 'break even point' for the whole project (cf. BSD PÜT 2006): The year saw the opening of the Jakarta-Serpong toll-road, the new ITC mall (handled by Carrefour) and the BSD junction (a lifestyle-shopping centre). Moreover, several new products were launched: Most notably, a new generation of lifestyle neighbourhoods (The Green, Latinos), and a large entertainment park (Oceanworld). In addition, the implementation of a double track railway to Jakarta started (BSD AT 2006: 23), and the second stage of the New Town with 2.000 hectares went into the marketing and implementation stage.

Utilities

In regard to the utilities such as electricity, telephone networks, water, sewage and waste, the developer has installed western style networks and facilities. Many projects were realised in the form of public-private partnerships. The company cooperated with the public electricity agency PLN for the supply of electric power to the new city. BSD took up the job of building the distribution network. In regard to telecom the company Telcom supplied a fibre optic network. In addition, BSD provided its own automatic central telephone (STO) system.

Three water treatment plants, that utilise water from ground and surface sources, serve the first part of the New Town. Currently, BSD is working with PDAM on the provision of a total clean water package for residential areas inside the BSD region. Moreover, areas along the Cisadane River have been equipped with flooding ponds in order to prevent flooding.

During the initial years most of the garbage was exported outside of the area. However, informal dumpsites emerged in ecologically sensitive areas. Consequently, negative publicity has put the developers under pressure. Nowadays a waste recycling area was put in place to manage the city's waste products. Also organic matter is collected and composted. The final product is used to maintain the city's parks and trees (Cf. BSD PT 2006, personal interviews).

Services

Bumi Serpong Damai is serviced by several parks, shopping centres, markets and cinemas, entertainment areas, cultural facilities, an internationally renown golf course, as well as places of worship. All these facilities are made available by the developer. (BSD PT, 2004)

16 malls and shopping areas service BSD's in the current area. Among the most successful of these is a farmers market (Pasar Modern) at sector 1, as well a large Carrefour retail store at the BSD junction. Six large shopping malls are planned for the new central district of phase II (Cf. above). The New Town's educational facilities for residents include over 40 educational institutions ranging from kindergarten to university level.[137]

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[135] For example, recent restructuring efforts have focused on the pedestrianisation of some major streets.

[136] According to BSD PT, about 30 percent of the capital raised is re-allocated for infrastructure facilities (Cf. below: Finance)

[137] Among these are the Al-Azhar School, Santa Ursula, Ora et Labora, Stella Maris, Music School, the German International School, the Swiss German University and the Indonesian Institute of Technology. There is also a school for autistic children (BSD AT, 2004). Health services include international facilities such as the Malaysian Medica Hospital Group.

The developer has sponsored several sites for rituals and worship.[138] Interestingly, he has also funded a new building for the public police.

The offices of public service providers are situated in the Civic Centre. These include the State Electricity Company (PLN), the telephone company Telkom, the Tax Office, a security station, gas stations (office space). Various clubs, swimming pools, sports and fitness centres, bicycle lanes and jogging tracks provide recreational services. A new entertainment park (Oceanpark) was recently opened. It is the largest facility of its kind in Indonesia. A landmark institution is the Damai Indah Golf & Country Club, with an 18-hole golf course. It is designed by Jack Nicklaus and is internationally recognized.

On the other hand, institutions such as public libraries, museums, theatres, or public swimming pools (which may require more public investments) do not exist.

Commerce and Industry

Spaces for commerce and industry are an integral part of the developer's 'city strategy'. Meanwhile 16.000 jobs are supposed to exist. BSD's industrial park Taman Techno is serving as an ecological model for the whole country (cf. above). Several international institutions like the German Centre, or companies like Premier (France), the Swiss school, or the Malaysian hospital serve as signifiers of an international flair and attractors of international investments (BSD AT 2004).

Onsite villages

Although not part of the official catalogues, villages constitute a significant element of BSD's urban landscape. The villages exist as insular structures, which dot the New Town evenly. While comprising 14 percent of the developed area (BSD East), their population amounts to a notable 30 percent of residents. (When we assume that traditional village areas contain higher densities than single-family suburbs).[139]

Notably, the strategies of Bumi Serpong's Damai's developers towards the existing villages are more than neutral. The villages are not only neglected but also actively isolated and camouflaged, by various spatial interventions. The on-site communities and project-affected populations have been completely bypassed in regard to modern infrastructure systems such as boulevards, electricity, communications, water and sewage lines etc. For this reason we find parallel infrastructure systems and standards at many places. At some locations this arrangement even adheres to streets.

It is critical, for example, that some of the new streets, constructed at higher levels, are acting as barriers and leading to periodical flooding of the existing villages. The village populations claim that this handicap was consciously planned by the management in order to force them to sell their land. In addition, whenever possible, the village areas are mantled by buffer zones. In many cases high concrete walls have been erected to conceal the 'undesirable' vista. These are then camouflaged by bamboo cushion.[140]

→ Illustration B-21: Parallel street system
→ Illustration B-22: Walled and camouflaged on-site village

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[138] Similar to William Levitt in Long Island 50 years earlier.

[139] This number was be estimated assuming population densities of 100 to 150 people per hectare. An additional population of 100.00 to 130.000 can be estimated to remain on the undeveloped areas on the other side of the river. 50 percent of these areas of Phase I and II have not been acquired yet (Personal Interview with representatives of ITI-Serpong, 2004).

[140] This paragraph is based on personal observations and interviews with the residents, 2004, 2005, and 2007.

Informal and hybrid structures

Even so, the village populations are innovative and take advantage of the situation. Informal service areas have mushroomed at the intersections of village areas and the major streets.[141] Moreover, within the villages, various informal land speculation processes have started: For example, new structures and services are catering to the needs of the rising numbers of guest workers. In addition, more and more stylistic elements diffuse from the rich to the poor neighbourhoods, as village populations remake their own houses. In this way a new landscape of hybrid urban typologies and land uses is emerging that awaits further study, reflection and documentation (Cf. Gotsch, Kohte, 2007).

While most of the households have 1-2 cars, the village residents mostly commute by motorbike or on foot. In his context, informal pathways are spanning some of the neighbourhoods, while official walkways do not exist. This occurs, for example when children commute between the village enclaves and public schools, enjoying a free right of way in some of the neighbourhoods. Some of the enclaves also allow for a 'controlled' operation of street vendors.[142]

Notably, BSD's new residents are also creative transforming and adapting the existing structures. Many buildings in the environs of the German-Swiss school and university have been transformed in to informal student hostels.

→ Illustration B-23: Informal housing typology for guest workers in the villages
→ Illustration B-24: Student hostel in adapted villa

Neighbourhoods/ Clusters

Basic data

Bumi Serpong Damai today is made up of roughly 80 neighbourhoods. Each of these is composed of 30-200 lots for individual families. An average household size of 4,3 results in a number of 140 to 900 individuals per enclave.

Structure of neighbourhoods

The neighbourhoods feature a homogeneous building fabric and population distribution. The predominant type is the themed single-family villa. Most of the time, the circulation pattern is a closed system of curved streets and cul-de-sac arrangements. Notably, communal clubs and playgrounds are placed inside the neighbourhoods, while other service facilities, such as commerce and retail, are located on the outside.[143] Gates and walls define the clusters to the outside, providing (and representing) security and identity for the respective neighbourhoods. The entrance ensembles, in particular, serve as the main carriers of the respective lifestyle themes of each area.

→ Illustration B-25: Neighbourhood-level map: The Green
→ Illustration B-26: Neighbourhood-level map: Sector-1
→ Illustration B-27: Gate typologies

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[141] Mainly at the main street to Serpong
[142] Personal observations see footnote above.
[143] Own analysis 2006; and PERFINDO 2006: Stock market information on BSD: 23.

Neighbourhood land use

The controlled neighbourhood, whether residential, commercial, or industrial, serves as a fundamental module of the whole system. Whereas BSD's sector level retains a relatively high variation of parcelling, the neighbourhoods portray high levels of homogeneity and design integrity. The neighbourhood-clusters principally concentrate on only one land use-category. Moreover, they are differentiated by distinct standards for various income levels.

Uniformity is increased by the fact that the residential buildings are delivered as turn-key products by the developer (who also provides for the open space design). Each cluster is master planned. Buyers are obliged to respect specific guidelines and design principles. Significant alternations of the land uses, or the houses are banned. The developer dominates the process, now and then implementing alterations and changes without a consulting the residents.[144]

Neighbourhood infrastructure and mobility

While clubs and recreational facilities are located in the sectors, service areas of greater relevance, such as schools and shopping districts are located to the outside of the neighbourhoods. These can be found at the levels of sector and town.

Every 'formal' resident of Bumi Serpong Damai is dependent on motorised transport. The communal facilities inside the sectors can easily be reached by modes of non-motorised transport (walking, bike). In contrast, all facilities outside the sectors require the use of motorised modes (motorbikes, cars, and busses). Walking or biking for longer distances is only common among the service personnel and the indigenous population.

Early examples, 80's, 'non-cluster residential areas'

BSD contains a significant share of 30 percent of so called 'non-cluster' residential areas. In the early 1980's, the 'open' urban neighbourhood model was preferred (cf. Santoso 1992). This was based on a city containing private buildings surrounded by public spaces and open circulation networks. Consequently, the early neighbourhoods featured several access points, a variation of housing typologies, as well as graded and mixed land uses. (Cf. Santoso 1992, own observations in Sector I)

Significantly, in the last decade, the shifting paradigms towards gated enclaves have led to a successive remodelling and renovation of the non-cluster areas. The results are ambivalent: The ongoing commercialisation of some buildings along main streets has been stopped and service and commerce areas have been shifted to the outside of residential clusters. Supplementary access points have been closed, even for pedestrians. Moreover, many open and green spaces have been rezoned and sold.[145] (Cf. also → Illustration B-26)

Recent trends

In the first decade of the 21-century BSD features a new range of typologies (neighbourhoods, houses). These stand out for their grouping of several neighbourhoods into sub-districts, as well as a novel blend of ecological and lifestyle themes. Notably, the clustering of neighbourhoods constitutes a new component in the urban hierarchy. Two notable examples are 'The Green', and 'Latinos' (cf. examples below). Both of these neighbourhoods are about 80 hectares in size and consist of a cluster of 8-10 walled or fenced en-

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[144] E.g.: A German expatriate known to the author has left the area after the town management has chopped down many threes in his neighbourhood to replace them with new buildings.

[145] Personal interview with a representative of the German Centre in December 2005; Cf. also BSD PT 2006: 75

claves. Each of these enclaves features a specific sub-theme, targeting a particular clientele.

Specific themes are commonly realised in the design of shared facilities and common spaces such as community buildings clubs, gates, parks, and ponds etc. Their leitmotivs used stem from the media and entertainment worlds. The private houses, in contrast, increasingly represent styles that are independent – mostly neoclassical, historicist, or 'neomodern'.

Sleeping land

A common feature in many of the neighbourhoods is the fact that a large share of lots remains undeveloped. The number is correlated with the income levels of the residents. While, in the upscale area surrounding the golf course a maximum of 10 percent of the lots are occupied (grazing goat herds dominate the landscape), most of the middle class areas feature occupancy rates of 60 to 80 percent.[146] The areas of the lower-middle class populations, in particular the ones erected in the 1980's, are fully occupied and thriving.

The large amount of vacant space creates an astonishing pattern of vacant spaces as well as an accidental aesthetic of open firewalls. Moreover BSD's neighbourhood design features a specific type of corner dilemma: An accumulation of vacant lots can be observed in the corner lots. (Even in the 20-year-old neighbourhoods most of these corner locations remain undeveloped.) Surprisingly, no solution for this problem seems to be in sight. Apparently, the large amount of street frontage has a negative stigma among the population as it results in high maintenance costs.

→ Illustration B-28: 'Bricolage' of vacant lots and firewalls
→ Illustration B-29: BSD's corner dilemma

Individual adaptation of buildings

Despite the fact that all structures are developed along a master plan (cf. above) individual adaptations do take place. The construction of new carports is a notable example for incremental changes at a small scale. In addition, a strong pressure towards the illegal commercialisation of housing types exists, whenever access to potential clients exists: In this context many ground floors of residential buildings have been converted to shops along streets. Elsewhere, houses have been remodelled to student apartments (cf. above → B-24).

The town management struggles to reverse these changes. Moreover, it has reacted by reforming urban design principles: The new guidelines, for example, exclude the construction of individual houses in direct accessibility of super-ordinate streets. In their place shop houses, fences, or extended green zones are applied.

→ Illustration B-30: BSD, Exemplary block-level map (Monte Carlo)

Blocks and buildings

Basic data

BSD's first phase comprises about 21.000 homes, some 4.100 commercial outlets (most of them shop houses) and several hundred office buildings, gates, and club facilities.[147]

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[146] The phenomenon can be explained by the fact that rich populations are more likely to buy lots for speculative purposes and leave them undeveloped. (Cf. Own observations in October 2007; Cowherd 2002: 32; and the above section on planning framework, legal and financial instruments.)

[147] Cf. BSD PT Website: 'faq' (rMay2008)

Blocks sizes vary from one to several dozens of lots. It stands out that the blocks are structured in an extremely rational and efficient way. Lot sizes start at about 70 square meters and are rarely larger than 500 square meters – even in more expensive segments. Only few upper class estates comprise a thousand square meters or more. Most of the lots are only insignificantly larger than the house (20-30 percent).[148]

While the average maximum built-up area is estimated at 0,8 (own calculation), the prescribed floor area ratio (FSI) ranges between 0,5 and 1,0 in most of the residential neighbourhoods.[149] The parcelling type usually represents curvilinear subdivisions. The lots for the lower income segments, in contrast, tend to be arranged orthogonally.

The 21.000 housing units completed in 2007 included 8.3 percent luxury houses, 27.1 percent medium type houses and 64.6 percent small type houses. Each of the respective categories is principally located in separate neighbourhoods.[150]

Housing sizes range from a maximum of 24 square meters for the smallest types (Category 1), 22 to 70 square meters for the middle segments (Category 2); and larger houses for the upper income segments of the population (Category 3).[151]

Assuming an average house size of 100 square meters, 20.000 homes and 100.000 residents, every 'formal' resident of BSD has a private area of 20 square meters at their disposal. (A clear indicator of middle class standards)[152]

Housing type and style

The prevalence of western urban models in BSD is very high. Shopping houses are the only regional, and distinctively SE-Asian building typology.

BSD's official housing typologies comprise row houses, twin houses, detached villas and mansions. All of these are based on homeownership. The unofficial models include rental apartments.[153]

The housing styles portray a thematic architectural language, common for Indonesian middle classes. While the gates, clubhouses, parks etc are mostly designed along the life style motif of the cluster, the houses are rather designed along a more limited amount of the mainstream tastes of the clients. Among the most prominent styles are historicist and neo-modern appearances.

It is eye catching that a majority of the buildings are modelled along international models and standards. Consequently, single-family houses are characterised by typical, small front gardens, garages, parking spaces as well as representative frontal facades. On the other hand, we also find local adaptations: A large share of the BSD's fabric is built in the form of modular row housing. In addition, the New Town is plastered with more than 4.000 shop houses.[154] These line up at many of BSD's streets and absorb all sorts of leftover places.[155]

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[148] This may be explained by efficiency considerations as well as by the tropical climatic conditions of the site: In the equatorial climate, a private garden is more a representational feature than a place with use qualities.

[149] The smallest buildings usually take up half of the lot. Larger 2-story houses take up about the ground area of the lot.

[150] The ratio of 6:3:1 is a part of government regulations. Accordingly, in order to obtain land permits and construction credits, the developer was required to build three 'small houses' at 22 to 70 square meters and six 'very small houses' at 21 square meters or less, for every luxury house. (Cf. below: Developers)

[151] According to the management until 2008, 8.961 units of Category 1 13.781 houses of Category 2, and 1.144 units of Category 3 will be completed. (Cf. BSD PT, faq, rJuly 2008).

[152] Jakarta's urban villages (Kampongs) feature densities of up to 1.000 people per hectare. With an estimated built up space ratio of 1 and an open space amount of 30 percent, this results in seven square meters per person.

[153] For students, as well as for migrant workers (cf. above)

[154] This form of shop-house typology is unique for SE-Asia. It was derived from a vernacular type of Chinese shop houses, and is extremely popular around the region.

[155] According to rumours the shop-house typology often serves as a remedy for all problematic places.

→ Illustration B-31: Examples of villa and shop house design

Examples

1989: Sector-1 housing – early example of modernistic zoning and 'non-clustered housing'.

In its initial Phase, the New Town of BSD had to fulfil a series of important public goals: most notably to contribute to regulated regional development, as well as to provide housing for all population segments. The initial phase of the project catered to lower income classes in particular, which were attracted as pioneer populations.[156]

While the first sectors completed during the initial stage represent important paradigms of the 1980s, they also established patterns which are valid to date: The first phase of the New Town has been structured into sectors and sub-sectors of 100 to 200 hectares, which were linked to hierarchical road systems. The underlying paradigm was modernistic: e.g. that of private houses immersed in a sea of public space. Accordingly, the system featured an openly accessible circulation network, public infrastructure systems, centrally located service areas, as well as a mix of housing for various income levels in the same neighbourhood. Moreover, while the house design focused on individual home ownership, it portrayed a standardised mass approach, which was characteristic for the modern era.

→ Illustration B-32: Examples of Sector-1 housing

A representative residential quarter of the first hour comprised 20 - 30 hectares. Common service facilities, as well as neighbourhood centres were planned for groups of 4-6 sub sectors. Elaborate zoning codes, with increasing densities towards the centre, aimed to provide identity and coherence. (Cf. Santoso 1992: 38)

Sector 1 is a particularly good example of housing for all income classes. The neighbourhood features a central area with small-scale retail facilities and public services. A public bus terminal was located at the western boundary. It was planned as an integral part of the larger circulation network and was accessible at several points (Perimeter walls did not exist at that time). Its main roads belonged to two categories: While linear thoroughfares provided the general accessibility, new ring arteries supplied local access and accommodated the major service facilities (cf. Santoso 1992: 38).

In addition to being modern and expandable, the infrastructure was also intended as a tool for social integration: "to be used as an instrument to initiate the integration process between social groups in the New Town, as well as among the inhabitants of the New Town and the existing old settlement of Serpong" (Santoso 1992: 38).

The approach to provide a 'mixed pattern housing' resulted in 4 types of residential areas: 1) lower income, 2) middle class, 3) upper class, and 4) reserve areas ('so called 'land adjustment'). In this context lot sizes varied from 60 to 252 square metres and the respective house sizes from 21 to 54; 70 percent of the floor plans remained under 36 square metres. The densities increased towards the centre along a 'Stadtkrone' approach from 40 persons per hectare in the peripheral upper income segments, to 100 persons per hectare in the middle class areas, to more than 200 persons per hectare in the central parts of the neighbourhood.

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[156] Assuming that they would tolerate the hardship of an unfinished New Town, these were lured with comparatively low land prices.

Despite that fact that the scheme featured completely developed houses, three designers sought to generate a variation by designing several housing types for each of the categories. Moreover, they developed three design standards ('standard', 'medium', and 'excellent'), catering for various socio-economic profiles.[157]

Unfortunately today many of the early ideas have been lost. The sector was adjusted to present-day 'standards and features several problems: The number of access points was reduced; the central service areas portray extreme vacancy levels. While, upper income neighbourhoods have segregated themselves, feature high vacancy levels, the lower income quarters consolidated and portray a thriving life. While, Sector 1 represents a showcase of the success of BSD's early strategies towards low-income populations, it becomes increasingly marginal, as the developers today embark on different solutions (Cf. below: Developers).

2006: Pavilion Residence

One of the smaller residences in the southern part of BSD's Phase-I is the Pavilion Residence. With a size of 3,5 hectares the scheme caters for young lower middle-class customers. Its public spaces are reduced to the necessary minimum for circulation. The design style of buildings is 'modern minimalist'. Lot sizes vary from 72 to 216 square meters and the respective prices range from 30 to 50 thousand US$.

→ Illustration B-33: Picture and plans of 'Pavilion Residence'

2006: 'De Latinos'

The 'De Latinos' cluster is among the most recent products of BSD. The scheme is located in the South of BSD Phase-I in close proximity to the Jakarta-Serpong toll road access. Its format exposes a strong themed strategy. 10 resident clusters amount to a total of 80 hectares. A large and colourful leisure and entertainment club facility is placed in the centre. The facility portrays colourful 'castle in the air' architecture and represents a new generation of BSD's landmark structures. It operates as the symbolic as well the functional centre of the new cluster.

The neighbourhoods present Latin American themes.[158] The individual buildings are built as row houses and detached villas. They are delivered as turnkey objects of one or two storeys. The styles applied are neoclassical and modern. The 'Latin' motif is for the most part used in the public spaces and communal facilities.

The 'product' caters to the tastes of Indonesia's mainstream middle classes. Its lot sizes vary from a tiny 39 square meter house on a 72 square meter lot[159] to a 234 square meter house on a 250 square meter lot[160]. The bulk of the buildings are represented by house sizes of 80 to 100 square meters on slightly larger lots.[161] The respective costs range between 40.000 and 250.000 US$, with an estimated median of 90.000 US$.

→ Illustration B-34: Pictures of 'De Latinos'
→ Illustration B-35: Structure plan of 'De Latinos'

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[157] Suryadi Santoso (1992), one of the initial planners of the scheme, sees this as proof that in contrast to the public sector a private developer was able to develop a high mixture of different neighbourhoods, representing many different quality standards and a variety of spatial concepts.

[158] These carry names such as: Bahama Resort, Brazillia Flamengo, Buenos Aires, Caribbean Island, Centro Havana, Costa Rica, Hacienda Mexicano, La Vintage, Pattagonia Village, and Santiago District.

[159] E.g. the Allende type in the Hacienda Mexicano Neighbourhood.

[160] E.g. the Nassau type in the Bahama Resort.

[161] E.g. the Botafogo type in the Brazillia Flamengo neighbourhood with 92 square meters on a 112 square meter lot.

2006: The Green

'The Green' is a different brand of new neighbourhood that spreads on 80 hectares and contains 11 residential clusters. The scheme stands out for a system of recreational paths, a large playground and an artificial lake. An internal town centre features coffee shops, restaurants, office facilities as well as a new housing typology, with home-office amenities.

The Green is located to the South of 'De Latinos' and the access point to the South Jakarta-Serpong toll-road only 500m from the railway station. It's residential clusters carry names such as Banyan Village, Burgundy, Bellagio, Blossom Village, Chardonnay, Manhattan Forum, Mirage, Monte Carlo, Navarra, Tuscany, and Venetian. Lot sizes vary between 120 and 2500 square meters costing from 46.000 to 380.000 US$.[162]

'The Green' is representing the taste of Indonesia's emerging upper middle classes. A new balance of lifestyle and ecological themes portrays the current shift of customer tastes.[163]

→ Illustration B-36: Plan of 'The Green' cluster
→ Illustration B-37: Entrance of 'The Green'
→ Illustration B-38: Typologies from 'The Green'

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[162] Interestingly the prices are also published in AED (United Arab Emirates Dirham). This points to the attractiveness of the projects as pure investments.
[163] Products for the higher income classes, such as Green Cove, Vermont Parkland, or Virginia Lagoon tend to concentrate purely on elegance and prestige topics. (Cf. BSD AT 2006, and website).

Summary

Since the previous part describes the functional and morphological aspects of Bumi Serpong Damai, this summary presents the results and outlines some of the 'lessons'.

Region

Bumi Serpong Damai is located about 20 kilometres to the West of Jakarta. It develops as one central node of the rapidly developing 'Desakota' region. The environs of the project is dotted with other private residential enclaves from gates communities to other New Towns. The 6.000-hectare area amounts to one tenth of Jakarta's inner city. Two major toll-road connections and one single-track railway line provide access to the region.

Town

The town is designed to be implemented in three phases on 5.590 hectares,. It aims to reach urban densities of 80 to 100 residents per hectare. At this time, the first phase is almost completed. The structure comprises 17 sectors, or 80 neighbourhoods, which are organised along a central boulevard. A 'new' organic model develops as distinct hierarchies between public and private are articulated at various scales. The town, the sectors, the neighbourhoods, the blocks and the buildings, are arranged in a highly rational and hierarchic manner. Significantly, all of the sectors and the neighbourhood modules operate as closed systems. The gradual arrangement of the streets and the open spaces mirrors these codes. Housing is the predominant land use, amounting to half of the area.

BSD was intended to become a fully-fledged and autonomous city from the beginning. Service facilities are arranged to the outside of the neighbourhood clusters, in communal areas of the sectors and along the main roads. The town's 16 malls, several movie theatres, 40 educational institutions, the world-class golf course, various houses of worship, as well as a new entertainment park cater for clients from the whole region. A future CBD, on 10 per cent of the project's land, will eventually turn the location into a true edge city.

A significant amount of local villages remain part of the area. While formally neglected, they contain one seventh of the land with more than thirty percent of the population.

Neighbourhood

The first phase of Bumi Serpong Damai comprises 80 neighbourhoods, or clusters. All of these feature homogeneous lot sizes and housing styles. (This can be attributed to the fact that the developer acts as a general planner and delivers turnkey houses, but also to the preferences of the main customer groups.) The internal street system is generally restricted to a combination of curved streets and cul-de-sac arrangements.

In the last 25 years BSD's neighbourhoods have undergone a remarkable change: During the late 1980's they were built as open systems with several access points. In contrast, all new quarters are formed as closed enclaves, featuring one guarded entry. While population of the respective clusters is very homogeneous, the architecture portrays colourful lifestyle themes (of international motives). The composition of the quarters correlates with the age of the cluster and the income of the population.

Block and Building

East-BSD, the first phase of the project, contains about 26.000 thousand formal, and also an additional 6.000 'informal' building structures. The parcelling is predominantly curvi-linear, sometimes rectangular. The project's housing typologies range from row houses, twin houses, to detached villas and mansions, from 24 square meter starter houses to 500 square meter luxury villas. Rental apartments (e.g. towers) are principally absent.

Remarkably, all formal building structures (malls, offices or houses) are modelled along global typologies and standards. One remarkable local feature is the shop housing typology. It stands out that most of the residential buildings are densely packed; the regular footprint is barely 20 percent smaller than the lot.

All common facilities such as gates, clubhouses, and parks have a distinctive rhetoric role, commonly reinforcing the lifestyle theme of the entire respective cluster. At the same time, the private buildings tend to communicate to a general set of mainstream preferences (historicism, colonial style, art deco, neo-modernism).

Population –
Traditional modernisers

"By then… the taste of the Indonesian middle class was cultivated, disciplined and refined via … flyovers, the automobile, gated real estate housing in New Towns, high-rise condos and shopping malls to ensure their distance from the streets and the campaigns." (Cf. Kusno 2006: 6)

Number of residents	100.000 (600.000-800.000)
On site villagers	30.000 (120.000)
Share of Sino-Indonesians	≤ 50 percent
Share of government officials	≤ 20 percent
Jobs on site	~ 18.000
Share of population employed in the formal sector	66 percent
Share of working population with higher degree	66 percent
Household composition	Nuclear one generation families (4,3 persons)
Household income	~ 15.000 US$ p.a. (< 20 percent of Indonesians)
Major motives	Security, stability, life-style
Major goals	'Tradition' (in the original sense of the word)
Relevance of resident associations	Marginal

Table 7: Key indicators – Bumi Serpong Damai's population

Introduction

The previous subchapter examined the physical characteristics of Bumi Serpong Damai. These have been described using a multi-scalar analysis. Yet, the physical form is only one side of the coin needed to understand the (dialectical) production of human environments.[164] Social, cultural as well as economic processes represent the other side. Consequently the following part of this chapter focuses on the residents of the novel settlement. Apparently these users and clients of the lifestyles and the properties of Bumi Serpong Damai belong to newly emerging consumer classes.

A comprehensive socio-economic profile of the target population makes up the beginning of this section. Thereafter, the values, motives as well as lifestyles of the residents are examined. A third part explores the relevance of collective self-organisation in the New Town.

Population profile

Basic data (formal population)

The planned population of Bumi Serpong Damai ranges between 600.000 and 800.000 residents (BSD PT 2006).[165] Currently about 110.000 residents live in the town (cf. The Jakarta Post 2008).

BSD's average residents are young middle and upper class couples with up to two children, of Indonesian-Chinese descent.[166] The average household has 4,3 persons. This is slightly less than Jakarta's 4,7 persons (Cf. Winarso 2005: 10).

So far only 17 percent of the formal residents, or approximately 16.000, are able to work on-site (Cf. Leisch 2002: 96).[167] This low number implies that most of the residents have to commute. Notably the developer aims to achieve a ratio 70 percent of this (BSD PT 2006). Consequently the roads to Jakarta are clogged during the morning and evening peak hours.

While 25 years have passed since the groundbreaking ceremony, the spectrum of BSD's households varies from young starter households to fifty-somethings with grown up children.[168] Most of the households comprise the one-generation family.[169] This is a stark contrast to the traditional social fabric, which characterises the populations in the on-site villages and the surrounding areas.

Statistics of the ethnic and religious composition of the population have not been officially released. Yet, various interviews and observations confirm that numerous clusters have a large share (> 50 percent) of Sino-Indonesians.[170] In Jakarta the Sino-Indonesians make up for only 6 percent of the population.[171]

However, it can be safely assumed that these numbers result from the demand side and that no pre-selection from the supply-side (developers) occurs. Indeed, it is the socio-economic status of the clients that more and more determines the social composition of

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[164] The underlying rationale this work understands human settlements in a dialectic context of conception (and construction) versus self-formation. (Cf. Chapter: Introduction on the relationships of space and social processes).

[165] The New Town could, in theory, accommodate one annual population increase of the region, as Jabodetabek's population grows at a rate of 600.000 per year (cf. BSD PT 2004).

[166] Cf. Firman 2004: 14; Cf. also Hogan and Houston, 2001.

[167] This number increases to approximately 30 percent, when we take into account the local population (own calculation).

[168] Many first-generation residents are sceptical towards the recent buyers and the intensification of private development in the New Town. (Cf. Personal interview with a group of residents in October 2006).

[169] Cf. personal interview with a group of residents in October 2006; Cf. Leisch 2002.

[170] Leisch (2002: 95) confirms that the residents of many of the neighbourhoods in BSD and Lippo Karawaci (another New Town in the district) are predominantly Christian. In Jakarta this is a good indicator for an ethnic Chinese population.

[171] Cf. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies 2003.

the neighbourhoods. Whoever has the necessary money is able to buy a property in the project of their choice.[172]

The education level of BSD residents is relatively advanced. Around two thirds of the working persons have a degree higher, or equal to the bachelor level (Leisch 2002: 94). More than two thirds of BSD's residents are employed in the formal sector. Half of them are employees, the other half are entrepreneurs. Leisch (2002: 92) has observed that a significant amount (up to 19 percent) of government officials live in some of the clusters. The remaining non-working third of the formal population are housewives. Moreover, significant student populations populate some clusters close to universities.[173]

BSD residents portray lifestyles modelled along western consumer societies. Almost all households have uninterrupted access to modern utilities. The majority are equipped with cars, TV sets, fridges, personal computers, and many other modern household gadgets.[174]

A significant amount of daily life takes place in specialised places. Hence the everyday is divided between the household, the car, the office (or the school), the club, the mall etc. and the commute in between these locations. For the working part of the population the long commute is a central feature of daily life.[175]

Opposed to western patterns, however, many informal and semiformal activities play an important role in the organisation of the consumption patterns of the residents. Cheap labour is widely available. Maids and servants are commonplace.[176]

Preexisting population

Before the New Town of BSD was implemented the area featured rural densities. 60.000 persons populated an area of the 6.000 hectares, an average of 10 persons per hectare (cf. BSD PT, 2004). The existing population consisted mainly of farmers. Moreover, the area was in the process of transformation turning towards labour intensive production and service economies.[177]

The current population in the villages engulfed by East-BSD amounts to 30 thousand.[178] This is a whole quarter of the New Town's population. The people are largely a part of the economy of BSD. The former villagers exist by renting apartments for other migrants and guest workers, running street stalls and being employed in the maintenance and security services.[179]

The population at the 'virgin' sites to the West of the Cisadane River amounts to a growing 120 to 150 thousand. It represents a large range of livelihoods. The locale experiences a rapid regionalisation and urbanisation process in general. Large parts of the

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[172] Only the places of the super rich follow their own rationale. A spectacular case can be found in Lippo Karawaci. Here the chairman of the Lippo Group James Riyadi lives on an artificial island in the centre of a golf course in the project's centre. The land within his cluster can be bought by invitation only.

[173] E.g. in Angrek Loka, close to the Swiss-German university

[174] In many cases, however, the gadgets serve representative purposes and barely used. For example many of the middle class families cannot afford to run the air condition systems on a permanent basis. (Personal observation, interviews, 2006)

[175] The average commuting time between BSD to the centre of Jakarta (CBD) can consume between 1-2,5 hours. (Cf. Regional context above)

[176] Their number further depends on the income and status of the employers.

[177] Cf. above; McGee's 1991: concept of Desakota regions in SE Asia.

[178] This number was calculated by population densities of 160 persons per hectare on 14 percent of the total.

[179] More shadowy sorts of income are property crimes. In particular the southern part of phase one, an area where many rich and poor neighbourhoods coexist side by side, is supposed to have experienced a rising level of property crimes. However, locals assured, that not people from the local villages commit these crimes, since these work for the most part in the New Town (e.g. as security guards). The real criminals were supposed to originate from more distant places. (Cf. field visit and interviews at ITI-Serpong in December 2005)

land population are working in construction, materials and service businesses (Cf. above: from sand and gravel to fishponds).[180]

Income

The consumers of housing products in Bumi Serpong Damai belong to the middle and high-income groups (Leisch 2002). BSD's house prices (cf. below) indicate that the average monthly income of the residents is far above a median monthly income in Indonesia (al least 300 per cent). As a matter of fact a household with an average income in the region of Jakarta can afford the cheapest house on sale in BSD. Winarso (2005: 10) estimates that in order to buy a minimal house (36 square meters, US\$ 12.000) in one of the cheaper clusters of BSD a household had to earn at least US\$ 300 per month.[181]

Distribution

The typologies of houses as well as their costs in relation to the location indicate a very low variation of incomes within the clusters (cf. above section on Blocks and Buildings). Yet, by and large, the range of incomes increases at the scale of the whole town and compared to other private New Towns in Jakarta, the range of income groups in Bumi Serpong Damai is significantly higher.

Motives, values, and role models of the target groups

Main motives of target groups

People who are moving to Bumi Serpong Damai seek a comfortable family oriented life in the green (Like many generations of middle classes elsewhere). Moreover, the option to appropriate and explore a modern lifestyle is an enormous crowd-puller. Most of the buyers belong to Indonesia's new middle classes. These are constantly confronted with the global flows of media, finances, images, as well as goods – if in work, or in leisure. Western role models are widely available through 'glocal mediascapes' and, like elsewhere, people who can afford seek to appropriate and explore these new 'global scapes' (cf. Appadurai 1996). Notably, the lifestyles that are on sale in the New Towns provide an easy way towards the exploration and appropriation of new identities. They do so by the means of consumption.[182] Interestingly, often the symbolic value of lifestyle features is appreciated more than its actual use value. Most of the residents actually do not make use of the clubs, sport, and recreation facilities in their clusters.[183]

In addition to comfort and lifestyle, the factor of security (cf. Context, Jakarta, Risks), is of highest importance. Evidently people seek to feel safe (perceived security), be safe from crimes and disasters (physical security), enjoy a healthy environment (environmental security) and – mostly underestimated – embark on sustainable investments (financial security).

Because Bumi Serpong Damai caters to all of these needs, two-thirds of the residents like living the New Town and almost one-third are even highly satisfied with the new living environment (Cf. Leisch 2002: 96).

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[180] Cf. site visit and Interview with ITI-Serpong in December 2005.

[181] The average income of residents of in the Jakarta metropolitan region is around US\$ 500.

[182] For the exploration of the dynamic and complexity of cultural production by emerging middle classes in peripheral locations Appadurai (1996), Hannerz (1997), Bhabha (2000), King (2004) and Kusno (2000). (Cf. above: Introduction).

[183] Leisch (2002: 97) discovered that only seven percent of the people were members of the sport clubs. Interestingly he has also found out that, for a large share of the residents the environment was not 'modern' enough.

Values of target groups

Despite the drive for the appropriation of all things modern, BSD's target groups represent family oriented middle class attitudes and values. In this context stability, security, family integrity, and savings, are of primary importance. Moreover, traditional values such as local heritage, ethnicity and religion remain highly significant.[184] The result is a blend of openness for the new, and conservative attitudes.

From this perspective it can be debated whether, some of BSD's most extreme features, such as the Disneyesque themed neighbourhoods of the late early 2000's may be of a transitional character.

Resident groups and associations

The new residents face a particularly challenging situation. Different from a conventionally grown neighbourhood, in a planned settlement everybody is a stranger. People have to launch networks and political relationships. Societal institutions, clubs and governance structures have to emerge.[185] What happens in Bumi Serpong Damai?

The level of self-governance in BSD is relatively low. So far, almost no resident groups and associations exist. Until the completion of Phase I, the developers controlled the important matters. Yet, the future seems to belong to self-governance schemes. Homeowner associations seem to be the instrument of choice in order to maintain a high level of services. Neither the developers, nor the residents prefer the option of the finished scheme being transferred into public hands.

As a matter of fact, while significant parts of the New Town have been completed, more and more issues are arising with regard to the upgrading and the maintenance of existing facilities and services. The management realised that the maintenance clusters is a costly and cumbersome business (cf. Formal regulatory framework). Consequently, the developer plans to pull out from maintenance and operation piece by piece. A new office for customer relations and social management, explores the development of public-private community organisations. These are unique for the local context. As a first step, community meetings, social events, as well as charity and ecological awareness programmes are organised. (Cf. Interview with BSD officials in November 2004)

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[184] Indicative for this trend may be the fact that an increasing share of the Muslims of Indonesia's middle and upper classes celebrate the fasting month of Ramadan.

[185] The sociologist Herbert Gans was keen in describing this dynamics in Willingborough, a new settlement designed by William Levitt in the 1950's. (Cf. Gans 1967)

Summary Residents

The first phase of Bumi Serpong Damai currently houses a formal population of 110.000. This is about one sixth of the envisioned capacity of the entire scheme. In spite of that 25 to 30 thousand villagers and migrants exist in the first phase, off the record.[186] BSD's average residents are middle and upper class families with 2 to three children. 25 years after the projects start the age-spectrum of BSD's population varies from fifty-somethings with grown up children, to younger starter households. Many are of an Indonesian-Chinese descent. A majority of the residents has a higher school education and almost all households have at least one breadwinner in the formal sector. So far only 17 percent of the 'new' residents are able to work in the area.

The cost of a house in BSD ranges from 14.000 to 200.000 US$, and beyond. The value points to an average monthly income of the residents far above (300 per cent) the monthly income of an average Indonesia urban household. This higher income facilitates the access to mortgages and credits.

As much a many generations of bourgeois before, the people moving to Bumi Serpong Damai long for a comfortable and family oriented life in the green. Moreover the residents are attracted by the opportunity to appropriate and explore a new modern lifestyle. Still, it remains interesting that most of the residents do not use the clubs, sport, and recreation facilities available.

Self-governance in BSD is not very advanced. This is probably due to Indonesia's context between harmony and hierarchy and BSD's legal framework. So far, almost no resident groups and associations exist. However, the future seems to belong to bottom-up schemes. Homeowner associations appear as the instrument of choice in order to maintain a high level of services.

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[186] Another 100.000 to 120.000 local people are residing on the areas of phase II and III (tendency growing).

Developers and planners – Corporate brezel house

Introduction

After the portrait of the bigger context, the physical character, as well as the population of the 'peaceful land of Serpong' (the meaning of BSD), three more puzzle pieces are missing in the elucidation of this case. Consequently, the next three sections will present the authorship, the financial context, as well as the regulative framework of the venture.

This section will focus on the main authors of the scheme: these are in particular the developers, but also the planners and designers. This perspective is particularly exciting because BSD is considered to be the largest New Town in the South that was completely planned, implemented and maintained by one individual private-sector entity. Indeed, the characteristics and strategies of developers appear as a clue to delineate the differences of NeoTowns produced by the private sector and New Towns generated by the public hand.

Consequently the part progresses in: 1) introducing the developers of the project, 2) presenting their major objectives venture, 3) delineating the major development strategies and rationales, 4) and drafting the institutional geography of the venture. Thereafter the role of external consultants, planners, landscape designers and architects is presented. Finally, the modus of marketing and maintenance of the New Town is discussed.

Developers – A market-driven planning concept

Introduction

The developers of Bumi Serpong Damai account for the most influential and active part of the production process of the NeoTown. They have acquired the land, conceived the plan, implemented the project, and in addition they are even running the town. As BSD's developers have innovated in applying market oriented strategies and management principles towards urban development, they have produced a new typology of New Towns, a Neo Town.

Table 8: Key indicators – Bumi Serpong Damai's developers

Name of company	BSD PT
Name of developer	Sinar Mas
Type of firm	Industrial conglomerate
Quality management standard	ISO 9000 (focus on quality management: customer relationship, organisation of the process)
Early goals	Balanced regional development, 1:3:6 housing strategy
Contemporary operational framework	'Market driven strategic planning',
Six ingredients of BSD's success	1) Land bank, 2) modular development plan, 3) phased and incremental approach, 4) from pioneer populations to acceleration and consolidation, 5) holistic design (own infrastructure and services), 6) corporate standards

Delivery strategy	Reflects trend from supply to demand side oriented production
Planners, Designers, Architects	Pacific Consultants International Group, Doxiadis Associates, John Portman & Associates, SOM, EDAW, V2i
Trends in design	'Abstract localisation', quality tailored environments, modular platforms, gold-plating techniques
Trends in landscaping	The new master discipline mediating between the abstract and the real
Trends in open space	Theming & branding, festivalisation, symbolic space, 'neo-pedestrianisation'
Trends in marketing	New combination of theming, banding and life-style approach, CSR, Merging of design + marketing, new relevance of market research (customer intelligence), festivalisation of sales experiences

Name and background of Developers[187]

Bumi Serpong Damai is run by the enterprise BSD PT[188], a subsidiary of the Sinar Mas conglomerate. The New Town enterprise was started in 1984 by a consortium of 10 real estate heavyweights. Among these were conglomerates, such as the Salim Group, Eka Cipta Wijaya (Sinar Mas), and the Ciputra Group – all Sino-Indonesian ventures.[189] Notably the initial team of BSD's developers was composed of the same people who constructed Pondok Indah, Jakarta's first privately developed neighbourhood. (Cf. above: Predecessors; Winarso 2005: 9)

The arrangement of BSD's development team has changed several times since the foundation. In 2001 the Sinar Mas Group bought the majority of shares through its subsidiaries (54 percent) and took leading control of the New Town enterprise.[190] BSD is considered among the most innovative real estate products in Indonesia: the developers have won over 14 separate awards for of their business concept (BSD PT 2004).

Corporate structure

Bumi Serpong Damai PT is a licensed company that consists of five major departments. These are the planning and design group, the management section, a marketing and sales division, as well as the public service department (BSD PT 2006: 36). The departments are modelled along the lines of the ISO 9001 (2000) standards. This international quality management regulation relies on a process-oriented method assuring quality in design, development, production, installation, and servicing (cf. below).

The New Town Bumi Serpong Damai is implemented and managed by the holding company Bumi Serpong Damai PT. Simasred, a subsidiary of the conglomerate Sinar Mas acts as the major shareholder.[191] The industrial conglomerate Sinar Mas is one of the biggest and most influential industrial conglomerates in Indonesia and it is dominated by the Widjaya family. By investing the real estate sector, the mother company sought to

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[187] The following information is largely based on data from the website of the Asian Journal "Asia Sentinel". (Cf. John Berthelsen: Asia Sentinel 2006 a,b)

[188] 'PT' Is the Indonesian abbreviation for 'perséroan terbatas'. This means 'incorporated'.

[189] Another well-known and competing conglomerate is the Lippo group. It has built the well known New Towns of Lippo Karawaci and Lippo Cikarang. (Cf.: above; cf. Vinh 2002)

[190] The other two remaining shareholders were the Salim as well as Ciputra Groups.

[191] At least since the takeover of the majority of shares in 2001

diversify its portfolio of products (and this is its risk).[192] The company thrived on Indonesia's financial and real estate boom during Sukarno's era. Unconventional support from the government helped to survive the crisis and to maintain the firm's power structure.

Box 5: Sinar Mas – 'A bewildering corporate pretzel palace'

The Sinar Mas Group has a dramatic history that illustrates the economic as well as political entanglement of large conglomerates in Indonesia. The delineation of the operational strategies as well as the corporate environment of Sinar Mas casts some light on the development Bumi Serpong Damai.

Sinar Mas is one of the largest Indonesian corporations. Its major businesses are paper, palm oil, and real estate. The firm is also highly active in the financial sector and has extensive stakes in other financial-services firms, banks, and insurance companies.[193]

Eka Tjipta Widjaya, the head of the ethnic Chinese Widjaya family, is the founder and main shareholder of the enterprise.[194] He started the business with the Asia Pulp & Paper Company (APP), today an important part of Sinar Mas, in expropriating Indonesia's vast forest resources for the growing Asian markets. Within this process the company has acquired vast land holdings around the country and became one of the world's biggest paper companies.[195]

The mother company of Bumi Serpong Damai operates in a highly complex web of global financial flows. This highly fluid and complex operational geography was referred to as a "bewildering corporate pretzel palace" (cf. Asia Sentinel 2006). Several of Sinar Mas' subsidiaries are based on international financial-, and offshore centres. It masters the process of tapping international capital markets, raising money through bonds, convertible bonds, share offerings and loans. From a Western perspective some of its operations prior to the SE-Asian crisis of 1997 were on the edge of legality.[196]

The firm flourished on the support by the relaxed lending policies and privatisation programmes of the Sukarno era (cf. above). In 1997, at the dawn of the financial crisis, the conglomerate owned the equivalent of more than a tenth of Indonesia's foreign debt.

After the Asian financial crisis of 1997/98 the affiliate Asia Pulp and Paper ran up the biggest corporate debt in the history of Asia. It defaulted on a debt of US$ 14 billion (cf. The Economist 2008: 81). Nevertheless, the firm was rescued with the support of the Indonesian government: In contrast to crashed companies in Thailand or Malaysia, the Indonesian government allowed Sinar Mas to write off its domestic debt while keeping its assets. (Cf. ibidem)[197]

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[192] It can be assumed that being in the palm oil business facilitated the conversion of agricultural to urban land at many locations.

[193] Sinar Mas' publicly listed property company is named PT Duta Pertiwi. In 2005 PT Duta Pertiwi had reported assets of IDR 4.7 trillion in 2005.

[194] In 1996 the Forbes Magazine had listed Eka Tjipta Widjaya as the 45th richest man in the world, with a net worth of over US$ 5 billion (cf. Asia Sentinel 2006a).

[195] Sinar Mas subsidiary PT Sinar Mas Agro Resources and Technology (SMART), managed by Franky Oesman Widjaya, is the biggest plantation conglomerate in Indonesia. It owns palm oil plantations of 2840 square kilometres and employs 35.000 persons. The company recently entered a joint venture with Chinese investors (Civic Group) to develop an additional 1000 square kilometres of plantations in East Kalimantan. US$ 380 million of the US$ 600 billion invested came from the China Development Bank (cf. Asia Sentinel 2006a).

[196] Several corporations filed lawsuits in the US against APP, alleging fraud. The main thrust of the allegations was that APP was obscuring true information on the state of balance sheets to the shareholders (cf. Asia Sentinel 2006b).

[197] The journalists of Asia Sentinel (2006a) describe how this was possible: "APP staged the largest default in Asian history in 2001, stopping service on US$ 13 billion worth of debt. Hundreds of creditors laid siege to APP's offices in Singapore, Hong Kong and New York. Restructuring negotiations were coloured by controversy over a bewildering corporate pretzel palace that included a shadowy series of banks in the Cook Islands and Cayman Islands and countless legal challenges before an eventual debt workout that committed APP to paying back almost US$ 7 billion but only covering the debt of its Indonesian subsidiaries." In addition Widjaya's bonds served as a tool to "leverage the value of their companies and subsidiaries, raising funds in the capital market while retaining majority control by restricting the share issues." (Cf. Asia Sentinel, 2006). The Economist 2008 names the complex structure of APP's bonds as one of the main reasons for escaping the obligation to recompense its creditors. These were registered in the Netherlands and were to be disputed in New York. Only in the wake of the October 2008 financial crisis the Indonesian Supreme Court withdrew its earlier decision to back up rulings by lower courts that had supported Asia Pulp and papers status.

Sinar Mas' property and real estate division is named Sinar Mas Real Estate Development (Simasred). Simasred is one of the leading real estate developers in Indonesia and the SE-Asian region with links to more than 80 international companies, and hundred of projects around the world. Lead by Eka's son Mochtar Widjaya,[198] the company controls some of the largest land banks in the Jakarta Region and holds a large share of real estate assets in Indonesia.[199] In addition to real estate development, Simasred also engages in consulting, planning and design, as well as management services.

Simasred became widely known for its highly successful development of shop houses. In addition, it has been focusing on middle-income housing and commercial space for small and medium-sized businesses. The firm has substantial interests in various undertakings such as residential, apartments, commercials, shopping centres, hotels, office buildings, industrial estates, townships, as well as some Superblock - mixed-use developments (cp. www.simasred.com; r.02.08.2008).[200]

→ Illustration B-39: Corporate brezel palace of Indonesian elites

Goals and deliverables of developers

The present motto of BSD is: "Big City – Big Opportunity". It can be found on every banner, any shopping bag and also on the website. The slogan points to the enormous potentials of bigness to create huge bargains for the buyers, developers and investors. It demonstrates outwardly that BSD seeks to represent the qualities of the corporate world – as opposed to the hassle associated with New Towns constructed by the public government. In other words, it signifies that BSD is an outcome of a market driven strategic planning.

Back in 1984, different paradigms existed and the vision was distinct. A socially oriented style marked the initial implementation phase of the project. The developers and major planning officials and agencies aimed to grow a vision for the whole society. In conjunction with the planners, the attempt was to implement a socially and environmentally balanced scheme (cf. Santoso 1992: 37). In this context BSD was supposed to be a project steering regional growth and developing model solutions for housing (cf. Context: Planning paradigms). It was also aimed to "support the twenty-first century's needs and demands for society, administration, business, and industry in the region." (Cf. Pangestu, 1998)

As a matter of fact, the developers had to agree to implement a balanced housing program in order to qualify for the necessary loans and land permits.[201] The government imposed a 1:3:6 housing strategy (cf. above: Blocks and buildings; cf. Firman 2004: 19). This implied that for every luxury house, three medium-cost and six low-cost had to be built, including very-low-cost houses.[202] It was also planned at the beginning that the field should be opened up for more private sector players, after a certain level of development was achieved. (Cf. Santoso 1992) Yet, this never happened. At the latest, with the crisis of 1997, an increasing profit orientation, and a specific business ethos began to

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[198] „…one of the big real estate tycoons in Indonesia." (Cf. Winarso 2005)

[199] In addition to the 6000 hectares of BSD, the firm controls another 3.000-hectare real estate venture named Kota Delta Mas. The properties it owns have been valued at IDR 13.8 trillion (US$ 1,38 billion) (cf. Asia Sentential).

[200] Several of the company's real estate projects have been highly celebrated and became brands. Among these are well-known real estate products such Kota Wisata; Manga Dua Shophouses; Bumi Serpong Damai, and Kota Delta Mas; PT Plaza Indonesia Realty Tbk, the Grand Hyatt Hotel; or the The KIIC Industrial Estate in Karawang. (Cf. www.simasred.com; August 2008)

[201] An informal consortium of the developer and the government developed the initial set of goals. The most important principles agreed upon were: Housing for all income groups of society; Compliance with the development goals of the regional and local governments; Self-sufficient development (cf. Santoso 1992).

[202] At that time the cheapest houses started at US$ 2.500 (cf. Levitt).

dominate the rationales of the project. (Cf. Personal interview with ex-BSD planning staff 2005)

Development strategy

Bumi Serpong Damai's achievement is based on a combination of strategic elements, which are an elementary part of its profile and make it unique among its peers. The development strategy was adjusted periodically: It ranges from a social growth pole model for the whole population in the early 1980's, to a landscape of economic opportunities by the end of the 1990s. The following section is devoted to two important questions: What strategies did the private developers use to deliver the results and to implement the city? What is different from public sector strategies?

From its very inception the New Town was aimed to become a self-sustained city, catering to all basic needs of the resident population. This goal required the construction of serious town level infrastructure and service facilities. Moreover, independent management of the new city was planned. The town was officially approved and incorporated into Jabotabek's strategic master plan (RUTRK) (Cf. above… Master plans) Consequently the planners also sought to consider the regional infrastructure and the proximity to Jakarta.

Later on, the attraction of global investments and international brands became important.[203] The developers sought to construct a cosmopolitan image and reputation by attracting international institutions. Moreover, strategies of tactical analysis and mapping of competitors became an important part of the operational methods. (BSD 2006: 15)

The largest paradigmatic shift in BSD's history is marled by the 1997 financial crisis. This landmark represents the rise of corporate strategies. Among the important 'ingredients' of this context are: quality management, process orientation, specialized marketing, focus on upper middle classes, emphasis of symbolic values, spot on fencing and security features (cf. above: Physical structure).

Significantly, nowadays the developer BSD is 'unashamedly' based on a market-driven strategic planning tools. (Cf. Pangestu 1998) The present strategy of the New Town is based on rules from a larger framework of business operations. The new spirit is confirmed by wording of the self-description of the developers: "Process quality management", "human resource attraction", "visionary action plans", "response to changing consumer needs and desires", "creation of location inducing assets", "synergies and alliances", "focus on lifestyles", "a market for the next century", "long term economic sustainability". (Cf. Website of BSD PT, r12.08.2008)

The present strategies point to an increasing relevance of 'learning by doing strategies'. While BSD has experienced many risks and uncertainties in the previous 20 years, the developers are increasingly reluctant to set any definite benchmarks, other than scenarios and visionary images.

Standardisation

BSD PT was one of the first companies in Indonesia to apply the ISO 9000 norm to real estate projects in Indonesia. The rationales of this norm reverberate throughout all aspects of the scheme: from the institutional set-up of the management, to marketing and implementation strategies, to customer relationship tactics etc.

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[203] Some of the results are the German Centre, Swiss School, The Swiss-German University, Medica Hospital, Carrefour, and Premier.

Box 6: ISO 9000

Quality management standards were initially developed to solve quality problems in the production of munitions during the Second World War in Britain.[204]
ISO is the International Organisation for Standardisation. It is a network of the national standards institutes of 162 countries. As a non-governmental organisation it sees itself as a bridge between the public and the private sectors. The name ISO is derived from the Greek 'isos' meaning 'equal'. ISO only develops standards with a market requirement. Their implementation is voluntary.
ISO 9001:2008 specifies requirements for a quality management system where an organization needs to demonstrate its ability to consistently provide product that meets customer and applicable statutory and regulatory requirements, and aims to enhance customer satisfaction through the effective application of the system, including processes for continual improvement of the system and the assurance of conformity to customer and applicable statutory and regulatory requirements. All requirements of ISO 9001:2008 are generic and are intended to be applicable to all organizations, regardless of type, size and product provided. (Cf.: www.iso.org, r12.05.2009)

Implementation strategy

The reflection of the strategies of the New Town generates the question of their implementation. In this context BSD's achievement rests on six pillars: 1) Secured access to vast land resources; 2) An open master plan and development scenario; 3) A phased (temporal) and incremental (spatial) development approach; 4) A strategy of creating a momentum by attracting a pioneer population; 5) A provision of private infrastructure and services; 6) As well as a strict focus on generic standards and management systems. While the last of the elements was discussed above, the subsequent paragraph will explore the first five factors. [205]

One of the most difficult tasks of developing of a New Town is the generation of an initial dynamic, a momentum, which manages to attract customers and third party investments to the area. This aspect decides, whether the project remains a dormitory settlement or, whether it manages to become a fully-fledged city. To achieve this momentum, a balanced development of residents, as well as infrastructure is necessary. This is true in particular, when resources are limited.[206] But how to start?

1) Secured access to vast land resources
Bumi Serpong Damai's developers have generally operated with a phased development approach. The crucial exemption to this approach lies at the beginning: It is constituted by the fact that all of the land was granted to the developers in advance. Indeed, these land permits have been regarded as a fundamental base for the entire subsequent process of planning and implementation.[207]

2) An open master plan and development scenario
BSD's master plan contained the formal development framework and structured the process of a phased development, it also served as the basis for the official planning

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[204] Cf. http://www.systemsthinking.co.uk/3-1-article.asp, r03.09.2009
[205] Because the developers took the strategy of openness and flexibility quite literally, it is difficult to reconstruct all original intentions and only a retrospective perspective seems possible.
[206] Unless, of course, some party can pre-finance and maintain all infrastructures all at once, like Peter the Great has done in St. Petersburg, or the Brazilian government in Brasilia.
[207] Cf. the above section on land permits

documents.[208] The open and modular structure of the plan also allowed for flexibility and permanent change, whenever macro developments made this necessary.

3) A phased (temporal) and incremental (spatial) development approach

Bumi Serpong Damai was developed in several strategic phases (time) and in incremental phases (space). In addition to the three spatially oriented project phases on both sides of the Cisadane (cf. section Physical profile) three temporal development phases can be distinguished[209]: 1) 'introduction', 2) 'acceleration', and 3) 'establishment'. The integration of the phasing approach with the strategy of incremental spatial expansion is very crucial. The New Town was (and still is) developed phase-by-phase, sector-by-sector and neighbourhood-by-neighbourhood.

4) 'Introduction': Strategy of creating a momentum by attracting a pioneer population

A certain amount of residents were necessary to get the ball rolling. BSD's key to success in this respect was an early strategy based on low-income households. In this context, the first phase ('introduction', 1989 – 1992) was aimed at building up momentum and creating a local market (cf. Interview with BSD's planning staff 2006). This was achieved by catering to low-income populations. Notably, these acted as pioneer groups and 'beta-testers' exploring the potentials of the project.

At the same time, the developers counted on the fact that, by nature, low-income populations were attracted by the price of a house more that anything else.[210] Hence, they would be more tolerant (resilient) to the various problems of a life on a large construction site. Consequently, during the early phases of the mid-80s, the town catered to low income clients, featuring a mass of low-income projects. (Cf. above: Section on Sector-I).

4b) 'Acceleration' and 'establishment'

The second phase referred to as 'acceleration', aimed to explore the dynamic of the first one. In this context, from 1992 to 1998 an emphasis was laid on the development of key infrastructure and service facilities, as well as on the attraction of higher income households. The era saw the rise of many schools, shopping facilities and office infrastructures. During the final phase of "establishment" (1998 to 2015), a significant part of the New Town was supposed to be completed. (Cf. Interview with BSD's planning staff 2004) The local experience demonstrates that everything progressed slower than expected. BSD has reached its break-even point about ten years later than intended, after many delays and unpredictable macro developments.[211]

5) Provision of infrastructure and services

In order to become a fully-fledged city, Bumi Serpong Damai acted as a forerunner in constructing a wide range of urban infrastructure in a private way. (Cf. Pangestu 1998) Leapfrogging the general standards, the New Town enterprise provided its own networks (clean water, telecommunications, electricity) and services.[212] Notably, many of the infra-

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[208] E.g. the legal development plans for the district of Tangerang and strategic master plans for the Jakarta region, or RUTRP (Cf. above).

[209] Cf. Interview with planning officials in Dec 2005

[210] An insight, which is as old as the business (Cf. Gans 1967)

[211] Most notably a surge of other competitors in the mid 90's, the 97 crisis, a new management in 2001, the continuing tenacity of the village population to sell their land etc.

[212] In most of the cases the role of the public hand was reduced to provide the necessary approvals and to supply the networks. Importantly, it was agreed that the systems are to be handed over to the government upon completion (Pangestu 1998).

structure facilities (such as the major internal roads) have been developed by the private sector without user charges "in order to ensure the sustainability of the development area as a whole." (Cf. Pangestu 1998) In other words, the dynamics of scale enabled the developer to subsidise vital infrastructure elements.

Moreover, it was also critical to connect the project to the greater region. To achieve this goal the developer operated with the tactics of joint ventures and public private partnerships. The construction of the Serpong-Jakarta toll road is one of the success stories: Here BSD PT teamed up with the developer of the neighbouring settlement Bintaro Jaya and the public toll road operator Jasa Marga. The highway was built utilising a BOT strategy (Build, Operate and Transfer). The consortium will operate the toll-road system for 27 years. After this period it will be returned to the public.[213]

Land acquisition

One of the most intricate parts of constructing a New Town is the question of securing the necessary land. Despite the fact that the project was secured by the legal instrument of land permits (cf. above) the locality was not a white sheet of paper. Being a part of Jakarta's growing periphery, the area supported the livelihoods of 60 to 100 thousand people. The place had a history. It was brackish, colourful and complex. Naturally the people had to be persuaded to leave. How was this done?

Today 15 percent of the areas within BSD's phase-I remain occupied by on-site villages, another 50 percent of the land of phase II have to be acquired. The process of land acquisition was, and still is, a very long, delicate and cumbersome process. The actual land acquisition was delegated to middleman brokers ('Calo Tanah'). These middlemen were knowledgeable of the local conditions and helped to maximise profit margins, sometimes by obscuring the real purpose of the transfer.[214] Originally, the existing landowners were given the option to sell, relocate, or be a part of the land consolidation schemes of the New Town. The compensation amounted to about 1/20th of the land cost after development. Rural residents without legal property rights were the ones resisting most.

When communities resisted leaving, the developers and middlemen often referred to the patriotic duty of the small man to oblige to the common good for all. It was argued that New Towns of the middle classes were a means towards increasing the overall pubic good of society.[215] Many opposing landowners were exposed to continuous discrimination and pressure.[216] People have capitulated, because on-site villages haven been cut off and neglected form infrastructure development. Some of BSD's boulevards, for example, cause serious flooding conditions in the villages. (Cf. above)

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[213] The PT Bintaro Serpong Damai consortium was in charge to develop the 7.2 km stretch from Pondok Aren to Serpong (7.2 km). PT Jasa Marga was in charge of the road development connecting Pondok Aren to Jakarta (5.9 km). While the project was to be completed in 1998, it only became fully operational in 2005.

[214] Dorléans (2002: 55) comments on the land obtaining procedures: "The phase of the acquisition is quite delicate and troublesome... transactions have to be very discreetly effectuated by a group of apparently independent buyers... A 50-hectare acquisition can take as long as a year... when the initial discreet phase of privately negotiated acquisitions is completed, the last obstinate residents must be expelled... In 90 percent of the cases, they do not possess any valid or strong property rights....

[215] The concept of Basic Agrarian Law dates back to the 1960s of Sukarno, when the government confiscated significant amount of land. Now it was used by private developers and government officials to oblige otherwise unwilling sellers: "The argument was used that 'development' was a top national priority and that it was the patriotic duty of the small landholders and traditional communities to step aside. Within the context of Suharto's culture of development, the argument was convincingly made that developers were building luxury housing and golf courses for the common good of society." (Aksoro 1994: 93; Ferguson 1993: 51, quoted by Cowherd 2002: 34)

[216] This strategy was very common. Suhendar (1994, quoted in Firman 2004: 11) describes the eviction of about 1.400 landowning agricultural households from the area of the government New Town Tigaraksa.

Problematic impacts

During our description of Bumi Serpong Damai an indigenous Southeast Asian version of neoliberalism unfolds, thriving on a combination of indigenous political cultures and global market principles, and at times also disregarding human rights and democratic principles. Indeed, we find that the same spirit has ignored the needs of local populations and also neglected the environment in BSD. Despite the most meticulous economic planning and process management mechanisms[217], no studies on the project's impacts on the existing environment, or the local population, have ever been undertaken (Cf. Personal Interviews with local planning representatives in 2004).

Nevertheless, it is difficult to blame the developers exclusively. It was in particular the local government that was unprepared to handle a project of this size and quality. As the public sector did not require any impact studies and compensation measures, the developers naturally eluded additional costs. As a consequence the interests of the local populations and the environmental setting were seriously neglected.

It can be claimed that the stakeholders acted according to the spirit of their time. The urban historian Abidin Kusno (2006: 4) circumscribes this attitude of local elites as the colonial tradition.[218]As a consequence the 'colonisation' and transformation of the existing locality has been quite aggressive.

Though, things are changing: Only recently, as part of the slow process of democratisation, after the usual protests and media reports, the developers embarked on social and environmental responsibility programmes. Local villagers, for example, have been granted exclusive rights to find jobs in the New Town venture. The initialisation of programmes of garbage separation is another 'learning by experience' example started after negative press coverage on awkward dumping practices. Even so, a general tension and a clash of interests remains, and sublime policies to 'persuade' the remaining local population to relocate remain on the agenda (cf. above).

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[217] As it is reflected in quotations like: "Careful and responsible city planning has resulted in the development of Bumi Serpong Damai (BSD)." (BSD PTb 2004).

[218] "...the colonial 'tradition' of seeing the Kampong (as a problem for the „European" city) has provided the unwritten basis for the municipalities of Indonesian cities to issue licence to real estate developers", ... , and "to appropriate the Kampong areas for development without suffering any ethical conflict." (Kusno 2005: 6)

Designers – 'Abstract localisation'

Introduction

Developers alone did not conceive Bumi Serpong Damai. Many consultants participated in the development process. The experts came from disciplines, such as finance, law, marketing, business consulting, urban planning, design, architecture, landscape design and engineering. Their ideas were inspired by local predecessors, such as Bandung's European Quarter, Jakarta's Kebayoran Baru, or Pondok Indah (cf. above: Predecessors). Moreover, the developer has set up its own architecture and planning team. Its members travelled to Japan, Paris, and to California (Cf. Interviews with Santoso, 2005, 2007).

Many of the features of Bumi Serpong Damai's physical design, as well as other New Towns in the metropolitan region of Jakarta are predominantly modelled along western models, notably the US. Indeed, many of the structures are planned and designed by ex-patriate architects, urban planners and property specialists hired by the local developers. (Cf. Dick and Rimmer, 1998: from Firman 2004: 12) Well-established international planning strategies and architectural typologies such as the gated community, the detached suburban villa, the drive-in restaurant, the mall, among others, tend to be overtaking locally grown solutions. Only a second look reveals adaptations and local differences (cf. King 2004).

Focusing on the design professions, the following section reflects on the role and impacts of these internal and external, international as well as local agents.

Operational mode

BSD PT works with its own planning and design department as well as with external consultants. External offices are contracted to elaborate principal solutions and guidelines (e.g. for new phases), or to design a special landmark structure. The design department predominantly works on the implementation of guidelines and principles, on the variation of basic themes, and on the coordination of strategies.

Planning and Urban Design

The case of Bumi Serpong Damai demonstrates that private developers can build urban spaces and provide planning and urban design of a high quality. The developer has put a large emphasis on state of the art design at all phases of the project. The appearance of Bumi Serpong's buildings and spaces, its 'Gestalt' was always a very important sales argument. The relevance of a good shape even increased in time, when competition by other projects became fiercer.

Whereas the early design spirit was basically defined by the supply side, the latest examples demonstrate a rising focus of the demand side: The urban layout of the 1980's was defined according to the experiences of the planners and designers. Today, the plans are increasingly drawn up according to popular taste. The present trends reflect the significance of lifestyle theming and the importance of surfaces (Cf. Virillio 1994 quoted in Gotsch 2005). The facades emerge as the main media communicating this approach.[219]

The planning and design history of BSD has three phases: The Indonesian Engineering Firm of Arkonin P.T. Perentjana Djaya in collaboration with the Japanese Pacific Con-

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[219] Simasred, the main shareholder behind BSD PT, was one of the forerunners of theming strategies in Indonesia's real estate sector. The company became known for the development of themed residential projects, such as Kota Wisata (tourist city), or Kota Legenda (city of legends) which resembled Alice-in-Wonderland's fantasy worlds.

sultants International Group (PCI) prepared BSDs first plan of 1985.[220] (Cf. BSD PT, 2004). About ten years later (1996) the office of Doxiadis Associates developed the second plan.[221] In this context the US American office of John Portman & Associates designed the Central Business District.[222] Nowadays the majority of international consultants come from Australia. A leading firm in this context is Vision to Implementation (V2i) (Cf. Personal interview with BSD planning staff, 2007)

→ Illustration B-40: BSD's master plans from various periods

Master plan guidelines
Bumi Serpong Damai's master plan complies with international standards. It contains rules for the domains of landscaping, zoning, traffic and roads, as well as for sewage, electricity, street lighting, and garbage. Detailed neighbourhood plans regulate the spatial development within the clusters and neighbourhoods. The plan's features include a 100-year flood proof concept, as well as specific zoning regulations for informal vendors. Furthermore, a strong design framework intends to discourage the conversion of houses to commercial buildings (e.g. buildings are placed at a distance to main roads).

Only a short time ago a considerable revitalisation and beautification programme was incorporated into the planning document. This programme includes the upgrading of representative public spaces, including new concepts for street furniture, pocket parks, jogging trails (hard to use in the tropical climate of Indonesia), signage and landscaping.[223]

Landscaping
Landscaping plays a particularly remarkable role among the various authors of Bumi Serpong Damai. Whereas the underlying landscape is considered a tabula rasa, landscaping becomes a crucial design discipline. As it takes on the role of mediating between abstract space and concrete place, it evolves into the art of grounding ideal typologies. The discipline has always played an extraordinary part in designing New Towns, in particular if they are designed as low-density Garden City structures, as is the case in Bumi Serpong Damai.[224]

Landscaping gives Bumi Serpong Damai a driving edge. Back in the early 1990's the richest neighbourhoods of the northern sector of the town were arranged around a state of the art golf facility, designed by the famous golf star Jack Nicklaus.[225] Moreover, landscaped features are essential elements of Bumi Serpong's large representative boulevards.[226] The practice is also essential in the clusters. Here, it can quickly produce a neat image, even if the majority of lots are undeveloped. This quick fix makes an enormous difference for the atmosphere and consequently the sales. Indeed, it is an invisible rule

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[220] Notably, the first phase foresaw the development of a technological centre `Technopolis` in the eastern part of the area and a rural centre 'Agropolis' in the western part. (Cf. Santoso 1992: 37)

[221] Constantinos Doxiadis became known for the concept of a dynamically growing city (Dynapolis) in the 1950s. His office designed many urban development plans in Third World countries around the world (For example Khartoum, Islamabad, Baghdad, and Riyadh. (Cf. Doxiadis 1968)

[222] John Portman is widely known for the inception of the atrium hotel typology in the US. The Bonaventure Hotel in Detroit, the Renaissance Centre in Los Angeles, or the New York Marriot Marquis Hotel represents this typology.

[223] Designed side walks and pocket parks are extremely extraordinary in Jakarta and Indonesia.

[224] The origins of the garden city design date back to Frederic Law Olmsted. The designer of the Central Park in New York was the first who merged the design of parks and settlements. Paradigmatic for this approach are neighbourhoods such as Llewellyn Park (Brooklyn), or Riverside (Illinois, 1868-1869). Between 1857 and 1950 Olmstead's firm was involved in planning 450 subdivisions and new communities (cf. Garvin 1996: 265; Cf. also to Ch.1: Introduction).

[225] The 18-hole golf course and the BSD Golf and Country Club are renowned as best golf facility in Indonesia.

[226] As part of the recent process of restructuring, star offices, such as the US American EDAW served as consultants for the landscaping schemes.

that as soon as a new area was acquired, is it fenced and landscaped. Landscaped bamboo walls have been used to hide on-site villages (cf. above). Therefore, landscaping serves as a strategic act demonstrating appropriation.

Design strategy – abstract localisation

Abstract localisation
While BSD's developing strategy was described as a 'market oriented strategy', the design approach used can be illustrated as 'abstract localisation'. The design strategies applied at different levels are chiefly based on international models and typologies. The New Town is a system 'composed' by 'abstract' elements, which have proved to be successful at an international scale. Among these typologies are shopping malls and supermarkets, suburban office clusters, the gated community, the recreational club, multiplex cinemas, entertainment parks, drive-in restaurants, and coffee shops, among others. Everything is connected by the means of motorised road transport. Landmark structures, such as the new 'Sea World', the ITC Mall, the German Centre, or the BSD Country Club enhance the image and identity, as well as giving the town cognitive hold. Normally, star architects are invited to design these (E.g. SOM, Portman, EDAW).

Landscaping provides the glue to bind everything together and to anchor the abstract elements in place: "BSD provides well-built houses with quality tailored environments" (BSD PT, 2006). The other side of this method is that the place underlying the New Town, is rather used as a blank sheet than a locality. As it becomes 'colonised' by a process of abstract localisation, its native, cultural, topographical, ecological, and historical, aspects, are ignored. Local place is used as a blank sheet unless major undeniable elements, such as the Cisadane River, or 'partisan villages' are in place. The new users are less proud of being a part of Jakarta's periphery, than of being emerged in and of being able to consume a state-of-the-art western environment. As a result, local space gets fully synchronised along global standards. The environment is fully conditioned.[227] In this context Bumi Serpong Damai's neighbourhoods exemplify that, and when landscapes are needed, they are rather designed from scratch, rather than being carved out of the complexity of local features.

Indeed, the developers of BSD innovate in employing a highly abstracted (place independent) design process. The features of the New Town can, in theory and in practice, be conceived from remote locations, without ever visiting the site. Unless, of course, real problems, such as unpredictable ground conditions, flooding, or protests and riots are encountered. Yet, nowadays uncertainties of this kind are increasingly handled by likewise abstract insurance and risk management routines.

Indeed, the design process of 'abstract localisation', as it is used in BSD, is a process of high predictability and reduced risks. The modular combination of a basic set of abstract elements and typologies (as listed above) allows for a wide range of products. The approach can easily be tailored to new styles and customer needs: "There are lots of residential options. Homes by the golf course, lakes and parks are all available" (BSD PT 2004).

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[227] Indeed, this idealised space of the New Town seems like a perfect illustration for Sloterdijk's metaphor of the crystal palace. The German philosopher (2002: 265) describes, how, in post-historic times, a capitalist space of excess, security and comfort, becomes the ideal way of life for the rich thirty percent of society.

Life style and theming strategies

The application of the lifestyle theming approach in the architecture and urbanism of daily life is one of the most significant and distinctive features of Bumi Serpong Damai and other privately developed New Towns in Jakarta's periphery. The appears that the contemporaneous neighbourhoods of Bumi Serpong Damai's and some of its peers represent the most radical application of themed strategies in the housing sector worldwide. BSD is among the pioneers to introduce the approach to the everyday life of middle classes. Heretofore, theming strategies have been applied at extraordinary locations such as Disneyworld, or Las Vegas, while lifestyle approaches nowadays became increasingly prominent in the world of post-industrial mass customised products such as Sport Utility Vehicles (SUVs), portable informational gadgets (mobile phones, iPod's etc) and sneakers. Predecessors of residential projects with theming and lifestyle strategies do exist: Among these, for example, are Disney's Celebration (Orlando), or the early case of Coral Gables in Miami (cf. Behar 1997). The Indonesian examples, however, open a new chapter, in combining both theming and lifestyle approaches and applying these to housing. They stand out in terms of their size, boldness and radicalism. The most recent, offbeat lifestyle and theming strategies are oriented towards green, and eco motifs.[228]

Notably, the designers operate along the same principles on the level of the neighbourhoods as on the larger scale. The basic elements of the neighbourhood clusters are modular and abstracted housing typologies. Based on a few standard models, the housing models allow for individual customisation.[229] The practice is known as platform design in other commodity sectors (i.e. the mobile phone, or automobile industries). In the case of BSD the approach is traceable to the requirement to deliver turnkey houses, which are based on the official regulatory frameworks (related to credit conditions and land permits).

→ Illustration B-41: Trends of rationalised space and prefabricated design
→ Illustration B-42: Luxury segment of high-rise condominiums
→ Illustration B-43: New generation of 'Supermonuments' from various Jakarta neighbourhoods

Standardisation, rationalisation, and mass customisation

The design teams work with a few standard models. These are geared to the major income levels and household compositions (low income, low middle class, middle class, upper middle class, luxury class). Interestingly, this range of typologies actually resembles the product lines of car manufactures.[230] The difference, however, is that the BSD houses are still manufactured. While cheap labour and traditional construction materials are cheap, the construction process has been streamlined towards simple working steps. It can be realised by low-qualified workers.

Notably, the surface of the buildings is handled as an independent element. Its final appearance depends on the specifications of the cluster theme and individual requirements.[231] What is remarkable is that despite the tendency of diversification and aug-

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[228] Indonesia's forerunner in the respect of eco marketing seems to be BSD's competitor Bintaro Jaya. Only recently, Jaya Property, the developer, inaugurated Kebayoran View: new cluster featuring "ECOmmunity lifestyle for better living in the professional's city, Bintaro Jaya." (Cf. www.jayaproperty.com, August 2008)

[229] An insight that was well-known in Levittown

[230] A brief inspection of the product lines of Daimler and Volkswagen reveals that both of these sell 16 categories of cars.

[231] Significantly, in 2003, the developer launched an experimental website, which enabled the interested buyer to configure his dream house in combining a set of basic modules. This practice has been dropped for unknown reasons. Possibly the Indonesian clients were overburdened, or the haptic dimension was underestimated. (This form of web based individual mass customisation has also not picked up with other products such as Nike shoes, Nissan automobiles, or Levi's jeans.

mented choice, the current trend points to a reduction of the range of basic house models. While only five years ago buildings carried a design based on the leitmotiv of the respective cluster, this practice has been dropped. The present housing typologies are fewer and strictly orientated towards the direct preferences of the consumer.[232] Crucially, this reduction of complexity also permits lower prices. It can be observed that, the lower middle classes favour modest and minimalist designs, the middle classes prefer Bauhaus-minimalism and international theming, while the upper classes persist on a timeless elegant "chic" or historicism.[233] (Cf. → B-31, B-44)

While these can in theory also be purchased using web based configuration tools, clients prefer a physical testing of the product.

[232] These are instantaneously monitored by market studies.

[233] Latest examples can be discovered in the clusters of "The Pavilion", "Latinos", "The Green", "Vermont". cp. above section on neighbourhoods.

Marketing and sales – Lifestyle diversification

"Contemporary urbanism equals marketing"[234]

The subject of marketing and sales accounts for one the highest differences among public and private city builders. Bumi Serpong Damai's developers concentrate on the conception, the packaging, and the advertising of their (real estate) products in a way unknown to public city planners before. The project reflects that, these days, successful marketing becomes a crucial prerequisite for the success of the whole business undertaking. When a market is increasingly saturated, as is the case in the middle class housing market of Jakarta, the marketing comes to define the distinctive competitive advantage.[235] Accordingly, the following passage will present some of the marketing and sales strategies that are characteristic for BSD's New-Town-Enterprise.

Setting of diversification

Marketing and sales is an essential part of the BSD's strategic business oriented model. While the portfolio of products of the 'Big City – Big Opportunity'-town[236] is increasingly diversified, this basket of 'goods' is also aggressively marketed.

Bumi Serpong Damai has distinguished itself as a business venture, which is catering to a diversified clientele: In the initial phase, the New Town pledged to ameliorate Jakarta's housing and infrastructure crisis in providing housing to starter families. Nowadays, BSD has become an enterprise with a multiplicity of goals and a multitude of clients. In addition to the classical housing clients, the town's management is also courting enterprises to set up a business venture in the scheme. It is also lobbying for the money of local as well as international investors. This framework of diversification leads to an advancing refinement of marketing. In this context, novel tactics such as competitive analysis and market positioning and customised modes serving the wants and needs of specific customer groups are engaged.

'Demand-creating location inducements'

The saturated market leads to a series of notable innovations: Now, BSD's developers are not only offering products according to the mainstream market demand, but are exploring new (niche-) markets and techniques of active demand induction. The company not only aims to serve the markets, it seeks to shape consumer desires in a proactive sense. It is "putting an emphasis on product development and competitive niche-thinking to create market demand, and investing in a diversified portfolio of demand-creating location inducements which are attractive to business, industry, and residential populations." (Pangestu 1998) In studying the respective New Town's catalogues and driving through the showcase neighbourhoods Indonesia's 'innocent' consumer is taught what they need.

Sales office

It is important to note that despite the rising relevance of abstract planning schemes (cf. above), a haptic level of experience remains vital. BSD's management, planning, and

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[234] Comment by Adam Frampton, chief designer of OMA's waterfront city, at the event 'New Towns Abroad', May 27th 2008, Almere Holland.

[235] This trend occurs in the general framework of an increasingly commoditised space, standardised development and design methods and a growing relevance of the image as well as the surface (Cf. Virilio 1994, Baudrillard 1983, Flusser 1993, discussed in Gotsch 1995: pp. 19).

[236] Recent PR-slogan of the New Town venture

sales division were located in a landmark building, which marks the northern entrance of the New Town. The extended ground floor of the building is devoted to the marketing and sales department. Here up to 60 sales people are spoiling potential clients. Moreover, the space includes an enormous exhibition hall, which displays Maquettes and brochures on the newest real estate products. Despite the fact that the sales force has almost doubled from 2003 to 2006, when BSD has fully shifted to a new "lifestyle-for-the-future" strategy, the space is bursting.

Live, work, play... and invest

The New Town is able to offer a broad, but also an integrated range of 'products' to its clientele. These goods range from housing, to business opportunities, and leisure activities. A recurrent leitmotiv of the undertaking, is the motto "Live, Work, Play". Yet, as the place intends to be even more than this physical chessboard, this slogan was supplemented by "The best choice for your investment" (BSD PT 2006).

Quality, green, and social-eco orientation as marketing tactics

BSD's products reflect a business culture of highest quality standards and up to date style. Nowadays, tactics transporting ecological and social responsibility such as life-style branding, eco branding, and social branding become ingredients in this context. These tactics are relatively new to the real estate business and BSD is among the forerunners in their application. Recent advertising campaigns stress the town's greenness and eco orientation: "BSD will always remain an environmentally friendly city" (BSD PT 2006).

A combination of social and community activities with environmental incentives is part of a package usually referred to as Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). Parts of the agenda in this context are for example: a town wide waste recycling campaign, a new compost facility, as well as a range of new social as well as environmental training programmes.[237] (Cf. BSD PT 2004) The results not only feed the city's parks with new soil but also the headlines of the local news: "A quality environment and a well-balanced social community have been created through sound and responsible development practices."... "The new compost production plant recycles organic matter and the final product is used to maintain the city's numerous parks and trees" (BSD PT 2006). Indeed, despite the aftertaste that is created by the marketing hype there can be no doubt that these programmes do have a positive impact.

Marketing media

BSD's marketing operates at two significant levels. It has a symbolic as well as a haptic side. While the first of these focuses in the media, the second is thriving on real events. A full spectrum of available media transports the New Town's imaginary: A first orientation can be gained at the website; The sales office features mock-ups of the newest real estate products, the necessary personal contact and face-to-face communication; Detailed catalogues of each cluster, provide elaborate take-away product presentations; In addition, BSD's advertisements appear in fashionable lifestyle magazines and are screened in aeroplanes.

Visualisation, Emphasis on scenario generation, Image generation

The visualisation of the products and the rendering of future imaginaries (scenarios) is a significant element of marketing (and design). On one hand, the mind of the contempo-

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[237] BSD is supposed to be the first city in Indonesia, which has implemented a garbage recycling system. (Cf. BSD PT 2006)

rary customer requires to be nourished with stylish renderings and images and, on the other, a new blend of marketing and design shapes new consumer imaginations along demand inducing strategies.[238]

Yet marketing does not stop at an abstract front. The NeoTown embarks on an extensive theatrical culture. Manifold on-site events, spectacles, and temporary installations are staged as an integral part of the PR campaigns. Festivals play an important role in conveying the atmosphere of an energetic place, and in attracting the attention of children. Essentially, the image of a permanent festival is transported by thousands of flags and banners on the main thoroughfares of the town. Moreover, the application of themed building typologies engenders a blur of the ephemeral and the real. BSD portrays itself as an unending festival.

→ Illustration B-44: Example of 'modular' villa typologies from one neighbourhood
→ Illustration B-45: Overabundance of Imaginaries represented by PR broshures
→ Illustration B-46: BSD's PR culture of festivals and events

Maintenance and operation

Introduction
Maintenance and operation, e.g. the management of the New Town, is a post that was not on the long-term plan of the developers. However, facing unfit local administrations and delayed deadlines, BSD's managers had no choice than to bite the bullet and to run the project. The following section will explore the underlying causes of this development and examine the particular methods of running the town by the private town administration.

Who runs and maintains the place and its parts?
BSD is among the largest private New Town ventures in emerging countries that are managed and run by a single private sector entity. (cf. above: Introduction).[239] At the start of the project, it was agreed with the government, that the developing company should be responsible for all management and maintenance operations during the construction phase. Notably, the legal framework foresaw that the venture would become public after completion. Yet, this process is apparently delayed ad infinitum.

Whereas it was planned to complete the first phase by the end of the 1990's, 25 percent of the lots remain unsold. As a consequence, BSD's phase-I remains officially 'under construction'. Indeed, neither the developer, nor the residents are interested in surrendering the operational control into public hands, because it is well known that the public administration could not handle the job. In this context the developer had no choice than to embark on the business of running and maintaining the place. However, this job is highly unprofitable and the private Management has initialised steps to establish a private body of governance. Therefore, it is highly probable that, in the future, resident associations, or another form of private administration, will be created to manage the daily business of the town.[240] (Cf. below: Control)

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[238] A philosophical context of general shifts and tendencies of rationalisation, abstraction, informational societies, the relevance of images and surfaces has been elaborated elsewhere in the introductory chapter.

[239] When phase II and III are finished, Bumi Serpong Damai will become the largest New Town in the World in population terms. The largest New Town in the West is Irvine, CA. It has a population of 180.000 on 21.200 hectares and is run by the Irvine Company.

[240] As a matter of fact the developers of the New Town preferred a self-management solution from the very beginning. Santoso (1992: 37) writes on this respect that from the 8th phase of the project: "BSD should at this point establish an operation maintenance organisation, a kind of urban management agency, which is able to run the city without any subsi-

The incentive is a new experimental ground of public-private community organisation in Indonesia (Interview with BSD PT planning staff in November 2004). If it proves to be a success, undoubtedly many peers and competitors will follow. (Cf. above; Population: Resident Associations)

To deliver the best products possible, the BSD PT is using the same state of the art quality management strategies, which have been developed by military apparatuses and since applied by the most successful international conglomerates[241] (Cf. above: Developer, Strategies, Quality standards and ISO norms)

Challenges ahead

Indeed, the management of the town now faces three important challenges: Firstly, the development of phase-I has to be consolidated and finalised (e.g. a large amount of undeveloped lots remain in the area); At the same time, the second stage of the New Town has to be started[242]; Moreover, the project needs more businesses in order to generate employment and thus improve self-sufficiency. Only then BSD will be able to defend its lead among the competing projects, which are predominantly residential.[243]

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dies from the developer. After this the developer is expected to move his development activities to the next 1000ha-1300ha…"

[241] E.g. Edward Denning's Toyota and Sony Corporations

[242] With 2000 hectares this stage will be even larger than the first one. The challenges ahead comprise the acquisition of another 50 percent of the land, as well as in the attraction of a sufficiently large customer base, facing a strong competition and a saturated market.

[243] Unfortunately the task of creating more jobs does not appear on the list of the developer's goals. At BSD's initial public offering in May 2008 it was declared that: About 30 percent of the capital raised was supposed to be allocated for infrastructure facilities, another 25 percent was needed to refinance the company's IDR 600 billion bonds, 20 percent for financing the expansion of property projects, 20 percent for buying land and the remaining 5 percent for capital. (Cf. http://invest-n-trade.blogspot.com/2008/05/bumi-seIDRong-damai-ipo-bsd-ipo.html; r.12.08.2008)

Summary and conclusion

The developers of Bumi Serpong Damai are among the crucial (and most interesting) stakeholders. They have innovated in applying market oriented strategies and management principles towards urban development. In this process a new typology of planned cities, NeoTowns developed.

Developer

The enterprise BSD PT is the developer of Bumi Serpong Damai. The undertaking is a subsidiary of the Sinar Mas conglomerate. It is a licensed company that consists of five major departments. Its structure has been modelled along international standards (E.g. ISO 9001).

Simasred, the main real estate arm of Sinar Mas, is the major shareholder. The New Town enterprise was started in 1984 by a consortium of 10 large and experienced companies. Since then the composition of the developers has changed repeatedly.

The industrial conglomerate Sinar Mas is one of the biggest and most influential industrial conglomerates in Indonesia. The Widjaya family dominates the firm. The company is one of the world's biggest paper producers and holds vast tracts of land around the country. It played a central part in Indonesia's financial and real estate boom during Sukarno's era. By then Eka Tjipta Widjaya, the clans' head was briefly among the 50 richest people in the world. Sinar Mas survived the crisis with massive help from the Indonesian government.

The mother company of Bumi Serpong Damai represents a 'bewildering corporate pretzel palace' that operates in a highly complex web of global financial flows, tapping international capital markets, raising money through bonds, convertible bonds, share offerings and loans.

Simasred, the property and real estate division of Sinar Mas, is one of the leading real estate developers in Indonesia and the SE-Asian region with links to more than 80 international companies, and hundreds of projects around the world. Lead by Eka's son Mochtar Widjaya, the company controls some of the largest land banks in the Jakarta Region and holds an immense amount of real estate assets in Indonesia.

From the very inception BSD was to become an autonomous city providing for all the needs of the city's population. This required the development of significant urban infrastructure and service facilities. Likewise BSD was supposed to be a 'social' project steering regional growth and developing model solutions for social housing. In spite of this, the project has experienced diverse paradigmatic shifts over the course of the last 25 years. Nowadays, the New Town represents an outcome of a market driven strategic planning process, with the motto "Big City – Big Opportunity". The scheme is increasingly founded on rules stemming from a larger (international) market driven framework of business processes. The developer BSD PT was one of the first companies to apply the ISO 9001 (2000)-quality management norm to real estate projects.

It can be stated that Bumi Serpong Damai's success is founded upon six strategic elements: 1) the entire land had been granted to the developer in advance; 2) a balanced development strategy of mixed land uses was applied; 3) BSD was developed in several strategic phases (time) and in incremental steps (space); 4) The necessary initial momentum was achieved by attracting large pioneer populations, mainly from lower income sectors; 5) The project acted as a forerunner in constructing a wide range of urban infra-

structure in a private manner; 6) And, not least, the town was organised employing state-of-the-art corporate management mechanisms.

Despite the exclusive land permits the process of land acquisition was, and still is, very slow, delicate and cumbersome. Originally, in the 1980's, the existing landowners were given the option to sell, relocate, or be a part of the land consolidation schemes of the New Town. Since then, a large part of the resisting landowners has left, as the villages have been isolated in the development process.

Naturally, the realisation of the project was more difficult than intended. The process of the New Town has not only disregarded the needs of local populations, it has also neglected the environment. Significantly, no studies on the project's impacts on the existing environment, or the local population, have ever been undertaken. The site has been transformed and 'colonised' quite forcefully. Only recently, as part of the slow process of democratisation, and after the usual protests and media reports, steps have been taken and various mitigation programmes have been started.

Designer

The case of Bumi Serpong Damai demonstrates that the private sector is able to produce urban spaces of a high quality. The appearance of Bumi Serpong's buildings and spaces, its 'Gestalt' was always a very important sales argument. The urban venture has its own planning and design department. In addition, internationally renowned offices – from Doxiadis, John Portman, or EDAW – were commissioned to elaborate the principal solutions and guidelines or particular landmark structures. Whereas the early design principles were largely defined by the planners' experience (supply side), the latest examples demonstrate a constantly rising impact of the wants of the customers (demand side).

Nonetheless, the process of planning and design remains steered by the strong hand of the developer: A general master plan guides the progress of the whole town. Detailed neighbourhood plans regulate the spatial development within the clusters and neighbourhoods. Only recently was a considerable revitalisation and beautification programme realised.

This work portrays the design process of Bumi Serpong Damai as a process of 'abstract localisation'. The term refers to a design culture, which is reduced towards the systematic organisation of discrete and modular typologies and the synthetisation of the desired products. Notably, the approach works independent of scale. Among the various design disciplines, which are part of the conception and construction of the project, landscaping plays a noteworthy role: Landscaping works as the glue binding together the conglomerate of abstract typologies – as a strategic tool and quick-fix method of symbolic appropriation and the symbolisation of a coherent image. Hence, it becomes the 'art of grounding ideal typologies'. The true potential of the discipline, however, remains largely underrated. Bumi Serpong Damai's abstract design strategies tend to bypass the requirements of the location (climate, topography, culture, and ecology). The concrete complexities and uncertainties of the place are shunned.

Marketing

Marketing and sales are an essential part of BSD's business oriented approach. As the scheme is offering an increasingly refined basket of products, as it is catering to a diversified clientele, and as it is facing increasing competition, the firms marketing is on the offence. Active 'demand induction strategies' are exploring new niche markets and demonstrating the potential of the 'products' to inexperienced customers.

One of the main selling arguments is that the project is able to deliver an all-in-one package of "live, work and play". In addition, the project is also marketed as an exceptional investment opportunity: "Big City, Big Opportunity". Among the prominent trends at the interface of marketing and design is a focus on lifestyle theming. En vogue are 'eco-labelling' and 'social responsibility' tactics. Still, more than anything else, the product image is aimed to reflect a business culture of high quality standards and high quality products.

Bumi Serpong's public relation office applies a holistic range of instruments and media: from print, online, to television and broadcast. Techniques of rendering scenarios and product visualisation are of rising importance. However, the marketing practice also caters to many physical needs. Here BSD stand out for a remarkable culture of events and temporary installations (flags, banners, concerts, and festivals).

Maintenance

BSD's developers face a multitude of challenges and are forced to develop sincere multi-tasking capabilities. It's most important assignments are: the realisation of the continuous expansion (Phase II), the management of the ever-increasing construction site (Phase I), as well as the creation of additional jobs.

Significantly, the first phase of the project is entirely operated and maintained by the private developer. This makes it the largest privately run New Town of a new generation. As long as the New Town is in the process of development, the developer is legally obliged to keep control of all management and maintenance operations. However, because this station is unprofitable, now strategies of establishing self-management mechanisms are actively being explored. So, it is highly probable, that in the near future resident associations or a private management body will manage the town.

Finance –
Liquid geographies

Table 9: Key indicators – Bumi Serpong Damai's financial indicators

Supply side	
Cost of land in 1984 (plan)/ m2	2-3 US$
Cost of land in 1989 (groundbreaking) / m2	8-12 US$
Cost of land in BSD phase I in 2008 / m2	Up to 200 US$
Price of land in BSD's environs 2008 / m2	50 – 100 US$
Exp. cost of land in BSD phase II in 2008 / m2	5 US$
Government subsidies	YES: Land permits, easy credits, back up during crisis periods
Profit optimisation strategies	Relative to the project stage: 80s purchase through middlemen, housing for low income starter populations, late 90s focus on luxury segment, 00s new financial market products, synergies from other subsidiaries of the mother firm
Impact of FDI	Only indirect through partnerships, bonds and stocks
Debt to equity ratio	20
5 years gross profit margin	35 percent
Financial market products	Convertible bonds (2003), BSD stocks (2008)
Reinvestment of profits in development and maintenance of infrastructure and amenities	~ 30 percent
Demand Side	
Accessibility to mortgages in Indonesia	25 percent of the population
Square metre price of built up space in BSD	900 US$
Cost of a prime house in Jakarta	> 200.000 US$
Cost of a house in BSD	14 - 200.000 US$
Maintenance fees paid by residents	12,5 percent of the real cost (500 IDR per m2 per month)

Introduction

The following section will explore financial aspects of the development of Bumi Serpong Damai. Money is the central medium of market-based systems. It facilitates processes of material exchange by the means of abstract values. Privately developed New Towns reflect contemporary trends of a holistic commoditisation of space, while cities become

reduced to a role as financial products and investment opportunities. The New Town enterprise Bumi Serpong Damai appears as a forerunner in this regard.

This section seeks to draw a financial profile of BSD and to examine the underlying strategies and trends. Of particular interest is the question of how private sector stakeholders cope with the fact that New Towns are risky, long term undertakings, – an aspect which seems to contradict the essential dynamics of the 'new economy' (such as increased acceleration and turnover rates). Indeed, it seems that the venture of Bumi Serpong Damai was only able to survive to date, as it was nurtured by Government subsidies and backed up by the parent company. However, this process does not mean that profits were never made. Our sketch of BSD's financial dimensions is described from a demand, as well as from a supply side.

Demand side finance

BSD's size of 6000-hectares and the delivery of houses as turnkey products reflect, par excellence, the inclination of Indonesia's official housing strategy towards the supply-side and large scale all-in-one projects (cf. Hoek-Smit 2005; above: Context, Economy).

System of ownership

BSD is predominantly based on a system of private land ownership. The developer bought the land necessary for the New Town development. After the land has been upgraded, the 'product' house plus land is sold to individual buyers. The developer realises additional profits by developing commercial buildings and by leasing big lots for sub-developers (i.e. Premier from France). (Cf. Interview with Santoso 2008)

Development of land costs

The 6000-hectare area of BSD represents one of the largest urban land banks in Indonesia. (BSD PT 2006, Cf. above: Introduction). The developer was able to acquire about half of the land for a price as low as 1/20 of the price of developed land.

When BSD was initiated in 1984 the agriculture land price was about IDR 1500 per square metre. This is roughly equivalent to 2-3 US$. Until the development started in 1989 the price had risen by between 400 and 600 percent to 5 000-10 000 rupiah per square metre. By 2008 undeveloped areas in the environs sold for 200 000 to 500 000 IDR per square metre, while land in BSD fetched more than 2 million IDR. This development represents a 200-fold increase. (Cf. Interview with Santoso in August 2008)

Prices

BSD's housing properties address a relatively wide spectrum of middle class families. House prices range from about 14.000 to 200.000 US$ and beyond. The market price of a square meter of built-up space for the medium income segment ranges between 600 and 1.500 US$. The estimated average square meter price is around US$ 900. [244] The price is relatively low in comparison with inner city (DKIJ) locations.[245]

House prices for a single family dwelling in BSD start at about US$ 14.500. The cheapest house type features two bedrooms, 28 square meters of space, on a 72 square

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[244] The middle class segment of the population dominates the housing market in Jakarta with 70 percent. The luxury market covers a rather small share of 8 percent. (Cf. Colliers Int. 2004)

[245] Here, usually more than 200.000 US$ have to be invested.

meter lot, as well as a carport.[246] This is close to the lowest amount that is applicable to qualifying for a housing loan (cf. below).[247]

The prices are analogous to the prices of other New Towns (cf. Firman 2004: 16).[248] On the other hand they are comparably modest to central locations.[249] BSD's land prices are comparatively moderate. These start from 180 USD per square meter (cf. rumah123.com, rMay2008).[250]

Affordability

The above cost numbers indicate that one has to be among upper middle-income segments of the population to comfortably obtain a house in BSD. Indeed, the project principally caters to 17 percent of the households in the country, which have at least one breadwinner in formal employment (cf. Hoek-Smit, 2005). Despite the fact that affordability levels in Indonesia are at comparatively low levels[251], the houses on sale today are out of reach for the majority of lower-middle income, as well as lower income populations (Cf. also to Context, Economic framework).[252] The Indonesian affordability threshold for the lower income groups lies at 5.000 US$.[253]

Access to credits

BSD's population represents the small share of Indonesia's population, which is able to afford a suburban house in the formal market (cf. above: Population). Due to their higher income Bumi Serpong Damai's residents enjoy an easier access to mortgages and credits on the private market. The residents of BSD benefit from the fact that Indonesia's mortgage sector favours developer-built residential schemes and high-end residences (cf. Hoek-Smit 2005). But, as the amount of credits is limited[254], even many richer residents have to finance themselves from savings, and if debt finance is used at all, it is in the form of short-term loans (ibidem).

Taxes, charges and used fees

The distribution of maintenance fees is a different indicator that the true party that is in charge of the place is the developer.

In addition to paying public taxes, the residents of BSD are required to pay maintenance fees. The developer, however, forced by the state of affairs, is currently subsidising a large amount of those fees: While one phase of the New Town is almost completed, the

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[246] Own research at www.rumah123.com (July 2008)

[247] Firman (2004: 16) compares prices of various New Towns in the metropolitan region of Jakarta.

[248] Selling prices in Kota Wisata, for example, range from of IDR 270 million to IDR 1.780 million per unit (US$ 30.000 to 200.000). (Cf. www.simasred.com, r12.08.2009).

[249] Central Jakarta features average prices of about US$ 2.000 per square meter, and South Jakarta US$ 12.000 (Cf. Colliers Int. 2007). Villas in Grogol, or Pondok Indah go for about US$ 200.000 (cf. Winarso 2005). Luxury inner city apartments in Central Jakarta go for 500.000 to several million US$. At the same time the cheapest house at Indonesia's largest real estate broker rumah123.com goes for about USD 35.000 (Own research from 13.06.2008).

[250] In May 2008 land in a Kampong location of Western Central Jakarta (Tama Abang) was priced at 700 US$ per square metre. Industrial land in Bekasi, another regional centre, amounted to US$ 60, (Cf. Colliers Int.)

[251] The average cost of a house as a multiplier of annual income it at 3 to 3,6 (Hoek-Smit, 2005)

[252] Hoek-Smit (2005) estimates that only the titling costs for a moderate property amount to about IDR 1 million (US$ 1.000). At the same time the Indonesian average annual income is lower than US$ 800.

[253] This implies that the majority of households can only afford a house below IDR 50 million (US$ 5.000). (Cf. Hoek-Smit, 2005)

[254] Credit conditions in Indonesia privilege the 30 affluent percent of the population. This is the case because the share of fees and transaction costs rises disproportionately with lower amounts. In addition, apart from BTN (The National Housing Bank), there are no private sector lenders who serve the market for mortgages below IDR 100 million (US$ 12.000). At the other end of the spectrum the current maximum income level qualifying for a government subsidy is IDR 1.5 million (of monthly household income) and a maximum house-price of IDR 42 million (4200 US$). Consequently there is a gap in obtaining affordable credits for houses costing between 4.200 and 12.000 US$. This dynamic makes it impracticable for poorer borrowers to operate with loans and at the same time lenders to move downward the market. (Cf. Hoek-Smit, 2005)

next phase is in an advanced planning stage. Time is not ready for a public takeover, another 25 percent of phase one are waiting for an owner, and harsh competition from other projects draws away many potential buyers. Hence, the management decided to subsidise parts of the maintenance costs to attract further buyers and to keep living for the existing ones attractive.[255] Nowadays, the residents are charged 500 IDR per square meter per month. It is estimated, however, that this amounts to only 12,5 percent of the real cost.[256] Similar fees in other New Towns range from IDR 1000 to 2000.[257]

Supply side finance

Profits

The observation that developing and running a New Town is a cumbersome and risky business does not mean that profits were never made.

Indeed, the greatest profits in developing Bumi Serpong Damai (and other New Towns in the region) have been realised at the beginning of the process, between land acquisition and housing sale (Cf. Dercon 2004, see graph above). During that period a ten to twenty fold increase in land prices could be realised. The developers' exclusive rights on the land facilitated windfall profits. These were further augmented as middle-men bought the land at prices close to rural levels. (Cf. above Developer: Strategy) Cheap credits obtained from the government did the rest to shed the developers of financial risks at groundbreaking (Cf. above and Hoek-Smit 2005). In our time, profit margins are optimised as developers focus on affluent customers.

Major lending bodies

Bumi Serpong Damai was a part of the general real estate bubble, which was engendered by the deregulation and internationalisation policies of the Suharto era. The project thrived on the 1980's growth and diversification of financial markets, which used investments in the housing markets at middle to high-income levels as a spatial fix (Dijkgraaf, 2000, form Firman 2004; cf. above: Context, National milestones). In this context, speculative international investments were channelled into the country and banks had been very liberal in their lending policies. Moreover, Bumi Serpong Damai has largely benefited from the fact that Sinar Mas, BSD's mother company (cf. above), was highly active in the financial sector, including extensive stakes in other financial services, banks, and insurance companies.

At groundbreaking, BSD's developers profited from enormous government subsidies. Middle- and low-income housing developments were linked to finance subsidies at fixed interest rates that included both construction and mortgage finance in the package and were geared towards developer produced housing. Moreover, developers of middle- and high-income housing obtained short-term construction loans from commercial banks. The state housing bank, Bank Tabunga Negara (BTN) dominated this subsidised market and added implicit subsidies by accumulating high defaults (Cf. Hoek-Smit 2005, Winarso 2005: 6).

After the collapse of the mortgage markets in 1997/98 the developers started to diversify their portfolio of products in the financial market and focused on owner equity models. The construction of New Towns became similar to the construction of other real

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[255] Cf. Personal interview with BSD planning staff in 2004.

[256] See previous footnote.

[257] Extra maintenance fees at some other projects: Kota Wisata: IDR 500; Lippo Karawachi: IDR 2000; Alam Sutra: IDR 1000; Fountain Bleu: IDR 120. (Own investigation, Nov. 2004)

estate (such as high rise apartment towers). Buyers were required to pre-finance a large proportion of the building costs (Cf. Hoek-Smit 2005).

Security mechanisms, federal backup

Bumi Serpong Damai was repeatedly on the edge of bankruptcy. This is indicated by the frequent change of the developers. In this context the government has played a decisive role for survival of the venture. Various security mechanisms backed up the project, as well as the holding company during crisis periods. BSD's parent company Sinar Mas has survived the Indonesian financial crisis only on the base of heavy government intervention (Cf. above section on the developers). The government was motivated to come to the rescue, because Bumi Serpong Damai was regarded as a lighthouse project –the national model of New Town Development. Among the most important public support mechanisms were the above mentioned land permits, as well as several indirect subsidies (such as facilitated access to credits. Unquestionably strong personal relations among high-ranking government elites and private sector representatives were also very helpful.[258])

Extra revenues

Pangestu (1998) cites the following sources of additional funding for the developers: Funding from the local government (APBD); funding from the central government (APBN); loan funding; local government obligations; cooperation with private sectors or third parties; betterment levies; and development impact fees.

The products

The developers of Bumi Serpong Damai see the city as an economic venture. Yet, it is important to note that the undertaking does not remain focused on a specific product, such as housing. Instead it emphasises the entire processes of producing lifestyle environments. In this context, the actual products vary in relation to strategic orientations and market demands.[259] When, for example, after the 1997 crisis, money sources ran dry, the developer was forced to innovate new ways of raising the necessary finances. While housing sales provided increasingly lower margins over the past years, the company started to expand the product range to rentals, services and the development of commercial property. [260] [261]In addition, a spectrum of financial products was added to the product portfolio.

   Some of the products are developed in joint ventures with partners from the public, as well as from the private sectors. An example for this strategy is the Jakarta-Serpong toll road (cf. above: Developer: Implementation) or several housing clusters in collaboration with external partners.[262]

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[258] Members of ruling families invested in the real estate sector, and controlled major infrastructure companies (cf. above Developer's profile).

[259] This is a crucial difference to a public planning approach, as it was handled in the past.

[260] In the first quarter of 2004 BSD PT recorded a sales backlog of IDR 597.6 billion (US$ 64 million). While commercial property was deemed to contribute with 52.6 percent to this amount, the share of housing was 43.9 percent. (Cf. PERFINDO 2004)

[261] One of the examples for the commercial focus of BSD is the International Trading Centre (ITC) that was launched in the fourth quarter of 2003. It was expected that such commercial areas would have positive impacts on the demand of 'landed residential properties' in the vicinity. (Cf. PERFINDO 2004).

[262] The French developers of 'Premier, Les Nouveaux Constructeurs' have implemented Taman Provence and Fontainebleau Golf Residence at Bumi Serpong Damai. (Cf. http://www.premier-indonesia.co.id, August 2008)

The diversification of BSD PT's products does not end at real estate properties. The Indonesian New Town venture offers an increasing range of products on financial markets. The most important of these are convertible bonds and stocks.[263]

The company is widely praised to be a good investment and for its sound financial structure. Its debt was estimated at a sound 20 percent of its equities (Cf. PERFINDO 2004), while many of the company's peers are struggling with increased debt to equity ratios of 0,8 to 1,5. The company's 5-year average gross profit margin amounted to 36.5 percent.[264] This robust financial performance also resulted in a massive conversion of BSD convertible bonds into equity with a capacity of IDR 505.3 billion (US$ 60 Mio) in 2000 (PERFINDO 2004). The first public BSD PT bonds were offered by the year 2003. These five-year bonds intended to raise IDR 250 billion. (Cf. BSD 2006)

While earlier on bonds were significant, today stocks become more important. Bumi Serpong Damai PT went public in June 5th 2008, since that time every person can be a New Town entrepreneur. The Initial Public Offering (IPO) of BSD' shares "JAK:BSDE" was expected to raise around IDR 872 billion (US$ 94.42 million).[265] The total capital generated amounted to IDR 2 trillion (USD 217 Million). A team of banks partially related to the BSD parent company Sinar Mas underwrote the issuance of the shares: PT Sinar Mas Sekuritas, PT CLSA INDONESIA and PT Nusadana Capital.

→ Illustration B-47: Stock quote of JAK: BSDE

Synergies with the mother company
BSD PTs operations are facilitated by synergies with the various subsidiaries of Sinar Mas. Its recent strategies to develop themed neighbourhoods, for example, were first developed in the smaller residential clusters of Kota Wisata and Kota Legenda.[266] Another enterprise, which is part of Sinar Mas, the PT Duta Pertiwi Terbuka, has developed a portfolio around shop houses. Duta Pertiwi was also the first firm in Indonesia to subdivide retail projects among multiple owners. This strategy of 'strata title sales' was exercised with the launch of Mangga Dua International Trade Centre (ITC Mangga Dua) in 1989.[267] Finally Simasred has an extensive experience with the financial dimension of real estate (Cf. above: Developers): Successful examples in this context are the stocks, options, and bonds of PT Duta Pertiwi Terbukan (DUTI.JAK).

Infrastructure finance
Exceptional infrastructure facilities are among the distinctive features and competitive advantages of Bumi Serpong Damai, as compared to many of its competitors. BSD's developers thrive on the advantage of scale by reinvesting a significant share of profits to finance the town's infrastructure.

Usually the government has to provide all primary and secondary utilities, whereas tertiary utilities and related infrastructure are the responsibility of the community (Pang-

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[263] Indeed, a Google-search of 'Bumi Serpong Damai' in July 2008 resulted in a listing of the company's share information above the information on the actual project.

[264] Competing companies have earned about 46.0 percent in the same time.

[265] Cf. Jakarta Post, Business Section, from May 10th, 2008.

[266] These are residential enclaves became well known using exceptional theming strategies. While Kota Wisata focuses on international lifestyle themes mainly from the West, such as Japan, Holland, France, and Germany, Kota Legenda offers a lifestyle that is oriented along the motifs of ancient civilisations, such as Egypt, Greece, or the Roman Empire.

[267] Duta Pertiwi was also pioneering some mixed-use superblock developments in successfully combining condominium, retail space and offices. (Cf. www.simasred.com, August 2008)

estu 1998).[268] In BSD the developers have done a major part of this job: The developer implemented a large part of the local, urban, and of some regional-scale infrastructure. Accordingly the infrastructure investments make up a large percentage of the total expenditures. Pangestu (1998) estimates that usually 30 to 40 percent of the total revenues are reinvested to develop and maintain new facilities. As the systems eventually become part of public networks and regional structures, they are of significant benefit for the greater public.[269]

Summary

The above observations confirm that building New Towns remains a risky business, not just operationally but also financially. Despite the fact that many parties largely profited from the undertaking, BSD was only able to survive the last 25 years financially due to enormous back up from the government, its own mother company Sinar Mas, and due to the general resilience and flexibility of its strategy.

Undoubtedly, the New Town venture got a head start from the very beginning. The developers managed to secure the biggest land banks in Indonesia as well as enormous amounts of other subsidies (e.g. subsidised loans). Enormous profits were made during the initial phase of land development when the greatest gains from land speculation could be achieved.

Strategically the continuous investment in infrastructure was among the most decisive factors of success. The developers constantly reinvested 30 – 40 percent of the profits in infrastructure development.

With the monetary crisis of 1997 as well as an increasing democratisation the initial phase of windfall profits and high governmental subsidies ceased. The management adapted a new strategy of catering to the affluent middle-income segments of the population. In this context pre-financing by the demand side, and international investments became important. (BSD started to issue bonds in 2000. The company went public in June 2008.)

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[268] Budget allocation for financing the construction of basic infrastructure is usually undertaken by the local government, through the Integrated Urban Infrastructure Development Programme (IUIDP). Funds from the government are limited to several components, i.e., water supply, solid waste, waste water, flood management, drainage, "Kampong" improvement, urban roads, and other supporting components such as technical assistance, advice, and supervision. (Cf. Pangestu 1998)

[269] A report on the investment of the capital raised at BSD's IPO in 2008 estimates the share of infrastructure investments at 30 percent (Cf. http://invest-n-trade.blogspot.com/2008/05/bumi-seIDRong-damai-ipo-bsd-ipo.html, r01.06.2008)

Control –
Double standards

Table 10: Key indicators – Bumi Serpong Damai's regulatory framework

Stakeholders	
PPPs, Joint ventures	YES (schools, police, toll road construction etc)
District	South Tangerang
Underlying power relations	Government & corporate elites + local laissez faire environment
Major stakeholder	Developer
Government approach during start of the project	Centralist, liberal, stipulating New Town development
Major milestone, change of paradigm	1997/98 crisis (decentralisation, democratisation)
Official goals of the government	BSD as a showcase of urban, regional and social development
Impact international lending institutions'	YES
Regulations	
Official town status	NO
Social goals	YES (balanced 1:3:6 housing strategy)
Master plan at start	NO (RUTRP, RUTRK, only implemented in retrospect)
Global regulatory framework	'Ijin Lokasi' (exclusive development permits)
Local regulatory framework	NO ('laissez faire')
Conflicts with the status of public spaces	YES

Introduction

After we have delineated a) the general setting, b) the morphology and physiognomy, c) the profile and motives of the residents, and d) the contours and considerations of the developers and planners, e) the main features of the financial framework, the following sub-chapter f) focuses on the regulatory environment behind Bumi Serpong Damai. The role of the locally specific codes and regulation and stakeholder relations will be scrutinised in particular. The observations point to the fact that no project is possible without a distinctive formal setting – not even one built on the principles of liberal markets.

Regulations – like spaces – are products, which are conceived and implemented by disparate stakeholders at various scales – from local to regional, to national, to global. Consequently this subchapter is also going to inquire on the role of the respective stakeholders (and stakeholder-groups), the forms of internal and external governance and political control, the character of rules (e.g. formal planning instruments) and their implementation, as well as the relevance of various administrative scales (local, regional,

national, global). Of particular importance is the question concerning whether the discrete constellation of public, private, and civil interests in regard to BSD has produced novel forms of governance. The section concludes in drawing some 'lessons' and wider implications.

Stakeholders

Who owns the place? – Double standards

The legal framework of Bumi Serpong Damai is relatively ambiguous. The project embodies an ambiguous standard of ownership: While formally the town scheme is a public entity, it is actually under private control. The local government of South-Tangerang has the legal responsibility of maintaining law and order and providing the basic services for Bumi Serpong Damai. Yet, in practice, the private management office operates and controls the place (Pangestu 1997, Gotsch 2004).[270] This legal ambiguity is also reflected by the fact that public access to the space's residential clusters is restricted.

Legitimately BSD is supposed be transferred back in to public hands once completed.[271] A tendency exists, however, to delay this transfer ad infinitum (Pangestu 1998). Therefore, it is realistic to assume that the future of BSD's governance lies in the hands of a private town management, or resident associations or something in between. Indeed, the private management and the property-owners share a natural interest to protect the area.

The picture becomes even more complex, as the town is not a homogeneous political entity. The different phases are part of different administrative districts. This results in a fragmented political geography. Indeed, the area that has just reached the mark of 100.000 residents does not have any official town status. BSD is part of the regency of South Tangerang. The first phase of the project is located within the sub district (Kecematan) of Serpong. Phases two and three will belong to the subdistricts of Legok, Cisauk and Pagedangan.[272] Consequently BSD does not have its own mayor, an individual city government, or an official planning body.[273]

Yet, on the other hand the local administration lacks the necessary manpower, the expertise, and the essential technical means to provide proper planning and administration. For this reason the developer keeps operating and maintaining the place. (Cf. Above: Residents, Associations; Developer, Implementation).

Indeed, in addition on its location on a 'presumed' Greenfield site, BSD was developed on a legal and administrational tabula rasa. The project was without precedents of private real estate of this size and organisational complexity in Indonesia. Whereas the public hand was pushing for a fast track to privatisation (cf. above: Context), at all times it lacked the means to control and mitigate the effects of the programmes and projects. Accordingly, to date, the developers are always on the acting side, while the government; if federal or local, always react. The town was incorporated into the district master plan

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[270] On the list of current tasks of the private management office are jobs such as: land acquisition, cultural initiatives, environmental programmes (e.g. garbage), fees and taxes, cooperation with the government, and urban planning (Gotsch 2004).

[271] For example, all clean water provisions built by BSD will be transferred to the local government (Pangestu 1998).

[272] Despite the enormous urban character, the area was regarded as a Kabupaten (principally a rural area) until October 2008. Thereafter it became part of the municipality (Kota) of South Tangerang (Tangerang Selatan), which was spilt up from Tangerang in 2008 (http://wapedia.mobi/id/Kota_Tangerang_Selatan, cf.
http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2007/01/15/tangerang-close-forming-new-city.html., r21.06.2009).

[273] This is also a stark contrast from the master plan at the time of foundation, which intended to install Serpong and BSD as a new regional anchor in the mid 1980s. (Cf. Personal interview with Santoso in August 2008)

of Tangerang (RUTRP), only after implementation had started.[274] The developers were neither asked to provide any environmental or social impact studies, nor to develop mitigation projects (cf. above),[275]

Role of national, regional, local governments

Bumi Serpong Damai emerged in a setting of semi-legality and political 'distortion'. The New Town enterprise has not only thrived in a neutral 'tabula rasa' environment (legally and physically, cf. above), but bended and irregular cultures of politics played a major role as well.[276] Linkages of high-ranking officials and business elites nurtured the project from this perspective. Furthermore, underprivileged local governments have nurtured a laissez faire atmosphere.[277] As a result, the developer enjoyed exceptional competitive advantages. The Bumi Serpong Damai's neo-urbanism therefore developed on a highly contested, semi-legal political terrain.

National Governments

Jakarta's New Towns and private settlements would not exist without the Government's authority. From the early 1980s, Indonesia's administration was very active in promoting the growth of New Towns and in discouraging other ways of expansion (Cf.: Above, context).[278] We have seen above that the federal government has played a decisive role in the process of obtaining the site. Sukarno's liberalisation programmes, in particular, have promoted the privatisation of urban development. His government has devised land-purchasing programmes geared to large developers in order to propel the development of housing and infrastructure. While a handful of developers were granted exclusive rights to obtain the necessary land[279], the government actively discouraged the sale of private plots on a small scale.[280] The National Land Agency (BPN), for example, has not allowed the sale of private plots for a long time (until early 2000s) with the argument of repelling land speculation.[281]

Box 7: Role of international organisations

> In addition to the fact that BSD was regarded as a model project of urban development on a national scale and that its outcome was strongly moulded by the particular interests of power elites, the policies and programmes of The World Bank, the Asian Development Bank and the IMF have played an indirect, yet decisive role: Suharto's Government was compelled to adapt to the standards and rationales of these international development institutions.

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[274] The same consultants that have worked for BSDs developers prepared the public plan. (Cf. above)

[275] Requirements existed to provide a sufficient amount of low income housing along the '1:3:6 schemes'. (Cf. above)

[276] These practices may be classified as corruption from a Western perspective. (Indonesia's corruption Index is one of the highest in the World. Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) for the country ranges is at the level of 2,3 of a 1-10 scale. (Cf. above: Context, culture)

[277] It is evident that local Governments, badly equipped, understaffed and poorly paid, prefer to welcome additional resources and keep their eyes closed on many irregular activities.

[278] Nevertheless, in detail, the developers were left alone to develop the site. Indonesia, to date, is lacking standards for the installation of New Towns. Therefore, the developers came up with their own rationales (Cf. Pangestu 1997).

[279] The land permits issued in the late 1980s were able to accommodate the housing supply until the year 2018 (cf. above).

[280] The federal Land Development agency has granted exclusive rights to buy all the necessary land to the developer. The land development permit ('Ijin Lokasi') implied that others were not allowed to purchase and develop land within the area unless they obtain the holder's formal consent (cf. Firman, 1997).

[281] Another element of the strategy to discourage small-scale urbanisation was exuberant transaction and titling costs. Hoek-Smit (2005) estimates the titling costs for a moderate property at approximately IDR 1 million (US$ 1000). While the countries average annual income is lower than US$ 800. (Cf. Above)

BSD was set up as a joint showcase and experimental field for housing production and urban regional decentralisation.[282] In this context, the regulatory setting of the project was accommodated to the rationales and guidelines of the international institutions. In return, the tap of international credits, infrastructure funds as well as development funds for model projects was opened. The developers benefited from exclusive land permits, subsidised and secured access to money markets and also direct infrastructure funds. (Cf. Above: Context, economy)

Regional Governments

The development of the Capital region of Jakarta is either driven by top-down strategies of the national government, or by the bottom-up dynamics of local stakeholders. Regional politics tend to be overruled by federal decisions. It is illustrative in this context that Sukarno's personal promotion of Bumi Serpong Damai as a national model was opposed by Jakarta's governor Sadikin.[283] An additional indication of the low impact of the regional level is the fact that an integrated regional plan for the area did not exist (Cf. Pangestu 1997, C.f. Above)

Local governments

Opposed to the regional government level, local governments played a decisive role in respect to the quantity and quality of New Towns and privately developed settlements in their area. The district of Tangerang, which comprised Bumi Serpong Damai in the 1980s, has one of the highest densities of New Tows and Gated Communities in the region. About a fifth to a quarter of its area is in the hands of private developers.[284]

Indeed, the opportunistic interests of local governments contributed to the fact that an oversaturated and predatory market of New Towns emerged. While local governments were unable to cope with the legal and managerial aspects of the newly emerging schemes[285], they highly welcomed the new projects as cash cows, without imposing serious limitations. Any new settlements were a highly welcome source of economic development and tax revenue. The developers brought in new services, infrastructure facilities, and jobs, and the new middle class residents highly welcomed tax revenues. In contrast, questions of a greater regional sustainability (social, environmental, economic) were not examined.

Regulation

Introduction

In spite of the liberal context described above, the framework of rules and codes plays an essential role for the implementation and realisation of Bumi Serpong Damai. The following section examines the impact of the framework on public codes and planning regulations on our New Town project. While the general planning framework is presented above, this part will only accentuate the essential ingredients (Cf.: Context, Planning framework).

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[282] A New Town Conference, organised by The World Bank in Jakarta, has contributed to an environment of easy credits for large real estate companies and has laid the foundations of many of the large real estate ventures such as Bumi Serpong Damai. (Cf. Interview with planning staff in November 2004

[283] When in the early seventies a consortium of developers around Sinar Mas sought to develop BSD the president approved the project is person, against the vote of Jakarta's Governor (Cf. Personal interview with planning staff, 2004).

[284] Cf. Interview in the Tangerang District Planning Office, October 2007

[285] Pangestu 1998 refers to the lack of management abilities in most of the local government offices. Firman (2004: 10) confirms that: "the capacity of the local government to manage and implement a spatial plan ('Rencana Tata Ruang'), particularly for monitoring and controlling land conversion, has been notoriously inadequate."

Role of master plans and other regulations

BSD develops in a context of Jakarta as a special capital district, which was intended to become the precursor of modernisation for the entire nation. The spatial development plans for the region, Jabotabek Metropolitan Development Plans (JMPD), have a tradition of promoting westernised strategies of debundled concentration and highway development to be realised by the private sector.

BSD developed on the basis of the Structure Plan for the Special Capital Province of Jakarta 1985 to 2005, the RUTRD (Jakarta Rencana Umum Tata Daerah). The master plan of BSD was approved by the department of planning and regional development of the district of Tangerang and was incorporated into the master plan of Tangerang Regency (RUTRP Rencana Umum Tata Ruang Pekotaan). The detailed land use plan for the BSD was the RUTRK (Rencana Umum Tata Ruang Kota), which is a derivative of the scheme.[286]

The RUTRD designated the municipality of Serpong as a regional growth centre with about 14.000 hectares as one of the growth centres of the Jakarta region. In addition to the model project, BSD foresaw an installation of a new research centre for technology and science (PUSPITEK) a new branch of the University of Indonesia (ITI), as well as the remodelling of the existing core city of Serpong. (Cf. Santoso 1992:36).

Despite the fact that Indonesia has one of the most elaborate urban planning systems worldwide, the real situation looks more desolate. While spatial planning documents for the region exist at various details and scales they are rarely implemented. The above-mentioned documents preserve an idealistic status. Their legal enforcement remained a problem. Significantly, Bumi Serpong's land use plan was incorporated into the regional master plan documents only in retrospect.

Indeed, in BSD's case the impact of government regulations and subsidies in the form of 'market enabling strategies' was more crucial. In particular, exclusive land permits and credit subsidies have unfolded the dynamic of Jakarta's New Town boom of the late 1980s and played a crucial role in BSD's implementation. (Cf. above: Context)

Summary regulation

The above chapter demonstrates that the political setting of the Sukarno era has been a decisive factor for the development of Bumi Serpong Damai. The New Town exists is an ambiguous situation of double standards: The urbanised area of more than 100.000 residents was a rural entity for a long time. Moreover, the scheme features a fragmented political geography. Its various parts belong to four different local administrations. On the other hand, the developer operates and maintains the place (what makes it the largest private New Town in the developing world).

Bumi Serpong Damai has been realised on a legal and administrational tabula rasa. An integrated spatial plan for the area did not exist. While the public site was pushing for a fast track to privatisation (cf. above Sukarno's reforms) it has lacked the means to control and mitigate the effects of the programmes and projects. Significantly, no proof was required for the environmental or social compatibility of the project. The project was only incorporated in the master planning and strategic documents later.

The development of BSD was driven by a combination of top-down strategies of the national government, or by the bottom-up dynamic of local stakeholders. Yet, the amount of direct public intervention from all scales remains relatively low. While the

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[286] The system of Indonesian spatial planning is described by Löffler, Ulrich 1996: Land Tenure Developments in Indonesia; Göttingen; (at http://www2.gtz.de/dokumente/bib/00-0582.pdf, r03.09.2009)

developers take an active part, the public remains rather passive. The project is a testing ground for public-private community organisations in Indonesia. The future of BSD's governance lies in the hands of a private town management body, a resident association or something in between.

In conclusion it can be said that the New Town of Bumi Serpong Damai is thriving in a regulational context of pragmatism, flexibility, and adaptability (a spirit close to informality). As long as daily business is thriving, the official questions, for example whether the streets in the clusters are private or public, remain secondary.

Preliminary conclusion – Summary, Lessons, Appraisal

Brief Summary

The above chapter described the privately developed New Town Bumi Serpong Damai (BSD). This was done to generate a comprehensive information package on the case. The elaboration intended lifting the knowledge on this project-case to new levels, thus preparing the ground for the comparative work in progress. The scheme was described from six viewpoints, as set out in the initial chapter of this thesis.

The elaborated data supports the assumption that Bumi Serpong Damai represents a new typology of New Towns, a Neo Town[287]: Evidently the project was conceived as an enterprise. It reflects a clear market-orientated approach to planning and development, carrying much of the spirit of contemporary market economies. BSD's developers innovated transferring this distinct business 'culture' and operational modes, breeding innovations beyond the capabilities of the public sector. Yet, while the project also represents a grounding of highly abstract principles and typologies, the implementation of the Bumi Serpong Damai, was, and is, not without problems and contradictions: The project has disregarded important aspects of the local environment. Moreover, place has been transformed as if it were a neutral 'tabula rasa'.

Lessons

Unexpected outcomes

The experience of BSD demonstrates that the completion of a New Town usually takes much longer than expected. The long-term process contains many incalculable elements: Certainly the planners did not foresee that the New Town would remain dotted by numerous on-site villages and scores of undeveloped lots.

Problems

The delayed provision of regional transport infrastructure (e.g. the Jakarta-Serpong toll road, or the one-track railway) triggered a chain of problems, e.g. delaying the creation of jobs. BSD's progress was also slowed by the unresolved task of acquiring the remaining land for phase II. On the other hand, the environment and the local populations suffer from negative externalities, neglect and forced isolation, the residents lack public facilities and pedestrian networks, while generally a house in the New Town remains affordable for only few.

Innovations

Still, Bumi Serpong Damai also represents several success stories: The town is the most populous contemporary New Town in the hands of a private developer worldwide; about 30.000 structures have been completed, the region has gained a vast amount of state-of-the-art facilities.

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[287] Cf. the criteria as defined in the introduction.

The framework of high competition, as well as the sheer scale of the project (a failure would be a disaster of regional/ international dimensions) compelled the developers and planners towards constant innovation. These chose the strategy to construct the town in an incremental manner and along the demands of the target populations, and did not forget to balance the development in providing infrastructure, services and amenities. (It can be presumed that no public agency would have been flexible and innovative enough to master all the difficulties and problems of the last 25 years.)

Trends

Neither a problem, nor an innovation, but an important trend to be observed is the fact that the project has not acted as a regional counter magnet. In contrast, it has attracted other, similar projects, triggering more suburbanisation and sprawl.

Another notable tendency at the town level is the scheme's pattern of hierarchical clustering. Antithetic to the open principles of modern enlightened city planning (and unsettling traditional architect and planners), the NeoTown is characterised by an increasing privatisation of spaces and a fragmentation of the urban tissue. Remarkably, this trend leads to the emergence of a quasi-organic morphology.

Indeed, Bumi Serpong Damai is an exemplary showcase of a city as an enterprise. The market based environment, with money as its main medium, features lifestyles and investments as the main commodities, while objects such as neighbourhoods and villas become flexible and adaptable instruments. Produced and conceived by the ultra rational spirit of the new economy, the built structures tend to resemble mass customised commodities. Significantly, housing types are developed as core products along the newest corporate standards and facades are individually adjusted to the actual consumer needs.

Intermediate assessment

A series of wider, more general implications arise from the issues discussed in the previous chapter. Conceived in the manner of a classical Neo Town, Bumi Serpong Damai represents a Greenfield experiment of neo-urbanism. The case of BSD illustrates how, in the context of Indonesia's liberal market economy (and policy), a specific kind of urbanism is unfolding.[288] The above case study may also serve as an illustration for the fact that neo-liberal economies have taken another important step. In a quest for diversification and new markets, they have increasingly conquered a new domain: urban space.[289]

Contemporary urban space is increasingly subject to the dynamics and the structural logic of a new economical and technological framework (new economy). In the process of rising commoditisation, spatial environments become an integral part of production and consumption systems. This process happens in a twofold sense: In a global horizontal sense from centre to periphery (an increasing amount of localities is incorporated into globalised systems of production and consumption), and in a local (vertical) sense an ever wider range of objects become commoditised – from urban regional systems, the human body, to the soft spheres of knowledge and culture. The new economy, with its ideological, its technological, and its economical means, ultimately succeeds in producing space with all of its aspects. And vice versa, urban spaces, cities and lifestyles become the ulti-

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[288] Importantly, it became evident above that, neo-liberal frameworks as well as regulatory frameworks play a decisive and crucial role. E.g.: Sukarno's government has been decisive in setting out an enabling framework and actively supporting certain stakeholder groups.

[289] Indeed, new economies apparently add a new dimension to the tendency of spatial commoditisation, which was described by Lefebvre (1974). (Cf. above: Introduction)

mate goods and commodities. (Space is produced at all scales, and at the same time it becomes the ultimate product.)

Neo-urbanism reflects the unbounded dynamic and structural logic of market players. The term has been coined to describe this process and related urban typologies, produced in a neo economic framework (Cf. Ch.1., Hackworth, Harvey...).

The above trends become visible most clearly in the localities where the forces and dynamics of neo urbanism are grounded in the most direct and unobstructed manner.[290]

Neo-urbanism (the spatial materialisation's of the new economy) in developing countries is different from the neo urbanism of the West. In particular, in some developing countries and emerging economies, situations emerge where regulatory voids meet unobstructed market dynamics and then these dynamics unfold in a specific way. In this respect, post postcolonial Indonesia offers a particularly good case.

The New Towns currently emerging in the peripheries of dynamically growing mega city regions represent unique archetypes of privately developed cities cast from the same mould. Consequently, this work suggests coining the new generation of New Towns in the above context of the new economy of Neo Towns.

These Neo Towns, such as Bumi Serpong Damai, represent the material crystallisation of post-industrial economies and cultures in a most direct manner. It remains open, whether these trends may become significant beyond the boundaries of the global periphery of developing and emerging economies. The may come to include the Western sphere.

BSD represents several of these neo-urban trends in an exemplary way.[291] These are illustrated in the list below.

Firstly, NeoTowns represent trends of a general commoditisation and rationalised production. Their components tend to correspond with 'conventional' products and reflect the logic and dynamics of markets. The production of houses increasingly resembles other products, such as automobiles, or toothbrushes. Instead of bringing to the fore the rationality of centralised bureaucratic systems, and the minds of ingenious planner-architects, NeoTowns represent the highly rationalised and standardised production systems of new economies.

Secondly, it is not just a house; it is the community, and the *lifestyle* that are increasingly important. In NeoTowns such as Bumi Serpong Damai developers have taken on this approach. They have innovated by putting urban lifestyles, as customised mass products, on the shelf. [292]

Thirdly, following a trend of increasing *abstraction and virtualisation* (as well the socio economic tendency from use values to exchange values) the actual product of the Neo Towns is reduced to the image. This observation is illustrated by: 1) the fact that marketing and media become decisive elements of entrepreneurial success; 2) the building surface, the facade, increasingly serves as an independent representational medium, more or less detached from the functional organisation of the interior organisation; 3) the increased focus on representation in the communal spaces that brings along a spread of symbolic and iconic gestures. (BSD's Gates, Clubhouses, monuments and statues symbolise a detached and placeless iconography from the world travel brochures and global

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[290]   As opposed to more traditional urban environments such as historical cities, where many layers of history are usually superimposed onto each other.

[291] NeoTown developers have, unconsciously or not, innovated by combining several previously existing strategies: The Garden Cities/ New Town movement had merged urban and natural landscapes in a specific way. American suburbanisation programmes (e.g. Levitt) had optimised the house as a mass product. Historicism, Coral Gables, Disney, as well as the global travel industry, have related the life style approach to human environments. Nike and its peers cultivated branding strategies for urban spaces – to name a few only (cf. Chapter 1).

[292] Life styles are even pro-actively composed. (Cf. section marketing)

media). Accordingly, the NeoTown builders adapt state of the art strategies from the world of consumer products. Two of these tactics are referred to as symbol inflation and gold-plating.[293]

Fourthly and fifthly NeoTowns have a Janus-faced ideology, while they are symbolic representations of individual dreams, at the same time they represent a strong belief in the supremacy of the market. Indeed, this ideological moment is different from the social (reform oriented) ideals of the previous Garden City and New Town movements. The 'fantastic' appearance of the resultant typologies points to the fact that NeoTowns draw on an implicit world of individual dreams, fantasies and potentialities. Built on the standardised mental imaginary of contemporary individuals, they correspond to a bottom-up imaginary of individual consumers / buyers/ shareholders. Yet, this individuality is bounded to the choice of variations of the same product.[294] The second part of the ideological moment of NeoTowns is the belief in the supremacy of market. Here older ideals of socio spatial reform ideals have been abandoned in favour of newer convictions in the omnipotence of the liberalised market.

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[293] Cf. Baudrillard 1976, Jameson 1984, Sennett 2006

[294] On mass customisation in a post-modern mass consumer society: Cf. Sloterdijk, Appadurai, Beck, Sennett et al).

C.Case 2:

NAVI MUMBAI – THE PARALLEL CITY

Introduction –
The supersized New Town version

"Navi Mumbai ...is the largest planned new city in the world" (Wikipedia)
"...where a man could breath, and his family could play in the park and the schools opened their doors and welcomed his children." (Times of India: 2005)

"Fortunately this place was nothing like we imagined it to be. Far from being a slice of America, it had India written all over it."[1]

"This is the first time we are building a city. So there are problems at every step. Every step is a learning process. The next city we build will not have so many problems."[2]

Covering 34.400 hectares Navi Mumbai is the largest of the cases discussed in the study and one of the largest New Town schemes worldwide. Indeed, the parallel city is almost the same size as the Mumbai peninsula. It is located on the mainland across the Thane creek to the East of the mother city. It is composed of a string of 15 interconnected nodes. Its infrastructure and public facilities are far beyond the standards of other places on the subcontinent.

The city is also the oldest of the cases discussed in this thesis. The concept of extending Mumbai to the mainland has been around at least since Word War II. It materialised into a concrete plan after a group of three young architects and planners (Charles Correa, Pravina Mehta, and Shirish Patel) drew up and published their vision of the new city in 1965. The idea was successful and was taken up by the state government. An independent state run corporation was initiated to develop the New Town. The name of the corporation was Cidco, the City and Industrial Development Corporation of Maharashtra. Cidco was an experiment that combined the security of a public agency with the efficiency of a private venture. The non-profit company drew up a development plan and started the project in 1974. The state government lent the necessary start-up capital. The development of the city was to be achieved in a phased manner using a revolving fund principle. The new city was divided into 20 nodes. Extra from the sale of a portion of the land, at market prices, was redistributed towards the development of the consecutive phases and as a subsidy for low-income schemes.

Navi Mumbai has undergone two significant waves of privatisation, one in the early nineties, and one at the dawn of the 21 Century. India's New Economic Programme of the early nineties has triggered a shift from a supply side towards a demand side oriented housing development. As a consequence agencies such as Cidco were forced to operate similarly to private developers. The trend was increased with further reforms easing foreign direct investments. In real estate Integrated Township, IT-park and SEZ programmes represented these.

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[1] From a blog by a resident of Navi Mumbai's node Kopar Khairane at:
http://ptblanc.blogspot.com/2004_06_01_archive.html; r12.10.2008
[2] Satish Magar, Cidco principal, in an interview with MoneyLIFE, Jan 2007

As a consequence, after long periods of stagnation and slow growth, today Navi Mumbai's surrounding areas experience a boom of privately developed housing and commercial schemes. Of highest significance for the area are two large Special Economic Zone (SEZ) projects. The Navi Mumbai SEZ and the Mumbai SEZ will jointly comprise 6.800 hectares. Cidco as well has embarked on the SEZ boom and is developing two of Navi Mumbai's nodes (Dronagiri as well as Ulwe) in this manner along partnerships with private developers.

Hence, in line with the overall aims of this thesis, this chapter seeks to unravel the production process of Navi Mumbai. In this context specific attention will be paid to the rising impact of the private sector. While it will be important to establish a comprehensive account on the structures and production mechanisms of Navi Mumbai in itself, it will also be vital to generate information useful for the comparative framework of this thesis. The chief tool to achieve these goals will be to use a synoptic method. As a result Navi Mumbai will be described from 6 various angles: 1) the general context, 2) the city's urban structure, 3) the population, 4) the developers and designers, 5) the financial, and 6) the regulatory framework.

Table 11: Key indicators – Navi Mumbai

Name of NeoTown	*Navi Mumbai (& Navi Mumbai SEZ)**
Country, State, Region, District	India, Maharashtra, Mumbai Metropolitan Region, Thane
Start Date	1954
Ground breaking	1971
Phases (finished, total)	14 (20)
Size (present, planned)	4.377 (34.400)
Population (present, planned)	1,7 Million (3 Million)
Local Population	180.000**
Structures (number of houses)	260.000 (700.000)
Developer (name of developer)	Cidco (City and Industrial Development Corporation of Maharashtra Limited)
Major motive ['1' = decongest; '2' = economic development; '3' = security; '4' = lifestyle and representation]***	1, 2, 4, 3
Type ['A' parallel city; 'B' satellite town; 'C' regional node; 'D' independent new centre	A

* Before 1995 the New Town was called New Bombay.
** Approximately 10 percent of the total population
*** Subjective ranking according to relevance

→ Illustration C-1: Map of India

General context –
Planned society

Introduction

Navi Mumbai is located in the largest metropolitan region of the second largest country and biggest parliamentary democracy of the world. A large majority of the population still lives in a rural context leaving immense scope for development. Although the country's literacy levels are only at the 60 percent mark India produces the largest number of engineering graduates in the world.

The subcontinent's urban centres are increasingly acknowledged as its economic-growth engines. On the other hand an enormous gap in infrastructure and housing remains one of the country's biggest problems, leading to a continuous rise of the informal sector. In addition India's cities are greatly affected by the economies and cultures of migrants at various (global and local) scales.

The country's general attitude of how to handle the market economy is in an ongoing process of transformation. For a long time it was dominated by a central planning approach. Yet, in the last three decades the country has embarked on a path of liberalisation and decentralisation. This has triggered a parallel shift of political power from national to state and local levels, although at a price of a growing political complexity and rising regional disparities.

Therefore, in the following chapter the new city will be approached across scales – e.g. from a national scale, to the regional context of Mumbai and also across time. Hence Navi Mumbai's planning history will be anchored to national and regional milestones. A specific emphasis will be given to the overall planning framework and not least Navi Mumbai will be embedded in a tradition of regional precedents and peers. While the sub-chapters on the national and regional context will present key indicators related to politics, economy, demography and culture, the section of Mumbai will consider the urban morphology and some major spatial trends of Mumbai's metropolitan development.

India

General facts India

Table 12: Key indicators – Country level India[3]

Name of country	India
Year of independence	1947
Political system	Parliamentary democracy
Urbanisation rate and growth	30 percent, 1,5 percent
GINI	38
Population earning less than 2US$ per day	86 percent
Literacy rate	60 percent
Average Income (GDP pc)	500 US$
Economic growth rates (1998-2008)	4 - 6 percent
HDI	62
Year of liberal reforms	1991
Cars per 1000 people	6
FDI	20 billion US$
Remittances	18 billion US$
Percentage of scheduled castes	30
Diasporic population	22 million

Population and urbanisation

With more than 1,1 billion residents India is the second largest country in the world.[4] While it is increasing speedily the scope for development remains immense and 50 percent of the population is younger than 25 years (China 33, Japan 43).

While the majority of the population, about 70 percent (cf. The World Bank 2006), still live in a rural context, the country is on a fast track to urbanisation.[5] Since the 1940's India's cities have grown by an average of 3 to 4 percent a year.[6] The country will have an urban population of more than 800 million by 2025 compared to the present less than 300 million (Maitra 2007).[7] The National Council for applied Economic Research estimates that a population of 380 million people, more than the entire population of the USA, will be added to India's cities over the next 40 years (cf. Skukla 2008). The trend also applies to the large cities. The number of metropolises with one million residents and more will increase from 30 in 2008 to 70 in the year of 2025.

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[3] Cf. Appendix: Comparative Matrix

[4] It has about five times more population than Indonesia and six times more than Brazil.

[5] Nissel (1997) states that the real trek from village to town hasn't started yet.

[6] Cf. India Core 2007: 4

[7] Indian urban population is, after China, the largest in the world. Indeed, more people live in Indian cities than in all aggregated countries of the world except USA, China and Russia. (Cf. India Core 2007)

Political system

India became independent from British rule on the 15th August 1947. Thereafter the country was partitioned into India and Pakistan. Three years later, on 26 January 1950 it became a republic and a new constitution came into effect. (Cf. CIA 2007)

India is the world's largest democracy. The country enjoys a relatively stable political situation. It is a socialist, democratic and secular republic with a parliamentary system of government.[8] While ethnic, political or religious conflicts are on the daily agenda, their level is relatively moderate when compared with some neighbouring countries. (Cf. Nissel 1997)

Market attitude in transition

India's general attitude towards market regulation is in a process of transition. For a long time the development approach focused on rural growth and central planning. Yet, since the 1990's increasing problems and contradictions, for example the growing numbers of urban residents without proper infrastructure, have engendered a gradual change towards deregulation and liberalisation policies and the attraction of foreign investments.[9]

A continuous path of decentralisation in the last three decades parallels the shift in market attitude. While the early post-independence programmes were steered by the national government and reflected a central organisation of the country, the liberalisation and decentralisation programmes have shifted political power towards the states. Moreover the power of political planning and self-determination is more in the hands the local governments.[10]

Infrastructure and services

The dynamic growth of India's economy and its rising focus on urban centres is paralleled by a widening gap in the provision of urban infrastructure and services.[11] Notably this leads towards 'insular' urban development strategies such as Integrated Townships or Special Economic Zones. It has also brought into focus the lack of adequate transportation and power facilities across the country. (Cf. Ruth 2007)

The country's spending on infrastructure in 2007 amounted to roughly 5 percent of its GDP. At the same time the economy has grown at a rate of 8,6 percent or more since 2003. (Cf. Reuters 2007) [12] The most visible indicators of overstretched infrastructure are India's congested highways, airports and ports.[13] Significantly, utilities such as water and power are rationed in most locations and only a small fraction of the population has access to sanitation.[14] The India Infrastructure Report estimated the annual investment needed for urban water supply, sanitation and roads at about 28.035 crore (US$ 6,67 billion) for the next ten years.[15]

The reasons for the neglect in infrastructure investments lie in the history of federal urban planning programmes. Infrastructure has a tradition of being handled as a public commodity. While "Jawaharlal Nehru took the decision of making urban infrastructure a monopoly of the public sector in the 60's"[16], the positive aspects of cities as engines of

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[8] Cf. http://www.indiacore.com/overview-main.html (r02.05.2008)

[9] Cf. below: urban policy, five year plans

[10] Cf. below: Milestones, 73rd, 74th Amendments

[11] Traditionally India's population growth has always preceded the construction in infrastructure. (cf. Ruth 2007)

[12] At the same time, China has invested the double to triple amount of GDP (12 to 15 percent) in a proactive development of infrastructure (cf. Ruth 2007)

[13] The Economist (June 1st 2006: "The long journey") delineates India's medieval road infrastructure in describing an 8-day journey of a truck from Kolkata to Mumbai.

[14] (Cf. 3inetwork 2006; The World Bank 2004)

[15] (Cf. 3inetwork 1996 quoted in India Core 2007: 7)

[16] (KP Sigh Chair of DLF in Outlook Business 2007: 79)

economic growth were not much appreciated. Consequently the problems of urban areas were treated more as welfare problems. (India Core 2007: 11)

The policy only changed at the end of the 1980's, a report of the National Commission on Urbanisation confirmed that the trend towards urbanisation could not be reversed. This was also a time when urban government lacked capacities at all levels and when increasing numbers of the urban population suffered from poverty. One of the most important government strategies to address the infrastructure problems has been the Jawaharlal Nehru Urban Renewal Mission, or JNNURM. (Cf. Milestones below)

Literacy rates

India's society represents a stark polarisation and immense contrasts. These are reflected for example by the levels in education. With adult literacy rates of 60 percent in 2003 the country ranges in the bottom quarter in the world.[17] On the other hand the country embarked on a path towards a knowledge society: 50 million Indians have some form of higher education and 2,5 million complete a university degree every year (Kelly 2006).[18]

Economic framework –New landscape of opportunity

GDP and average income

Along with Brazil, Russia and China, India is in the midst of the fast growing BRIC economies.[19] The average Indian GDP per capita ranged at 500 US$ in 2003.[20] At the same time the country's total GNP exceeded 500 billion US Dollar. (Cf. Goldman Sachs 2007)[21]

While in 2007 India's economy boomed with growth rates of nearly 9 percent, the equity markets featured return rates of approximately 49 percent, albeit helped by an appreciating rupee. (Cf. Cushman & Wakefield 2007: 1) Further acceleration is expected in the future (Asian Development Bank, 2007).[22] From 2001 to 2007 the stock market rose by an astonishing 499 percent. In contrast India's share in world goods exports remained rather small – at 0,9 percent for 2005 (Ahya, Morgan Stanley 2006).

Change in share of, manufacturing, services, agriculture

In 2007 India's GDP was composed of 17 percent agriculture, 30 percent industry and 53 percent services (Cf. CIA 2008). In contrast 60 percent of the population worked in the agricultural sector, 12 percent in the industrial segment, and another 12 percent in services (Ibidem).

As is the case with many other societies, India is on the way to being a services oriented economy. Recently there has been a tremendous growth of the knowledge and services industries. At the same time the industrial segment as well as low skill manufacturing and agriculture tended to be bypassed. This is particularly tragic, as these sectors comprise the major population segments. (Cf. Harris-White 2002)

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[17] While female literacy was at 50 percent, male literacy ranged at 70. (Cf Globalis, r12.10.2008).

[18] These numbers amount to 200 percent of the US-American, and 150 percent of Chinese graduates.

[19] "If things go right, in less than 40 years, the BRICs economies together could be larger than the G6 in US dollar terms. ... India has the potential to show the fastest growth over the next 30 and 50 years." (Cf. Goldman Sachs 2001, 2003: 4)

[20] And 2.600 US$ in PPP measures (Cf. Globalis 2008)

[21] The economy made up for 25 percent of the Gross National Product of countries like Britain or Germany, India's GDP was slightly higher than that of the city of London. Barbara Harriss-White (2002) notes that India's economy is roughly the size of Belgium's, but with 100 times the number of people.

[22] All the major sectors of the economy witnessed significant growth during the same period, with manufacturing at 9.3 percent, construction at 8.4 percent and financing, insurance, real estate and business services at 11.6 percent. The industrial production for February 2008 was 8.60 percent higher compared to the same period in 2007. (Cf. Cushman &Wakefield 2008: Mumbai Office Report 1Q08)

Role of middle classes

> *"The largest democracy with population in excess of 1 billion presents the world's biggest middle class consumer market of 300 million people"*[23]

The ongoing strong economic growth (cf. Goldman Sachs 2001) has led to the rise of an Indian middle class and persistent growth of upper income segments. These are currently estimated to comprise a population of 51 million – a quarter of all Indians (cf. Reuters 2007, Farell 2007). In this context India is likely to become the world's fifth-largest consumer economy in the next 20 years (cf. McKinsey 2007). The middle-income population will grow (McKinsey 2007) to approximately 600 million by 2025.[24] It will thus be substantially larger than its European and US American counterparts (cf. Nissel 1997) [25] At the same time the upper income class will grow tenfold from 10 million, accounting for a significant 20 percent of all consumption (cf. Farell 2007).

The rising middle classes are carrying forward a profound modernisation of India's society based on consumption-orientated lifestyles. Disposable incomes for this group have grown by 12 percent a year for the past five years. In the past decade the number of people per household has dropped from 5,52 to 5,1.As a consequence more and more couples, with fewer and fewer children prefer a life in one-generation households. For that reason the household budgets will shift from basic necessities to discretionary items (Cf. Farrell 2007), as more middle-income families are likely to have air conditioning, go for an annual vacation, and appreciate packaged foods.

Indeed, the consumer sector has a great scope for development: India's car ownership rates currently range at 6 vehicles per 1.000 residents. In 2003 only 7 of thousand residents had a personal computer. Compared to Europe people have only consumed 12,5 percent of energy (The World Bank 2004).[26]

Hosing affordability

Formal Housing, without subsidies, is basically unaffordable for India's low-income classes. At the same time middle class affordability levels[27] are facing two digit levels. As this is the case in particular in the centres of large cities suburban locations are increasingly explored.

Indeed, only a very small, although rising section of India's population can afford to buy a house in the formal market. The lower income segments cannot afford and sustain a house and are beyond profitability criteria from the perspective of conventional business. Housing for US$ 2.000 to 10.000, which would be appropriate for annual income levels around US$ 500 to 2.500 (this would translate into affordability levels of 4), is practically unavailable.[28] [29]

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[23] www.navimumbaisez.com, accessed in June 2008

[24] The McKinsey Global Institute categorises the Middle classes along purchasing power and consumption potentials. These earn between 200.000 ($4,376) and 1 million INR ($21,882) (cf. Farrell 2007). The upper income segment contains people who annually earn more than INR 1 million. Significantly it is only this last group of the 'global Indians' that can afford a truly Western oriented lifestyle. It is essential to note that this income of the country's middle classes is higher than the median family income in India that is approximately INR 4.500 a month (or about 100 US$).

[25] In two decades the country will surpass Germany as the world's fifth largest consumer market". The respective Households will see their incomes grow to US$1.1 billion, 11 times the level of today, and 58 percent of total Indian income. (Farrell 2007)

[26] Interestingly the number of 'affluent' households in India (amounting to 31 million people in 2000) is estimated by the number of households that own a 4-wheel vehicle, as opposed to the 2- wheelers." (Cf. Weinstein 2005: 17)

[27] Housing affordability is the relation of the medium annual household income divided by the median cost of the house. Generally a value of 3 and below is regarded as 'affordable' while a value of above 5 is 'unaffordable'. (Cf. http://www.demographia.com/dhi-ix2005q3.pdf, r12.09.2009)

[28] Given the other costs of livelihoods such as food, transport, health, education and clothing, low-income households are not capable of paying more than 15 to 25 percent of their disposable incomes on housing. (Cf. Adusumilli 2001) Conse-

On the other hand the extreme rise of the country's middle classes and the availability of cheap money[30] have spurred a large rise in demand for housing for this segment. As a consequence the supply in some places, e.g. the large mega cities are lagging up to five years behind. The sharp rise of prices within the last five years that is widely referred to as an Indian housing bubble.[31] As a consequence affordability levels for the middle-income classes have sprung up to two digit levels, only known from the Californian and Australian housing bubble[32] and housing prices in inner cities can fetch 50.000 US$ to 200.000 US$.

Poverty and informal economy

Although India is "one of the world's hottest economies"[33] , it also remains one of the poorest countries worldwide.[34] In 2006, about 836 million people, or 77 percent, lived on less than two dollars a day. There are signs that the poor, as well as the rich, both are gaining from the economic growth – in the last 30 years poverty (e.g. the number of people earning less than INR 12 per day) has almost halved. (Cf. Government of India, 2007) On the other hand the proportion of urban slum dwellers has been increasing over the decades. It is exceeds half of the population in cities such as Mumbai. (Cf. Shaw: 2)

Indeed, of a labour force of over 390 million only 7 percent work on regular wages and salaries, this means that 90-92 percent of India's total work force is engaged in the informal economy. In urban areas this figure is close to 65-70 percent. (Cf. ILO)

Gini index

In spite of this the indicators for income inequality still feature moderate levels. In 2007 the country's GINI index, a popular measure of income inequality, ranged at 38.[35] The 10 richest percent of the population had 34 percent of the income. (Cf. UN 2007) On the other hand the income disparities are widening. (Cf. The World Bank 2006) Comparable estimates of the 50th (1993-1994) and 55th (1999-2000) rounds of National Sample Survey data reveal that inequality in on the rise in rural and urban India. (Cf. Pal 2007: 25) [36] Sen and Himanshu (2005, quoted in Pal 2007: 5) demonstrate that the consumption gap among the rich and the poor and between urban and rural India grew during the 1990s, and more so after 1997.

Liberalisation

The year 1991 is a historic watershed in respect of India's internal development policy and its synchronisation with the worldwide economic system.[37] Facing a growing bu-

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quently, the maximum price for a house for a household earning US$ 800 per year, that could be repaid in 25 years, comes to US$ 2500.

[29] Preliminary studies in the 1970s by Cidco in Navi Mumbai have shown that less than 10 percent of the population had an income large enough to afford a house without subsidies. (Cf. Cidco 1973)

[30] Government reforms at the beginning of the century have caused low loan levels on the private market to fall to 7-8 percent. (Cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_property_bubble)

[31] At some locations prices have soared up to 100 percent per year. "For the first time in India's modern history, residential rental rates of certain high-end micro-markets in Delhi's region, the NCR, overshot those of Mumbai indicating the rising value of property" (Cushman & Wakefield 2007: 1)

[32] The affordability for a flat of US$ 100.000 in Bangalore for a software engineer who earns US$ 8.400 per year is 11.

[33] Reuters (2007) quoting a report by the state-run National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector (NCEUS)

[34] Significantly, child mortality was among the highest in the world: 90 out of a thousand children do not reach the age of 5. (Cf. The World Bank 2004). Mumbai's child mortality was at 23 per mille. (Cf. Nissel 1997 quoting the WRI)

[35] The US has 41, China has 38 and France 33.

[36] Significantly, during the 1990's, also referred to as the 'reform period', urban inequality in India was much higher than rural inequality for most of the states, and while the urban income gap was intensifying, the rural disparities were shrinking. (Cf. Government of India, National Human Development Report (2001), quoted in Pal 2007: 3)

[37] Indeed, the import of foreign economic policies (and standards) can be traced back as far as to the 18th century, when the British East India Company, 'unified' the country along Mercantilist principles and regulations. (Cf. Thomas 1926, O'Rourke 2002)

reaucratic gridlock, and a severe budgetary crisis, the country initiated a process of comprehensive reforms. These were principally modelled along the standardised recommendations of the Washington Consensus.

Kochhar (2006:18) summarises that: "The reforms of the 1990s ... included (i) the abolition of industrial licensing and the narrowing of the scope of public sector monopolies; (ii) the liberalization of inward foreign direct and portfolio investment; (iii) trade liberalization including the elimination of import licensing and the progressive reduction of non tariff barriers; (iv) major financial sector liberalization, ...freer entry for domestic, and foreign, private banks and the opening up of the insurance sector; (v) and liberalization of investment and trade in important services, such as telecommunications. ..."

Internationalisation, foreign direct investments

India was long out of bounds to institutional investors, particularly foreigners. That appears to be changing: 60 percent of Indiabulls Property[38] is owned by Farallon Capital Management, a San Francisco hedge fund... Fidelity, Goldman Sachs and Merrill Lynch were large Investors... Two forces lie behind the boom. First, investors are betting on the consumption driven growth of India's economy... The second factor is India's emergence as a hub for global outsourcing.[39]

An important consequence of financial liberalisation is an augmented inflow of foreign private capital into India. In particular, net foreign exchange assets raised by the banking system became the most important source of new money supply.[40]

Yet, the Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in general increased by a startling 1.800 percent between 1990 and 2003. The Department of Industrial Policy & Promotion lists accumulated FDI equity inflows of 86 billion US$ up till May 2008. (Cf. India FDI Fact Sheet - May 2008) [41] Moreover a rise of 91 percent was reported in the fiscal period of 2006/2007 to 2007/2008 only (from 10,2 US$ billion 19 US$ billion). (Ibidem)[42]

With an amount of 22 percent, the skill intensive services sector is attracting the highest share of cash. While computers and software score second with 12 percent, the construction segment comes third with 7 percent.

Attracted by special subsidies a large part of the in FDI inflow went into non-tradable infrastructure: Since the year 2002, for example, the Indian Government allows one hundred percent of direct foreign investments if a project's area is above 40 hectares, if more than 10 million US dollars are invested and if the number of new apartments exceeds the two thousand mark. In this way the government nurtures large schemes, aiming at the rapid modernisation of urban areas according to the newest world-class standards

Effects of liberalization and international investments

The amplified international investments and a relatively higher growth of GDP were able to restore the country's budget deficit. The price to be paid, however, seems to comprise an augmented fragmentation and polarisation of society (cf. above Income distribution).[43] Small and medium sized enterprises have been disadvantaged. The gap between

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[38] A local securities broker firm

[39] The Economist August 27 2005: India Property. Another Boom. Why foreigners are so keen on India's property market

[40] The share of Net Foreign Exchange Assets (NFEA) with the Foreign Reserve Bank of India increased from 20.44 percent in 1992-1993 to 65.01 percent in 2000-2001. (Cf. Pal: 21)

[41] China's overall FDI inflows totalled $69.5 billion in 2006 alone.

[42] Interestingly, the offshore financial oasis of Mauritius is the number one origin of investments. It comprises more than 44 percent of all cumulative inflows from April 2000 to May 2008. That is 8 times more than money coming respectively from the USA, Singapore and the U.K. These amount to 7 to 8 percent.

[43] Harriss-White (2003) argues that India's liberal reforms of the 90's have rather strengthened local modes of economic organisation (social regulation). Hence, while existing power structures (along caste, religion, ethnicity groups, gender pat-

rich and poor has increased. Urban informality is on the rise. (Cf. Harriss-White, 2003) (On a different plane, the reorientation of development strategies has led to a regionalisation of Indian politics. (Cf. Jenkins 1999: 76))

Whereas, for example, the inflow of FDI into India has only marginally improved the gross national capital formation, it has largely contributed to uneven development. As a consequence development has been confined to some small pockets, augmenting inequalities in the country geographically and sector wise (Pal 2007: 25). The inter-state distribution of domestic and foreign direct investment (FDI) was particularly skewed. [44] Significantly Mumbai leads the league while attracting almost 32 percent of all foreign funds.[45]

Real estate boom and its dimensions – insatiable demand

The enormous economic growth rates have led to a vast demand for land that can hardly be matched by the existing supply alone. The county's demographic growth, the deregulation, and liberalisation policies along with a global framework of surplus money had a tremendous impact on the real estate sector, leading to a widespread boom. The 9-10 percent economic growth foreseen increased the demand for homes, and commercial space. As a consequence many foreign funds moved into real estate, a sector that featured growth rates of 20 percent and more transforming the country into one of the "most appealing investment destinations for domestic as well as foreign investors" (Hirco Plc 2007: 3).

India's housing shortage was assessed at 22,5 million units and the demand was supposed to rise to 80 million housing units over the next 10 years (Hirco Plc 2007: 3). The demand for new office space has grown from an estimated 3,5 million square feet in 1998 to nearly 16 million square feet in 2004 and is estimated to amount to 66 million square feet between 2005 and 2008.[46]

At the end of 2007 the Indian property market was estimated to be worth US$ 54 billion (Hirco Plc 2007: 3) and the real estate sector was expected to keep growing to US$ 90 billion in 2015. (C&W 2007: 2). Notably, this represents an annual growth rate of over 20 percent. The urban residential sector was supposed to appreciate by another 15 percent to 50 percent. (Cushman & Wakefield 2007: 3). Notably, a major share of the real estate funding originates from abroad. Till 2007 the share of foreign funds and institutions amounted to US$ 30 billion with an estimate of US$ 3 billion that has been committed so far.

WB loans, foreign aid

The gush of foreign finances does not only originate in the private sector. India is the single largest borrower of The World Bank Aid and International Development Assistance (IDA).[47] In 2005 The World Bank's support to the country aggregated to $ 2,89

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tern), organisational patterns and points of centralisation were reinforced, mainstream rural population segments had been bypassed.

[44] State-wise data on (aggregate) FDI approvals between 1991 and 2002 show that only a handful of states have managed to attract a very high share of FDI. From the figures, it can be seen that the top 10 Indian states attracted more than 63 percent of total. (Cf. Pal 2007: 22, figure 8)

[45] The Capital Region of Delhi comes second with 19 percent, while Bangalore follows with a share a 7 percent. While Ahmadabad, Chennai, and Hyderabad take 5 percent respectively, no city other than Kolkata (1,5 percent) reaches the 1 percent mark.

[46] The sector of Business Process Outsourcing (BPO) constituted 80 percent of the demand for commercial property in India. (Cf. Shrinivas: 19)

[47] The aggregate of the Bank's lending in India in the last 45 years was approximately US$ 42 billion. India has claimed about 15% of total World Bank lending – 9% of WB and 28% of IDA commitments. (Cf. International Economic Organisation: http://www.ieo.org/world-c2-p1.html; r28.08.2008)

billion.[48] On the other hand it has to be noted that aggregated aid peaked in 1992 in the wave of the liberalisation reforms, and has not significantly increased during the last 20 years – despite all demographic growth.[49] Indeed, international aid has always played a political role, in particular within the Cold War era.[50]

Culture – deterritorialised traditions

The understanding of India's cultural landscapes and the forces forming these is a pre-requisite to the comprehension of the present and the emerging urban landscapes of the country, including all social, economic and spatial dimensions. "India is among the most stratified of all known societies in the world" (Srinivas 1992a, from Ananthakrishnan 1998: 30). Its society and space are connected to questions of caste, class, religion and language. Moreover the subcontinent's "social structures of accumulation" are deeply entrenched in party politics, religion, philanthropy and redistributive obligations (Harriss-White 2003). The large Metropolises in particular are places of difference, of ethnic, cultural, social culmination and juxtaposition – maybe by definition. Here a complex dynamic of internal and external migration between cities and the countryside, and recently also along an urban-global nexus, adds to a rich, complex, and dynamic cultural fabric.

Without a doubt the modern towns such as Chandigarh or Navi Mumbai, represent a form of resistance against the complex fabric of the traditional Indian city, also opposing the domination of caste, class and "corruption". Yet at the same time these reform cities are also deeply embedded in a context of traditional and contemporary trends. Tradition and postmodernity remain important factors writing over and interacting with the progressive landscapes.

Accordingly, the following section aims to highlight the impact of traditional 'cultural' factors such as caste, class, and religion. The issue of caste in Indian society will be briefly exemplified. Moreover some light will be cast on the subject of corruption in the nexus between tradition and modernity. Secondly the correlation of migratory movements and the urban landscape will be outlined. Here it is of particular importance to discern the impact of 'deterritorialised' cultures, for example of new transnational elites, on the formation of contemporary socio-spatial landscapes. As a result Mumbai emerges as a resort of exaggerated differences, an ultimate landscape of dreams.

Caste

The influence of caste on India's society and space remains pervasive, despite an ongoing modernisation. Almost all of the country's spaces and economies are organised in forms that are directly or indirectly based on caste. Scheduled Castes and Tribes[51] account for 29 percent of the Indian population. (In Mumbai they make up for 7,5 percent.) While their literacy level is well below 60 percent they are twice as likely to work as casual labourers, in agriculture and to be poor masses than any other cast members (Ibidem). (A Brahmani would never work as a labourer).

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[48] India was also the largest recipient of IDA assistance, with credits totalling US$ 1.1 billion. This amounts to US$1 per capita (The Hindu 2005). Note that The World Bank Number for 2003 is only 25 percent! (Cf. World Development Indicators 2005)

49 Cf. http://www.indianchild.com/foreign_aid_india.htm; r28.08.2008 49

[50] E.g. during the 1980 oil crisis the country received an IMF loan totalling US$5 billion. (Cf. International Economic Organisation: http://www.ieo.org/world-c2-p1.html; r28.08.2008)

[51] Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes are socially handicapped groups listed in the Schedule of the Indian Constitution. (GoM 2008)

Barbara Harriss-White (2003) points out that nearly half Indian firms are caste-homogeneous and that investments do not necessarily follow a rational logic. Instead clientelist relations among caste groups often remain the preferred basis for business partnerships. These days, backward castes are gaining ground as owners, while forward castes dominate the concentration of capital. (Ibidem)

Corruption

Fraud and tax evasion are part and parcel of Indian capitalism... in the economy in which 88 percent of Indians live, the state is so riddled with fraud and corruption that an enormous 'shadow' has grown up around it, which depends on it and feeds off it. (Harriss-White, 2003)

The issue of fraud and corruption is an important element of developing cultures that is rarely reflected upon. Yet, the evaluation of the topic also depends on the perspective of the evaluating party. International agencies rate India as a relatively corrupt country. The country's corruption perception index ranges at 3,5 (at a scale of 1=most corrupt to 10=most corrupt). (Cf. Transparency International 2006) [52]

Yet, it is important to understand the matter more deeply, as it represents a frequently missed link to 'other' non-modern modes of societal development, which are deeply embedded in traditional modes of collective organisation. Whilst corruption is indeed a complex ethical and criminological matter, our argument here is that the concept is also deeply related to the production of differences between the judge and the convict.

While corruption can be seen as a violation of specific moral, cultural and aesthetic standards and values, any kind of planning intervention has to take into account the local construction and valuation of the matter. Behaviour can be corrupt from the perspective of international business etiquette exactly because is it deeply embedded in local traditions and moral codes. In this context a person that acts in two worlds, e.g. the global economy (or high-ranking politics) and traditional society, can face a severe dilemma. When in 1977 the untouchable, K.R. Narayanan, became president, it was a historical landmark and revolution[53]), at the same time Narayanan's government was well known for an extremely high amount of corruption.

Migration

> "*Deterritorialization, in general is one of the central forces of the modern world... the overseas movement of Indians has been exploited... to create a complicated network of finances and religious institutions...*" (Appadurai 1990: 39)

"More persons and groups deal with the realities of having to move or the fantasies of wanting to move... men and women from villages in India think not just of moving to Poona or Madras, but of moving to Dubai and Houston, and refugees from Sri Lanka find themselves in South India as well in Switzerland." (Ibidem: 32)

The urban realities of India's metropolises are highly affected by the post-independence movements of migrants and refugees. To understand the contemporary fabric of Indian cities three forms of migration are relevant: Firstly, the movements of Internally Displaced Persons (IDP's), e.g. after the separation of India and Pakistan; Sec-

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[52] While this is significantly lower that Germany's 7,8, or the USA's 7,2, it is crucially better than Indonesia's 2,3 or Somalia's 1,8.

[53] "It was the greatest transfer of power in world history: the real devolution of power to a real majority of 1 billion people." (Cf. Mehta: 43)

ondly the rural-urban migration, mainly by the poor; And thirdly, the transnational migration, largely represented by middle and upper classes.

Mumbai, as the primary economic centre of the nation has always represented a chief magnet for migrants. In the main, the city served as a melting pot for large groups of migrants, while these were adding to the vibrancy of its urban life.[54]

The rising rural urban divide, along rural droughts and discrimination, as well as urban opportunities and higher incomes, continues to attract large populations to India's urban centres. After all people seem to "prefer urban squalor to rural hopelessness". (Cf. The Economist 2007) In 1991 alone, 39 million people migrated in rural-urban patterns. Notably the migrants tend to flock to the large centres, as smaller regional towns do not provide the opportunities for integration. It is a common pattern to see large groups of poor migrants leaving their villages for metropolises like Mumbai, Delhi and Kolkata.[55] And while the capability of these cities to absorb the new population is limited, a dual city with a large informal sector evolves (Cf. Srinivasan 2007). Indeed, India's rural-urban imbalance in development provides part of the explanation for the enormous contemporary growth of large urban centres (including slums).

As the complexity of existing patterns of migration is rising, some of its forms remain invisible for official statistics. People migrating to India's large cities do not always end up in slums. First generation migrants often become pavement dwellers and appropriate the streets and other public spaces.[56] In addition, throughout India's cities a strong pattern of seasonal urban migration is evident (including Navi Mumbai). The all-prevalent canvas villages of migrants working in the construction sector represent this trend.

Global elites, social imagination and urban landscapes

In addition to the traditional axis of rural-urban movement, the global-urban nexus engenders additional dimensions of people's interchange. India's diasporic population is estimated to total between l5 and 22 million. (Cf. Ramesh 2000) Most of these are classified as Non-Resident Indians, or (NRI's).[57] While these are spread across the globe in 136 different countries, billions of remittances and deposits in local banks have a significant impact on the (sub-) urban trends at home.

The Indian Diaspora can be grouped into five main clusters. The largest, and probably the wealthiest of the five groups, is a four million community in the USA[58], the UK, Canada, Australia and other western countries. In 1999 for example Indians were taking up almost 50 percent of the 200.000 highly sought-after US H1-B visas for professionals (Bose, 2000 from King: 2000). Skilled workers have also increasingly migrated to other countries in Asia and the Middle East (cf. Pal 2007: 25). An estimated 3,5 million are living in the Gulf region.[59]

Different from earlier eras, where migration was an absolute and almost irreversible movement, today most of the NRI's maintain close linkages to the mother country. Ap-

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[54] Inevitably the arrival of large foreign masses has also led to crises (violence, riots), the emergence of local resistance movements and a rising prominence of local populist parties such as the Shev Sena party in Maharashtra. (Cf. below: Milestones: Postcolonial Mumbai)

[55] Mumbai's population is made up of more than 40 percent of migrants. Of these, about 20 percent have settled in Mumbai during the past 10 years. (Cf. Parasuraman 2008, MMRDA 1999: 3.3.2)

[56] 600 kilometres of Mumbai's streets are supposed to be populated by street dwellers. (Cf. Tribhuvan, Robin David; Andreassen Ragnhild 2003: Streets of Insecurity: Study of Pavement Dwellers in India; New-Delhi.)

[57] Non Resident Indians are Indians who live abroad for a significant amount of time, but who hold an Indian passport. The Indian state has legislated two distinctive categories - the Non Resident Indian (NRI), giving particular privileges and guarantees regarding the investment of property capital in India, and the PIO, Person of Indian Origin (with similar financial and legal privileges). Both of these categories carefully cultivate an Indian identity: one of belongingness to the state, but another, transnational identity, that can operate in the market.

[58] In 1999 an estimated 1,4m Indians resided in the US. (Ibidem)

[59] Cf. http://www.nriol.com/indiandiaspora/indians-abroad.asp, r23.09.2008

padurai (1990: 35) describes the new geography of migration as novel non-isomorphic paths.[60] Transmigration is the new condition (cf. King 2000) and migrants move regularly between "home" and the "destination country", shifting capital ideas, and practices (Glick Schiller et al. 1992). After all it is important to see the social, spatial and cultural transformations taking place in particular urban centres such as Mumbai, Delhi, Hyderabad, Bangalore, etc., in the context of these processes.[61]

New Trends in India's spatial development

The demographic, economic and social trends as described above are directly linked to India's recent urban trends. Demographic growth, deindustrialisation, economic liberalisation and the growth of a new consumer class, to name the most important factors, have a deep impact on the existing and emerging spatial fabric. (Cf. Weinstein 2005: 6)

While India's population is increasingly migrating to large urban centres, the current time sees the emergence of 17 new urban corridors comprising a significant share of the growth. Generally the new growth is centred in the urban peripheries and India's metropolises experience an enormous regionalisation and suburbanisation. At the same time in the context of the greater economic reforms (cf.. above) development regulations made more flexible, public private partnerships are increasingly promoted and international investments are patronised. As a consequence a significant share of India's new urban fabric emerges in the form of self-sufficient mega projects produced by international conglomerates. In this setting mainly SEZ-cities[62] and Integrated Townships emerge as novel autochthonous urban forms and typologies. (Cf. below)

Concentration of wealth

India is marked by a fairly distributed pattern of networked urban centres. It has six megacities and more than 30 urban centres of a one-million-plus population.[63] On the other hand clear patterns of concentration exist. Large cities evidently centralise a large share of economic growth. India's mega-city regions comprise more than 60 million residents and centralise a large share of the country's wealth. The four largest cities of Mumbai, Kolkata, Delhi and Chennai account for more than a half of the country's revenue in income tax. Yet their population make up only for 5 percent of the total. (Cf. Nissel 1997)

Polarisation and fragmentation among states

As economic growth goes hand in hand with rising levels of spatial fragmentation India's states increasingly continue to drift apart. These present a considerable divergence in growth and incomes and in the patterns of specialisation.[64] In this context some states resemble autonomous countries (Ibidem: 25).[65] This development implies a rising level of

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[60] Exploring the large Indian Diaspora Appadurai 1990 writes about new global cultures, which increasingly loose attachment to solid territories. He puts a particular focus on the role of imagination in cultural production: "The world we live in today is characterized by a new role for the imagination in social life. The imagination has become an organized field of social practices [not just for the elites]. ... The Imagination is now central to all forms of agency, is itself a social fact, and is a key component of the new global order." (Appadurai 1990: 29)

[61] King studied property advertisements from the weekly magazine India Today International, with which developers tempt NRI's worldwide to invest in India's growing metropolitan peripheries. (King 2000: 11)

[62] SEZ = Special Economic Zone

[63] Cf. above; cf. India Core 2007, cf. UN-Habitat 2001

[64] "In sum, both state level capabilities and state level policies and institutions seemed to start mattering in the 1990s. With the centre no longer enforcing inter-state equity, divergences in growth rates between states increased." (Kochhar 2006: 36)

[65] Apparently the country's liberal reforms combined with the growing decentralisation of political powers (e.g. along the 73rd and 74th constitutional Amendments; cf. below) allowed states to achieve their potential, instead of being controlled by

competition for cities such as Mumbai. At this point the impressive growth (mainly in the IT sector) in the Golden Triangle of Chennai, Bangalore and Hyderabad can be mentioned.[66]

Suburbanisation and concentration in 17 corridors

At the current stage of development, India's large metropolises are experiencing a massive trend of suburbanisation. This course is largely based on the demographic growth of the population in combination with an economic and technological evolution.[67]

The peripheries, however, engender own modes of centralisation: a large share of India's urban growth concentrates at a handful of peripheral growth corridors. In this context 17 new urban corridors have been identified as "strong investment destinations for investors with different risk appetites" (Cushman & Wakefield 2007b: 3).[68] The majority of the 'hot investment locations', which are increasingly explored along "cost saving and risk diversification measures", are in the suburban and peripheral areas.[69] So Navi Mumbai is part of the Panvel and Virar corridor.

Box 8: Policy towards large privatised urban enclaves

In the last decade the Indian Government sought to steer peripheral urban development by the means of large autonomous projects that are financed and developed by the private sector. In this context it made available various development tools such as direct subsidies, tax abatements, 100 percent FDI finance, relaxations of Urban Land Ceiling legislations, and flexible, market oriented development regulations.70 (cf. Cushman & Wakefield 2008, cf. Gotsch 2007) This policy has induced a trend of large private investors buying up large areas of India's metro regions.71 While PPPs72 become prominent vehicles for the development of urban infrastructure such as bridges, highways and IT parks, SEZs and Integrated Townships emerge as specific new urban typologies. India's Special Economic Zones (SEZs) Policy was announced in April 2000".73

the centralized "convoy" system (Ibidem: 26). Consequently States are now able to grow in parallel to their built-up skill base and institutional, as well as infrastructural, capability.

[66] The state of Andhra Pradesh has been one of the forerunners in terms of liberal reforms, economic growth and specialisation. In the mid 1990's Hyderabad made headlines as the 'most business-friendly place in India'. Former President Chandrababu Naidu had introduced massive fundamental liberal economic and governmental reforms. Andhra Pradesh became an internationally known liberal development model. Above all, Naidu's policy focused on the attraction of new information technologies and related services (so called IT and ITES) by providing the right regulatory framework as well as state of the art infrastructure at selected locations. Andhra Pradesh is now India's fourth largest exporter of software products. (Cf. Gotsch 2007)

[67] The Delhi's Government alone plans to create 35 new satellite townships in the Southern periphery, on the lines of Gurgaon and Noida. Importantly these will be developed along public-private partnership (PPP) models. (Cf. The Economic Times, 1 Oct 2008: "35 satellite towns on PPP foundation". Cities such as Hyderabad are planning for extensions up to five times their present size. (Gotsch 2007)

[68] The 17 corridors that reflect high investment potential are Hinjewadi, Manesar GST and Sriperembudur, Shamshabad, Devanhalli, Greater Noida, Panvel and Virar (Mumbai), Rajarhat Thane (Mumbai), Kokapet (Hyderabad), Bidadi (Karnataka), Chakan, Kharadi (Pune), Bantala and Tumkur Road.

[69] Cf. Cushmann and Wakefield 2007: Peripheral Locations High On Investment Opportunities; 3Oct., 2007; New Delhi

[70] In the setting of India's current liberal market reforms an increasing flexibilisation of building regulations can be observed. This has had a major impact on the quality of urban scapes and places. ... This flexibilisation points away from the physically oriented statutes of master plans and is directed in favour of investor-friendly regulations and development strategies. The master plan at Hyderabad's new airport for example defines only three density zones and allows for a general mix of usage – everything else has been standardised. (Gotsch, Kohte 2007: transl. by the author)

[71] In 2006 Mumbai's Metropolitan Regional Development Authority had to examine 10 SEZ- applications at the same time, for example a 4.000-hectare z-television entertainment zone. (Personal Interview with Uma Adusumilli in August 2006)

[72] Public Private Partnerships are relevant at each end of the scale, from regional projects to street furniture. ... [While] the public administration is keen to reduce its role to that of a regulating and supporting body. The detailing of urban form is left to the forces of the private sector. (Gotsch 2007: transl. by the author)

[73] Webside of GoI: Ministry of Commerce, r.10.09.2008

Box 9: Large projects – role of the state

The trend towards large projects in the peripheries of India's metropolises cannot be explained by the agglomeration dynamics of the private sector only. In contrast, the tendency to large projects largely relates to India's central planning legacy and to a specific legal setting. In this context four important aspects can be detected which drive the trend: Firstly, as official rules turn the private transfer of land into an enormously expensive and long process, the transfer of small lots becomes complicated and expensive; Secondly, in many places regulations still exist which limit the amount of land a private person is allowed to possess (e.g. the Urban Land Ceiling Act); Thirdly, the government is at an advantage because it is authorised to confiscate land for specific purposes; Lastly, in many places as much as 30 percent of urban land is in the hands of various public institutions, such as the military, state and local administrations.74 (Cf. Gotsch, Kohte 2007, translation by the author)

In addition a growing number of inner city areas are redeveloped in the manner of large private superblocks. One of the major problems of those schemes is the presentation of the accessibility of public space. An example is the Jupiter Mill Lands Project in Mumbai: While the initial master plans foresaw open space ratio's of 30 percent and more, the developers have eventually reduced those areas to 3 percent. (Cf. Personal Interview with Charles Correa in August 2006)

Box 10: Special Economic Zones (SEZ)

Special Economic Zones are increasingly becoming autonomous elements of urban growth in India. Significantly SEZ are regarded more and more as real estate than as industrial projects. The mechanism is intended to furnish the subcontinent's cities with necessary urban infrastructure.[75] What is unique in the Indian context is that, as opposed to in China[76] or Dubai, not only public institutions but also private sector stakeholders are allowed to run SEZs. In addition the fact that Indian SEZ can also include residential and entertainment areas turns them into fully fledged modules of contemporary urban growth. Indian SEZs therefore represent a shift from pure zones of production for goods and services into integrated urban elements with a full range of urban services.[77] SEZ models also increasingly replace the public subsidies for IT and office parks.[78]

Exempt from major duties, SEZs are tax havens where goods and services are produced for export markets. The Policy offers several fiscal and regulatory incentives to developers of the SEZs as well as units within these zones.[79] They include a five-year holiday on profits tax, and exemption from import and excise duties and from some licensing. SEZ developers would also acquire infrastructure status, and thereby entitled to claim all concessions and incentives available to infrastructure players, under the Income Tax Act.[80] (Cf. Navi Mumbai SEZ Website at www.NMsez.com)

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[74] Cp. Bertaud, Alain: India – Urban Land Reform; o.O.; 2002; URL: http://alain-bertaud.com/images/AB_%20India_%20Urban_Land_Reform.doc (12.08.2007). P. 3.

[75] Accordingly the Indian Government planned that SEZ would contribute to US$ 320 billion-worth of foreign investment in infrastructure between 2000 and 2005. (Cf. The Economist 2006)

[76] One of the major differences between India's SEZs and China's is their amount and size. India's has many more, but smaller designated areas.76. While India has more than 500 zones, China had five SEZs and further 14 economic and technical development zones. While the minimum area for an Indian "multi-product" SEZ is 3.9 square miles (1.000 hectares), Shenzhen, the biggest and most famous of China's SEZs, covers 126 square miles. (Cf. The Economist 2006)

[77] Similar observations have also been made in Vietnam. (Cp. Gotsch, Peter: "Saigon South: Parallel City in the South"; in Somma, Paola (ed.); at war with the city; Gateshead; 2004.

[78] The Indian Government is planning to terminate the subsidies for IT-Parks by the end of 2009.

[79] Cf.. Shaban 2005: 13, and http://www.sezindia.nic.in/, r23.09.2008

[80] Yet, SEZ are a quite controversial political issue in India. Even some investors think that the terms are too generous and that wealth would be better distributed without SEZs. (Cf. The Economist 2006)]

The SEZ policy has engendered a massive real estate boom. In September 2008 the official charts of notified, approved, and nearly approved Special Economic Zones listed to 944 projects.[81] Morgan Stanley's Ahya Chetan (2006) speaks of "the equivalent of a gold rush". Hundreds of companies filed applications, from Tata's car factory in Gujarat, to Reddy's pharmaceuticals in Andhra Pradesh, to the Navi Mumbai SEZ. Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh were the two states with the highest amount of projects. Both had more than 160 notified, approved, and in-principle approved propositions, making for an aggregated 30 percent of all Indian SEZs.[82]

India's SEZ strategy was not only the "most aggressive and far-reaching initiative to date aimed at attracting foreign investment (cf. Website of Navi Mumbai SEZ), the policy has also some far reaching consequences on urban development strategies and the emergence of new urban typologies. (Cf. below: Predecessors).

In addition to an industrial section Indian SEZs are also allowed to offer integrated service areas. While only 35 percent of the land area of a SEZ must be used for production (cf. The Economist 2006), the SEZs may also comprise a large internal residential area. Hence in this manner they can develop into fully-fledged neighbourhoods. Crucially the entrepreneurs are granted full autonomy of development regulations and the allocation and pricing of the land, facilities and services in SEZs are not governed by public regulations. (Cf. Navi Mumbai SEZ Website, r12.09.2008) As a consequence some large SEZ projects, such as Reliance's[83] Maha Mumbai-, or the Haryana SEZ are planned to emerge as fully-fledged and independent New Towns. (Cf. The Economist 2006) In addition many smaller projects will emerge as independent quarters, being integrated into Township projects.[84]

Apparently SEZs can present whatever business they like, as long as they act as profit generating enterprises. Significantly the Essel Group has reportedly been re-considering their plan to open the Special Entertainment Zone in Gorai near Mumbai where they already have an amusement park (The Economic Times March16th 2008). Other investors have proposed to develop tourist areas as SEZs.

Box 11: Integrated Townships

In addition to the SEZ boom, a second novel urban Typology is mushrooming in India's urban peripheries. Integrated Townships represent an important strategy of India's Government to promote the construction of housing and urban infrastructure of high standards.[85] The strategy is another element of the greater incentives of liberalisation, deregulation and privatisation. It complies with the drive to ever-larger autonomous privately developed enclaves.

In Andhra Pradesh alone more than 53 such township projects were planned in 2004, mostly under the auspices of government agencies. (Cf. The Hindu, Business Line, Monday, Oct 25, 2004) The company DLF-Nakheel, for example, a joint venture from Dubai and India, is currently planning more than 20 projects on a total area of 16.200 hectares all over India (mainly on the periphery of Delhi in Gurgaon). The total investment sum of these projects is more than 75 billion US Dollars.[86] [87]

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[81] The 'notified' category comprised 260 projects, 531 projects were granted a formal approval, and an additional 153 schemes received in principle approval.

[82] Cf. GoI, Ministry of Commerce; „Statewise_Distribution_of_SEZ.pdf"; at: http://www.sezindia.nic.in/; r10.10.2008; cf. also The Economist 2006

[83] Reliance Industries is India's biggest private sector company.

[84] Examples for this strategy can be found at the Lanco Hills, as well as the Magarpatta Township Projects. (Cf. Predecessors section)

[85] Via the Press Note No. 4 in 2001 the Indian Government (FIPB, Foreign Investment Promotion Board) permits to develop Integrated Townships with up to 100 percent of FDI including housing, commercial premises, hotels, resorts, city and regional level urban infrastructure facilities such as roads and bridges, mass rapid transit systems and manufacture of building materials. The development of urbanisable land and the building of infrastructure are integral parts of these kinds of strategy. (Cf. www.dipp.nic.in, r13.11.2008)

[86] Cf. Bundesagentur für Außenwirtschaft 2007: Privater Wohnungsbau boomt in Indien endlich; o.O. S.2; URL: http://www.bfai.de/DE/Navigation/Datenbank-Recherche/Laender-und-Maerkte/Recherche-Laender-und-Maerkte/recherche-laender-und-maerkte-node.html (03.07.2007). (Website of the German Agency for External Investments)

[87] More examples are discussed at the 'Predecessors and Role models' section below

Integrated Townships clearly represent the current drive towards large projects. The Indian Government allows one hundred percent of direct foreign investments: If a project's area is above 10 hectares, if more than 10 million US dollars are invested, and if the built up area exceeds 50.000 square metres.[88] Moreover, the regulations prescribe: That capital is fixed for at least three years, before the initial investment can be repatriated; that the development is bound to be completed at least to 50 percent after a period of five years; and that the sale of undeveloped lots shall be restricted.[89]

Recently most of the state governments have elaborated more specific regulatory frameworks, Maharashtra's Government has published a Special Township Policy in 2007. (Cf. GoM 2007: 20) This policy supports the pooling of large amounts of land. Consequently it exempts Integrated Townships from the regulations of the Urban Land Ceiling Act.[90]; it streamlines the acquisition of land that is already in the public hands; it excepts developers of Integrated Townships from existing land use regulations; it introduces floating FSI[91] regulations; it cuts existing stamp duties and several other tariffs by half; at the same time it makes mandatory the development of comprehensive infrastructure packages. In addition the state's regulation also mandates the provision of at least 10 percent units for middle income, as well as another 10 percent lower income populations and promises additional FSI when additional units are provided (Ibidem: 27).

In consequence Integrated Townships became "a top asset class for real estate investment", amounting for almost 30 percent of investments in private equity (Cf.. Cushman & Wakefield 2007).

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[88] Cf. Press Note 2/2005 of GoI from March 3rd 2005, at www.dipp.nic.in, r12.10.2008

[89] Additional regulations specify that land for police stations, as well as milk distribution points is to be handed over to the public and sufficient playground and parks are to be provided. An appropriate amount is also to be reserved for schools, hospitals, and other communal services, which are to be developed by the private sector. After all local regulations codes and standards also remain valid. Yet, if a project falls into the category of a Special Economic Zone, the Foreign Investment Promotion Board (FIPB) may free it from any of the guidelines and restrictions. (Cf. GoI 2008, 52-56, at dipp.nic.in r14.11.2008)

[90] A law that usually limits the maximum amount of land one single developer is permitted to develop. (Cf. below Planning framework)

[91] FSI stands for Floor Space Index

Mumbai – Urbs Primus Indis

Table 13: Key indicators – Mumbai[92]

Population (Region / Centre)	*19 / 7 million*
Size (Region / Centre)	4.360 / 470 km2
Percent of FDI going to Mumbai	32
Population growth in the region (1990's)	8,5 percent pa
Density (Region / Centre)	44 / 272 p/ha
Metroshare of Country population	1,85 percent
GDP (per capita) in PPP	6.700 US$
Share Metro-GDP of Country-GDP	6,2 percent93
Ratio GDP pc City/Nation	~ 4,5 percent
House Prices (AAA, Centre)	~ 200.000 US$
House Prices (AAA, Periphery)	~ 50.000 US$
Affordability threshold of lower income groups	~ 5.000 US$
Number of High-rises	1.200
Informal Economy	~ 66 percent

Abstract

Due to its particular topography as a peninsula, Mumbai maintained a centrally oriented regional structure and resisted trends of suburbanisation and regional development for a long time. This was in particular the case with economic activities. Yet, while today the city reaches the 20-million population mark, the city is bursting at its seams. The capital of Maharashtra has probably reached a turning point. The economical base is changing. A new stream of international investments is arriving. In this context Mumbai is finally transforming into an extended and multi-polar region.

→ Illustration C-2: Map of the Mumbai region

Profile

The Greater Metropolitan Region of Mumbai is the largest urban area in India. It comprises 4.360 square kilometres. Greater Mumbai amounts to 470 square kilometres, while the rest takes up 3.890.[94] (Cf. MMRDA 2008)

Greater Bombay's population, currently 19 million (cf. Demographia 2008), is bigger than that of 173 countries in the world (Mehta: 16). 6,3 percent of all Indians live in the region. These 6,3 percent generate more than a tenth percent of the country's GDP. (Cf. Appendix: Comparative Matrix)

Population growth – ebbing up

The population is growing at rate of 2,2 percent per annum (cf. UN-Habitat 2001) and is estimated to reach 22,3 million in the year 2011.[95] While some projections state that

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[92] Cf. the General Indicators Table in the Appendix

[93] Cf. Indicus.net, r23.94.2009

[94] Until 1968, the urban built up area of the BMR (Bombay Metropolitan Region) measured 235 square kilometres. The Regional Plan of 1973 had classified 523 square kilometres as urban land (including industries). Reflecting on various trends (e.g. informal growth) the revised version of the plan in 1999 defined 1.324 square kilometres as urbanisable. (Cf. MMRDA 1999: 13.10.3)

Mumbai will overtake Tokyo as the most populous city in the world by 2025 (cf. Archnet), the relative growth rates are expected to decline in the future. (MMRDA 1999: 13.5.1.)

Population distribution – booming periphery

Mumbai's population increasingly chooses to live in the periphery. From the 1960s to the 1980s the ratio of people living in the city and in the periphery has reversed. While in 196l more than two thirds of the residents lived in the central city, and in the 1970s the ratio between city and suburbs was equal, in the 1980s 2/3 of the population is now residing in the suburbs.[96] (MMRDA 1999, 3.2.3, Nissel 1997)

Today a third of the total population remains on the peninsula, 42 percent stay in the northern suburbs, and 18 percent in and around New Bombay. At the same time, however, 72 percent of the jobs remain in the island city compelling millions of people to commute.[97] (MMRDA 1999, Mehta 2005: 122).

Mumbai density

Compactness represents one of the most striking features of Mumbai. The centre is one of the densest urban locations in the world. At the turn of the 21st Century the entire region featured average population densities of 44 persons per hectare. (Cf. MMRDA-mumbai.org, r12.10.2008) The area of Greater Mumbai represented mean densities of 272 people per hectare[98][99] and distinctive wards even comprised of as many as 1.600 people per hectare. (Cf. MMRDA 1999) In this context central Mumbai's ratio of open space per each resident is probably among the lowest in the world. "Amenity and open spaces for the Island City are strikingly poor and total less than 2 square meter per capita."[100] (Patel 2007: 2727) A striking number of two-third of all residents are crowded into just 5 percent of the total area, while a richer or more rent-protected 30 percent monopolises the remaining 95 percent.[101] (Mehta 2005: 16)

Zopadpattya – Informal settlements at historical peaks

"Right now all the state has in its hands is a city in a very advanced state of pathological decay, going through the spastic death-throes which superficial observation mistakes for 'energy'". (Correa 1997 (1965): 315)
"Failure of creating adequate housing stock has been the principal cause for aggravating problems of improvement of slums and maintenance and upkeep of existing housing stock. There is a shortage of 45,000 dwelling units per annum at present which is likely to increase to 59,000 by 2021 if the supply is not increased". (Cf. MMRDA 1999, N-8: 34)

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[95] Growth rates were highest in the 1950's and 1960's. In the decade of 1951-61 population of Mumbai rose by 40 percent and in the subsequent decade it shot up by 43.80 percent. (MMRDA 1999: 3.2.4)

[96] Accordingly the growth rate of greater Mumbai decreased from 4 percent in the 1970s to almost 2 percent in the 1990s. Most of the region, including Navi Mumbai, boosted growth rates of 6 percent in the 70s and up to 11 percent in the 90s. (MMRDA 1999: 3.2.3)

[97] MMRDA (1999) lists more than ten million daily trips by public transport.

[98] Cf. http://www.mcgm.gov.in, r12.10.1008, quoting the Census 2001

[99] New York's metro region features average urban densities of 18 persons per hectare.

[100] Patel 2007, has compiled some density indicators for Mumbai: The average Built Up Area (BUA) of the peninsula, a measure of the 'personal' space per 'user' amounts to 7,5 square meter per resident and per job. The values decline to 2,5 square meters is slum locations such as Dharavi. (Manhattans BUA ranges at the eight fold amount of 50 square meters and more). Mumbai's Public Ground Area (PGA), a measure of open spaces per resident, amounts to an average of 6,5 square meters during day times. (Manhattans daytime PGA is 13,5 square meters)

[101] Population densities in Dharavi, the biggest slum in Asia, are estimated to reach 4.600 persons per hectare – less than 2 square meters per person total ground space. (Cf. The Economist 2007)

At the same time as the densities and the rents on the peninsula are hitting records the informal sector is also reaching historical peaks. While the formal market accommodates 28 percent of the working population, 72 percent are engaged in informal activities.[102] (Cf. Adusumilli 2001: 19) Around 74 percent of the total population in Greater Mumbai stay in one of the 2.355 slums (GoM 2008). The informal communities, or Zopadpattya[103], are packed onto five percent of the land. These numbers are even more dramatic as we have to remember that the share of informality was not always as high. Unofficial populations were almost non-existent in the 1940's. They rose to a tenth of the population in l966, and to 30 percent in 1977. Only ten years ago more than 60 percent of Mumbai's population was classified as slum dwellers. (Katakam 2002, Adusumilli 2001:19)

Certainly, this ascendancy of Mumbai's informal sector has to be regarded as an effect of the changing economic base (from organised industrialisation to high-value services), in combination with the ongoing migration. While Greater Mumbai features an annual deficit of roughly 45.000 houses, less than half of the gap is resolved. The consequence is a slum population growing by 22,500 each year.[104] (Cf. MMRDA 1999) Densities are enormous. With around 4.000 people per hectare Mumbai's slums take twenty times as many people as the city's conventional neighbourhoods with 230 people per hectare. (Cf. above: Densities; Cf. The Economist 2007).

Ambitious resettlement programmes are not lacking: The most famous redevelopment scheme is being implemented in Dharavi, which occupies a large central tract of valuable land on the peninsula (The Economist 2007, Bertaud 2008). Here, in Asia's largest slum the permissible FSI has been raised to 4 and private investors are supposed to team up with the zopadpatti population to develop the land. Another program being implemented by the MMRDA's Slum Resettlement Authority (SRA), all slum dwellers currently living on MMRDA land since 1995 will eventually be resettled into midrise apartment buildings in the same part of the city. Conservative estimates place the total population to be resettled at four million people (Weinstein, 2005: 2).

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[102] 400 to 500 thousand jobs are lacking. (McKinsey 2005: 19)

[103] Shantytown means zopadpatti in Marathi. The plural is zopadpattya.

[104] On the other hand an estimated number of 400.000 residences in the city remain empty. (Cf. Mehta 2005: 117)

Risks and disasters

"Mumbai is a city in perpetual crisis." (Sethi 2006)

Similar to many other megacities in developing regions Mumbai is in a constant status of emergency. Responsible for the situation is no singular problem, but a generally increased vulnerability level. At the same time this condition is an important motive for people to move to Navi Mumbai and other suburban locations.[105] Mumbai is a scenery of big and small catastrophes and disasters. The global effects of climate change aggravate the regular flooding. Low conditions of basic infrastructure increase the generally rising vulnerability levels.

→ Illustration C-3: Charles Correa's boiling frog

Mumbai's land rises barely more than 10 to 15 metres above sea level. Its storm water drainage system is more than 100 years old. The city is prone to frequent flooding. This is the case in particular during the monsoon time. Aged or lacking canal infrastructure is aggravating the effects. The Maharashtra floods on July 26 and 27 2005 caused havoc in the city. More than 1.000 people died and the city came to a standstill. Major infrastructures broke down and transport services were suspended. While the same rain fell in Navi Mumbai the New Town was barely affected.

The city's residents also suffer from severe air pollution. Particulate matter levels amount to an unsafe 1.000 micrograms of per cubic metre (mcm) while the WHO norm is 150 mcm. (Cf. McKinsey 2003: 18) Smog occurs in the heavily congested island city, and also in suburban locations. While motorised traffic is the main source of contamination in the centre, peripheral locations often suffer from garbage dumps and heavy industries. Navi Mumbai, for example, is exposed to high levels of toxic and carcinogenic chemicals released by neighbouring chemical industries. (Cf. Bathija 2005)

Water borne diseases are on a constant rise, too.[106] A significant percentage of water in the city is contaminated with excessive bacterial pollution and thus undrinkable.[107] Moreover the 90 million rats supposed to live in the city cause severe hygienic (and security) problems mainly in the slum areas. (Cf. Kshirsagar 2006)

Many of Mumbai's (and India's) daily risks and hazards are related to a precarious state of the country's infrastructure: Commuter train cars take more than 500 people on an average, piped water in the city is limited to 180 litres per capita per day, one million people are supposed to share 17 toilets (in theory), only 10 percent of waste is properly disposed, and power cuts are on a daily agenda. (McKinsey 2005: 17)

The list of urban risks is extended by traffic accidents. The city recorded 25.000 traffic accidents in 1994 and about 35 people per day die in accidents on the railroad system. Crime rates though are significantly lower than in other, world-class cities, despite the stark contrasts among incomes, ethnicities and cultures, and prevalent stories of mafia-like wars (cf. Mehta 2005, Imhasly 2005). Only 20 crimes occur per 1.000 people per year.[108] (McKinsey 2003: 18)

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[105] Charles Correa 1989 compares this level of increased vulnerability to the condition of a frog in a hot pot that is slowly boiling to death in a state of euphoria, as it is unable to perceive the rising temperature.

[106] For the past 10 years, the city has been witnessing a seasonal increase in the number of cases of leptospirosis, malaria, dengue and gastroenteritis during the monsoons." (Cf. Kshirsagar 2006)

[107] A study conducted by the Society for a Clean Environment for the MMRDA found bacterial contaminations in 20 percent of all samples. Significantly, some middle-class housing areas, which were surrounded by slums, had the worst water quality. (Cf. Sekhar 2003)

[108] There were a total of 360 registered murder cases in the whole city in 1996. (Cf. Bathija 2005) With more than 40 people per 100.000 the murder rate of São Paulo of the late 1990's was more than 100 fold. (Cf. The Economist 2008)

On the other hand Mumbai is a hotspot of regular terrorism and riots, due to the fact that it is an ethnic melting pot and in the midst of national and global media attention. When communal rioting swept the city in 1992 along battles between Hindus and Muslims, around 200 people were killed. During 2005 riots demonstrators burnt 30 state buses and damaged 576 more. (Cf. Imhasly 2005) 207 persons died on July 11th 2006 when several bombs exploded in the commuter train network etc.

Despite all the above problems Mumbai represents a context of relative safety, tolerance and solidarity. The low crime rates are associated with a cultural context of tolerance and passivity (cf. Vilaça 2002) and to the cosmopolitan flair of the mega city (Mehta 2005). The media finally produces much of the buzz around insecurity and crime. This mainly relates to highly sensitised levels of perception of certain risks and dangers and the neglect of others.

Drivers of regionalisation

Deindustrialisation
Suburbanisation not only occurs in terms of population movements, jobs are migrating to the periphery as well. In this context Mumbai's industrial sector has witnessed an exodus to the suburbs in the past years.[109]

In the past the city was largely based on trade and industry. The port, as well as the cotton mills were an integral part of the core city.[110] [111] Yet, from the mid 60s onwards the total number of industries shrank from 250.000 to less than 40.000 today.[112] Yet, the sites of the Cotton Mills and the harbour still dominate large parts of the southeastern peninsula. (Cf. MMRDA 1999: 6.1; D'Monte 1991, 2007)

Economic performance
In spite of this, Mumbai remains the undisputed 'Urbs Primus Indis', i.e. the most important economic centre and *the* global city of India. (Cf. Nissel 1997) The new boom is based on the tertiary services sector. In particular, financial services are the foundation of Mumbai's role as a world city.[113] In this context Mumbai generates 25 percent of India's Gross Domestic Product (cf. Demographia 2007), 70 percent of India's stock market transactions and 38 percent of the nation's tax revenues (Mehta 2005: 17). Mumbai also attracts a large share of international capital.[114]The city's 2007 GDP per capita of US$ 6.500 amounted to 10 times the national number.

Transportation and communication data reflect the financial weight: Mumbai's International Airport handles 40 percent of all international traffic to the nation. Moreover, the region accounts for 30 percent of India's cellular line subscribers. (Cf. TECS 2003: 30) The city's stock exchange, the BSE, is Asia's oldest and worldwide the biggest in terns of listed companies.[115] [116]

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[109] Navi Mumbai is facing one of the largest industrial zones in the region the Thane-Belapur Industrial Area (TTC). (Cf. below: Regional structure)

[110] In 1965 the cotton industry accounted for half of the industrial force.

[111] Today the region has a rising share of petro and pharmaceutical industries. 30 percent of Indian pharmaceutical products are produced in Mumbai. (Cf. MMRDA 1999)

[112] Cf. MMRDA 1999, 4.1; cf. Nissel 1997 quoting the "Indian Architect & Builder" 1997

[113] The Globalisation and World City Research Network verifies a relatively strong level of world city formation. (Cf. GaWc 1999)

[114] In the 1990's, for example, 42 percent Foreign Direct Investments from Germany went to the city. (Cf. Nissel 1997: 51)

[115] With a market capitalisation of US$ 1.79 trillion, it was the largest stock exchange in South Asia and the tenth largest in the world. (World Federation of Exchanges 2007: http://www.world-exchanges.org/publications/EQU1107.pdf; r28.08.2008) The market capitalisation in 1980 was 7,5 billion and in 1993 70 billion US$ Dollar. (Cf. Nissel 1997)

[116] Cf. Website of BSE India: http://www.bseindia.com/about/st_key/list_cap_raised.asp, r28.08.2008

Nevertheless in relative terms Mumbai's economic supremacy is decreasing. While the current economic growth amounts to 2,4 percent per annum (Cf. Mc Kinsey 2005), competition with the Capital City Region of Delhi as well as the Southern High-Tech centres of Bangalore, Chennai and Hyderabad, is growing.[117] (Cf. Gotsch 2007)

Housing prices in Mumbai, affordability levels

Mumbai is not only among the most densely packed; it is also among the most expensive places in the world. Indeed, today the exorbitant prices in the centre represent a strong factor driving significant numbers of the population to suburban locations.

Land in Mumbai is a highly treasured commodity. Extreme topographical conditions – 70 percent of the peninsula has been reclaimed from the sea – along with the above described economic and demographic pressures have led to property prices on the island city being comparable only to those of prime locations in New York, London or Moscow.[118]

Residential apartments in South Central Mumbai may cost around US$ 10.000 to US$ 15.000 per square meter.[119] Accordingly an apartment of 100 square meters can cost from US$ 50.000 to several millions. At the same time annual incomes range around US$ 6.000.120

Indeed, the difference between India's prices for luxury homes and those for the average population is immense. The house price to income ratio121, reflecting the housing market in the most expensive locations, is an exorbitant high number of 1.200 per capita.[122] (Cf. globalpropertyguide.com, r03.09.2008)

And while average household incomes have grown by 15-25 percent annually during the last decade, prices for residential real estate have skyrocketed by 50 to 300 percent only between 2003 and 2007, before there was a correction by mid 2008.[123] Consequently the available supply largely targets high-end consumers with a household income of over INR 20 lakh (~ US$ 40.000) per annum (Ibidem). As a result, Mumbai is listed as Asia's third and the world's sixth most expensive location to rent a three-bedroom apartment.[124]

Mumbai's exorbitant property prices are also affected by a set of local regulations and codes. Alain Bertaud, an independent consultant for urban development claims that the 1942 Rent Restriction Act in particular has contributed to the collapse of large parts of the housing fabric. And while in general the urban fabric had to comply with FSI regulations of 1 it largely contributed to a supply gap and skewed land prices.[125]

Real estate in the periphery

While prime properties in the central locations remain popular, demand is also rapidly spreading outwards. Indeed, Mumbai's peripheral locations are not only attracting poor immigrants and workers attached to relocated industries, but a recent focus of suburban development is targeting 'new' economies and middle-income groups. Accordingly the real estate prices reflect an inclination towards suburban locations where prices for resi-

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[117] International firms choose to invest in these locations, because the labour cost is abundant and cheap, government subsidies are generous, and labour costs and living expenses are significantly lower than in Mumbai.

[118] Recent data from the 'Global Property Guide' (Cf. http://www.globalpropertyguide.com/, cf. Murchie 2007)

[119] INR 25.000 per sqf, Cf. http://www.globalpropertyguide.com

[120] In addition, astronomical deposit payments of 100.000 US$ and more have to be paid for rental apartments.

[121] The house price to income ratio is the ratio of the cost of a typical upscale housing unit of 100 square metres, compared to the country's GDP per capita. (Cf. globalpropertyguide.com, r03.09.2008)

[122] This is almost 17 times of Indonesia's and 11 times of China's rate.

[123] Cf. Indiaproperty.com 2008, quoting a report by the market research agency Crisil

[124] Cf. http://www.buzzle.com/articles/the-ups-and-downs-of-mumbai-properties.html; r03.09.2008

[125] Indian cities feature the lowest Floor Area Ratios worldwide. (Cf. below; cf. Bertaud 2002, 2004)

dential space amount to 15 to 25 percent of the inner city locations.[126] While demand for luxury apartments in the South and Central Mumbai remains buoyant, residential developments in Mumbai's northern suburbs of Goregaon, Kandivili, and the peripheral locations of Vashi and the Thane – Belapur Road portray a rapidly rising demand. This is mainly due to lower capital values and better amenities catering primarily to middle income populations. (Cf. Cushman & Wakefield 2008)

Structure of the city and region – Unique 'spatial' dilemma

> *„The special dilemma of Bombay is its structural pattern... Being an Island... Bombay has developed on a longitudinal axis... most of the problems arise from this longitudinal development... there is a heavy concentration on the South." (Correa 1997 (1965): 319)*

The most significant morphological feature of Mumbai is the fact that, like Manhattan, the central city is located on a longitudinal peninsula. Initially the area was composed of seven islands. 70 percent of the land has been wrung from the sea. The combination of the islands resulted in a longitudinal shape that is the primary determinant of Mumbai's spatial development. Accordingly the city's infrastructure runs parallel to this North-South axis and has provided a basis for settlement over the past two hundred years. (Cf. Archnet)

Yet, in contrast to Manhattan, the city has almost no direct links to the main land on the East. For most of Mumbai's history the regional structure has remained strongly central. Only recent trends point to the emergence of a multiplex urban region. At the same time Mumbai remains a financial and political centre. Notably the new region can be conceptualised at two levels, as a pentagon and as a network.[127]

Growth trend – bias to the Northwest

For decades, Mumbai's spatial development has followed a mono-centric and linear pattern of growth to the North. Office and commercial activity were concentrated at the southern end of the city, whereas the industrial and residential development has spread northwards along the suburban rail corridors. (MMRDA 13.11.1) Notably Navi Mumbai was supposed to change this dominant pattern, yet it did not essentially succeed – mainly due to a lack of connecting infrastructure. Yet, this may ultimately change as major East-West arteries are planned today (cf. McKinsey 2003), among them a 25 kilometre trans-harbour-link from South Mumbai to the core of Navi Mumbai (cf. below).

Following the general trend, Mumbai's elite so far has moved along the prevailing South-North direction. As the harbour and the mills have taken up large parts of the eastern peninsula, Mumbai's elite moved to the North, mainly along the Arabian Sea. A significant exodus of middle income and elite populations to the suburbs started in the 1980s. Bollywood defined the direction. Bandra, Andheri and Juhu became in vogue locations. (Cf. Nissel 1997)

New urban centres

Recently Central Mumbai has seen the development of a series of interior centres. The shape of this arrangement resembles a pentagon. (Cf. MMRDA 1999: 13.11.1) While

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[126] Cushman Wakefield reports for the first quarter of 2008 residential capital values in central locations of 30.000 INR/sqf (US$ 7.500 per square meter) and in peripheral locations at 7.000 INR/sqf (ca US$ 2.000 per square meter). (Cf. Cushman & Wakefield 2008: Mumbai Residential Report 1Q08)

[127] „Mumbai still dominates, but its growth shows signs of tapering off. The urban growth continues to move outwards primarily along transport corridors." (MMRDA 1999, 13.3 Emerging pattern of growth)

Navi Mumbai represents one of the five edges of this form, South Mumbai will remain the main edge and a central element of this structure. Other emerging nodes are the Bandra-Kurla Complex, Vashi, CBD of Navi Mumbai, and the area around the J.N. Port. (MMRDA 1999: 13.11.1)

The central pentagon is further linked to an exterior network of rapidly emerging peripheral centres.[128] Besides Navi Mumbai the cities of Thane, Kalyan, Bhiwandi, Mira-Bhayander, Vasai-Virar, or Panvel, and growth corridors along the Mumbai-Pune highway, will play a vital role in absorbing future urban growth. (MMRDA 1999: 13.8.1)

→ Illustration C-4: Mumbai 'internal' centre pentagon

Form of the periphery – structured regionalisation, spontaneous sprawl and private enclaves

Mumbai's periphery can be characterised as a dynamically changing landscape of surprise. (Cf. Gotsch 2007) This landscape is being generated by planning efforts of structured regionalisation versus a myriad of unauthorised and informal activities: major infrastructure projects, New Towns, development of existing settlements, existing villages and towns, informal developments, unauthorised construction activities, private enclaves, large scavenging areas for building materials, agricultural lands, forests, water bodies, marsh lands etc.

Yet, all attempts to structure the peripheral development in a planned manner, e.g. to plan for a decentralised concentration and to maintain greenbelts, have, more or less, failed. Even the planners of the MMRDA have noted that urban growth takes a generic path. The urban fabric often follows major infrastructure arteries and develops to a large extent in a spontaneous and unorganised manner. As a consequence the city's planners seek to adjust their planning regulations.[129]

Unauthorised construction activity

Mumbai's periphery is characterised by a stunning disparity between plan and reality. One of the most serious features in Mumbai's periurban hinterlands is the amount of unauthorised construction. This development points to a contradiction between town-down and bottom-up dynamics. New today is that even the public authorities confirm that they have been overstrained by the magnitude of development in the peripheries.[130] So the MMRDA 1999 critically attests that "... the development control system in the region has remained weak. It has not been able to prevent undesirable development. ... The Collector's office is not equipped in terms of staff and technical knowledge to handle the complex task of development permissions, which sometimes involves large buildings". (MMRDA 1999: 13.3.11)

Unauthorised construction activities are characterised by the fact that they violate building forms or land uses as prescribed in the master plans and development control regulations. They can be divided into three groups: 1) informal settlements, 2) illegal but solid (pucca) buildings that violate land uses, and 3) solid buildings, which violate zoning laws and development controls. Notably unauthorised 'solid' (pucca) segments of activities consume the highest amount of peripheral space. Although slums house a large population, they rarely occupy much land; their building structures are mostly non-permanent (kucha). The authors of the Regional Plan of the MMRDA confirm that: "Even if the

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[128] All of these featured growth rates of 8 to ten percent in the 1980's and 1990's. (Cf. MMRDA 1999: 13.5.3)

[129] Growth is increasingly seen as a pointer to possible development pattern. (MMRDA 1999: 13.3.11: Outcomes of the Regional Plan – 1973)

[130] MMRDA 1999: 13.3.11: Outcomes of the Regional Plan – 1973 (Cf. below regulation)

phenomenal growth of slums, which is the single largest type of unauthorised construction activity, is not taken into account, the unauthorised construction activity in the region in the past two decades has been alarming." (MMRDA 1999: 14.3.1)

While numerous New Towns, housing colonies and industries planned by the government failed to develop.[131], many 'unplanned' locations have seen a boom of spontaneous construction activities:[132] (Cf. MMRDA 1999: 13.2.1: Outcomes of the Regional Plan – 1973) In this context unauthorised industrial developments came up in Mira-Bhayander, multi-storeyed residential projects in Vasai-Virar, Mumbra and Dombivali, informal shops, workshops, and hutments mushroom along the Thane-Belapur Corridor in Navi Mumbai. While the development around the Vasai-Virar belt has surpassed the expectations of the present Regional Plan by 8.500 ha, the land had to be reclassified from ‚G'- (Green) to U- (urbanisable) zone (MMRDA 1999: 13.3.2). Indeed, it seems that planners and government authorities can hardly keep up in accommodating the changes in the official documents and become mere passive agents of change.

Nonetheless other locations see the emergence of serious environmental and health risks caused by a toxic melange of new industries and housing. This is for example the case with the power loom industry around Bhiwandi and some rural villages at central locations which have managed to attract large-scale transport and logistics enterprises.[133] (Cf. MMRDA 1999: 13.3.3) In addition, informal excavation activities of building materials modify large parts of the regional landscape beyond recognition.

Box 12: Examples from the G-Zones (Green-Zones)

A strikingly high amount of unauthorised construction has been underway in the so-called G-Zones, or Green-Zones of the metropolitan region.[134] This development was of particular relevance because of its far-reaching impacts on regional eco systems. Planners and authorities have only recently overcome their lethargy pointing to the learning potentials of this development which "was to be seen as pointers to possible development patterns". (MMRDA 1999: 13.3.11: Outcomes of the Regional Plan - 1973)
The exemplary typologies of unauthorised developments in the G-Zone are: expansions of village settlements, bungalow settlements on medium sized plots, logistics infrastructure and highway amenities, as well as various small-scale industries. The characteristic projects are many multi-storeyed residential complexes, second homes of the urban rich, petrol pumps, shops, restaurants, warehouses, parking spaces, and small-scale industries. (Cf. MMRDA: 1999, 14.3.3.) These types are mostly constructed in joint venture projects of villagers and private builders. The developments reflect the high land values and the scarcity of the land in the existing urban centres. (Cf. MMRDA 1999: 13.3.11: Outcomes of the Regional Plan - 1973)

A different model emerging in the urban periphery is the large privately developed enclave. These are developed either with a residential, or a commercial use, or in a mixed manner. Most of these new projects are based on Integrated Township and SEZ programmes. These allow for 100 percent direct foreign investments, prescribe a minimum

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[131] E.g. The Regional Plan-1973 envisaged these in the Kalyan-Ulhasnagar, Vasai Tehsil, at Rasayani, or to the North of Bhiwandi.

[132] E.g. in the Kalyan Complex, Mira-Bhayander and Vasai-Virar area

[133] On the South of Bhiwandi, just outside the Municipal limit, Purne and Rahanal villages have attracted warehouses, which have turned the area into an informal truck terminal. (MMRDA 1999: 13.3.3)

[134] A retrospect analysis by the MMRDA reveals that these areas were targeted by unauthorised developments, as there was no specific development authority that was in charge of controlling the spatial development of the zones (MMRDA 1999: 13.3.11)

size of several hundred hectares, as well as an autonomous development of infrastructure and services. (Cf. above India: SEZs, Integrated Townships)

This sort of development can also be described as unplanned and spontaneous, because almost none of the new projects were anticipated in the existing master plans and since the SEZ and township schemes are exempt from local development regulations and administered by autonomous management bodies. A more problematic issue of these private enclaves therefore is their seamless integration into the larger urban fabric as well monitoring of the negative externalities they bring about. (Cushman &Wakefield 2008: Mumbai Residential Report 1Q08)

The structure of the newly planned quarters varies according to the economic status of the target group. Low budget unauthorised and informal developments mainly utilise plated schemes. Residential projects for the middle and upper income classes, as well as commercial high-tech service projects, are increasingly built as clustered enclaves.[135] (Cf. MMRDA 1999)

→ Illustration C-5: The Mumbai-Pune growth corridor
→ Illustration C-6: Impression of the highway

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[135] Which pattern will finally emerge along the prescriptions of the revised Land Regulations of 1999 remains to be seen.

Historic milestones

In addition to a demographic, economic, and spatial profiling of the context, the informed 'holistic' view of our topic requires a temporal thread. As a consequence the next section presents a chronologic perspective of significant milestones, which are relevant to understand the context of Navi Mumbai. The subject will be approached in three steps, from a national, a regional and a local perspective.

→ Illustration C-7: Milestone chart India, Mumbai, Navi Mumbai

India

India becomes independent in 1947. As with many decolonised nations the country embarks on a search to find a new (old) identity. Yet, at first the process headed for independence nurtures strong central governments. The young nation is based on state centralisation, protectionist economic policies, and a tough social welfare system. In the 1950's India and Indonesia are among the founding members of the block free movement of third world countries. While in the succeeding decades population dynamics, economic development and the growth of cities increase contradictory to the centralist approach, Rajiv Gandhi embarks on a parallel strategy of economic liberalisation and political decentralisation by the mid-1980s. When a financial debt crisis, triggered by a global rise of oil prices, shakes up the country at the end of the 1980s, this results in growing pressures to revamp the economic system by global monetary and trade institutions. Prime Minister Narashima Rao initiates the New Economic Program (NEP) by 1991 and largely advances the efforts of deregulation, decentralisation, liberalisation and privatisation. (Cf. Weinstein 2005: 15) In this context cities are more and more regarded as integral parts of the economic system and the engines driving economic development. As part of the reforms the government seeks to exploit the efficiency of the private sector in urban development. Moreover an ongoing quest for foreign investments leads to a second wave of liberal reforms at the dawn of the 21st century. Notably these reforms also facilitate 100 percent foreign investments in the construction sector and trigger a boom of autonomous urban enclaves in the form of Special Economic Zones (SEZ) and Integrated Townships.

1950's: Post-Independence – Nehruvian Era – 'social distribution of land'

The post-independence and post partition years are deeply marked by the charismatic leader Jawaharlal Nehru. Nehru prefers the Socialist model of development and envisions an economy directed by the government. In principle the country maintains the governmental structure of the colonial bureaucracy (archnet, r12.10.08). Under this model a Planning Commission is set up. The national Five Year Plan has a central role in Indian planning. It is regarded as the main mechanism to achieve a social use of land. (Cf. Shaw 2004: 36)

Indian Government of the early post-independence era aims to distribute all wealth and burdens equally among all regions of India. In a country of two million villages this policy includes a preference of rural areas over urban centres. Cities are handled sceptically and restrained. The policy is entirely supply driven: the government acquires land, creates infrastructure and housing, and often builds entire New Towns (e.g. Chandigarh, Gandhinagar, Bhubaneshwar; cf. below).[136]

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[136] The main reason for government intervention is to ensure, an optimum social use of land'. … Of the policy measures taken to achieve the goal of socialisation of urban land, the most important and widely used has been the direct government investment in land development. (Cf. Rao 1990)

The 1960's mark the beginning of a process of decentralisation and a more balanced development between urban and rural areas. The third national Five Year Plan (1961-66) contains an urban planning and land policy imposing norms for the development of urban land and housing. (Cf. chapter 33, § 27-29) Importantly it also contains a funding package for the preparation of master plans and town planning legislations on a state level. "At that time the Government was keen to direct the whole process of city building ... by large scale public acquisition of land." (Shaw 2004: 40). Navi Mumbai becomes one of the model cases of this government led urban development (Ibidem: 44).

1960's: Nationalist Era

After Indira Gandhi becomes the Prime Minister in 1966, the importance of the central state apparatus increases even more. The state primarily remains a planner of growth and all foreign-owned companies, mainly in the banking and the refining sectors, are nationalised. During the seventies, India continues to move closer to the Socialist block. Development is often realised in collaboration with the Soviet regime. When in 1974 (about the time of Navi Mumbai's start), the first underground nuclear test is carried out the country rises to a nuclear power.

Box 13: Urban land (Ceiling & Regulation) Act 1976

The Urban Land Ceiling Act of 1976 represents a piece of legislation, which thoroughly represents the government's rationale of social distribution of land. Depending on the location the act provided a limit on the amount of land that an individual, or a corporation, was allowed to own. The Act sought to prevent speculation based on the monopolisation of urban land and aimed to establish land banks to be redistributed towards social ends (such as low-income housing). On the other hand it has led to a scarcity of land on the market and a stagnation of development. As a consequence exorbitant rises in land prices excluded large parts of the population from formal urban land markets in many areas. (Cf. Adusumilli 2001:15)

1970's: Increasing diversification and decentralisation

In 1977 an untouchable K.R. Narayanan becomes president. The event is celebrated by some as "the greatest transfer of power in world history and the real devolution of power to a real majority of one billion people". (Cf. Mehta 2005: 43) The date marks the end of the unilateral dominance of the government by the Congress Party and an increasing diversification and decentralisation of India's political landscape.[137]

1980's: Volatility and transition

The political landscape of the 1980's becomes more volatile. After the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi (in her fourth term) in 1984, Rajiv Gandhi becomes the Prime Minister.[138] His government is the first to embark on economic reform policies, as the country is facing a debt crisis. India's creditability rating becomes so bad that it was impossible for the country to borrow money on the world market.[139] The period witnesses a gradual opening up of trade borders and a focus on high technology.

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[137] "The rise of single-state parties has contributed to important changes in national politics. It is an important factor in the declining salience of national issues and the growing importance of state-level issues in coalitional strategies." (Kochhar 2006 quoting Echeverri-Gent 2001: 30)

[138] "The important features of R. Gandhi's reforms in the 1980s are: 1) a relaxation of im- and export barriers, 2) tax incentives for trade, as well as a better access to money; 3) a critical relaxation of licensing requirements for industries...; and 4) the deregulation of centrally set prices of intermediate materials". (Cf. Kochhar 2006: 18)

[139] During the late 1980s India is increasingly dependent on foreign money. This trend leads to a repayments crisis in 1990. The annual GDP growth rates drop from 6,9 percent in 1989 to 4,9 percent in 1990 and to 1.1 percent in 1991 (cf. Shrini-

1990's Liberalisation and New Economy

The first Gulf War in 1990 marks a watershed and the end of the nationalist era. The war causes oil prices to rise and brings the Indian economy, highly dependent on foreign oil reserves, to the edge of bankruptcy. In July 1991 Prime Minister Narashima Rao adopts a New Economic Program (NEP). The programme is based on a package of liberal economic and policy reforms inspired by the Washington consensus. (Cf. Pal 2007: 20) One of the most important elements of the reforms is the attraction of Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) towards an ever increasing set of industries, with special programmes geared in particular to Indians living abroad (NRI). This also has significant reverberations on the urban landscape. (Cf. above, India: Economics, Liberal Reforms)

By now the Five Year Plans come to acknowledge the importance of urban centres as engines of economic growth. Informal settlements are continuously on the rise, and new policies seek to fill the housing and infrastructure gaps by mobilising the private sector.[140] (Cf. Ibidem) To liberalise land markets many states (including Maharashtra) repeal the Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act (ULCRA) in the year 2007.

Box 14: 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments

The 1993 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments are imperative legislations formalising the existing inclination towards decentralisation and diversification. The understanding of these reforms is an essential prerequisite of comprehending existing stakeholder and power constellations in the Indian context. The Indian Government passes these acts facing severe and increasing economic, social and environmental crisis two years after the demise of the Soviet Union. The acts ultimately aim at transferring political and financial authorities (including the local governance) towards elected and self-sufficient local (urban and rural) bodies.

They have severe implications for policy and urban planning: for the first time in Indian history every Indian person is allowed to vote, the exclusion of poor informal populations is no longer possible. (Cf. Shaw 2004: 4) The direct effect on Navi Mumbai is the creation of the Navi Mumbai Municipal Corporation in 1992, with a board composed of 2/3 of elected representatives, 30 percent of these reserved for women. (Cf. Ananthakrishnan 1998: 16)

As a consequence contemporary India is marked by conflict and struggle among the distribution of political powers between the state and local levels.[141] While the implementation of the regulations is consistent, it is also rather sluggish and slow.[142] (Cf. Kochhar 2006: 18) Common frictions, mainly on land issues, are on a daily agenda. (Cf. Shaw 2004: 54)

Box 15: 1994 National Housing Policy

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vas 2006). At the same time inflation hits 17 percent, foreign money reserves fall to 1,2 billion US$ (an import reserve for two weeks), while the national deficit reaches 10 billion (8,4 percent of the GDP). (Cf. Nissel 1997)

[140] At the same time state governments, facing the regress of federal money, increasingly compete with one another to attract new industries, particularly those involving foreign equity. (Cf. Shaw 2004: 54)

[141] The capacity for building permits is among the most debated issues. For a long time local government bodies such as the district or village councils (panchayats), had almost no influence when large projects were decided upon and implemented by the state. (Cf. below, cf. Gotsch 2007, transl. by the author) Their rising relevance, however, is demonstrated by the successfull anti-SEZ protests at many locations. Ongoing protests against the Maha Mumbai SEZ, for example, have led to the withdrawal of state support from the project, to the reduction of the zone from 10.000 hectares to 5.000, and to generous R&R schemes for the residents. (Cf. below: Developers, Strategies, R&R schemes)

[142] Weinstein (2005: 17) confirms, that the amendments contain neither inducements nor penalties for states and localities failing to implement the mandates; as a result states have been remarkably slow to pass and enforce their own state-level legislations.

In the context of the 1990's liberalisation programmes, the Indian Government formu-lates a new demand driven housing policy in 1994.[143] Housing is increasingly regarded as an integral part of a national economic system. The policy states that "the crucial role of government at different levels is not to build houses itself but to make invest-ments and create conditions where all women and men, especially the poor may gain and secure adequate housing, and to remove impediments to housing activity." (GoI from Adusumilli 2001: 13)

2000's: Second wave of liberal reforms and real estate boom
The first decade of the new century brings a series of further economic reforms towards an even more open trade, increased foreign investment, continued deregulation of sanc-tioned industries and an economic development that is increasingly privately driven. Al-most all of these reforms have essential impact on urban development. (Cf. above India, Economic framework, and Real estate boom)

Among the most prominent programmes are the 2001 SEZ regulations leading to the 2005 SEZ Act.[144] Inspired by the miracle of the Chinese economic boom India is one of the first countries that allows for private SEZs that are entirely foreign owned. The Mis-sion Statement of Navi Mumbai SEZ distils this spirit when it states that, it seeks to "es-tablish and provide first world business environment in third world setting targeted es-sentially at transnational corporations operating in high growth sectors and new econ-omy businesses". (Cf. Special Economic Zone Navi Mumbai India 2007: 38)

In addition to the SEZ programmes the government creates a major incentive towards the development of urban infrastructure and the alleviation of urban poverty by starting the national Jawaharlal Nehru Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM).[145] Importantly this programme implicitly aims to push forward the stagnating decentralisation reforms and to boost the role of local governments (e.g. Municipal Corporations).

Mumbai – from 'Bom Bahia' to Mumbai
Mumbai's 450-year history is mainly influenced by the British occupation. Being a per-fect natural harbour, the city thrives on trade and serves as the base of the East India Company. The seven islands are successively connected and major infrastructure systems, e.g. the railways, including the major terminals, are built. Early industrialisation brings a cosmopolitan and modern flair. In the new neighbourhoods the question of class be-comes more important than caste, ethnicity, and language. The city's population reaches 650.000 as early as 1872, a number that is only topped by London.

The urban landscape of post-independence Mumbai is largely shaped by migration movements, deindustrialisation, the rise of service economies, a continuous growth of slums and middle classes, ethnic riots, as well as regional growth and decentralisation. Eventually, the strategic advantage of the insular location, as well as conservative land regulations and rent laws, tends to restrain growth and development. Mumbai becomes one of the most dense and most expensive cities globally. When in the 1970's the state receives new powers to project its own progress, it drives the regional development. Pow-

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[143] The policy brings improved conditions down to the level of housing of the groups that have some income (Low Income Groups). On the other hand the situation for the no-income Economic Weaker Section (EWS) of the population worsens. "With the State's role diminishing in direct provision of housing, the field is left open without any players for provision of EWS housing." (Adusimilli 2001: 15)
[144] "The Special Economic Zones Act, 2005, was passed by Parliament in May 2005, received Presidential approval on June 23rd 2005, and came into effect on February 10th 2006. It provides simplified procedures of application, establishment, operation and fiscal oversight and strengthened the elbowroom for State Governments. (Cf. GoI: Ministry of Commerce at www.sezindia.nic.in, r12.10.2008; cf. Ahya (Morgan Stanley), 2006)
[145] Cf. Ministry for Urban Development Jnnurm website: jnnurm.nic.in, r 16.11.2008

erful institutions, such as the MMRDA, MIDC, and Cidco, amongst others, appear as major players on the urban scene. Massive inflows of foreign money and exceptional economic growth rates lead to a major real estate boom, as a result of the national reforms. This urban burst is spearheaded by a series of private mega projects (such as the Maha Mumbai SEZ), large infrastructure schemes (such as the Sewri-Nhava Sheva transharbour link), but also by an ever-rising mass of unauthorised mushrooming developments. The rapid dynamic transformation of the city to a multiplex urban makeup challenges conventional planning approaches.

Portuguese occupation

The Portuguese land in Bombay in 1538. 123 years later, in 1661, King John IV of Portugal confers the seven islands to King Edward of England as part of the dowry for his daughter Catherine de Braganza. The city has a population of 20.000 (archnet.org, r10.10.2008). After 130 years of Portuguese occupation not much more than the Name "Bombain" ("good bay, Portuguese "bom bahia") remains. (Cf. Nissel 1997) "Bombay is and remains the model case of a Metropolis formed by the British Empire."

British rule (1661 – 1947)

The city emerges as as a global trading post, when in 1687 the East India Company shifts its base from Surat (Cf. Nissel 1997) The fact that the city has one of the best natural harbours triggers its exceptional success. The port is defensible and exceptionally deep. Due to the American Civil War (1861 - 1865) Mumbai becomes the leading market for cotton in the second half of the 19th century. The significance of the port city grows further with the completion of the Suez Canal in 1869.

Mumbai also becomes India's global gateway in a cultural sense as the cradle of new media.[146]

Postcolonial Mumbai

Postcolonial Mumbai is characterised by large population movements. Formed by migration the urban scenery becomes a 'migrational landscape'.[147] After independence and partition in 1947, Indian elites (mainly Gujarati and Parsi) start to replace the departed British in the prime areas of the city. Thousands of refuges from Pakistani territories arrive. At the same time growing middle classes start to descend to the suburbs.

The massive inflows of foreigners trigger local opposition. In 1960 local political movements[148] achieve the partition of Maharashtra and Gujarat (cf. archnet.org).[149] 1965 is the founding date of the populist, locally oriented Shiv Sena ("sons of the soil") party. This group drives the change of Bombay's name to Mumbai in 1995. Its success is mainly built on the rising masses of informal populations as well as the increasing relevance of local elections.

While the state, as much as the national planning bodies, recognise the significance of a greater region, they continue to follow a deterministic planning approach. The BMRDA's (now MMRDA's) Regional Plan of 1973 reflects this spirit. The plan seeks to shape the urban structure by setting desired economic and demographic targets for different urban centres in the region.[150] (Cf. MMRDA: 1999, 13.4.1.)

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[146] The 1920's brought with them a studio system and corporate finance. In the 1930's Bollywood produced 200 movies per year. (Cf. http://www.filmeducation.org/secondary/Earth/Bollywood.html; r18.10.2008)

[147] The author sought to elaborate on this term in Gotsch 2005.

[148] E.g. the Samyukta Maharashtra Movement that was formed by the indigenous Hindu Marathi-speaking population.

[149] The new city of Gandhinagar is established as Gujarat's new capital.

[150] The problems of this approach are listed below at: Regulatory framework, Regulations.

Being largely known as India's tolerant melting pot, in 1992 - a year after the gulf war and the following financial crisis - the city is concerned by the eruption of violent riots amongst Muslim and Hindu populations.

As a financial and trade centre, the city thrives on Prime minister Rao's New Economic Program. The 1990's are marked as a global era. A new prosperity materialises in projects such as the Bandra-Kurla complex, a new cluster of office towers that hosts some of the most influential Indian and multi-national firms. The mid 1990's experience a major real estate boom which ends in 1995.

Mounting contradictions, rising rents and growing slum populations, mark the early 21st century. As a consequence the government seeks to utilize the private sector in economic, social and urban development. In spite of that, Mumbai's progress remains driven by specific business elites. In 2003 the business consultancy, McKinsey, develops a list of proposals of how to transform the city into a world-class location along the benchmarks of London, New York and Singapore. The study is commissioned by the business organisation Bombay First. (Cf. McKinsey 2003) Among its most important proposals is the development of major transportation ring systems to open up Mumbai's and Navi Mumbai's hinterland on the mainland (Ibidem: 15).

Navi Mumbai

The Navi Mumbai project, implemented by the Government of Maharashtra, is one of the largest planned cities of contemporary times. The proposals to accommodate the spill over and shift economic activities from the peninsula to the mainland have a record of more than 60 years. Generally Navi Mumbai's planning history can be divided into two main stages which represent opposing features: firstly the new city was supposed to draw development away from the central city. Later it found itself pointing towards the sprawling metropolis. The early plans to develop a satellite town on the mainland were principally motivated by a centrally guided urban-industrial deconcentration and the redistribution of wealth towards the state. (These can be associated with the time span from 1947 to 1985.) In contrast, the planning approach of the more recent period (after 1985) reflects a decentred and state driven policy that acknowledges the relevance of central cities as engines of economic development. In this context Navi Mumbai firstly was an alternative growth core in the environs of the mainland that was supposed to steer development away form the main city, before it became an integral part of the multiplex urban region that reinforces the role of the central city.

The planning process of Navi Mumbai also illustrates seamlessly the appearance and development of state based regional planning institutions and regulations. It is not a coincidence that Navi Mumbai develops in the state with the first independent planning act (e.g. the Maharashtra Regional and Town Planning Act (RMTP), the first state planning and development bodies (such as MIDC, Cidco), as well as the first Regional Development Authority (BMRDA) in India. (Cf. below: Regulatory framework)

Milestones 1940's – 2000's

The late 1940's and 1950's are the years of consolidation of planning policies and instruments in Mumbai. The 1945 Post-War Development Committee officially recommends the need for urban development on the mainland across from Mumbai Island. (Cf. Shaw: 63)

Greater Bombay comes into existence after the Bombay High Court Act of 1945. This regulation encloses the town and island of Bombay, the Port of Bombay, the suburbs and 42 villages in the new city limit. The Post-War development Committee of 1945 and the 'Master Plan in Outline' prepared by Albert Mayer and N.V. Modak influence the devel-

opment of Greater Bombay for the next two decades. (Cf. Dwivendi and Mehrotra, 1995; and Ananthakrishnan: 4) The Modak Mayer Plan is the first of many policy papers to propose development on the mainland to address the limits of Mumbai's natural geography and the challenges of its overpopulation. The scheme stresses a controlled development of the city, its suburbs and satellite towns, including an underground railway, etc. While it has only an informal status, it was discussed in great detail. (Cf. Shaw 2004: 63)

In 1948, the Bombay Buildings Control Act provides for restrictions in industrial locations on the island, and thus prepares the ground for decentralisation policies to come. (Cf. Shaw 2004: 63)

The 1951 Municipal Corporation Act introduces new zoning and land use regulations and reconfirms the former deindustrialisation policies. Moreover the 1954 Town Planning Act makes it mandatory for the local authorities to draw a development plan for the city.

Before the Town Planning Act is approved in 1958, the state government appointed the State Study Group on Greater Bombay under S.G. Barve to re-examine the Modak-Mayer Plan. The 'Barve Report' of 1961 recommends the ban of heavy industries from the island, confirms most of the strategies of Modak-Mayer, proposes the Bandra-Kurla Complex, a public housing programme of 25.000 dwelling units per year and the building of a public underground transport system. It also recommends developing the mainland across the harbour and to construct a bridge across the Thane Creek.[151]

The 1965 MARG magazine quotes the most important passage of this 'Barve Report': "The Communications and Traffic Panel have therefore viewed the problem from the wider angle, and it is on this account that its first and main recommendation is to the effect that the error of history must be corrected and the handicap of geography must be overcome by developing a city on the mainland-side of the Bay. ... it would open up the possibility of the development of a new township, which would in time not only draw away from the island of Bombay the over-flow of the industrial units and residential colonies, but also enable the City to develop in an orderly manner... there is little doubt that the development of the mainland... would really be a master stroke." (Barve Report (1961), quoted in Correa 1965(97): 324)

In March 1964, in accordance with the Bombay Town Planning Act, 1954, the Municipal Corporation of Greater Bombay (MCGB) submits the Development Plan for Greater Bombay (DPDB). The plan implies the relocation of a considerable amount of industries to the suburbs.[152] Yet it is sharply criticised for stopping at the municipal boundary and ignoring earlier recommendations.[153]

An important milestone and mouthpiece of critique for Navi Mumbai is the 1965 issue of MARG (Modern Architects Research Group). Here, three young architects as well as an engineer – Charles Correa, Pravina Mehta, and Shirish Patel – along with several senior government officials, seek to challenge the limitations of the Development Plan for Greater Bombay, drawing concrete visions for a new city on the mainland.[154] MARG's

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[151] Anapurna Shaw (2004: 62) quotes Brahme 1977 who describes the extreme centralisation of the megalopolis Mumbai in the Maharashtra in the 1960's: "Maharashtra,... in spite of being India's economically most advanced state, had a very unbalanced distribution of jobs and wealth. In the 60's 60 percent of all factory workers and 88 percent of all joint-stock companies were located in Greater Mumbai. In 1961, the per capita income of Greater Mumbai was Rs 1,025, and for the rest of Mumbai it was Rs 330...

[152] "The number of industries that would have to be moved to conforming zones in the immediate future is about 2.000 in the city and 400 in the suburbs." (MCGB, 1964, from Shaw 2004: 43)

[153] Cf. Correa 1965, Nissel 1997; Cf. Personal Interview with Shirish Patel from August 2006

[154] The relevance of the 1965 MARG document is stressed when Charles Correa comments in retrospect: "It is doubtful whether there has been any intervention in the development of a major city as decisive as that of the June 1965 issue of Marg." (Correa 1997: 312)

vision draws up for the first time a blueprint for a possible development on the mainland suggesting the creation of single town magnet of "equal prestige and importance". (Cf. Shaw 2004: 71)

The state government accepts the Navi Mumbai idea. (Cf. Shaw 2004: 74) In 1966 the Maharashtra Economic Development Corporation (MEDC) appoints a study group (with Correa, Patel, Mehta) to prepare plans for the area.

The idea for the development is diversified and refined as in 1966 the Gadgil (D.R. Gadgil) Committee Report proposes to move heavy industry to the mainland, to develop the area along a scheme of multiple nuclei, to pass a Regional Planning Act and to establish a Regional Planning Authority. As a consequence the state passes the 1966 Maharashtra Regional and Town Planning Act (MR&TP Act) becoming the first state with a comprehensive planning legislation.[155]

Later the MR&TP Act serves as an important legal basis for the definition of land uses and the dispossession of land by the state government in order to develop Navi Mumbai in the late 1970's.[156]

Maharashtra is also the first state to establish an independent industrial development corporation, the Maharashtra Industrial and Development Corporation (MIDC), with the aim of promoting a deconcentrated industrial development in the state.[157] (Cf. Shaw 2004: 61)

A Draft Regional Plan by the MEDC group around the MARG group in 1970 explores various growth scenarios such as internal restructuring, a multi-town structure, development along linear corridors and the idea of an alternate magnet. Inspired by the widely circulated ideas of Ebenezer Howard's Town Magnet the group recommends putting forward the magnet solution.

The state government, serious about implementing the scheme, decides to launch an independent implementing body in 1971. The City and Industrial Development Corporation, or Cidco, is conceived as a state owned enterprise. It is supposed to perform with the sovereignty and along the effectiveness of the private sector, but in a non-profit manner.[158]

Accordingly Cidco is set up as a public limited company under the Indian Companies Act.[159] Designated as the New Town Development Authority for Navi Mumbai, it starts to draft a development plan for the new city in October 1971. (Cf. Shaw 2004: 83)

The plan for the new city becomes fully institutionalised and legalised by its full integration in the first Regional Plan for the Bombay Metropolitan Region in 1973.[160] (Cf. MMRDA 1999).

In 1973 Cidco prepares a comprehensive Draft Development Plan for the new city combining the major principles, goals and implementation strategies. The plan is sanctioned by the state in 1979. It remains valid to-date with only a hand full of minor

[155] Shaw (2004:79) confirms "The Gadgil committee's recommendations were landmark recommendations from the point of view of metropolitan planning in India." ... "The state of Maharashtra has been the first to pass legislation on metropolitan planning."

[156] Section 22 of the MR&TP Act regulates the acquisition of land while the power to define land uses is regulated by Section 31Cf. Anathakrishnan 1998: 6

[157] As one of the first and major projects the MIDC planned and developed the Trans Thane Creek (TTC) Industrial Area (commonly referred as the Thane Belapur Industrial Area (TBIA). (Cf. Ghorpade)

[158] Shaw (2004: 72) traces this construction back to Howard's ideas on the management and administration of his Town Magnet by an independent civic trust.

[159] More specifically Cidco is set up as a subsidiary of the State Industries and Investment Corporation of Maharashtra (SIICOM). (Cf. Correa 1997) Charles Correa approves the insight of SIICOM's principal Chini Srinivasan of setting up Cidco as an independent development body: "Chini Srinivasan (IAS officer and founder of SIICOM –) understood that: "the restructuring of a great metropolis would require the kind of vision and decisive action that was beyond the reach of a conventional government department." (Cf. Correa 1997: 314)

[160] This plan proposes to develop Navi Mumbai as an independent centre with an own economic base with a planned population of two million to be achieved by the year 1991. (Cf. Ghorpade)

amendments. (Cf. Ananthakrishnan 1998: 7) Notably Cidco's structure plan abandons the idea of a single town centre and plans for a string of 20 nodes connected by rapid mass transit. (Cf. below: Navi Mumbai, Structure)

The opening of the Vashi Bridge in 1973 gives the plans for the new city a big push. The implementation of the first node of Vashi starts immediately and is sustained by the successful shift of the regional wholesale market to Vashi in 1980.

The 1980s and early 1990s are years of slow but continuous development. With a population of less than 500.000 in 1996 Navi Mumbai is far from the target of the 2 million residents it had aimed to reach by 1991. An important factor is the fact that the government withdraws its plans to relocate to the new city – decision referred to as "a complete slap in the face of New Bombay" (Rahul Mehrotra quoted by Mehta 2005: 121). The government, along with other prime businesses, instead heads to Nariman Point, a speculative development at the tip of the peninsula. Another important aspect is the moving away of the IT sector to newly emerging places such as Bangalore, Chennai, and Hyderabad. At the same time, in Navi Mumbai, the federal Environment (Protection) Act of 1986 introduces a 500-meter protection zone at the shoreline and makes necessary the replanning of major parts of the new city (e.g. the Ulwe node is almost eliminated).

By 1992 a new rail link from Victoria Terminal to Belapur is inaugurated. Mumbai's downtown is now within a reach of 40 minutes. The same year also marks the completion of several nodes in the northern part of the New Town, as well as the transfer of the nodes to the newly inaugurated Navi Mumbai Municipal Corporation.

Nationalist and populist movements mark the mid 1990's. (Cf. Nissel 1997) Major religious riots occur in 1993. Shiv Sena as well as the BPJ political parties become more and more popular. In 1995 Bombay is renamed 'Mumbai' and New Bombay 'Navi Mumbai'. In addition Cidco is forced to introduce special purchase quotas for the residents of Maharashtra.

The 1996 repeal of the MR&TP Act marks an end to the strategy of the development of alternate growth centres and signifies that Mumbai emerges as a multiplex urban region which needs evenly distributed development.

The late 1990's and early 2000's bring about a development oriented at the IT sector, privatisation and massive inflows of direct foreign investment. Cidco looses many former funds and subsidies as a result of the federal New Economic Programme that engenders a larger shift form supply driven towards demand driven housing policies.

When in 1998 new coastal zone regulations[161] become implemented a significant amount of Navi Mumbai's developable land is chopped away. While only 8 out of the planned 20 nodes are completed the planned number is reduced to 14.[162] (Cf. Shaw 2004: 101) Nodes such as Ulwe are eliminated. Major areas are re-planned and the original land use distribution is significantly altered.[163]

In the 2000s Kharghar, Ulwe, and Dronagiri are being developed for another 400 to 500 thousand residents while the areas have the 3 to 6 fold size of the earlier nodes.[164] Acting increasingly along the lines of private developers Cidco embarks on the SEZ train in 2004. It teams up with various national and international corporations and develops Ulwe and Dronagiri in the manner of Special Economic zones under the umbrella of the

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[161] E.g. the federal costal zones regulations of 1991

[162] Vashi, Sanpada, Nerul, Belapur, New Panvel, Kalamboli, Airoli, and Koparkhairane

[163] The Ministry of Environment and Forest, Govt. of India, by a notification issued under the Environment (Protection) Act, 1986, has notified a belt of 500 meters from the high tide line along sea coast, bays, estuaries, river and backwaters as a Coastal Regulation Zone (CRZ). (MMRDA: 13.3.14.)

[164] 1.600 to 2.500 ha, older nodes had 300-600 ha

Navi Mumbai SEZ. Soon after the first fully private SEZ on the subcontinent, the Maha Mumbai SEZ, is planned on 10.000 hectares in the environs.[165]

At the beginning of the 21st century Navi Mumbai emerges as an integral part of Mumbai's thriving and multiplex urban region. The area and its environs (i.e. the Mumbai Pune corridor) experience a major real estate boom. The boom is based on several privately developed SEZ and Integrated Township schemes, but also on a huge mass of unauthorised developments. Several gigantic infrastructure projects of international relevance increase the overall attraction of the mainland. Among these is a new international Airport, as well as a new trans-harbour toll road connection to downtown Mumbai. (Cf. below: Physical Structure: External Infrastructure).

By 2007, after widespread protests in the country, the state government withdraws its unconditional support for the privately developed Maha Mumbai SEZ and limits the maximum size of the project to 5.000 hectares.[166]

The international financial crisis of October 2008 leads to the end of the speculative real estate boom for the time being.

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[165] Leading developer of the zone is Mukesh Ambani's Reliance Industries, one of the largest Indian industrial conglomerates.

[166] "Government on Wednesday said it has extended by one year the in-principle approval to Reliance Industries' Maha Mumbai SEZ but asked the promoters to cut the size of the zone to 5,000 hectares in line with the new rules". … Besides, the Commerce Ministry has also asked Mukesh Ambani-owned RIL to ensure that the land acquisition for the project must be done with the consent of the owners and the state government makes no compulsory acquisition. (Cf. kvcindia.com/blog 2007, r12.10.2008)

Predecessors and role models

"New towns are as old as the history of urbanization. Today's new towns are tomorrow's historic towns. And yesterday's new towns are today's historic towns. The present is always transitory. We pay either attention to the past or to the future." (Maitra 2007: 132)

Box 16: List of selected New Town milestones in India

Mohenjodaro, Harappa (2500 B.C.); Fatehpur Sikri (Mogul Akbar, 1571); Jaipur (1726); Delhi's 7+ capitals (1700 bc – 2008); Shimla (1834); Calcutta (1715); Jamshedpur (1920); New Delhi (Lutyens and Baker, 1929); Chandigarh (Le Corbusier, 1953); Bhubaneshwar (Koenigsberger, 1948); Durgapur (Stein, Polk, 1952); Rourkela (1958); Gandhinagar (Mewada, Apte, 1960); Auroville (Alfassa, 1968); Navi Mumbai (Correa, Mehta, Patel, 1971); DLF City, Gurgaon (DLF, 1975); Vidyadhar Nagar (Doshi, 1991); Cyberabad (CDA, 1997); New Town Kolkata (1999); Magarpatta (Magar, 2000); Hiranandani Gardens Powai (Hafeez Contractor, 1986); NMSEZ, Navi Mumbai (McClier, 2005).*

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* The brackets contain the name of the leading 'author' of the New Town (either the Architect, the Planner, or the Developer) as well as the date of breaking ground.

Navi Mumbai is not only embedded in a spatio-political and economic context as described above. The new city across the Thane Creek is also part of a long history of planned cities, in India as well as internationally. As a result, it combines cosmologic aspects of the traditional Indian City (e.g. Vastu Shastra), Mahatma Gandhi's social principles, the scientific maxims of New Delhi and the modern aesthetics of Chandigarh, as well as important axioms of the British New Town movement. Moreover, the newest segments of the city (and its environs) are increasingly built as urban enclaves, affected by the North American typologies of gated communities, Chinese Special Economic Zones, Dubai's skylines and contemporary Indian 'Integrated Townships'.[167]

In this respect it makes sense to break up Navi Mumbai's models into the two groups of predecessors and peers. While the first segment contains the influential projects completed before the implementation of the new city, the second group relates to parallel typologies. The precursors are dominated by innovations in the planning and design. At the same time the peers are characterised by global economic and cultural trends.

India's New Town tradition

It is possible to ground Navi Mumbai's evolution in India's urban history alone. India's New Towns are as old as the subcontinent's 5.000-year history. Cities such as Mohenjodaro and Harappa are among the oldest cities in the world. The subcontinent is one of the cradles of urban dwelling forms on our planet. If there is one main aspect that characterises planned cities it is probably one of power. Throughout all of history rulers used new towns as instruments to enforce capacity and control. (Cf. Maitra: 2007)

Ancient times – emblematic principles of Vastu, Shilpa and Shastra

In ancient times city building in India is based on elaborate regulations and standards (Shilpa Shastras). After Alexander the Great conquers the subcontinent by the 4th cen-

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[167] Ananthakrishnan 1998 categorises the historical evolution of the built form of Indian cities into 5 phases: A) Hindu Phase (Temple, Square, Mandala, Caste System); B) Islamic influenced Phase (Mosque, Courtyards, Bazaar, ethnic enclaves); C) Colonial Phase; D) Postcolonial Phase & New Economy. (Ananthakrishnan:21; cf. also to Maitra)

tury B.C. and introduces an urban planning and design system organised along cosmic principles (e.g. the Chanakya's Arthashastra). (Cf. Maitra: 2007) The emperor sees the distribution of settlements along a regional hierarchy as the cornerstone of efficient administration and military control (Ibidem).

The structural organisation of the early planned settlements is based on a cosmic interpretation of space and summarised in Shilpa Shashtras. These are used as planning codes and prescribe desirable characteristics for sites and buildings based on the flow of energy. Planning and design is based on paradigms of climate, soil, [land use], building typology, road layout and space division. The essential planning instrument is the Vastupurusha Mandala.[168] The mandala is basically a metaphysical diagram. It is employed in Indian site planning and architecture and represents essential formal arrangements such as hierarchically organised orthogonal systems of quadrants with a holy site at the centre (Ibidem: 131, 132).

The principles of Vastu, Shilpa and Shastra remain highly significant in India's urban planning tradition. They are mainly inherited through temple design.[169] Navi Mumbai's node of Kopar Khairane, the site of significant site-and-service projects, has been designed in this way.[170] Moreover, in our era of increasing global standardisation and homogenisation, the traditional Vastu principles experience a strong esoteric revival and reclaim mainstream popularity. Many contemporary buildings assert to be designed along the Vastu Shilpa maxim.

Medieval times – Moghul monuments

In the Medieval times new cities are constructed in a Mogul Islamic tradition. Fatehpur Sikri (1571) and Jaipur (1727) are among the prominent examples[171]. These are new capitals and centres of power. The architectural and urban planning tradition is geared towards monumental structures. The era produces a great number of India's landmark buildings which form India's contemporary 'brand' (e.g. Taj Mahal, the Red Forts of Agra and Delhi, the Ensembles of Jaipur and Fatehpur Sikri) inspiring the subsequent generations.

Colonial New Towns – between Enlightenment and control

A next generation of New Towns arrives with the colonisation of the continent. The British rulers import their own town planning traditions and construct several types of individual settlements:
-   Civil lines' and ,cantonments' (e.g. Secunderabad in Hyderabad) are built as detached low density cities or New Towns (Ibidem: 137), and are the cradles of novel typologies such as the villa and the bungalows[172];
-   Railway towns, such as Jamalpur, are aimed at the control and maintenance of new infrastructure. Importantly the origins of hybrid architectural styles have been established here (cf. Maitra: 138);

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[168] Vastu – the site, purusha – the cosmic man, mandala – closed polygon

[169] Balfkrisha Doshi, one of the collaborators at Chandigarh and designer of the Navi Mumbai Node of Kharghar, has founded a Vashtu Shipla Foundation for Studies and Research in Environmental Design. (Cf. vastushilpa.org, r12.10.2008)

[170] Magarpatta, a cooperative new town project in Pune was also influenced by traditional Vastu principles.

[171] "The city of Jaipur founded in 1727 AD is one of the finest examples of an Indian city planned according to the canonical texts and offers several lessons for contemporary city planning and building design practices relevant to the physical and socio-economic conditions of the region." (Project description of Vidyadhar Nagar; from the Website of the Vastu Shilpa Foundation; vastushilpa.org; r12.09.2008)

[172] Anthony King discusses how the architectural typology of the bungalow emerges in colonial India before it is reimported to the West. (Cf. King 1990)

- Nainital, Shimla or Darjeeling etc, have been developed as hill stations, another novel urban typology; Harbour cities such as Calcutta, Bombay and Madras serve as crucial nodes bundling trade and finance;
- Capital cities such as New Delhi import the principles of scientifically based hygienic urban design, in stark contrast to the existing urban centres[173], and are based on monumental schemes;
- The latter colonial era is also the cradle of India's first independent industrial centres, such as Jamshedpur or Tatanagar.

It can be safely presumed that planners of Navi Mumbai are greatly influenced by the rational efficiency of these colonial schemes. After all the success of the New Towns that serve as new capitals leaves the greatest impression. In one of the conceptual papers of Navi Mumbai, Charles Correa notes: "There have been several examples throughout history of significant cities created around governmental centres. ... Washington D.C., Chandigarh, Brasilia... Perhaps the closest parallel to Bombay would be the creation of New Delhi... 15 miles away from the old city... 50 years ago... today its benefits are unquestioned..." (Correa 1965 (97): 325)

Modern, post-independence New Towns

After independence in 1948 India embarks on large centrally steered programmes of industrialisation and national modernisation. When Jawaharlal Nehru lays out his vision for the country, the idealistic maxims of Mahatma Gandhi play a central role. Ananthakrishnan (1998: 18) argues in the post-independence context "The design principles described in the Draft Development Plan were based on the philosophical reasoning of Mahatma Gandhi and the functionalistic approach of Modernism." (Ananthakrishnan: 18) New Towns are employed as fundamental instruments of this central planning approach. Significantly the 4th National Plan allocates budgets for some large New Cities, in particular Chandigarh, Gandhinagar[174], Bhopal and Bhubaneswar[175]. (Shaw 2004: 49) Most of the New Towns are linked to heavy industries and power projects. "By 1971, the year when construction in Navi Mumbai began, there were already 112 New Towns in existence. [Yet] Only seven of them... had a population of over 100.000." (Sivaramakrishnan 1976-77, quoted in Shaw 2004: 7) Among Navi Mumbai's most important modernist peers is a series of modern state capitals such as Bhubaneswar (1948), Chandigarh (1953) or Gandhinagar (1960), and also the steel city of Rourkela (1958).

The modern post-independence New Towns introduce the principles of modernist city planning, such as functional separation, superblocks and vehicular traffic, based on an industrial society. While India is lacking a base of experienced professionals, most of the new settlements are planned by Western experts, as well as an increasing number of Indian architects trained in the West. Bhubaneshwar is the brainchild of Otto Koenigsberger, Chandigarh one of Le Corbusier's masterpieces, and Louis Khan was supposed to have designed Gandhinagar[176].

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[173] As in many other colonial settings, the British colonial planning practice is not only bringing modernity and hygiene, it also institutionalises and manifests deep disparities. While it celebrates the practice of formal planning, it is systematically leaving out the informal and indigenous 'other'. (Cf. Shaw 2004: 8)"The belief that the solutions of urban problems lie in starting new before correcting old problems has been the most pernicious ... i.e. little was done for old Delhi while building new Delhi." (Shaw 2004: 20, quoting Priya 1993)

[174] Gandhinagar was planned in the 1960's as the new capital of Gujarat. It houses 200.000 residents on 5.700 hectares.

[175] Bhubaneshwar becomes the modern capital of the state of Orissa in 1948. It presently houses a population of 800.000 on an area of 103.500 hectares. The gross density of 8 people per hectare representing the modernist scheme is notably an extremely low urban density in the Indian context.

[176] Before it was commissioned to two Indian architects H. K. Mewada and Prakash M. Apte. Both of whom had participated at the construction of Chandigarh.

Around the same time India's rapidly growing super cities are seeking to ease their growth pressures by planning satellite extensions: Navi Mumbai is not a unique case in the 1960's – Delhi is planning for Dwarka (1964), and Kolkata for Bidhan Nagar[177] (1958) – yet Mumbai's parallel city is by far the largest of the projects on the Indian sub-continent.

Navi Mumbai develops at the height of modernism. The most influential role model of the time is Le Corbusier's Chandigarh. The makers of Mumbai's parallel city are clearly affected by numerous elements of this plan: the rational layout, the modern [land use] categories, the structural organisation by self contained and hierarchically arranged neighbourhoods (sectors), the hierarchical order of the roads[178] and the importance of landmark buildings. While Le Corbusier's elaborate urban design codes have most probably inspired Navi Mumbai's Draft Development Plan of 1973, Navi Mumbai emerges as a self-confident and less rigid version of modernism.

Chandigarh was planned along an idealistic scheme. Yet the underlying figure is neither the world nor the cosmos, instead the enlightened human being represents the city's underlying Metaphor. Accordingly Le Corbusier placed the government at the head and the city's centre at the heart of the structure.[179]

Navi Mumbai, on the other hand, is less emblematic and symbolic. The parallel city was not required to represent a new state capital. Yet, what unites all New Towns of the era is their radical renunciation of the existing urban fabric – the chaos of historic city centres. All modern projects envision creating new environments, for a modern democratic society instead of reproducing caste, class, gender, and ethnicity. Moreover they are driven by the idealistic vision of representing cities without slums.

What the authors behind Navi Mumbai consequently do is apply and interpret some principles represented by the modernist precursors. As a result, the various sectors of Navi Mumbai represent variations of modern themes. Whilst perfect geometric shapes, as represented in the traditional Vastupurusha Mandala, are not represented in the whole, they are portrayed in a variety of details.

Indeed, Navi Mumbai follows a different 'profane' approach. Correa and his colleagues aimed for a more liberal perspective (cf. Chauhan 1998: 2632). Their architects have left more space for change and adaptation by individual architects in designing a more open and flexible (and resilient) structure. In contrast to Chandigarh's idealistic formalism, Navi Mumbai represents a contextual approach of modernity. The architects developed a scheme that was deeply embedded in the conditions of local place. Far from being only universal, functional and rationalistic, the initial proposal for New Bombay is highly related to the experience of the sea, the perception of Mumbai's peninsula, and the propinquity of the hills.[180]

Indeed, Navi Mumbai represents a unique example of contextualism on an urban scale in India, as it applies modern principles in a pragmatic way and not as a 'religion'. The other Western model, which was fundamental for the conception of the new city, is Ebenezer Howard's model of the Town Magnet and the (resulting) British tradition of New Towns.

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[177] Bidhan Nagar, or Salt Lake City, is today expanded under the name Rajarhat to 300 percent of its original size. The West Bengal Housing Infrastructure Development Corporation (HIDCO) along with private developers such as DLF and Keppel etc primarily drive the development.

[178] E.g. Defining seven categories of streets

[179] For more information on Chandigarh see: Evenson 1966; A preliminary account can also be found at: http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5082, r12.10.2008

[180] This is true for both variations, the early monocentric scheme, as well as the later polycentric plan.

The Town-Country Magnet and British New Towns

It can be stated without exaggeration that Howard's concept of a Town Magnet as well as the resulting New Town tradition is among the most influential models for Navi Mumbai. The scheme has an indirect as well as a direct impact. Important variations of the Garden Cities tradition[181] can be found in Mumbai. Back in the 1930's the Bombay Improvement Trust had erected a series of Garden City style model settlements such as Dadar and Matunga in the northeastern suburbs of Mumbai. (Cf. Nissel 1997) Consequently the planners of Navi Mumbai were familiar with these schemes and the related debates.

Yet, some direct references of the British New Town movement appear even more influential. Several of the fundamental principles of Howard's Town Magnet (1898) have deeply affected the concepts and guidelines of Mumbai's satellite city. The new city across the Thane creek was conceived along certain structural and financial fundamentals of Howard's brainchild. Without doubt Navi Mumbai's structural concept as a system of confined centres that is linked by railway networks and separated by greenbelts, directly relates to the counter magnet idea. (Cf. Cidco 1973: 5 quoted in Shaw 2004: 72) Even more remarkable is Navi Mumbai's utilisation of the principles of communal land ownership bundled with the transfer of development and management duties towards a communal administrative body. (Cf. Ibidem and Howard: 59) On a greater scale the New Town movement has played its role as well: Sir Patrick Abercrombie's famous 1944 Greater London Plan was straightforwardly pictured as a reference in MARG's conceptual documents. (Cf. Correa 1965 (1997)

New Town peers since 1973

"Beginning in the 1980's, we have seen the selective rebuilding of cities as platforms for a rapidly growing range of globalised activities and flows, from economic to cultural and political." (Sassen 2007)

Navi Mumbai was not only fertilised by preceding prototypes. The city has a 40-year history and is far from being completed. As such it reflects planning paradigms of various eras and is used as an experimental ground to explore these.[182] At the same time it has its own impact on other projects. In the following some of the most significant of the present urbanistic approaches are briefed. These are dominated by a new wave of private mega projects in the form of SEZ-townships and integrated enclaves.

SEZs and Integrated Townships – India's first slum free cities

India's and Navi Mumbai's contemporary urban context is characterised by a flood of privately developed mega projects of historical dimensions.[183] The prototype of the large and autonomous urban enclave has become an integral part of the Indian real estate sector that is also influential in Navi Mumbai's context. A significant share of urban growth in India occurs under the umbrella of SEZ schemes or in the form of Integrated Townships (sometimes also referred to as Special Township Schemes). While the wave can be seen as a renaissance of New Towns and Satellite Towns, the Integrated Township type is a clearly homegrown, historically unique, and novel Indian urban typology.

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[181] Cf. the initial chapter
[182] Cf. the range of examples in the chapter on structure below
[183] Various authors discuss the topic of insular urbanism as a typical Indian phenomenon in the November 2007 issue of Arch+185.

So far the Indian Government has approved more than 500 SEZs. (Cf. Gotsch 2007: 62, cf. above) Mainly the peripheries of the major Indian metropolises are dotted by dozens of these autonomous enclaves developed by the private sector. While SEZs mainly focus on industry and commerce, allowing for a certain amount of housing, Integrated Townships concentrate on housing allowing for supporting infrastructure, services and commerce. Notably the customised packages can be tailored, and both, SEZs and Integrated Townships can be combined. In addition also Information Technology Parks or public housing schemes can be blended.

Promoting pooled and organised development of urban peripheries, Special Townships range between 40 and 10.000 hectares. Among the target groups are Indian residents residing in other countries (Non-Resident Indians, NRI), but also members of the local upper and rising middle classes. (Gotsch, Kohte 2007) The schemes are characterised by a complete package of high-end services to the interior, combined with a stark exclusion of the outer environment. They address the rising demand for western living standards in a context of lacking infrastructure, by providing a wide range of state of the art services and infrastructure including schools, hospitals, shopping malls, offices, and leisure facilities. An important aspect is a portrayal of western life styles. Indeed, bounded by high perimeter walls and secured by private guards these projects achieve what many modern town planning projects were dreaming of – to be the first real slum free cities.

These contemporary peers of Navi Mumbai's are mainly produced by international teams. Most of the projects are realised with international partners on board as autonomous and 'integrated' all-in-one packages. For this purpose subsidiary enterprises (Special Project Vehicles) are generally created. In this context Indian real estate moguls such as DLF, Nirmal, Hiranandani, L&T or the Hindustan Construction Company team up with global heavyweights such as Emaar (Dubai), Nakheel (Dubai), Jurong (Singapore), to name but a few. In many of the top notch projects the package is further topped up by special brands such as Prudential Times Inc. (USA), Fraport Airport AG (Germany) or the Four Seasons Group.

Essentially the boom of Special Townships and SEZs is based on federal incentives allowing Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) in real estate projects.[184] The Special Township Policy Act of the Maharashtra Government allows for 100 percent FDI and exempts Integrated Townships from all sorts of regulations (most importantly land use regulations). It promotes land pooling and the development of self-sufficient quarters by mandating a minimum area of 100 acres (40 hectares), and prescribes the development of public infrastructure, such as roads, water, and sewage. In addition the projects are promoted by higher floor space allowances (FSI). (Cf. GoM's Special Township Policy of 2007)

As a result in 2004, 57 townships were supposed to emerge in Andhra Pradesh alone. In the capital of the state the Hyderabad Urban Development Authority (HUDA) 22 such projects were promoted along the new ring road.[185] A personal study revealed 6-7 of the projects entering the implementation stage, with Lanco Hills being the best known. Private developers, e.g. the Delhi Land Finance Group (DLF) have also taken over the urban production at Delhi's Southern periphery.[186] (Cf. Martin 2007; Brosius 2007)

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[184] Cf. GoM's Special Township Policy of 2007; cf. Hindustantimes; 20.08.2005: "Integrated Townships to take off in a big way"

[185] Cf. The Hindu, Business Line, Monday, Oct 25, 2004, at: http://www.thehindubusinessline.com/2004/10/25/stories/2004102501591303.htm; r13.10.2008

[186] "DLF City is a township spread over 3.000 acres in the Delhi suburb of Gurgaon. It is Asia's largest private township spread over five phases with landmark constructions. It offers a comprehensive modern city infrastructure, encompassing basic amenities, social infrastructure including educational institutions, healthcare, hospitality, and shopping and entertainment facilities. This is coupled with the prestigious DLF Golf and Country Club, the only night golfing course in the country and rated among the top ten in Asia, making it one of the top rated Integrated Townships developed by DLF". ... "Forbes,

At the height of the 2008 real estate boom DLF and the Dubai based Nakheel also planned to place two gigantic 'Manhattans' of 8.000 hectare each on the Indian map. The cities near Mumbai and Gurgaon were supposed to be three times as large as Manhattan Island and attract investments of more than 20 billion US$. (Cf. Raj Nambisan and Priti Bajaj; in Daily News and Analyses India (DNA), March 2007) Mumbai-based real estate company Nirmal Lifestyle has announced plans to set up five Integrated Townships including three near Mumbai within the next three years. (Cf. The Hindustan Times; 20.08.2005)

Some of Navi Mumbai's current nodes are presently being developed along SEZ and Township schemes (cf. below Dronagiri, Ulwe) the environs, including the Mumbai Pune corridor, featurng gargantuan commercial and Integrated Township projects.

The list of the new SEZs, Integrated Townships, commercial zones and large housing estates, promoted the along the Mumbai Pune axis includes large new Townships such as the Mumbai Manhattan (DLF and Al Nakheel, 8.000 hectares), and Aamby Valley (Sahara India, 4.000 hectares) projects. Commercial and industrial enclaves include the Mumbai SEZ (Reliance, 5.000 hectares), Energy City (Gulf Finance House Government of Maharashtra, 240 hectares), as well as the Dhirubhai Ambani Knowledge City (Reliance Telecom, 56 hectares). Gated communities comprise the Hiranandani Palace Gardens Panvel (233 hectares), Magic Hills I and II (300 hectares), Bollywood City (Lakshish Group, n.n.), and the Arrow City (Arrow Engineering, 45 hectares)

Box 17: Role model Dubai

Dubai emerges as one of the most important regional role models. The city plays a prime role as an adopter and transporter of global life style models.

It is interesting to observe that new urban role models transporting a globally oriented lifestyle do not necessarily come from the 'first' world. Instead these are often transported via a series of lighthouse nodes in developing countries and emerging economies. In this context Navi Mumbai's contemporary urban role models are mainly represented and sanctioned by Dubai, Singapore and Shanghai.

The anthropologist Petra Kuppinger (2007) attests that Dubai, more than New York or London, is now a focal point for Middle Eastern planners and investors. The Gulf city is emerging as the primary role model in Southern Asia and the MENA region (Middle East North Africa). While Cairo acted as the regions cultural capital for centuries, now Dubai (and increasingly also Abu Dhabi) act as early adopters, transformers, sanctifiers, and distributional nodes of (western) global life style models in the region, in particular the Islamic parts of it. In the context of contemporary geopolitics, cultural (and urban) role models are rather accepted if they come from Dubai than directly from the West – no matter how modern they may be. (Cf. Kuppinger 2007)

Most Indians admire Dubai as a nearby success model in the region, as it has proved the feasibility of joining the league of global cities. Its success was made possible with the significant help of Indians. An increasing number of NRI's live and work in the Gulf region. [Cf. above: India, Migration Patterns, NRI's) While Dubai serves as an important base for successful Indian enterprises undertaking projects in the Middle East, the large firms from the Gulf are participating in a myriad of projects on the Indian subcontinent.[187]

And so, as Indian metropolises such as Mumbai, Delhi, Bangalore, Hyderabad, Chennai, or Kolkata are increasingly drawn into the maelstrom of global movements (of people, goods, and symbols) they become part of a new landscape of new and alternate modernities. (Cf. Brosius 2007: 67)

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known for ranking world's billionaires, in its issue of March 24, 2008, has ranked Dr. K.P.Singh as the richest real estate baron and the eighth richest person in the world, at a net worth of US$30 billion." (Promotional texts from: www.dlf.in r12.10.2008)

[187] Cf. the websites of Hiranandani, Nirmal, Emaar etc

Impact of new projects on Navi Mumbai

It is highly probable that the new trends as described above will strengthen Navi Mumbai as a regional centre. The new city finds itself increasingly submerged in a process of urban peripheral transformation. This may engender new spatial and economic problems. Yet, as the new projects are going to draw on the existing framework of Navi Mumbai's landmark infrastructure and services, most probably the city's central role will also be strengthened and will likely emerge as an important regional node.

Two alternative role models

Navi Mumbai's latest internationally oriented, globalised and privatised project peers are not without contradictions. While they attract streams of money and know-how they also foster a concentration of urban development in the hands of few developers. Moreover, they are highly dependent on, and conditioned by, international markets.[188] The local impact of the September 2008 market crash remains to be seen. And not least they engender problematic (homogenised, fragmented, polarised) urban landscapes.

While contradictions fortunately produce counter movements and innovations, several alternative models are currently emerging on the Indian market which may be of increasing importance for the future development of regional cities. The two models that will be presented in this context are Vidyadhar Nagar and Magarpatta. While the first represents a new post-Chandigarh planning approach, merging tradition and modernity, the second explores a model of communally developed Integrated Townships.

Vidyadhar Nagar

Vidyadhar Nagar represents an urban model that merges traditional and modern planning approaches. The plan is the result of a study of Doshi's Vastu Shilpa Foundation (VSF) for a parallel city of Jaipur in 1992. Vidyadhar Nagar is named after the architect-planner of Jaipur and is located about 3,5 km Southeast of the existing centre. The scheme is supposed to accommodate 120.000 people on 600 hectares (e.g. a notable 200 people per hectare). In merging the ancient canonical planning principles of Vashtu Shilpa with modernist codes, the planners sought to develop a new model for contemporary planning in India. The method was called the post-Chandigarh Approach (VSF at vastishilpa.org, r12.10.2008).

This approach rationale is significant for Navi Mumbai as it was applied in preparing the master plan for the Kharghar node that was also prepared by the Vastu Shilpa Foundation. As a consequence the contextual scheme of Kharghar works with the potentials of the local situation. In actively seeking to resolve the present trends of homogenisation and segregation, it develops an integrated urban area that is based on a highly mixed urban fabric and generous infrastructure and open space networks. Therefore it follows the ideal of a city that is composed of private spaces engulfed in a sea of public space. While Kharghar is not free from signs of 'privatisation' and deregulation – an 18 hole golf course is as much part of the scheme as a series of iconic landmark architectures (cf. below: Design strategies) – it seems that some the general problems usually related to purely private development have been addressed. After all, only the future will show if the scheme was successful.

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[188] While developers seek to diversify their portfolios the speculative tail may be wagging the spot dog. (Cf. The Economist, Oct 11th, 2008: s18)

Magarpatta

Magarpatta, a new scheme in Pune, takes the bull by the horns and develops remarkable economic and legal alternatives. It is the first Integrated Township based on cooperative land ownership.

The neighbourhood was built in a rapidly urbanising peripheral part of Pune. The implementation of the plan started around 2000. Its central location makes it more a 'subcity' than a satellite township. The city is planned along a 'traditional' scheme of an Integrated Township with a whole range of self-sufficient infrastructure and service facilities and a few extra additions. The settlement comprises 140 hectares and was organised along a traditional mandala structure with nine squares. It is crowned by a circular void, the large central park. The park is surrounded by a series of office buildings, the Cyber City, while the themed residential areas are grouped in the periphery.

The project will contain 20 office towers, as well as 300 residential buildings. 7.000 residents plus many more employees will populate the township. The residents will be white collar IT professionals and IT workers, as well as land owner families. Offices as well as an SEZ will consume the majority of floor space (9 million square feet). Residential use will make up 1,4 million square feet. Moreover, open and green spaces will comprise a notable 30 percent of the area. Access is permitted to residents and guests only, and two large shopping malls have been placed outside the perimeter walls.

Magarpatta's major innovations are invisible. They are represented by the financial and legal set up. The city was developed by a cooperative of 200 landowners, driven by the vision of Satish Magar[189], a major landowner in the area. The owners cooperative has installed an implementing vehicle, the Township Development & Construction Co. Ltd. A major strategic advantage was the fact that the national Housing Development Finance Corporation decided to support the project.

While Mr Magar drafted the scheme in person, Hafeez Contractor, one of India's largest and most prominent architecture consultancies, prepared the detailed plans[190] Moreover several artists have been invited to participate in the design process.

Inline with other schemes, marketing plays a major role. Magarpatta motto is 'buy a house, get a city free.' The project represents an exemplary Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) strategy. It involved local entrepreneurs and use of local materials whenever feasible. Moreover it pursued exceptional environmental standards resulting in an ISO 9001[191] certification.

The owners have backed themselves financially by selling only the residential part of the development, while the office segment is being leased. This strategy secured the necessary start up money that was used to establish a corpus fund, which guarantees long term security.

Conclusion

Magarpatta presents an impressive track record of resolving political, financial, environmental, and legal drawbacks of conventional mega projects. On the other hand it has produced fewer innovations at a spatial level. Its role within the general urban tissue is questionable. The 'subcity' results in an isolated structure that has much in common with conventional elite enclaves. While new market principles are admired and most of Ebenezer Howard's philanthropic ideas are realised, the project results in a distant world on the other side of the walls populated by 200 newly rich families. The benefits for a greater context are questionable.

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[189] Mr Magar comes from a political, landowner background but had an urban, Western education.

[190] A Mumbai based design office with extensive experience in designing Special Townships that has also designed several schemes in Navi Mumbai. (Cf. below: Developers; Designers)

[191] The ISO 9000 certificate is a quality norm for environmental management. Cf. Below Developers

Special Development Areas (SDA's)

Particular examples of peripheral development that are not existent in Mumbai, are large scale Special Development Areas (sometimes also referred as Special Development Zones). Some of India's second tier cities such as Hyderabad, Chennai, and Bangalore have exempted terrains of several hundred square kilometres from local development regulations seeking to construct large experimental cities. The development is mainly driven by state planning agencies. Hyderabad's Special Development Areas Cyberabad and the Hyderabad Airport Development Authority (HADA) have a combined size of 520 square kilometres. This is the 3-fold size of the central city area under municipal administration (MCH). The planning regulations of these cities are mainly driven by the principles of privatisation and deregulation and market oriented planning tools, e.g. the marketing of development rights. (Cf. Gotsch, Kohte 2007)

Box 18: Example Cyberabad

A particular pioneer of the typology of Special Development Zones is the project of Cyberabad in Hyderabad, the capital of Andhra Pradesh. The scheme is a result of liberal urban development strategies by the state government geared towards the information technology sector and was founded almost ten years ago as a 'Special Development Zone'. Since then it has experienced rapid development. In some places the land prices went up as much as five hundred percent in less than five years. Almost all Indian IT companies as well as most of the international sector leading firms such as Microsoft and Google have large dependencies in the area. Several new townships, marked by a series of high-rise zones and topped by a 100-storey tower, are in the planning process. Notably Cyberabad houses Microsoft's Cyberabad campus, which is the largest dependency of the firm outside the US with more than 12.000 employees (Gotsch, Kohte 2007: translation by the Autor). The office of Balkrishna Doshi along a locally sensitive contextual scheme designed the master plan. Yet, Doshi's spatial ideas have been rapidly consumed by flexible building regulations and special development rights for IT firms (cf. Gotsch, Kohte 2007).

Conclusion predecessors

The previous subsection sought to enlighten Navi Mumbai's position in a context of planned cities. It became clear that the new city across the Thane emerges in a rich context of regional and global, of historic and contemporary predecessors and peers. Navi Mumbai follows a contextual approach that largely works with the local place and adapts various role models, concepts and maxims, in the manner of a toolkit rather than in a dogmatic way. Indeed part of its success lies in the fact that it was conceived as a resilient and versatile structure, capable of adapting to the requirements of time.

Two of the role models stand out in particular. While the principles of Ebenezer Howard's Town Magnet have been decisive for the general organisation and some of the underlying property relations, Corbusier's modernist solutions of Chandigarh haven been most influential in the elaboration of Navi Mumbai's more detailed physiognomy and morphology.

The city also reflects recent trends originating rather in the world of economics and real estate development than in planning and design disciplines. The internal and external development of the city is characterised by deregulation, privatisation, and the diversification of finances and the impact of foreign investments. Regional role models such as Dubai, Singapore and Shanghai influence the style of the projects. Spatially it is represented by a huge amount of SEZs, Integrated Townships, IT Parks, large infrastructure

ventures and their hybrid forms. It remains open, if Navi Mumbai's open structure will be resilient enough to accommodate these large interventions.

Summary

India

Navi Mumbai is located in the economic centre of the second largest country in the world. The majority of India's population is young (< 25 years), rural (70 percent), poor, and informal. With adult literacy rates of 60 percent in 2003 the country ranges among the lowest 25 percent in the world. Yet urbanisation rates are immense, and Indian cities comprise more people than all aggregated countries of the world at once, excluding USA, China and Russia.

National development policy

The vast country became independent in 1947 and is today the largest parliamentary democracy in the world. Up to the 1980's a rather socialist, central planning approach has been dominant. Since then a process of changing paradigms towards liberal markets and deregulation began. In particular since the fall of the Soviet Union, the country embarked on a paired process of political decentralisation to the inside and an opening of trade borders to the outer world. Decentralisation programmes (e.g. the 73 and 74th Constitutional Amendments) have shifted political power increasingly towards the Indian states. The Economic Policies (NEP) engendered an economic boom of certain sectors and massive inflows of foreign investment.

The year 1991 is known as a historic watershed in respect of India's internal development policy and its increasing synchronisation with worldwide economies. Facing an increasing bureaucratic gridlock and severe budgetary crisis, the country embarked on a New Economic Policy. This package of comprehensive reforms was largely modelled along the recommendations of the Washington consensus.

The liberal reforms resulted in a decent economic growth along with a high inflow of foreign private capital into India. Foreign Direct Investment increased by 1.800 percent between 1990 and 2003. During the same period remittance flows from the 22 million Indians living and working abroad grew by 800 percent (from 2.3 to 17.5 US$ billion).

While the inflow of FDI into India has enhanced the greater economy, it has also contributed to uneven development. (Mumbai alone attracted 32 percent of all foreign funds). The decentralisation and liberalisation programmes have led to expanding specialisation, but also polarisation and fragmentation. More and more India's states resemble individual countries, small and medium sized enterprises have been disadvantaged, and the income disparities between rich and poor have generally increased.

Economic profile and trends

India's gross domestic product (GDP) is slightly higher than that of the city of London. The country's share in world exports remains very small (at 0.9 percent for 2005). The country is still among the poorest: in 2003 the average Indian GNP per capita ranged at 500 US$. In 2006, about 836 million people, or 77 percent, lived on less than two dollars a day.

The country's rapid economic growth has not been sufficient to offset the demands of demographic development. While India's economy has grown by an average of six percent and more since the 1990's, investment in infrastructure has always lagged behind (at rates that only amount to a third of China's investments). This gap has contributed to an increasing expansion of the informal sector. Of India's labour force of over 390 million

only 7 percent are workers on regular wages and salaries and slum population in major metropolitan centres such as Mumbai is anticipated to exceed half of the population.

On the other hand, the subcontinent is among the most rapidly growing BRIC-economies in the world. In 2007 growth rates amounted to 9 percent. Experts predict that growth will continue for the next 30 to 50 years. While incomes and the quality of life are steadily improving for all population segments, overall income disparities are constantly increasing. These trends have grown since the 1990's economic reforms.

While India is also on the way to a services oriented economy, it seems that here the shift occurs faster and earlier than in many other countries. The country is veering away from labour-intensive industries and large numbers of the population are bypassed by the leapfrogging development.

A significant consumer class is emerging particularly in the large cities. This new middle class is expected to grow rapidly – from 50 million people today to 583 million people in the next 20 years. By that time this group will probably outnumber its European as well as US peers. The middle class will carry forward a profound modernisation of India's society. This will be mainly based on consumption-orientated lifestyles. (Car ownership rates at 6 per mill, for example, indicate an enormous scope for development).

The county's demographic growth, the deregulation and liberalisation policies along with a global framework of surplus money, had a tremendous impact on the country's land and housing industries, leading to a widespread real estate boom. The 9-10 percent economic growth increased the general demand for homes and commercial space. Hence, attracted by special concessions, government subsidies, and spectacular high interest rates, a large part of the new foreign direct inflow went into the infrastructure sector.

As a consequence of the liberalisation programmes the government has increasingly shifted from an active construction of social housing towards demand driven policies realised by the private sector. This policy has brought about major change for public agencies that were actively engaged in the development and construction of low-income housing (including Navi Mumbai's developing agency Cidco).

Yet, presently, the vast majority of India is too poor to afford a house on the formal market, and in contrast, the formal market cannot serve the low-income sector in a profitable way. Less than 10 percent of the population have a sufficiently large income to afford a house without subsidies. Moreover, affordability levels for the middle and upper income classes in the large metropolises are disproportionately high (usually a house costs considerably more than 10 times the respective annual income). Consequently suburban locations are increasingly explored.

Culture

India's cultural context plays a significant role as well in understanding the social, economic, and spatial dimensions of development. Clan, ethnicity, caste and religion continue to affect social, economic and spatial relations. (Members of scheduled castes are twice as likely to be illiterate and poor than other populations). New liberalisation reforms have shaken up old social boundaries, yet they have also triggered new waves of Clientelism and 'corruption'.

In addition, a new nexus of global 'deterritorialised' culture has a deep impact on the country's urban landscapes. The large metropolises, and in particular Mumbai are maelstroms of people, goods and information – at regional, national, and global levels and along increasingly complex (non-isomorphic) paths. Innumerable rural-urban migrants continuously flock to the cities. At the same time populations moving on an international scale import a growing amount of global images and lifestyles. Indeed, as 'transmigration' and according 'deterritorialised cultures' have a consequential impact on the pro-

duction of India's urban spaces, Mumbai emerges as India's ultimate urban node between global and local, rural and urban, tradition and modernity.

Spatial trends

India's megacities centralise wealth and are engines of economic growth. The 4 large Megacities comprise only 5 percent of the population. Yet at the same time they account for more than 60 percent of all income tax generation. With the economy growing faster than the population, India's metropolitan centres are experiencing a massive trend of regionalisation and suburbanisation. The growth concentrates particular in 17 national development corridors, mostly along major infrastructure spines.

As cities appear to sprawl in an uncontrolled way, in the last decade the Indian government has sought to steer peripheral urban development by the means of large autonomous projects, mainly financed and developed by the private sector. For this purpose it has developed various programmes and incentive schemes (e.g. for ITparks, SEZs, Integrated Townships etc.). Public Private Partnerships (PPPs) are used extensively as vehicles for the development of infrastructure at various scales. A tendency towards big projects is nurtured by conservative Indian legal regulations as well as by economic dynamics of agglomeration. Various areas are special development zones experimenting with novel market oriented planning instruments.

Importantly, at this point in history, Special Economic Zones and Integrated Townships emerge as specific new urban typologies in the Indian context.

As opposed to China or Dubai, in India, not only public institutions, but also private enterprises are allowed to run SEZs. The fact that Indian SEZ can also include commercial, residential and entertainment areas turns them into fully fledged neighbourhoods and modules of urban growth. Crucially, the entrepreneurs acquire full autonomy of the development regulations. A second novel urban typology that is mushrooming in the peripheries of India's metropolises are Integrated Townships. This typology represents a strategy of India's Government to promote the construction of housing and urban infrastructure of high standards in allowing up to 100 percent foreign direct investments. At many locations developers combine both SEZ and Integrated Township schemes.

Mumbai – in the context of aggregated trends

Mumbai, often referred as the *urbs primus indiae* is a demographic, economic, and cultural centre of India. The 6,3 percent Indians that reside in the region, generate 25 percent of the Indian GDP. The city features income levels 10 times the Indian medium with income levels recently rising by an annual average of 10 to 15 percent.

Greater Mumbai's population is currently 19 million and is growing at about 2 percent annually. The Metropolitan Region of Mumbai comprises 4.360 square kilometres. 10 percent of that area is taken up by Greater Mumbai (peninsula). The urban landscape is marked by the changes of the economic base from organised industrialisation to high-value services. At the same time the city also faces increasing competition from second tier cities such as Chennai, Bangalore and Hyderabad (mainly in the IT sector).

Compactness represents one of the most striking features of Mumbai. The centre is one of the densest urban locations in the world. While Greater Mumbai features average densities of 270 people per hectare, some of the locations comprise 4.600 people per hectare and more. Even more striking is the additional fact that two-thirds of the (poor) residents are crowded into just 5 percent of the total area. During day times Mumbai's Public Ground Area (PGA), a measure of open spaces per resident, amounts to an average of 6,5 squares meters.

Indeed, Mumbai faces a physical dilemma. The most significant morphological feature of Mumbai is that, like Manhattan, the central city is located on a longitudinal peninsula. While this location was optimal for a colonial port city, it also implies a sharply restricted amount of space. The city's infrastructure runs parallel to this north-south axis and has provided a basis for settlement over the past two hundred years. The majority of movements were orientated on a North-South axis along an impressive network of commuter trains.

The low floor area ratio (FAR) of 1,5 and below, old rent controls (housing) and vacant industrial lands are among the factors that – along with novel trends – severely increase the pressures on land uses on the peninsula.

With central densities and rents hitting record highs a growing number of population falls out of the framework of the formal economy and housing market. Accordingly, the informal segment of Mumbai is at historical peaks and continues to grow. Today more than two thirds of the population work in unofficial jobs and reside in slums – with rising tendencies.

Recent trends, however, point to the fact that today even Mumbai has reached a critical point leading to an increased decentralisation and the emergence of a multiplex urban region.

Regionalisation

Mumbai's spatial (real estate), growth is disproportionately higher than its economic growth and both are disproportionately higher than demographic growth. Consequently, the city is experiencing an increasing trend of sprawl and regionalisation. From the 1960s to the 1990 the ratio of people living in the city and its periphery has flipped. Now two thirds of the population live in the region. A similar trend occurred in the industrial sector. In the last 35 years most heavy industries have declined and/ or migrated to the peripheries. At the same time the centre has become dominated by white collar services.

While central Mumbai is among the most expensive places in the world, the available marginal supply of land and housing on the formal market is geared towards high-end consumers with a household income of over INR 20 lakh (~ US$ 40.000), and more, per annum. In contrast the property prices for residential space in peripheral locations amount to 15 to 25 percent of the inner city locations; Mumbai's peripheral locations are not only attracting poor immigrants and workers from relocated industries. A recent focus of peripheral development is targeting new economies and middle-income groups.

The current drive towards the suburbs is also spurred by the risk profile of the megacity. As with many other megacities in developing regions, Mumbai seems to be in a constant state of emergency (while at the same time also having a relatively safe and tolerant environment). Among the frequent and reoccurring dangers are natural disasters such as monsoon floods, daily health hazards posed by extreme levels of pollution and traffic accidents, risks posed by riots and terrorist activities and financial risks posed by volatile land markets. Apparently there is not just a single problem, but also a perception of a generally increased vulnerability level (mostly aggravated by the impact of the popular media), which is among the important drivers of people moving to suburban locations and Navi Mumbai. Yet, sometimes people fall out of the frying pan into the fire, as environmental hazards in peripheral locations are not uncommon.

Regional Form

Mumbai's periphery can generally be characterised as 'a landscape of surprise' that is characterised by a fragmented patchwork of major infrastructure projects, new town plans, existing villages and towns, slums, unauthorised construction activities, large pri-

vate commercial and industrial projects, enormous scavenging areas for building materials, agricultural lands, forests, water bodies and marsh lands, etc.

Importantly in the course of regionalisation five regional sub-centres are emerging. Interconnected by major strings of infrastructure and transportation, they take the form of an open pentagon with Navi Mumbai emerging as one of these five centres.

One of the most striking characteristics of the suburbs is the gap between plan and reality. This is mainly represented by the amount of unauthorised construction (which is also typical for emerging megacity-regions). Bottom-up construction activities result in the production of a large number of permanent urban structures (which must be sharply distinguished from informal (kutcha) settlements). At many locations the mixture, composed of industries and housing, causes highly speculative and risky situations, as much as it endangers regional ecosystems and violates ecological preservation zones. The public hand has largely failed to keep up with this dynamic development and tend to become mere 'documentators' of change. Yet, the last regional planning document (MMDRA 1999) proposed seeing the new patterns of growth as pointers to possible solutions.

Another 'new' type of development that is emerging in the urban periphery is the large privately developed enclave in the form of SEZs and Integrated Townships as described above. This development is likewise 'informal', unplanned, self-organising and spontaneous to the extent that almost none of the new projects were anticipated in the existing master plans, and also because the SEZ- and township areas are mostly exempt from general development regulations and administered in an autonomous manner.

Milestones and planning framework

India

India becomes independent in 1947. Like in many decolonised nations the country embarks on the quest for a new (old) identity. Accordingly, this process towards autonomy nurtures a strong central government. The young nation is based on state centralisation, protectionist economic policies, and a strong social welfare system. In the 1950's India is, along with Indonesia, one of the founding members of the block free movement of third world countries. In the succeeding decades population dynamics, economic development and the growth of cities increase contradictions to the centralist approach. Rajiv Gandhi embarks on a parallel strategy of economic liberalisation and political decentralisation in the mid-1980s. A financial debt crisis, triggered by a global rise of oil prices, shakes up the country by the end of the 1980s (as in many other places). The New Economic Program (NEP), initiated by Prime Minister Narashima Rao in 1991, largely advances the efforts of deregulation, decentralisation, liberalisation and privatisation (cf. Weinstein 2005: 15) along the lines prescribed by The World Bank, or the IMF. In the course of this development cities are increasingly accepted as the engines driving economic development and regarded as focal parts of the economic system. In this new liberal context, the government increasingly exploits the efficiency of the private sector in urban development. In addition, the quest for increased direct foreign investments leads to a second wave of reforms at the dawn of the 21st century. These reforms facilitate 100 percent foreign direct investments in the construction sector and lead to the boom of private mega projects (IT-Centres, SEZs and Townships).

Milestones Mumbai

Mumbai's 450-year history is mainly influenced by the British occupation. Being a perfect natural harbour, the city thrives on trade and serves as the base of the East India Company. The seven islands comprising the city become increasingly linked. Major in-

frastructure systems, e.g. the railways, including the major terminals are built in the 19th century. Early industrialisation brings a cosmopolitan and modern flair. Accordingly the question of class becomes more important than caste, ethnicity, and language. As early as 1872 the city's population reaches 650.000, a number only topped by London.

The urban landscape of post-independence Mumbai is largely shaped by migration movements, deindustrialisation, the rise of service economies, a continuous growth of slums and middle classes, ethnic riots and movements, as well as regional growth and decentralisation. The strategic advantage of the insular location, as well as conservative land regulations and rent laws, increasingly constrain growth and development. Mumbai becomes one of the densest and most expensive cities globally. In the 1970's the state receives increasing powers to project its own progress. It drives the regional development and installs powerful institutions such as the MMRDA, MIDC, and Cidco, amongst others, as major players on the urban scene. As the city thrives on the 1990's economic reforms, massive inflows of foreign money and exceptional economic growth rates lead to a real estate boom. This urban burst is spearheaded by a series of private mega projects (such as the Maha Mumbai SEZ), large infrastructure schemes (such as the Sewri-Nhava Sheva trans-harbour link), but also by a mass of mushrooming unauthorised developments. One of the consequences is that conventional planning approaches are increasingly challenged by the rapid transformation of the city towards a multiplex urban fabric.

Milestones NM

The Navi Mumbai project, implemented by the Government of Maharashtra, is one of the largest planned cities of contemporary times. The proposals to accommodate the spillover and shift other economic activities of the megacity to the mainland have a record of more than 60 years. In general, Navi Mumbai's planning history can be divided into two main stages, representing opposing gestures: Firstly, the new city is supposed to draw development away from the central city, while later on, it finds itself pointing towards the sprawling metropolis. Plans to develop a satellite town on the mainland date back to the late 1940's. These are largely motivated by policies of a centrally guided urban-industrial deconcentration in a supply driven approach. In contrast, the planning approach of the more recent stages, after 1985, a public policy increasingly acknowledging the relevance of central cities as engines for economic development. In this context Navi Mumbai evolves from an alternative growth core in the environs of the mainland that was supposed to steer development away form the main city, into an integral part of the multiplex urban region, thus reinforcing the significance of the central city.

Predecessors

Navi Mumbai can be interpreted as a Critical Regionalism elevated to a urban scale. The city Navi exists in a vast framework of planned city predecessors and maxims. The new city across the Thane creek combines cosmological aspects of the traditional Indian City; Mahatma Gandhi's social principles, the scientific and monumental maxims of New Delhi, the modern rationalist aesthetics of Chandigarh, as well as important axioms of the British New Town movement. However the city is not a simple melting pot of ideas. Animated by what planning traditions have to offer, it is designed along a sensitive contextual approach and notions of place and location play a predominant role,

India has a 5.000-year old history that reverberates up to present times, including some of Navi Mumbai's elements. City building in India was based on elaborate regulations and standards. Moreover, the principles of Vastu, Shilpa and Shastra have never lost significance at India's urban planning tradition. The Mandala, basically a metaphysi-

cal plan, represents essential forms of and architecture urban planning, such as hierarchically organised orthogonal systems of quadrants with a holy site at the centre. Today the traditional Vastu principles experience a strong esoteric revival and reclaim mainstream popularity. Significantly Navi Mumbai's node of Kopar Khairane, an important site of site-and-service projects for the lowest income sector, has been designed in this manner.

Moreover, Navi Mumbai's approach towards landmarks can be related to a medieval tradition. The Islamic architectural and urban planning tradition of medieval India was mainly centred on monumental structures. A great number of India's landmark buildings that are formative for India's contemporary 'brand', originated at that time. With a rising number of global generic typologies monuments are of increasing importance for newly planned cities including Navi Mumbai.

Another important predecessor is the British-colonial tradition of planned cities. The British constructed a large number of distinct settlements with a significant impact on the modern Indian planning tradition. As a result, the planners of Navi Mumbai were largely affected by the rational efficiency of the new cities that are increasingly moulded along the principles of functional zoning and the demands of modern infrastructure systems. Of particular relevance is also the success of New Towns serving as new capitals, such as New Delhi, Chandigarh, or Gandhinagar.

Navi Mumbai emerges in the 1960's as a model to decentralise the growth of ever-larger metropolises. Significantly, it is not the only satellite city. Kolkata's new town of Bidhan Nagar (1958), or Delhi's sub-city of Dwarka (1964) represent parallel endeavours.

What clearly unites Chandigarh, Navi Mumbai and the other New Towns and urban extensions built at that time, are their radical renunciation of the traditional urban fabric. All of the post-independence modern projects are driven by the idealistic vision of developing 'modern' cities without slums. While the many authors of Navi Mumbai's various neighbourhoods have a single categorical role model, they constantly apply and interpret the instruments and methodologies of modern architecture. Indeed, Correa and his colleagues create a more resilient and open scheme, leaving space for change and adaptation by individual stakeholders. In other words, Navi Mumbai represents a contextual approach of modernity that is in contrast to Chandigarh's idealistic formalism. The architects develop schemes that were deeply embedded in the conditions of local place.

Among the most significant structural models for the new city across the Thane creek is Howard's Town Magnet. Indeed, it represents, the fundamentals of confined centres linked by railways and separated by greenbelts, but also the principles of communal land ownership – bundled with the transfer of development and management duties towards a communal administrative body (e.g. Cidco).

In contemporary times, an increasing amount of imaginary, money and expertise comes from new Asian role models such as Dubai, or Singapore. SEZ and Township typologies, currently prominent all over India, are among the most important current peers and role models for the new city. While two of Navi Mumbai's nodes are developed in the manner of SEZs (Dronagiri and Ulwe) several additional schemes are emerging on the city's periphery. As the new projects in Navi Mumbai's environs largely profit from the New Towns infrastructure, they are likely to reinforce the new city's role as an edge city that is part of the multiplex urban region.

While the privately developed enclaves also produce contradictions, problems, and negative externalities (e.g. a fragmented and polarised urban tissue, restricted access, large eco-footprints) several models are experimenting with some innovative formulas: Model schemes at a national scale, such as Doshi's Vidyadhar Nagar (the model for Navi Mumbai's Khargar node) seek to reconcile the contradictions of tradition and modernity.

The Pune Township Magarpatta is a private project based on communal land ownership by the local farmers.

Hence, while Navi Mumbai emerges in a rich context of regional and global, of historic and contemporary predecessors and peers, the new satellite prefers a contextual approach. The scheme operates with the local place and adapts various role models in a non-dogmatic way. Behind Navi Mumbai's success lies the fact that is a resilient and versatile structure capable of adapting to the requirements of time.

Form –
String of nodes across the creek

"The scale of the city is beyond anything so far undertaken in this country. It may well turn out to be the largest planned city project so far undertaken anywhere." (Cidco 1973: 8-9, quoted in Shaw 1974)
"Mr. Thakar explained to me: Normally, cities are built around people, here, in Navi Mumbai, the city is built first, the people will come afterwards." (Times of India, 2005)

Introduction

Navi Mumbai is one of the largest planned cities on the planet. One of the most distinctive elements of the new city is its urban fabric. It poses a stark contrast to India's traditional cities. Indeed, 60 years of planning and 40 years of implementation remain a short period in relation to the total life of urban systems. This fact makes the urban forms and typologies of a planned city such as Navi Mumbai easily apparent. Yet, even this short history reveals important experiences and lessons. Moreover, the new city reflects larger socio-economic, political and cultural trends whether regional, national or global.[192]

The inquiry into the dimensions of urban form is important, because it is one of the central prerequisites of this thesis that the physical form of settlements and societal process have to be regarded as integral elements of a mutual (dialectic) relationship. Social realities can only have an existence as long as there is a spatial existence and vice versa (cf. introductory chapter). Every exploration of processes is only complete if it takes into account the sphere of space.

Specific for our inquiry of Navi Mumbai's is the fact that the structure was conceived in an era that handled space in an absolute way. Spatial determinism was an integral part of a modern planning and design approach. In this context the planners of Navi Mumbai believed that the design of modern spaces (and cities) could lead to an immediate transformation of societal relations. Modern planning was regarded as the tool of choice to resolve the most pressing demographic, social, political, economic and ecologic problems in a technocratic and positivist manner. So it presumed, for example, that the problem of housing could be resolved by central planning of a sufficient number of apartments, or that the 'tradition' of caste could be ended by constructing modern neighbourhoods.

After all, the presence of this contradictory background focuses our attention on the unplanned and unintended reverberations produced by the deterministically planned city.

After having elaborated the wider spatial as well as historical context of Navi Mumbai, the following sub-chapter concentrates on the city's physical reality. The chapter will describe Navi Mumbai's form. This description of the material facts of the new city aims to establish a base on which other processes and flows can be explored.[193] In describing the spatial characteristics of the place it will be important to evaluate to the results of the planned and of the non-planned reality.

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[192] Since the early 1970's: Bombay's name was changed to Mumbai, the urban population more than doubled, the administrative boundary of the region increased several times, household numbers got smaller, the country survived a profound debt crisis, the economy became increasingly service oriented, the information technology sector boomed, populist parties became prominent, the share of informal settlements in the city tripled from one quarter to more than three quarters. (cf. above: Context, India; cp. above: Milestones chart)
[193] Accordingly the consecutive chapters will then explore the impact of the users, makers, finances and regulations.

Accordingly we describe the physiognomy and physiology of the new city from the perspective of different scales and from various angles. Our inquiry is divided into two parts: an 'exterior' regional and an 'interior' local perspective. The chapter starts with the regional setting. This looks at the various relationships between Navi Mumbai, the traditional centre (Mumbai's CBD) and the region. Navi Mumbai's physical portrait goes on with the description of the full New Town cluster and presenting a set of core characteristics related to structure, size, $^{land\ use}$, infrastructure, etc. The portrait then zooms into the particular properties of the nodes, clusters and blocks, in describing the main structural qualities such as size, pattern, use or density.

The fact that Navi Mumbai is a New Town cluster combining 15 nodes, more than 600 sectors and a history of almost 40 years, implies that this city presents a greater variety of approaches than the other two case studies (Bumi Serpong Damai and Alphaville) discussed in this thesis. Consequently a discussion of a number exemplary nodes and sectors with milestone character seeks to account for this variety.

Regional context

Table 14: Key indicators – Navi Mumbai's regional context

Share of metro population	*11 percent*
Major regional infrastructure coming up in the vicinity	Planned Sea Link, Planned international Airport, International Container Terminal
Share of metro area	8 percent
Number of Regional Malls (existing, planned)	6 (8)
Major interregional road arteries	1
Percentage of project area owned by the developer	95 percent
Distance to centre	45 km
Commute to centre	65 minutes
People living and working in Navi Mumbai	60 percent
Major mode of internal mobility	Walk, bus
Major mode of external mobility	Metro rail

In investigating the physical reality of a planned city the relationship of the project with its environs is of foremost importance. While the character of the greater region was described in the context section above (cf. above: Context Mumbai) this subchapter focuses on the direct relationships of Navi Mumbai its environs and the greater region.

Consequently the central questions are: What are the relationships between project and region? How is the new city delineated? How can the context of regional infrastructure be described and characterised? How is Navi Mumbai connected to this system? What is its relationship in terms of size and exchange? What happened in the immediate environs of the New Town? Has the new city triggered other developments? Are these similar or diverse, planned or unplanned?

When the new city was planned it was intended to fulfil a certain role in the regional and local context: e.g. it was intended to become an alternate growth pole on the mainland. Yet, it seems that during the urban (social, political, economic) evolution of the last 40 years a new situation emerged. Navi Mumbai was swamped by the urban frontier and became an integral part of the greater region. Today the environs of Navi

Mumbai is characterised by rapid urbanisation. The section belongs to one of 17 major regional growth corridors currently emerging in India (cf. above).[194] Featuring many new residential projects, Integrated Townships and SEZs, the area is also rapidly developing in a preferred location of the growing middle classes. (Cf. Cushman & Wakefield 2007b)

Relationship of the project to the region

Setting

Navi Mumbai's site has a longitudinal shape. It contains a coastal stretch of 34,2 kilometres along two major creeks (the Thane and Panvel Inlets) and spans between the marshy edges of the sea and the 50 to 200 meter high Parsik Hills. The city is elevated at only 10 meters above sea level with "the whole of India as a hinterland" (Mehta 2005). While the parallel city is part of the head of the Mumbai-Thane-Pune development corridor, several of Navi Mumbai's nodes, such as Vashi or Belapur, emerge as regional centres, driving further urbanisation.

Navi Mumbai expands across three administrative boundaries of the three 'Talukas'[195] of Thane, Panvel and Uran. It also overarches two districts, Thane and Raigad. (Cidco 2000) The project holds a significant share of 11 percent of Mumbai's metropolitan population. It takes up 8 percent of the total regional terrain (cf. Appendix: Comparative Indicators).

The developer, e.g. the City and Industrial Development Corporation of Maharashtra Ltd. (Cidco), owns 95 percent of the land of Navi Mumbai. Notably local villages own the other share.[196] Most of the land upon which Navi Mumbai is erected was salty marshland. The locals were subsisting on fishing as well as some rice cultivation (Shaw 2004).

The project's surrounding area is of a periurban character (cf. above: structure of the region). It is composed of a permanently mutating landscape of rivalling land uses: regional centres (e.g. Thane, Panvel), industrial estates, commercial parks, urbanised villages, informal settlements, agriculture, marshy lands, and hilly terrains. (Cf. Shaw 2004: 100, table 4.3.97.) An industrial area for chemical industries run by the Maharashtra Industrial Development Corporation bounds the northern part of the city. The southern edge faces Mumbai's new harbour and numerous emerging industrial and commercial estates.

Access and mobility

While the new city spans a distance of more than 35 km from North to South, the linear distance to the central city ranges from 20 to 25 kilometres. At the same time the road distance varies from 35 to 45 kilometres (30 kilometres by train). A suburban train from the Chatrapati Shivaji Terminus (formerly Victoria Station) to the new node of Kharghar takes about 65 minutes and a car from Churchgate Station roughly one and a half hours. Bandra and Kurla, the next subcentre on the other side of the Thane can be reached in 45 minutes, Mumbai's international Airport is within 1 to 1,5 hours.

These days the access to Navi Mumbai is rapidly improving. A whole series of new infrastructures are underway. When the new 22 km trans-harbour link (Sewri-Nhava Sheva) opens in 2012, travel times to the central city will shrink to 20 –30 minutes.

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[194] The Mumbai-Thane-Pune corridor is the Industrial and Services powerhouse of India accounting for a total output of US $ 35 million. (TECS: 30)

[195] Administrative level in South Asia, also Tehsil, close to a county

[196] Cf. Gotsch 2006: Interview with Cidco's former chief planner Dinkar P. Samand in August 2006

Moreover a new international Airport scheduled for 2012 will reduce travel times to 15 minutes.

Information on work trips and travel times indicates the amount of independence of the new city and helps to understand the role of the project in the region. Indeed, comprehensive mobility data assembled by Cidco (Navi Mumbai's developing agency) shows that the new city enjoys a high degree of self-sufficiency and independence. (Cf. Cidco, Socio Spatial Survey 2005). Featuring a high degree of walking and public transport, Navi Mumbai appears as an environmentally friendly and green city – at least from a European perspective.[197]

Indeed Cidco's survey reveals that 60 percent of the working population are employed in Navi Mumbai. The other most significant destination is the Mumbai peninsula while 36 percent of all work trips head to the island city.[198] This self sufficiency is underlined by the fact that more than half (52,3 percent) of all work trips take place within Navi Mumbai, and 24 percent of the trips are confined to the same node. Of the educational trips even 95 percent remain within Navi Mumbai (76 percent inside a node).[199] The Cidco data presents Navi Mumbai as a city that is based on public transport and walking: generally, more than half of all trips in the new city are made on foot. The average duration of a one-way trip is about 28 minutes.[200] Of the working population 30 percent uses the railway as their primary means of transportation, another 16 percent uses busses, and 16 percent walk.

External infrastructure

One of Navi Mumbai's biggest assets is the availability of abounding service facilities and infrastructure networks. The location is extremely well serviced by all means of transport, as well as water, electricity and power lines. The development plan of Navi Mumbai provides for integrated systems covering roads, railways, waterways and airways. The township is well connected to other parts of the state by railway and road networks.

Navi Mumbai has six rail corridors and an independent mainline rail terminal connecting the city directly to other parts of the country.[201] Their total internal length exceeds 157 km. The construction was made possible because Cidco formed a joint project with the national Railways.[202] Streetwise the area is connected to the Mumbai-Pune highway (NH 4), one of the fastest growing development corridors of India (cf. above). Moreover several national and state highways pass through the area. Two bridges provide essential links to the Mumbai peninsula across the Thane Creek. The Vashi Bridge[203] (1971, 1995) and the Airoli Bridge (1999) provide inter-regional links to national destinations. A new link between Nerul and Uran is under construction. (Cf. Cidco)

An important landmark for the development of the region will be a new 22,5 kilometre sea link from central Mumbai. The connection will join Sewri on the Mumbai peninsula to Nhava Sheva on the continent in less than 20 minutes. Referred to as India's biggest infrastructure project to date, the bridge will be completed in 2013.[204] It is being

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[197] Of course the situation is more complex, as the majority of the populations are not able to afford a private car.

[198] Only 1 percent works in other regional locations, 3 percent in the close regional centre of Thane-Kalyan.

[199] In regard to general mobility, 81 percent of all trips undertaken take place within Navi Mumbai.

[200] The principal modes of transport are walking (54 percent), railway (14 percent), bus (9 percent), autorikshaw (6 percent), electric buses and trams (3.5 percent). In addition 30 percent of all trips are work trips, 30 percent are made for educational purposes, and 16 percent for other reasons.

[201] The Konkan Railway that connects Central India to North Karnataka and Goa passes through Navi Mumbai.

[202] Personal Interview in August 2008 with Uma Adusimilli, Chief Planner of MMRDA and former Chief Planner of Cidco.

[203] The latest version of the Vashi Bridge is planned with 16 lanes. (Cf. http://20twentytwo.blogspot.com/2008/08/new-10-lane-vashi-bridge-planned.html)

[204] The eight lane trans-oceanic bridge was compared to Shanghai's Sutong Yangtze Road Bridge. (Cf. http://www.ameinfo.com/153121.html)

developed by the state Government at an estimated cost of around US$ 2 billion (INR. 7.500 Crore). [205]

In addition to the exceptional bridge project a new International Airport is currently underway in Navi Mumbai. The Navi Mumbai International Airport will be built close to the Panvel node on a 1140 hectare site in a Public-private partnership. The public section will hold 25 percent of the 1,2 billion US$ (INR 4.000 Crore) project and air traffic is supposed to commence in 2012. [206] (Cf. Website of Cidco)

An additional fundamental (and globally relevant) project in the environs of Navi Mumbai is the Jawaharlal Nehru Port (JNP). This harbour to the South of the Parallel City handles almost half of India's maritime traffic. An entirely privately operated section, the Nhava Sheva Container Terminal (NSCT), was inaugurated in 1989. (Cf. worldportsource.com; jnport.com, r03.03.2008) In the operational year 2006/2007 the port handled 3,3 million containers and was listed as the 29th largest port in the world. [207] The extension of the port area is still not finished. Currently further to the South the Revas port, a new private harbour is being constructed by the driving force behind the new Navi Mumbai SEZs: Sea King Infrastructure. (Cf. below: developers) The port will be planned as a multi cargo deep-water port and is intended to become another gateway facility for the SEZ projects.

In the future the element of water may also play an increased role for personal transport via ferries. [208]

As far as utilities are concerned Navi Mumbai stands out as a model of uninterrupted water supply. Cidco has developed its own fresh water reservoir (Hetwane) in the area with an existing capacity of 150 million litres per day (MLD). (Cf. Websites: Cidco, NMSEZ) The Navi Mumbai Municipal Corporation extended the capacity to 450 million by buying another reservoir (Morbe). The supply also helps to close gaps in the surrounding region (cf. Times of India, March 7th, 2008) and will be marketed to the upcoming SEZs. [209]

The case of industry demonstrates that Navi Mumbai was not built on a green field. Industrial facilities in the environs of Navi Mumbai play an important and ambiguous role as employers and facilitators of infrastructure supply (e.g. roads, water, power) but also as competitors for space and polluters. (Cf. above: Mumbai, risks). Indeed, prior to the development of the New Town, the area on the mainland was a major target of the state's industrial decentralisation policies. (Cf. above: Context, Milestones) These official efforts sought in particular to liberate the central city from heavy polluting segments such as chemical enterprises. The policy was steered by the Maharashtra Industrial Development Corporation (MIDC), the same agency that generated Cidco later on.

Development of industry in the Trans Thane Creek area started from the mid sixties. The total number of units in 1970 was 44; this number increased to 3.800 in 2006. Notably from 2001 to 2006 the growth of industries escalated by 35 percent, reflecting a

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[205] There have been long and tedious negotiations to build the bridge as a Public-private partnership project. Yet, for political reasons the Government recently decided to implement the project independently. It intends to finance the project by selling increased development rights at the ends of the bridge. (Cf. Phandis 2008, The Economist Jul 24th 2008)

[206] The project has got the important permissions in spring 2008. (Cf. The Financial Express, May 16, 2008)

[207] In 2007, Singapore handled more than 30 million TEUs (Twentyfoot Equivalent containers). Rotterdam topped the 10 million mark. (Cf. www.aapa-ports.org)

[208] Cf. Times of India, February 15 2008 at http://www.mumbaimirror.com/net/mmpaper.aspx?page=article&sectid= 2&contentid=2008020720080207021104484bdb5311b&pageno=1; During a previous development stage Cidco offered to use hover craft services to seven of the Navi Mumbai nodes, i.e. the CBD at Belapur (cf. www.Cidcoindia.com). Yet the project did not survive the start-up phase. Service had to be suspended due to lack of political commitment and insufficient demand. (Cf. Ghorpane)

[209] Water demand in the Mumbai Metropolitan Region (BMR) is 3,026 MLD while demand in the suburbs is 1,307 MLD. (Cf. Bathija 2005)

boom of IT and service industries. A present survey by Cidco covers nearly 5.400 industrial enterprises in the Navi Mumbai region. (Cf. Cidco 2007)

The two main industrial areas in the vicinity are the Thane-Belapur Industrial Area (TTC) and the Taloja Industrial Area. The TTC Industrial Area is a classic backbone of Navi Mumbai's economy. A remarkable size of 2.562 hectares and nearly 4.000 enterprises have turned it into one of the largest industrial parks in India. The Taloja Industrial Area covers 9.00 hectares with 1.200 plots. It employs 180.000 workers, 40 percent are informal sector labour.[210] Since the 1990s the state government is dedicated to promote Navi Mumbai as an IT hub, addressing increasing competition from Chennai, Bangalore or Hyderabad.[211] In this context Info-Tech Park at Vashi, the Millennium Park at Mahape and the new SEZ projects (Navi Mumbai SEZ, Mumbai SEZ) are aimed at generating desired economic momentum.

Trends

Indeed, after many years of slow and stagnating development, it can be observed today that the various infrastructure and service facilities of Navi Mumbai have a tremendous effect on the surrounding areas.

Apparently a critical mass has been reached. Navi Mumbai's abundant superregional infrastructure projects (cf. above), along with the commercial infrastructure of several technology parks, and the Navi Mumbai SEZ have triggered a real estate boom in the area.[212] The real estate developer Hirco confirms that currently new push factors are driving out businesses and populations at an unprecedented scale: "The recent development of Navi Mumbai has opened up new opportunities across the real estate spectrum. Limited land availability, infrastructure bottlenecks, and high occupancy costs have led to relocations by several companies from South Mumbai to suburban locations." (Hirco 2007: 18) In addition, is a widely acknowledged that: "The government bid for the Greenfield Navi Mumbai International Airport and Mukesh Ambani's Special Economic Zone (SEZ) are two big factors that are set to change the profile of Navi Mumbai." (http://www.ameinfo.com/128242.html, r02.06.2008)

Private projects in Navi Mumbai's vicinity

A new wave of speculation and private investment in Navi Mumbai's vicinity yields various projects. A large number of SEZs, Integrated Townships, commercial zones and large housing estates are being promoted and planned along the Mumbai Pune axis. The schemes range from township types, to commercial enclaves, to gated communities. Among the large new townships are the Mumbai Manhattan (DLF and Al Nakheel, 8000 hectares), Aamby Valley (Sahara India, 4000 hectares). Commercial and industrial enclaves include the Mumbai SEZ (Reliance, 5000 hectares), Energy City (Gulf Finance House Government of Maharashtra, 240 hectares), as well as the Dhirubhai Ambani Knowledge City (Reliance Telecom, 56 hectares). Gated communities comprise the Hiranandani Palace Gardens (Panvel, 233 hectares), Magic Hills I and II (300 hectares), Bollywood City (Lakshish Group, n.n.), and the Arrow City (Arrow Engineering, 45 hectares).[213]

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[210] "The total number of employees in the surveyed industries was 247.484 out of which 176.774 are regular employees and 70.710 are labourers (from secondary source), which is about 40 percent." (Cidco 2007, Manufacturing Survey)

[211] Among the problems, however are the significantly lower labour costs of these Southern Metropolises. (Cf. above: Economy; Centralisation)

[212] These new projects can be seen as an effect of the national real estate boom, caused by liberal government reforms towards the real estate sector and construction sector. In addition they are directly based on the ongoing demographic and economic growth of the region (cf. above: Context).

[213] Cf. also to some 'Examples' at 'local context' below

The two largest and most significant projects are two large Special Economic Zones (SEZs). The Navi Mumbai SEZ and the Mumbai SEZ will jointly comprise 6.800 hectares[214] and are among the biggest SEZs in India. (Cf. below)

Box 19: The Navi Mumbai SEZ-puzzle

Despite, or due, to its young age the Mumbai SEZ appeared as a volatile and ephemeral construction. The study of newspaper articles on 'SEZs in Navi Mumbai' reveals a highly dynamic and controversial history. A confusing variety of names, ranging from NMSEZ, MMSEZ, MISEZ to MSEZ, points to this eventful background.
Only eight years ago the combined SEZ comprised an area of more than 12.500 hectares, equalling a third of Navi Mumbai. Cidco started to develop the Navi Mumbai SEZ at Dronagiri with a planned size of 2.500 hectares. Thereafter the private SKIL group, along with the Reliance Corporation, came up with the idea of a larger SEZ area called Maha Mumbai SEZ of 10.000 hectares. When it turned out that several project partners would be involved in both projects, plans were forged to join the two zones as the Mumbai Integrated SEZ (MiSEZ, cf. website of IL&FS). In the meanwhile however, after ongoing resistances and the withdrawal of state support, the planned size of the Maha Mumbai SEZ was reduced to 5.000 hectares.[215]

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[214] About one third of this area remains to be acquired.

[215] Protests by the local villagers at the Maha Mumbai SEZ area had built up political pressure. Consequently all private SEZ developers were required to obtain the necessary land for their projects without governmental help. (Cf. websites of skil-group.com.id; cidciondia.com; navimumbaisez.com; ilfsindia.com; nmsez.com; msez.id; all retrieved 12.09.2008)

Local form

Table 15: Key indicators – Navi Mumbai's local context

Total Size (14 nodes)	*33.400 hectares*
Size of the new Mumbai-SEZ	4.377 hectares
Population	1,7 million
Houses	210.000
Average density	63 persons per hectare
Residential land use	40 percent
Share of open spaces	40 percent
Number of Nodes	14
Number of neighbourhoods	700
Size of neighbourhoods	5.000 persons
Density of neighbourhoods	300 persons per hectare
On-site villages	80
Major mode of local mobility	Walking
Size of average house	45 square metres
Predominant FAR	1,0
Predominant housing type	4 storey walk-up
Amount of public housing	50 percent
Milestone model projects	Sect 1 Vashi (1979); BUDP-Site-and-service Scheme (1986); DRS Scheme (1987); Seawoods Estates (1996); Spaghetti Housing (2003); Kharghar Hill Plateau (2008)

Introduction

Navi Mumbai provides a comparatively high quality of life for its residents. It scores because of a low level pollution, decongested residential areas and its high proportion of open spaces and green belts. (Cf. Cidco 2008) Its authors designed Navi Mumbai as an 'open city'. All of the neighbourhoods were intended to remain open for all segments of society. Still, even before its completion the city portrays trends of an increasing privatisation of space and the corporatisation of services. Projects such as NRI Seawoods Estates, Magic Hills or the SEZ at Dronagiri are tailored for exclusive customer groups.

Therefore this section is devoted to the description of Navi Mumbai's spatial forms and physical dimensions. It will focus on the spatial, physical and morphological characteristics of this agglomeration of new settlements. Standing between the context described above and the processes to be set down below the city's form represents a pivot within our exploration of contemporary New Town formation.

The section portrays the original project of Navi Mumbai as well as some important milestone projects representing its 40-year history in detail. Among the most recent of these projects are the Navi Mumbai SEZ and a series of Integrated Townships in the city's environs. At the same time as these projects remain at a planning stage they embody an important set of novel urban trends.

The approach accommodates the modular structure that was set out at the beginning as a basis for the comparative dimension within the study. Consequently we proceed

along a multiscalar analysis: from the entire structure, to some of the respective nodes, to the sector level, and finally to the neighbourhoods and building structures.

Town dimension 'string of nodes'

Size and density

Navi Mumbai stretches across an area of 33.400 hectares.[216] (Cf. Cidco) This makes it the world's largest New Town and "India's largest urban-planning project..." (Shaw 2004: 7). As the planned area reaches a size of about 80 percent of central Mumbai (43.700 hectares) it can also be called a parallel city (cf. Galantay).

Moreover, the newly developing SEZs are among the largest projects of this type currently underway in India. The combined Navi Mumbai SEZ and the Mumbai SEZ will likely amount to 7.000 hectares and more. This will place them next to the largest privately run SEZ projects in the world.[217]

Significantly lower urban densities and the availability of open space per resident represent the starkest contrasts between Mumbai and Navi Mumbai.[218] Overall net population densities are 63 persons per hectare at Navi Mumbai – as opposed to Mumbai's average net densities of 263 persons (and peak densities of several thousand). With a final population of 3 million, a density of 100 persons per hectare may be achieved.[219] Indeed, in terms of density, Navi Mumbai is a 'normal' city compared to Mumbai.

Structure

Navi Mumbai is no single New Town. It is a multi-centric city and a "string of nodes with variable densities" (Patel 1997). Back in the planning stage of the 1960's the scheme of 12 to 15 autonomous townships emerged as the favourite strategy among various scenarios.[220] This strategy of extensive green belts and railway corridors highly resembles Ebenezer Howard's concept of a regional network of Town Magnets. (Cf. above: Context, Predecessors)

The development agency Cidco adopted this 'nodal settlement pattern' model for the overall growth of Navi Mumbai and planned to develop 20 nodes.[221] After 35 years, the total number of planned nodes has been reduced to 14 (Cf. Kumar, and above). Today 9 of the nodes are finished. A significant part of the latest evolution takes place as Special Economic Zones.

→ Illustration C-8: Scheme of Navi Mumbai's structure
→ Illustration C-9: Navi Mumbai's land use plan

Among the most influential structural features of Navi Mumbai is the combination of urban densities with transport arteries (cf. Interview with Charles Correa in August 2006).[222] The nodes are connected by a system of public transport (Mass Rapid Transit and bus feeders), enabling the majority of people to live and work within walking distance of a station.

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[216] This is about the same size as the city of Paris, twice the size of Hanoi's region, and half the size of Capetown's or Santiago de Chile's region. (Cf. Appendix: Comparative Matrix)

[217] The Chinese SEZs are much larger (e.g. the Shenzhen-SEZ with 39.171 hectares). However, they are run by the Chinese Government and not by private sector entities.

[218] The Greater Mumbai Metropolitan Region has gross densities of 44 persons per hectare; Mumbai Island has a density of close to 500 persons per hectare. (Cf. appendix: comparative matrix, cf. Cidco 2005)

[219] The average number of 50 persons per hectare is comparable to the Metropolitan regions of Shanhgai or London.

[220] Cf. above: Context, Historic Milestones, Navi Mumbai; cf. Shaw 2004: 71; quoting Marg 1965, i-iv.

[221] Later this target was lowered to 13, and now with the two SEZ nodes it is again at 15. (Cf. Cidco 1973)

[222] A concept that is also represented by the US-based approach of Transit Oriented Development (Cf. Calthorpe 1993)

Navi Mumbai's cross-sectional structure is rather flat and without much differentiation. Several of the nodes blend together (for example Vashi and Kopar Khairane). Indeed, while the planners imagined that the arrangement of rail stations and central facilities would lead to an urban pattern that is higher at the centre and ebbs up towards the edge, India's uniform zoning regulations (cf. Bertaud 2008) have led to a generally flat pattern without highlights. (Cf. Interview with Charles Correa in August 2006)

Accessibility

Navi Mumbai has been designed as an 'open city'. All of the neighbourhoods were intended to be open for all segments of society. This fact corresponds to the nature of the developer Cidco as a state owned corporation using modern town planning principles.[223] Nevertheless, the planners' ideals are contrasted by significant trends on the ground. Today the city is experiencing an increasing privatisation of space and a corporatisation of services and more and more areas are sold as large entities to be developed as all-in-one packages. Among the precursors of this course are projects such as the NRI Seawoods Estates. The tendency is continued by projects such as Magic Hills or the SEZ projects at a new scale. As part of the new initiative the SEZ at Dronagiri will be bounded by a 4,5 metre wall. Its cost of INR 42 Crore (~ 10 Million US$) is about 20 percent of the cost of all roads in the area. (Cf. nmsez.com; 09.Sept.2008)

Land use

Before the project was started the land was mainly used for agriculture, fishing activities and 86 villages. (Cf. below; Shaw 2005: 190) 5.000 hectares or one sixth of the land was urbanised, 16.600 hectares or 53 percent of the land was in private hands, 2.700 hectares were saltpans, 10.100 hectares belonged to the government, while flood plains comprised 4.000 hectares. (Cf. Shaw 2004: 87)

When the new town was implemented it introduced a modern separation of land uses: e.g. a single use zoning pattern with distinct areas for industrial, commercial, residential and institutional activities. (Cf. Ananthakrishnan: 10)

On the ground, the land use pattern represents trends characteristic to peripheral locations. An ever larger amount of land is residential. The share of land devoted for housing doubled from 18 percent in 1973 to 39 percent in 1992, while at the same time the portion of institutional areas decreased from 10 percent in 1973 to 0,3 percent in 1992 – apparently an effect of the government's reluctance to move to the New Town. The portion of regional parks (including parts of the Parsik Hills) remained at a relatively stable 20 percent while transport and protected zones (mostly preserved marsh lands) comprise one tenth of the territory. (Cf. Shaw 2005: 148, quoting a table from Sita 1999)

Infrastructure

One of the chief differences between Navi Mumbai and the ordinary Indian city is the opulent presence of infrastructure and open space. Navi Mumbai stands out with a tremendous total of open spaces (infrastructure, green and nature), as 58 percent of land in various townships of Navi Mumbai is reserved for parks, gardens, green belts, open areas, non-development zones and reforestation projects (TECS 2001: 100). Moreover the quantity of public transport remains superb. Yet, it is not only the network, but also the nodes that are remarkable, each featuring at least one own rail station (cf. above: Exter-

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[223] This is a significant difference from traditional urban structures in India, which rather featured to specific castes containing a mix of uses. (Cf. Ananthakrishnan 1998: 10)

nal infrastructure). In this context 17 railway stations have been planned and designed as extraordinary landmarks.[224]

The Juinagar Railway Station complex is an outstanding example of station design. The area in Sector 11 is supported by an intricate engineering structure and its interior is suffused in coloured light. The facility was designed as an architectural and engineering masterpiece by the office of Shirish Patel & Associates.[225]

→ Illustration C-10: Juinagar Railway Station

Present trends, though, reflect an increasing orientation towards individual motorised traffic. The total length of parkways and expressways in Navi Mumbai is estimated at 200 km (Cidco website). Indeed, the preliminary development of infrastructure is a crucial component of Cidco's 'preemptive' planning strategy (cf. below: Developer).[226] The plan of Navi Mumbai employs a hierarchy of expressways, arterial roads and local roads that is largely modelled along the principles of modern architecture and planning, mainly along the role model of Chandigarh.[227] (Cf. above: Predecessors)

Landmarks are regarded an important ingredient of successful New Towns (cf. Sonne 2003). In Navi Mumbai's case the infrastructure projects serve as the 'cathedrals' of the modern engineering and informational technology age. In this context Cidco is remarkably successful in creating synergies between the railway nodes and commercial projects. In the 1990's the agency has developed a series of new hybrid typologies of enormous proportions combining railway stations and IT parks. The International Technology Park at Vashi and the International Technology Centre at Belapur are the most prominent examples representing this public driven planning incentive. (Cf. Ghorpade) Both of the projects feature built up areas close to 1 million square feet of office space. (Cf. www.navimumbai.com)

→ Illustration C-11: Vashi's International Technology Park

However, with increasing momentum towards privatisation and the information age, this first heroic approach faded away. The new economy prefers the monument as a sign and calls for global branding strategies. As a consequence Cidco reacted in coming up with the new iconic project of the Seawoods Railway Station Integrated Complex. The project will cover a built up area of 260.000 square metres, featuring a mix of malls, multiplex theatres and hotels (Cidco's "Nirmiti" Newsletter 2008: 6). The strategy upholds the tradition of developing infrastructure as lighthouse projects. New is the tactics of commercialising railway right of ways.[228]

→ Illustration C-12: Sea Woods Railway Station Integrated Complex (Darave Station)

As, in this context, an increasing amount of land that surrounds the stations is leased to external developers, several commercial technology parks have been cultivated. All the projects are focused on IT services and international brands. (Cf. Ghorpade) At Vashi a 75.000 square metre International InfoTech Park has been developed in collaboration with Software Technology Park India. (Cf. Cidco's website)

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[224] The major railway station projects are listed on the Cidco webpage.

[225] Mr. Patel was also among the three initial authors of Navi Mumbai. (Cf. above: Milestones; below: designers; cf. Correa 1965)

[226] Significantly, for a long time the agency consisted of 40 percent engineers. (Cf. Cidco' Chart in Kegler 2007)

[227] Generous green and utility corridors (of 10 meters) have been provided along all major arterial roads. These also provide abundant space for pedestrians.

[228] On the 21st of April 2008 Cidco signed an agreement with Larsen and Toubro Ltd., one of the largest construction conglomerates of India to develop and implement the project. The bid of INR 1.809 crore (about 450 million US$) happens to be the highest bid ever received for a development project in Navi Mumbai. (Ibid: 6; ERIL 2008)

Other success stories related to commercial infrastructure comprise the successful relocation of several wholesale markets from Mumbai to the mainland. The most prominent of these are the agriculture produce and the iron and steel markets. (Cf. Ghorpade) Located in Vashi, these are big employees of lower skilled labour in the region. (Cf. Cidco's commercial survey in 2007)

More examples of projects geared to novel knowledge intensive industries (e.g. IT, ITES) are represented by: a large Millennium Business Park at Mahape, a prestigious exhibition and convention centre of 30 hectares, the Dhirubhai Ambani Knowledge City (DAKC) or the SEZ projects in the South.

Navi Mumbai also features about a dozen large malls. Their number continues to rise. Center One was Navi Mumbai's first mall. The complex was conceptualised by RTKL USA and constructed by Trafalgar House, UK., houses with long-standing experience in designing and executing shopping projects. The Palm Beach Galleria is a newly opened 25.000 square metre shopping mall in Vashi. Other large malls are the Raghuleela Mall (at Vashi station) or the City Centre (adjacent to Palm Beach Galleria).[229]

Last, but not least, also the local villages (Gaothans) provide an important but largely unaccounted for share of commercial infrastructure, even if this is of a more unspectacular and simple kind. The villages have emerged as an important bases for micro service and small scale manufacturing units. (Cf. Ghorpade)

Utility services in Navi Mumbai are also well above the Indian average standard. Navi Mumbai was projected to achieve an uninterrupted water provision, underground sewers and sewage treatment, efficient storm water drainage system and an adequate electric supply. Cidco provides all services except electricity. (Cf. Adusumilli 2001: 36)

The rainwater management system, which includes a concept of holding ponds and retention areas, is regarded as one of the most significant innovations achieved. The planners are proud of the fact that almost no flooding occurred during the heavy monsoons in 1995 and 2005. (Cf. personal Interview with Cidco representatives in August 2006)

Yet, in contrast to the water supply, the power supply of the New Town is reaching is limits. Since 2005 the power supply has been rationed in most of the nodes.[230] In this context it is planned to raise the installed power generation capacity of 960 MVA to over 1500 MVA by 2010. (Cf. Cidco website)

Navi Mumbai has an area wide coverage with state of the art educational and health facilities. New developments reflect trends of commercialisation in the high-end segment.

All sectors are designed to provide a seamless supply with education, playground and recreational facilities. The area has 209 schools and 52 colleges for professional education (Ananthakrishnan 1998: 13).[231] Each sector contains neighbourhood centres, altogether with a total of 175 public gardens and 18 playgrounds. In addition, the development plan calls for "100.000 new trees each year". (Engel 1991, quoted in Ananthakrishnan 1998: 11) Current strategies in higher education seek to generate synergies among higher education, research institutions and information intensive businesses.

As part of novel tendencies renowned educational institutions have come to play an important role in the projects marketing and branding. The state government is offering incentives for knowledge intensive industries and education institutions. Negotiations have been underway with the renowned Wharton School of Management and the Har-

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[229] Cf. http://mumbaidailysnapshot.blogspot.com

[230] Navi Mumbai's power supply problems made it even to the pages of popular Wikipedia: "Power supply continues to be a daily problem for Kharghar residents much like in other parts of Navi Mumbai and Thane." (Cf. Cidco)

[231] Cidco (1973) has allocated one primary school per 5.000 residents, one high school for a 12.500 and one college for a community of 50.000. In the NMMC area there are 128 primary schools, 80 secondary schools and 25 colleges. (Cf NMMConline 17.09.2008)

vard Business School. (Cf. India Express 1998) The Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad, was allocated land in Kharghar. (The Indian Business, 2005)

Additional social infrastructure for the township has also been developed in the form of health services and hospitals (capacity of 2.200 beds).[232]

On the other hand, to date the 2 million residents of Navi Mumbai have only a few public facilities such as major libraries[233], museums, swimming pools, etc. Cidco plans a museum, the CidcoSEUM in Kharghar. (http://Cidcoindia.com/Cidco/Futureproject.aspx, r02.02.2009) There is only one drama theatre[234] and one major interregional sports facility, the DY Patil Stadium, in Nerul. (Own research)

Onsite villages

Navi Mumbai was not planned on a void. The project engulfed the livelihoods of as many as 86 Gaothans (traditional villages) and currently comprises 57 onsite village communities.[235] (Cf. Shaw 2005; 121; Cidco 1993)

Although the village structures have been categorised as unplanned, these have been subject to massive redevelopment interventions. Indeed, villages have been targeted by various Cidco development schemes which included either total relocation or integrated improvement projects. (Cf. below: Developer, Relocation strategies) After several decades of struggle 'village elites' emerge as one of the strongest political actors of Navi Mumbai (cf. below).

→ Illustration C-13: Map and images of onsite villages

In addition the rural communities have also experienced fundamental changes in their spatial form due to larger socio-economic and political trends. While the traditional communities subsist on traditional livelihoods such as farming and fishing, they also thrive by running specific urban economies from renting houses to migrant labourers, to running supermarkets and catering for global enterprises.[236]

Navi Mumbai's slums

> *"Even new cities, built from scratch, have a dualistic outcome with planned portions of ordered space in which the middle class live, and unplanned portions of haphazard settlements and shanty towns in which the labourers and other low-income people live." (Shaw 2004: 9)*

After almost 40 years Navi Mumbai more and more reflects the social and spatial contradictions of all Indian cities. Like other urban markets on the subcontinent the local economy is dependent on low-income labour and services. Indeed, on closer examination, the city that was proclaimed to be India's first slum free city evolves as a complex conglomeration of the planned and the unplanned, featuring a significant degree of informality. In the meantime about 30 percent of the new city's population is composed of

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[232] While the Indian health sector is experiencing an extraordinary rapid development (cf. McKinsey 2007) and a parallel trend towards privatisation, a new wave of health and wellness related projects could be expected to come up in the area.

[233] In 2003 a public library building for Rs. 1,38 Crore was inaugurated and made open to citizens in sector 3 of CBD Belapur. (nmmconline r17.09.2008)

[234] The VishnuDas Bhave Auditorium is a landmark theatre in Vashi hosting a number of plays.

[235] While the villages take up less than 5 percent of the area, their populations make up for about a sixth of the total population. (Numbers for the 1990's Sita 2005: 239) An additional number of 45 villages are supposed to be affected by the development of the new MMSEZ. (Cf. www.nmsez.com, r.12.09.2008)

[236] "The elite and the wealthy from the villages are contractors and landlords." (Cf. Shaw: 248)

slum residents.[237] (Cf. below: Residents) After all it is highly probable that in the future informal areas will form an integral part of Navi Mumbai.[238]

Certainly, no 'classical' (consolidated) slum can be found in the planned nodes. In spite of that, major informal settlements have mushroomed in the environs. For this reason the official numbers of informal settlements remained 'clean'. Yet, as Navi Mumbai matures and becomes 'normalised', informality increasingly migrates to the nodes.[239] As a matter of fact, nowadays various types of informal settlements diffuse increasingly all over the place. Most in-between locations such as vacant areas and borderlands are appropriated for diverse informal activities.

Turbhe Stores and Hanuman Nagar are among the largest examples of informal settlements (Siva Raju 1996; see BOX below). These two slums cater to low skilled industrial workers and can be found in between Navi Mumbai and the industrial areas to the East. Various other slums of a finer grain have emerged in the village areas, where informal markets for land and housing developed, on the hill slopes, the creek fronts as well as on the railway corridor reservations (Adusumilli 2001: 24).

Moreover many other ephemeral species of informal dwelling activities are scattered all around the place. Informal pockets of tarpaulin villages can be found in proximity to large construction sites, squatting on leftover places such as traffic islands, under highway overpasses or unsecured lots. Others comprise extended village areas, or temporary pavement dwellings, and squatting on apartment stairways[240].

→ Illustration C-14: Map and images of slums

"Unpicked garbage, open drains clogged with garbage, dusty unpaved roads with fairly heavy vehicular traffic (trucks loading and unloading goods), and several hazardous small-scale industries, oil depots, and timber works along main lanes characterise Turbhe Stores." (Cf. Shaw: 246)

Table 16: Turbhe Stores – basic data

Starting date	*1960s?*
Area	18 hectares
Residents	80.000
Units	13.000
Density	4.000 Persons / hectare
Private construction	100 percent
LIC Units	100 percent
Household Income	500 US$

Turbhe Stores is the largest slum in the area of Navi Mumbai. The area of 18 hectares is located to the East of the Turbhe and Sanpada nodes in a diverse urban fabric. The environs comprises the Mumbai–Pune Highway, the Thane-Belapur Industrial area, the new

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[237] Informal labour and housing are an integral part in the Indian urban landscape. Most Indian households, as well as businesses, have several 'servants' and use informal services. (Cf. accounts in Mehta, Roberts)

[238] According to recent amendments of the Maharashtra Slum Act, 1971, it will no longer be possible to remove slums of a certain age without rehabilitation. The populations of the informal areas and the villages (cf. below) are of significant political importance. (Cf. Shaw 2005: 248)

[239] NMMC numbers account for 9 villages, and 41 slums (quoted in Shaw: 240).

[240] This practice was described as a common practice in many Indian apartment buildings, e.g. Manil Suri devotes a whole Novel named "The Death of Vishnu" to this topic. (Cf. Suri, 2001)

Reliance Infocom campus, Vashi's wholesale market, abandoned industrial sites and various quarrying activities (IGIDR: 173, 217).

With an estimated population of 80.000, most of them Dalits, Turbhe Stores houses many casual workers. It is also known for its large red light district. At the same time the slum is an important part of the Navi Mumbai Municipal Corporation and an influential voting bank, mainly for populist parties.[241] The area is also acknowledged as having a high prevalence of HIV / AIDS cases and Malaria.[242] (Cf. Laughton 2005)

Nodes

Navi Mumbai is made up of a string of 15 individual townships or nodes. While the greater urban fabric of Navi Mumbai's nodes has been modelled along some of Ebenezer Howard's Town-Magnet-principles, such as greenbelts or suburban rail arteries, the interior of the respective townships mirror the principles of modern planning. (Cf. above: Predecessors, Chandigarh)

Each of the satellites is planned in the manner of an independent town of about 50.000 to 200.000 residents (or 25.000 to 40.000 households). Their respective area ranges between 500 to 2.000 hectares.[243] All the basic infrastructure and services required for self-sufficient development are included. Each of the townships is equipped with a distinctive urban centre and each has a unique identity.[244] This critical mass provides the city with vitality and identity. (Cf. Raje 2001)

The node referred to as Belapur was planned to become the administrative and political centre of Navi Mumbai and its Central Business District. It is also the homebase of Cidco. The township boasts of some of the most futuristic office and commercial buildings.[245] (Cf. Chauhan 1998) Yet its development stagnated for many years and it was Vashi that became the economic centre along an auto-dynamic process. It features the best connectivity to Mumbai and the region, and is the target of most trips to the New Town. As a consequence the node presented the most dynamic growth rates, the highest density of jobs and the highest land prices.[246]

Navi Mumbai's nodes contain a relatively mixed urban fabric. Meanwhile 50 percent of all new housing projects are constructed by the private sector, the other half is allotted by Cidco for co-operative housing societies, bungalows, row-houses and for other social utility purposes. Indeed the compactness of Navi Mumbai's nodes is clearly more urban than suburban. Population densities of 200 to 700 persons per hectare can be found in some of the townships and these numbers can be associated with Cidco's strong master planning. While these numbers are significantly lower than the 'super densities' of 1.700 persons and more of some of central Mumbai's wards (cf. above), these are comparable to the centres of New York or Paris.[247] While the node of Vashi features population den-

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[241] "A local Shiv Sena boss, Suresh Kulkarni, controlled the slum, and its inhabitants were an important vote bank in the state and general assembly elections." (Cf. Shaw: 246, 247)

[242] Various organisations, such as the NGO PRERANA and the Rotary Club carry out social work in the territory. The Tata institute of Social Sciences has several field projects in place. (Cf. http://www.tiss.edu/Field_Action_Projects_0607.pdf.)

[243] Kharghar was planned for a exceptional population of 500.000.

[244] Belapur= Central Business District, Vashi = wholesale and services, Airoli= industry, Nhava-Sheva= port (Cf. Anathakrishnan: 11)

[245] In the early planning stages a circle of five nodes connected by a ring-shaped promenade and transit line surrounding the Mansarovar Lake, was intended to become the representative heart of Navi Mumbai.

[246] 30 percent of all non-work trips go to this node. (Cf. Cidco 2005)

[247] Manhattan has a population density of 270 persons per hectare. The centre of Paris has a population density of about 200, whereas suburban Marne La Vallee features densities of less than 16 persons per hectare. (Cf. Appendix: Comparative Matrix)

sities of 200 persons per hectare (200.000 on 1.000 hectares), the new township of Kharghar houses some 260 persons per hectare (500.000 on 1.700 hectares).[248]

→ Illustration C-15: Map and images of Magic Hills

Housing data

While Navi Mumbai has been conceived as a decongestion scheme for Mumbai, housing is among the most important land use categories. Moreover its share in the urban fabric is constantly on the rise.[249] [250] In the year 2005 Navi Mumbai's housing stock totalled 210.000 units. In 2005 the highest number of dwelling units was distributed among Vashi (16,8 percent), Nerul (16,7 percent) and Kopar Khairane (14,5 percent). (Cf. Cidco 2005, ES-3) Cidco has produced 53 percent of this amount; private developers provided the other 47 percent.[251] About 55.174 houses were under construction.[252] (Cf. Cidco 2005).

Indeed Navi Mumbai comprises a significantly higher amount of social housing than a 'normal' Indian city (which was one of the project's goals). On the other hand the numbers are still significantly lower than Indian demographics would require (cf. above). The total housing stock in Navi Mumbai consists of 27 percent LIG and EWS units, 59 percent are MIG units, and 14 percent of HIG units.[253] (Cidco 2000)

Vacancy rates in Navi Mumbai vary sharply. They depend on whether a project was subsidised or not. Consequently unoccupied apartments are unknown in Cidco's subsidised housing projects. Cidco curtails any speculative re-sale of the houses.[254] (Cf. Cidcoindia, r13.sept.2008) In contrast, many speculative middle and higher income projects feature extreme vacancy numbers. Real estate brokers report that barely 10 percent of apartments on Palm Beach Road, the main artery of Nerul, were occupied in 2007 (Indiaproperty.com, r.12.11.2008).

Sectors and neighbourhoods ('self sufficiency' but monotony)

> *"...again, it is an important part of the project that each ward, or one sixth part of the city, should be in some sense a complete town by itself... school buildings may be flexibly used... work, too, would be practically completed*

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[248] It is impoprtant to note that even new projects such as the Navi Mumbai SEZ area, as well as some of the upcoming Integrated Township projects, feature densities of similar dimensions. Integrated Townships like the Hiranandani Palace Gardens or the new SEZ also plan for combined residential and job densities of 200 to 300 people per hectare. Only some new and more remote villa townships on the way to Pune (for example Magic Hills) are betting on the detached villa type. These plan for suburban densities of 50 persons per hectare and less. Yet even these densities are significantly higher than comparable Western schemes.

[249] The area devoted for housing doubled from 18 percent in the 1980's to 39 percent in the 1990's. (Cf. above: Land use)

[250] The current incremental demand for housing in Navi Mumbai is 10.300 units, which is likely to increase to 26.500 units by 2021. The average shelter supply in Navi Mumbai in the last decade was about 3.700 units. (MMRDA 1999, N-8, 43)

[251] 119.460 units have been built by Cidco and 101.990 by private sector stakeholders.

[252] Cidco mainly specialises in developing subsidised projects for the low and medium income segments of the population, the so-called Economic Weaker Segments (EWS), Lower Income Groups (LIG) and Middle Income Groups (MIG). Yet, currently private agents mainly carry out development. More than 88 percent of the houses under construction are developed by individual households, housing co-operatives, corporate bodies for their employees and real estate developers. (Cf. Cidco 2005)

[253] Of the total houses constructed by Cidco, about 50 percent are for EWS and LIG, about 27 percent for MIG and about 23 percent for HIG (Ibidem). Cidco provides completed housing products, sites and services with partially constructed structures and only developed sites. The public developer has built projects for the EWS under the BUDP scheme at Kopar Kharaine, Kharghar, Nerul, Kalemboli and New Panvel. (Cf. Cidcoindia.com, r17.09.2008) Some exemplary housing schemes by Cidco are the Gharkul and Spaghetti schemes for LIG and MIG populations, the Millennium Towers project for MIG clients and Seawoods Estate for HIG's including NRI groups. (Cf. the examples discussed in this section)

[254] While all tenants are required to use the property for personal purpose, in previous years very few had sold their houses. Yet, a large share (70 percent) of the houses has been rented out. This may be one of the reasons why very few encroachments/additions and alterations are observed on the ground. Normally the apartments are rented to tenants who come from a higher income category than the original allotters.

in one ward before commencing on another and the operations in the various wards would be taken up in proper sequence ..." (Howard 1947 (1898): 71)

Navi Mumbai can be conceived as a city of 700 self-sufficient 'modern' villages.[255] While design of its sectors was influenced by modern concepts such as Chandigarh, the underlying ideology of self-sufficiency was associated with Gandhi's social principles.[256] (Cf. Ananthakrishnan: 18) The system of sectors (or neighbourhoods) is the next hierarchical component of the city's nodes. A node contains 40 to 80 sectors, accommodating between 2.500 and 10.000 inhabitants. Accordingly, the average sector contains 500 to 2.500 households on 20 to 50 hectares (own estimates).

All of these planned neighbourhoods are designed in a self-sufficient manner featuring all essential recreational, educational and commercial facilities. Most of the quarters are zoned in a monofunctional way (e.g. residential, commercial, industrial et. al.) Yet, they are conceived as autonomous subcentres.[257] (Cf. Raje 2001) Most of the neighbourhood services are accessible by various modes of transport. Often the communal facilities such as parks and playgrounds and kindergartens of some communal housing schemes are accessible by pedestrians only.

The neighbourhoods of Navi Mumbai epitomise the city's exceptional compactness. Despite ample space for infrastructure, services and leisure (cf. above: land use) many places achieve densities of 200 and 1.000 residents per hectare (own calculations).

Without a doubt, like in any other city, the populations and urban structures of the sectors underlie a high degree of variation. The population (and density) is highly dependent on the income status and the planned character of the respective scheme. While low-income areas may comprise 5 to 10 times as many people as middle and upper income sectors, informal settlements and villages feature the highest population densities. (Cf. other sections of this chapter)

Naturally the population densities among neighbourhoods varies more than those of the whole township: Site-and-service projects and row house types in Kopar Khairane contain densities of 250 persons per hectare; Cidco's formal housing schemes in walk-up apartments for the lower middle and the lower income classes such as Ghansoli, Gharkul or the DRS scheme in Sector 26 of Vashi, comprise more than a thousand persons per hectare; schemes for the middle income, such as the Spaghetti in Kharghar, achieve densities of up to 200 residents per hectare. Nevertheless some integrated neighbourhoods for the rich, such as Seawoods I and II, accomplish enormous densities as well (by the means of luxurious high-rise typologies).

The divergence in densities among the respective sectors of Navi Mumbai seems to be less extreme than the variations within 'generic' Indian cities. (In Mumbai, for example, 70 percent of the population reside on 5 percent of the area. (Cf. above: Mumbai) Yet, the stark contrasts reappear when comparing Navi Mumbai's quarters to the locations in the environs. While the 'unplanned' areas such as the villages and informal settlements (e.g. Turbhe Stores) achieve the highest densities of several thousand people per hectare, new villa-type enclaves on the hillsides, represent the lower density end, catering for fewer than 50 persons per hectare.

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[255] With 14 nodes the total number of Navi Mumbai's sectors ranges around 700.

[256] Naturally the approach of autonomy and self-reliance reverberates throughout the history of 'enlightened' cities. It can be found in Howard's Town Magnet (cf. quote above), and also at Orange County's Irvine (cf. www.villagesofirvine.com, r22.11.2008).

[257] E.g. each sector has its own cluster of shops called "mini-markets" that sell basic items. Some bigger sectors have bigger "mini-markets." (Cf. Shaw 2004) Indeed, Cidco's mobility data as described above underlines that a high degree of self-sufficiency was achieved. Cidco's socio spatial survey describes that the majority of Navi Mumbaikars walk, use public transport and remain within their neighbourhood for every day business. (Cf. above: Regional context: External and internal mobility; cf. Cidco 2005.)

Land use and structure of neighbourhoods

All residential formal sector neighbourhoods in Navi Mumbai feature an excessive amount of streets, open space, playgrounds and communal facilities. Most of the planned sectors have an open space ratio exceeding 35 percent. (This number is in accordance with the national building codes.) At least half of the remaining area is used for residential purposes.

Table 17: Land use composition in exemplary parts of Navi Mumbai[258]

Name	Open Space	Residential	Commercial	Social
DRS Sector 26	35	45	20	10
Navi Mumbai SEZ	33	17	50	/
Hiranandani	40	28	28	4
Turbhe	10	87	2	1

The structure of Navi Mumbai's 700 neighbourhoods (or sectors) varies considerably and reflects different periods and paradigms. A monotonous zoning and single ownership often results in a homogeneous fabric. Recently a significant trend towards the formation of enclaves can be observed. In the 40 years since groundbreaking, a significant clustering along ethnical lines has occurred – which is against the spirit of modernistic planning principles.[259] Today the ongoing trend towards privatisation is among the most relevant trend in relation to the structure of the neighbourhoods.[260] At the turn of the century the private sector provides 50 percent of all new housing and 80 percent of all structures in Navi Mumbai. (Cf. Cidco 2000, MMRDA 1999: N-8: 34) This engenders an increasing fragmentation of the urban fabric and shifts boundaries between public and private spheres. Early neighbourhoods were highly integrated in a general system of open spaces. They featured multiple entrances. In contrast, various new projects are built in the form of semi-private enclaves, with semi-private spaces and a restricted access.[261]

Numerous residential projects reflect the inclination of Navi Mumbai's neighbourhoods towards homogeneous building structures. The tendency of privatised communal spaces is indicated by and the prominence of a controlled access.

→ Illustration C-16: Selected neighbourhood maps

Table 18: Quality of residential projects by various developers

Name	Developer	Structure	Lots	Opening	Access
Kopar Khairane (BUDP)	Cidco	Site and Service on minimal lots	Private	> 6	Public
Sector 26	Cidco	Walk-up apart-	Com-	2-6	Semi-public

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[258] Own calculations

[259] Ananthakrishnan (1998) demonstrates that despite the efforts of Cidco to equally distribute social classes and ethnicities these tend to cluster in specific locations. Her analysis shows that "the urban social pattern appears to be non-uniform at a regional scale, and distinctly driven by an ethnic component at the sub-regional scale." (Ibidem: 64)

[260] Indeed, the material consequences of this trend, as part of an ongoing transformation from a supply oriented fordist state to a demand oriented system of the new economy, are the implicit topics of this entire thesis.

[261] E.g. the Kharghar Hills plateau and some other upscale residential areas emerge in this manner. Yet, while the trend is clearly present, Navi Mumbai is far from becoming an agglomeration of gated enclaves.

(DRS)		ments	munal		
Gharkul	Various	Mix of semi-detached and walk-up buildings	Communal	2-6	Semi-public
Spaghetti	Cidco	Large meandering walk-up buildings	Communal	2-6	Semi-public
Seawoods I and II	Cidco	Residential high rise towers	Communal	1	Access strictly restricted
Navi Mumbai SEZ	PPP (Cidco, Skil)	Residential high rise towers	Private	1	Access strictly restricted
Khargar Hills Plateau	Cidco	Detached villa types	Private	1	Access strictly restricted
Hiranandani Palace Gardens	Hirco	Mix from townhouses to high rises	Private	1	Access strictly restricted
Magic Hills	Sternon	Detached villa types	Private	1	Access strictly restricted
Bonkode Village (Kopar Khairane)	'People'	Mix of village houses and informal rental structures	Private	> 6	Public
Turbhe Stores	'People'	Non-permanent (kucha) structures	Squatted	> 6	Semi-public

Urban design

In contrast to the nodes, Navi Mumbai's urban variety decreases at the sector level. Most of the neighbourhoods are produced by individual developers seeking to rationalise the scheme. In addition the projects tend to cater to equal classes with similar demand profiles.

Despite recent trends towards enclaves, the critical mass of Navi Mumbai's neighbourhoods remains the traditional 'open city' model. Most of the sectors represent openly accessible rectilinear plans.[262] Many of the designs have been influenced by modern superblock layouts. (Chandigarh and Gandhinagar are influential role models.) As many of Navi Mumbai's sectors are constructed in the form of mass housing schemes, cluster developments are a common feature.[263]

Despite a high typological variation of its 700 sectors in the 45 years of implementation, Navi Mumbai represents a relatively high variety of design integrity. The fact that Cidco remains the sole leading agency in the development of all major infrastructure facilities, roadways, landmarks and open spaces, as well as the fact that detailed development guidelines are provided for every node, leads to a relatively harmonious cityscape. In addition to the New Bombay development plan each of the sectors has a detailed development plan. Guidelines of the Kharghar node, for example, require that large build-

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[262] Curvilinear subdivisions are less common, as these schemes require more space.
[263] In fact the onsite villages can also be regarded as cluster communities.

ings define public spaces and provide street frontages. (Cf. Personal Interview with Adusumilli 2006; Own observations)

Blocks and buildings

In order to complete a comprehensive analysis of Navi Mumbai's structure on the way to the portrayal of the residents, we are now approaching an increasingly human scale. Our attention shifts towards blocks, lots and buildings. The regional, urban and district scales as discussed above, require a certain level of abstraction. It seems that they belong to the area of planning professions. The scale of buildings and blocks, in contrast, is most relevant to people's day-to-day living practices.[264] Yet, the scale of blocks and buildings is also highly influenced by abstract building codes, zoning codes and development regulations.

Due to the size of Navi Mumbai the character of its blocks and lots varies greatly. Therefore, it does not make sense to identify an archetypical housing type and block geometry characterising the whole area.[265] The analysis of buildings and blocks reveals that more than half of the area is built in the form of society plots as part of large schemes (this is a significant difference from a generic Indian urban fabric).

Block size and structure

Informal settlements such as Turbhe Stores feature the largest blocks with the highest number of small and mostly irregular lots. The villages (e.g. Bonkode) as well as other planned settlements (e.g. Kopar Khairane), based on low-rise private ownership, feature a high number of private lots of a relatively small block size. Central locations such as Vashi's sector 17, the CBD of Belapur or the newly planned SEZ, contain medium sized urban blocks comprising a large number of private commercial lots. Moreover, large public and private schemes, for example in the form of walk-ups and high-rise towers (Spaghetti, Millennium Towers, Hiranandani), consist of uniform blocks of large lots. Not least, Villa enclaves such as Magic Hills consist of efficiently arranged private lots.

Table 19: Block structure of selected schemes

Vashi Sector 1	*Individual lots arranged in groups, clusters*
BUDP Kopar Khairane	Blocks composed of 30 to 50 individual rectilinear lots, many irregular subdivisions
DRS Sector 26	Community land, block equals lot
Gharkul	Community land, semi private spaces
Spaghetti	Semi private community land
Gharonda-Ghansoli	Semi private community land
Navi Mumbai SEZ	Large individual lots
Hiranandani Palace Gardens	Few lots, semi private facilities
Magic Hills	Small and medium sized private lots, super

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[264] Herbert Gans, for example, in his 1969 portrayal of "The Levittowners" emphasises the fact that for most people the question of 'the neighbours and the block around you' is more relevant than the question of 'your neighbourhood'.

[265] One of the overarching trends is conceivably the gradual demise of large patches of community land as was typical for publicly developed projects.

	efficient arrangement
Bonkode Village	Irregular arrangement of individual lots
Turbhe Stores	Extreme amount of illegal subdivisions

Lot size and geometry (private lots)

The individual lot sizes in Navi Mumbai's projects are much smaller than those that we know from western metropolises. Even in the private sector the average total built area per tenement is 63 square metres.[266] (Cf. MMRDA A-8, Table A8.8. quoting Cidco 1992) This size is rather high for Indian standards. Lots in the BUDP site-and-service projects have a minimum size of 25 square metres.[267] In contrast the middle and higher income project Magic Hills offers building plots around 120 square metres intended for bungalow type housing.

While a built up area comprises 45 square metres, dwelling units constructed by Cidco are an average of 36 square metres.[268] Cidco's low income, EWS/LIG schemes, feature sizes of 18 to 25 square metres (Cidco 2005: ES-3, cf. Adusumilli 2001:24). Moreover standard housing sizes range from 25 square metres for LIG units, 25 to 50 square metres for smaller 'MIG-1' units, 50 to 75 square metres for 'MIG-2' units, and HIG units of 75 square metres and above. (Cidco 2005)

Average private space per resident

Navi Mumbai provides four times as much space per resident as its mother city: The average private space per resident is 11,8 square metres (own calculation). The respective number for Mumbai island is 3,5 square metres. (Cf. Nissel 1997 quoting data by the World Resources Institute) An average household with 3,8 residents can marshal a floor plan of 45 square metres. (Cf. Cidco 2005) This translates to an average 6,6 of square metres per capita for the EWG LIC sections, 13,2 square metres for the middle-income inhabitant and 20 square metres and more for the higher income resident (own calculation).

Prescribed Floor Space Index (FSI)

The general FSI value for Navi Mumbai is 1,0.[269] (Cf. Bertaud 2003, MMRDA 1999) The regulation predominantly affects lots smaller than 1.000 square metres. For "residential cum commercial" or commercial plots above 1.000 square metres, FSI permission is 1,5. The same is true for compensation packages in some of the villages.

Housing type

The majority of Navi Mumbai's inhabitants live in multi-storey walk up apartments: more than 40 percent of the buildings in Navi Mumbai have four floors, 34 percent 2 and 3 stories, and 7 percent dwell in structures of 8 and more levels. (Cf. Cidco 2005: ES-3)

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[266] Areas per tenement range at 82 square metres for bungalow plots; row house plots are 76 square meter in average, 61 square meters for society plots, 60 square metres for commercial cum residential projects, 47 square metres at health plus residential developments, 52 square metres for bulk land. More than half of the area is built in the form of society plots, only one seventh as bungalow plots. (Cf. Cidco 2005)

[267] They were allowed to go below Indian building codes. (MMRDA 1999, N-8)

[268] The average size of all tenements constructed by the private sector is 63 square metres ranging from 47 square metre tenements on plots to be used for health services plus residential purposes to 82 square metres on Bungalow plots (Table-A.8.8 in MMRDA 1999, N-8: 43)

[269] FSI (FAR) regulations are an integral part, of Indian urban planning culture. (Cf. above; cf. Bertaud 2003, 2004, 2008; cf. Patel 2007)

The high number of walk-up apartments is also reflected by the fact that Navi Mumbai is a city of cooperative housing societies. A remarkable number of four fifths of the population reside in co-op schemes. In contrast, only 11,5 percent live in a commercial apartment, 6,4 percent reside in a row house, 0,6 percent stay in a bungalow type building (Cidco 2005: ES-3).

Housing fabric

The 40-year history of Navi Mumbai's 800 sectors offers a wide range of all conceivable architectural styles. Latest trends point to an increasing proliferation of a thematic architecture working with iconic shapes. (cf. below: Development and Design)

Navi Mumbai's architectural housing styles represent a broad choice of options ranging from the romantic vernacular 'rural' designs of Charles Correa's artist village at Belapur, to the 'non-architectural' pragmatism of the BUDP site-and-service housing schemes, the lean modernist image of Cidco's large public housing projects from the 1980's (DRS, Vashi), the iconic Spaghetti, the postmodern ornamented shapes of Gharkul, the technoid forms of the Millennium towers, the traditionally ornamented Seawoods Estates, the neo-classical Hiranandani Palace Gardens, and also to celebrity resorts offering themed leisure landscapes for high value individuals.

After all, the context of traditional villages, local towns, creeks, industrial estates and modern billboards results in a heterogeneous "landscape of surprise". (Cf. Gotsch 2007) The German urban ethnologist, Christiane Brosius, captures the atmosphere of contemporary Indian suburbs, valid also for the environs of Navi Mumbai, in the following way: "Countless real estate announcements, Interior Design magazines and billboards portray this new homeland: There is a German "Küchenausstatter", household appliances, as well as a " Sky Lounge" promising an extraordinary cosmic experience; illuminated mansions, geometric spectacles of urban blocks, slogans promoting Italian terracotta tiles and marble floors; "Smart Homes" , which can be remotely controlled from the car, but also erected and structures along the traditional Vastu Shastra principles... Popular is the citation of a cosmopolitan inventory of „large empires", the Greek and Roman antiques, the Egypt of the Pharaohs or the British Empire." (Cf. Brosius 2007: 68, translated by the author)

→ Illustration C-17: Matrix of housing styles

Individual adaptations of buildings

Individual adaptations of the housing structures are on a daily agenda in most of the neighbourhoods. They appear to be correlated to the age of a project, the socioeconomic status of the residents as well as to the form of ownership and management of the project. Slum settlements and villages represent the highest amount of adaptations. Site-and-service projects have been initiated with adaptations as a concept. Yet, smaller and unplanned interventions, ranging from converted balconies to the chaotic arrangement of air conditioning, mark the whole landscape. Informal appropriation seems only atypical in upscale projects such as Seawoods Estates or Hiranandani.

As generic styles are mixed with locally flavoured features, the result is an Indian or Marathi townscape. The condition is best illustrated by a comment of a guest-worker from Kolkata: "Fortunately this place was nothing like we imagined it to be. Far from being a slice of America, it had India written all over it."
 (http://ptblanc.blogspot.com/2004_06_01_archive.html (r17.09.2008)

Examples (nodes)

To illustrate the information presented above the following section presents four exemplary nodes – Vashi (1979), Kopar Khairane (1986), Kharghar (1995) and Dronagiri (2004). Each of these stands for a specific era of Navi Mumbai's development.

1979: Vashi – from experimental ground and economic centre

Table 20: Vashi – basic data (Cf. Cidcoindia r17.09.2008)

Groundbreaking	*1979*
Area	1.000 hectares
Residents	300.000
Units	60.000
Density	300 persons / hectare
Private construction	37 percent
LIC Units	39 percent
Household Income	342 US$

Vashi was the first township of Navi Mumbai. Located next to the Vashi Bridge and the Mumbai-Pune road it features the best connectivity in the area. As a result it became the most prosperous node. 30 years after breaking ground Vashi totals 74 percent of all private house construction activity. (Cf. MMRDA 1999, N-8: 43) The land became so valuable that many low-income neighbourhoods were converted into middle class neighbourhoods.

The node was designed in a modernist manner, as a system of open spaces on a grid pattern. Some of the early sections, such as Sector 1, stand for the early principles of self-sufficiency. Here the communal facilities are placed inside of the sectors. Most of the subsequent zones reflect a pragmatic raster organisation. Commercial activities are oriented towards streets which function as public spaces. The arrangement allows for a high openness and flexibility. A road and path network modelled along Chandigarh's hierarchic circulation patterns interconnects the sectors.

Vashi is considered to be the economic and cultural centre of Navi Mumbai. It features the highest land prices in the area. The appropriation of the land was relatively comfortable. The area consisted of many flood plains and belonged to the government. In addition, the Thane-Belapur Industrial Area granted an existing infrastructure network of superior conditions and many employment opportunities. Vasi has served as the ground for many pilot projects in Navi Mumbai.[270] The architect Charles Correa, one of the masterminds of the Navi Mumbai project, has authored some sectors in the area. (Cf. below Developers and Planners)

→ Illustration c-18: Vashi map

Today, after three decades, Vashi is fully developed. It covers about 1.000 hectares and has a population of more than 300.000 residents. As the urban structure directly

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[270] An early development plan for Vashi permitted developments to take place while the first Navi Mumbai Development Plan was prepared and approved by the government for implementation in 1979. (Adusumilli 2001: 25)

joins the Kopar Khairane node further to the North[271], the concept of greenbelts has been lost. The fact that the node was selected to house the wholesale agricultural market for the Mumbai region was a major breakthrough for the economic development of the entire scheme of Navi Mumbai. Today the node thrives on the prevalence of new service industries, shopping malls and IT centres, notably the International Technology Park. (Cf. above Commercial, infrastructure)

The commercial heart of Vashi is Sector 17. It hosts a dense concentration of small businesses, offices, clinics, banks, retail outlets, restaurants and franchise operations. Sectors 9 and 10 are also filled with commercial activity, especially retail. An outstanding local feature, popularly known as the "Mini Seashore" or "Seaside Park", is a strip of land along the coast of the Thane creek that has been developed as a park.

1986: Kopar Khairane – Site-and-service (BUDP)

Table 21: Kopar Khairane – basic data (Cf. Cidcoindia r17.09.2008)

Groundbreaking	*1986*
Area	324 hectares
Residents	227.300
Units	43.000
Density	700 persons/hectare
Private construction	60 percent
LIC Units	56 percent
Household Income	180 US$

Kopar Khairane is a node that was started in 1986. It stands for new decentred and demand driven approaches in the housing sector. The node stands out as one of the major sites of The World Bank sponsored Bombay Urban Development Project (BUDP). The scheme intended to develop housing solutions even for the poorest populations (in Indian terms the Economic Weaker Sections). (Cf. Cidcoindia, r17.09.2008) Site-and-service schemes were chosen as the best strategy. Today, 25 years after completion, demand is high and land prices have skyrocketed. The node is characterised by extremely high densities as well as high gentrification pressure.

The node is located to the North of Vashi, between Turbhe and Ghansoli. The hierarchical and strictly orthogonal layout structure of the original plan catches the eye. The plan resembles traditional Mandala schemes. (Cf. above: Predecessors) Its main part is comprised of a group of four large square shaped sectors. Each of the sectors was subdivided into four parts. While the perimeters of the sectors are reserved for wide roads and commercial purposes, the central parts have been reserved for parks and recreational areas.

Today a number of important IT parks have settled in the environs the most prominent of which are the Millennium Business Park and the Reliance InfoTech Park (cf. above: Infrastructure) – the headquarters of one of India's leading telecommunication powerhouses. In addition several new colleges and universities have been established. As a result of these new developments the area has become increasingly gentrified. In this context older housing structures are upgraded as numerous new housing complexes for

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[271] The developments in late 80's and early 90's were concentrated on the northern end coinciding with the developments in Kopar Khairane. (Adusumilli 2001: 25)

the white-collar classes of the information economy emerge. A new railway station was built as a symbolic landmark. It uses the newest high-tech materials and construction technologies and thus aims to exhibit the new informational age.

→ Illustration C-19: Kopar Khairane map

Kopar Khairane comprises more than 230.000 inhabitants in 43.000 buildings. More than 100.000 residents live in the 25.000 units of the BUDP project. While in the first 15 years after implementation residents were not allowed to sell the subsidised houses on the open market,[272] today a growing number of houses in "cashed in". As the new inhabitants comprise mainly white-collar folk such as IT professionals and students, working in one of the IT-Parks or studying in one of the local universities, the area tends to have become gentrified. (Cf. Cidcoindia.com, r23.10.2008)

1995: Kharghar – new tendencies

Table 22: Kharghar – basic data, (Cf. Cidcoindia r17.09.2008)

Groundbreaking	*1995*
Area	1.700 hectares
Residents	500.000
Units	120.000
Density	300 persons / hectare
Share of housing	25 percent

Started in 1995, Kharghar is one of the most recent (the 14th) of Navi Mumbai's nodes. As such it represents some of the latest planning paradigms and can be regarded as Navi Mumbai's postmodern centre. Planned for a population of 500.000 the node is bigger than the others and features a mix of various neighbourhoods for all income groups.

The node is located to the East of the administrative CBD in Belapur. It is bordered by the scenic Kharghar hills to the West and the Panvel creek to the South, featuring prime access to the National Highway (NH4) and the Taloje Industrial Estate as Navi Mumbai's second large industrial estate. Cidco started to develop the area in 1995. Currently 40 percent has been developed. (cf. Kumar). The aim is for the area to become a residential township and an educational zone. The settlement is spread over 1.700 hectares and is divided into 45 sectors.

Khargar's plan had to accommodate not less than 12 village settlements with a population exceeding 20.000 (cf. Kumar). The former 'landowners' participated in the development of the project through generous rehabilitation and resettlement schemes. Today some of the villages run some of the shopping malls. (Cf. below: Developer, Strategies, R&R schemes)

Kharghar's land use distribution reflects a bias towards residential spaces and an abundance of public area and circulation space: A quarter of the total area contains residential land use with neighbourhoods for all income groups. (Cf. below: examples of Neighbourhoods) One tenth is reserved for social facilities. Public utilities as well as open spaces amount to more than 35 percent of the area (a big share is taken by a gigantic 80 hectare central park and spaces for educational institutions.). In addition 20 percent of the spaces are reserved for traffic circulation.

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[272] Which is a general rule for all subsidised housing projects in the state.

Balkrishna Doshi drew Kharghar's master plan back in 1992 (Cf. below: Designers). Doshi sought to provide the township a strong identity in carving out a series of public spaces and landmarks and defined a strong regulatory framework. The outstanding landmark feature of the node is a 80 hectare central park (Sector 23). London's Hyde Park and New York's Central Park are its obvious models. While the park will serve as a recreational centre for the entire region, all major streets have been designed as walkable green boulevards. In addition, the zoning regulations require all buildings to develop a base with commercial uses facing the street at ground levels. These features of Kharghar reflect attempts to counter several anti-urban trends related to segregation and the privatisation of space.

Even so Kharghar's spaces reflect a novel tendency heading for a 'visual' space of representations and symbols. An increasing number of buildings take the form of icons. Moreover a new form of nostalgia materialises in a large variety of monumental details. The most popular example of this tendency is Kharghar's main monument, the Utsav Chowk. This large circular fountain and arcade in a Greek-Roman style, has become one of the most celebrated icons of the township.

→ Illustration C-20: Khargar map

As the most recent node, Kharghar is also Cidco's showcase of its latest housing strategies.

LIC and EWB schemes have been integrated into the core areas of some main sectors of the township.[273] A large amount of low-income schemes provide a minimal lot, the basic utilities and a basic carrying structure (resembling Corbusier's famous Domino house). (Cf. → C-17)

Numerous projects by public and private developers reflect the approaches towards the average and higher income populations. Projects such as Kendriya Vihar[274], and a township for Cidco employees at Sector-21 exemplify institutional housing colonies. In addition the Indian Armed Forces erected two residential enclaves, JalVayu Vihar and Raghunath Vihar.

Several leading Indian builders have implemented important MID housing projects such as: Seawood Heritage, Balaji Angan, Crystal Complex, Shanti Niketan, Rail Vihar, Kendriya Vihar and many more. Landmark MID housing complexes developed by Cidco include the Gharkul A, B, C & D Condominiums and the Spaghetti Housing scheme.

In addition some of the most costly state of the art projects for the upper middle and upper classes have emerged in the area. Many of these are related to other successful undertakings from other nodes and from further Mumbai locations. Some of these 'premium' residential projects are: Seawood Heritage, Balaji Aangan, Hiranandani Complex (Crystal Plaza), Hexblox, Kesar Exotica, Kesar Harmony, Rail Vihar, Regency Hills, Shanti Niketan Tower.

It is also interesting to see that Cidco, the developer of Navi Mumbai, has also embarked on some of the strategies normally represented by the private sector. The agency has developed an upscale theme park project including a residential area on the slopes of the Kharghar hills, in an area which has up until now been part of a regional park. (Cf.

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[273] Cf. Site visit and interview with Cidco representatives in August 2006. The approach is significantly different from Correa's experimental 'artist' housing schemes in Belapur, or from Cidco's site and services projects at Kopar-Khairane.
[274] A large project for government officials developed by CGEWHO (Central Government Employees Welfare & Housing Organisation) in Sector-11

below: Kharghar Hill Plateau)[275] In addition, Cidco will also implement an 18-hole golf course, including a 5 star hotel next to Kharghar's Central Park. (Cf. Cidco website)

In the non-housing segment several planned large shopping malls and Cineplex theatres represent a consumer-orientated landscape in the making.

→ Illustration C-21: Diagrams of Vashi, Kopar Khairane and Khargar

2004: Dronagiri (Navi Mumbai SEZ)

Table 23: Dronagiri – basic data (Cf. Cidcoindia r17.09.2008)

Groundbreaking	*2004*
Area	1.390 hectares
GFA	20 million square metres
Amount of private sector construction	100
Share of industries	40 percent
Share of Housing	17 percent

The Special Economic Zone (SEZ) at Dronagiri is of central importance for Navi Mumbai. The recent project exemplifies the transition from older to newer development paradigms.

The SEZ of Dronagiri is planned on 1.390 hectares of land at the southern tip of Navi Mumbai. The project is also known as Phase I development of the Navi Mumbai SEZ.[276] The fact that Dronagiri was supposed to become a 'regular' node of Navi Mumbai from the beginning (Cf. TECS 2001: 81 quoting the original Development Plan by Cidco), represents the advantage that the scheme can be integrated into the system of Navi Mumbai's nodes and infrastructure networks. There had been no land acquisition problem. Due to its proximity to residential areas, the JNPT port, the future airport, and and industrial areas[277], as well as further planned SEZs, the zone is deemed to emerge as Navi Mumbai's new international hub (TECS 2001: 99). It will cater for service industries such as IT, biotech, airport related activities etc. (Cf. TECS 2001: 87)

→ Illustration C-22: Map of the Navi Mumbai-SEZ (and picture of protesting villagers)

It is important to realise that the project aims to become more than a conventional industrial area. While 40 percent of the land becomes industrial, 17 percent is devoted to housing. In this context the SEZ aims to cater for "the best of global living, learning, healthcare and recreation standards" and will be an autonomous enclave in terms of infrastructure and service facilities. (Cf. Skil website, r. 12.08.2008)

In spite of that it is also striking to see that in contrast to the distinctive meta-logic and design of Navi Mumbai, the interior arrangement of the SEZ project follows no evident urban plan. The SEZ is composed of rather neutral clusters. Each of these is dedicated to certain types of land uses, which will be determined according to the final de-

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[275] According to unconfirmed reports from a reputed business group, the luxury villas on Kharghar Hills will cost from INR 600.000 to INR 22.500.000 (13.000 to 500.000 US$). Cf. Newbombayplus: "Cidco plays foul?" Posted On Wednesday, December 12, 2007)

[276] Phase II of the NMSEZ will be developed at Ulwe on an area covering 400 hectare. (Cf. TECS 2001: 78)

[277] E.g. the Navghar industrial area to the South

mand. As a result, the respective sectors linked together by major transport arteries, constitute a fragmented patchwork of isolated activities. (Cf. TECS 2001: 86)

Examples (projects)

Whereas the former section has presented some of Navi Mumbai' paradigmatic nodes, this section presents several projects at sector and building level.

1986: The site-and-service scheme under the BUDP project in Kopar Khairane

The central area of Kopar Khairane represents a milestone effort of housing strategicyfor the low and no-income sector, populations that are usually out of the range of formal housing markets. The World Bank supported Bombay Urban Development Project (BUDP) sites-and-services project, implemented here, was one of the first of these models worldwide.[278] The scheme represents a radical break with large public housing projects. It was geared to the occupation of individual mini lots and utilised self-help strategies.

The BUDP project was developed in the second half of the 1980's. While it included 13 sites in the Mumbai region, including some slum rehabilitation schemes. Kopar Khairane was the most important site.[279] It aimed to provide housing poorest population segments at alternative locations. The strategy aimed at the construction and financing of serviced residential, commercial and small industrial plots. It involved community facilities, core housing and house expansion loans (The World Bank Website, r12.09.2008).[280]

In this context the programme had three significant strategic elements: 1) minimal standards and self-construction, 2) differential pricing and 3) self governance (cf. MMRDA, N-8):

Firstly, a range of functional standards for the building structures and the spaces was developed using a minimal set of rules. The minimum lot size was set at 25 square metres, the lowest size for the core structure at 8 square metres (with another 10 square metres to be added in a second phase). These nominal standards[281] even undercut the locally permissible building codes. Moreover the households were given facilitated access to small loans enabling them to complete construction with materials of their choice (Adusumilli 2001: 10).[282] In this way the developers sought to bring down the price of the smallest serviced site to a level that was affordable even to the poorest.

Secondly, the programme has worked with cross subsidies using methods of differential pricing. This implies that low-income projects have been cross-financed by the sales of other lots at prime locations. These were predominantly street facing lots on the project site with exceptional commercial potential. In this way it was possible to ensure full cost recovery while serving 60 percent of beneficiaries below the poverty line. And only in this way could an important step of reliability be achieved.[283]

A third important strategy was the introduction of self-governance through the arrangement of cooperative societies. Developed land with core houses was leased to the

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[278] The other early site-and-service scheme by The World Bank is Dandora in Nairobi.

[279] The whole scheme worked with two components. Firstly, it aimed to rehabilitate housing structures for a population of 100.000 slum dwellers in central city locations (including granting permanent legal land tenure to the residents). In addition, it sought to develop 85.000 new units, mostly in the metropolitan region (MMRDA 1999: 29).

[280] A typical serviced site with a wet core amounted to INR 5.000. A completed one-room house amounted to an additional INR 25.000. Each of the subsidised households had to put in their own contribution and to construct a significant amount in self-help (Cf. MMRDA, N-8; referring to examples from Charkop and Gorai Road)

[281] Own Development Control Rules and Building Bye-laws

[282] Cf. the Development Control Regulations for Greater Mumbai for low-cost housing or sites and services under ULC schemes and BUDP (GOM, 1991)

[283] It is important to note that Cidco was allowed to apply this strategy only for land but not for finished projects. Hence, after The World Bank withdrew from providing subsidies for housing construction at the BUDP projects, the serviced land had to be just sold for the highest bidder (cf. Adusumilli 2001).

cooperative societies of the beneficiaries. These societies had the responsibility of maintaining the internal services.[284]

1987: DRS Scheme (Sector 26 Vashi) – first liberalisation project – differential pricing[285]
Sector 26 in Vashi contains an example of Cidco's housing policies stemming from the late 1980's belonging to the so-called Demand Registration Scheme (DRS). This scheme was very important for Navi Mumbai. It contributed to over 10 percent of today's Navi Mumbai population, delivering 25.000 ready-to-move-in dwelling units after an implementation period of six years in 1993. The plan addressed low-income populations in an integrated manner, providing all necessary infrastructure service facilities.[286]

The project features a large variety of 'novel' solutions (for that time) in construction and design. While Cidco has refined and applied its own method of cross-subsidising the object between the richer and poorer buyers (differential pricing), design and the implementation were commissioned to the private sector. Some of the designers and construction enterprises were selected by means of a national competition. However, it had to face a new and unexpected situation as its implementation overlapped with significant national reforms in housing finance. The facilities sometimes also served the neighbouring residents (cf. Ibidem: 10). The land use of the 'integrated' project area was divided into 45 percent residential, 20 percent shopping, 10 percent social facilities, 25 percent open space and 10 percent roads. Notably the interior pathways of the project were designated to have little traffic and to be child friendly. All the amenities and utilities were located along the periphery, separately accessible by external roads (cf. Ibidem: 9).

Cidco intended mixing various income classes utilising three housing typologies: 18, 25, and 34 square metres. The 18 and 25 square metre classes are for the Lower Income Group (LIG), while the larger ones are for the Middle Income Group (MIG).[287] The accommodation consisted largely of a multi-purpose room with an asbestos sheet roof, a kitchenette, a toilet and a bath. The units for the LIG were arranged in two story twin buildings with a shared entry on both sides of the house. This arrangement provided semi-private spaces on the ground. In contrast, the units for the lower MIGs were stacked onto separate floors of a single building.

One of the main inovations of this project is organisational, resident associations govern the scheme. Membership in these is mandatory for the residents. In this context the project is divided into 8 condominiums. Each of these has its own office.

Unfortunately restrictive eligibility criteria (reflecting a surge of populist politics) has limited the target group of the project to a small proportion of applicants and thus reduced the general benefit of the entire project. All applicants had to provide proof of at least one source of stable income and a minimum 15 years residence in the state.[288]

Eligible to apply for this scheme in July 1987 were those earning between INR 701 and INR 1.500 per month (annual income of INR 12.000 or estimated 300 US$ (at 1987 prices). The estimated cost of the cheapest apartment was about INR 33.000 (~900 US$

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[284] Typical costs, affordability and cost recovery analysis are shown in Table-8.19 of MMRDA, N-8. A cost analysis of site and services schemes revealed that the land acquisition and ground preparation samples only 12-15 percent of the project cost whereas on-site and off-site infrastructure costs were as high as 60-80 percent. The non-saleable social infrastructure such as community centres, gardens etc. required only 2-3 percent of the project cost. (Adusumilli 2001: 30)

[285] The following paragraph is mainly based on Information from Adusumilli 2001.

[286] Nonetheless, large no-income populations were excluded from entering the application process as the proof of a regular income as well as a long-term residence in the state was required.

[287] About 50 percent of the houses were for LIG, 37 percent for MIG and the remaining 13 percent for the HIG ... The allotted cost of the houses was about one half of the market rate at that time... in the scheme studied in Sector 26 of Vashi, very few houses have actually changed hands, but are rented out by the original owners. (Adusumilli 2001: 36)

[288] A new rule introduced in 1989 by the government of Maharashtra made it mandatory for the applicants to have lived in the state of Maharashtra for at least 15 years to be eligible for a house constructed by any public agency in Maharashtra (Ibidem: 11).

:or INR 1.833 = 45 US$ per square metre).[289] 1.000 rupees, a monthly income, was required as a deposit at registration.

At the time of actual allotment in 1992 the cost escalated to more than 250 percent. The cost of the apartments rose to INR 83,660 (or US$ 25.00). (Adusumilli 2001: 12, table) This was the case because federal reforms of the housing finance sector had relocated subsidies to the end customers that had been expected by Cidco. Beneficiaries could now choose how much loan is to be raised on the house, at what rate of interest and over how long a period of repayment (Ibidem).

→ Illustration C-23: DRS scheme in Vashi's sector 26

One of the most important innovations Cidco came up with in the DRS scheme was of a financial type: here Cidco applied its own method of defining the price of the apartments depending on a buyer's income. This cost was a combination of the value of land and the construction cost resulting in a differential price. As a consequence the lower income groups received subsidised land, while the higher income groups paid up to double the 'reserve price' (the real value benchmark). The construction cost was added to the total (cf. ibid). The buyers who opted for an outright purchase had to pay the amount in 8 equal segments during the construction period (Ibidem: 79).[290]

Furthermore, in the DRS Cidco also experimented for the first time with the outsourcing of design and construction services. The developer explored three different strategies for the best solutions and to diversify the risk. One part of the projects was assigned to six consulting architectural practices, another part was subcontracted as turn-key projects to developers and a last part was the object of a national architectural competition with five commissions (Ibidem). While the developers tended to experiment with novel construction technologies such as reinforced concrete frames (RCC) and new methods of prefabrication, most of the architectural offices, such as "Architects Combine" from Mumbai, aimed to develop new spatial innovations (Ibidem: 8).

1996: Low MIC Gharkul in Kharghar – a new consumer oriented approach
One of the first housing projects of a new consumer oriented era is Kharghar's Gharkul project.

The four storey walk-up project, in the 15th sector of the node, features 1.152 tenements of 6 types ranging from 27 to 41 square metres. Various apartments are designed with terraces allowing for future expansion. Moreover public services such as schools, a community centre, public playgrounds and a shopping area were integrated into the scheme (Adusumilli 2001: 43).

The project represents 5 important paradigms reflecting more general trends of liberal restructuring and an increasing orientation towards the demand side: 1) outsourcing of services, 2) flexibility of layouts, 3) integrated facilities, 4) one step purchasing process, and 5) easy payment methods.[291]

The project in Gharkul was part of a new approach towards the marketing and sale of low-income housing. The project targeted working class populations with direct access to credit through new national housing financing agencies. (cf. above: Context, Availability of mortgages)

Cidco's innovations here comprise a simplified marketing and sales method ("single window system") as well as a plain payment process ("payment made easy"). Beneficiar-

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[289] Average prices in Mumbai's fashionable locations range up to at least US$ 700 per square metre. (Cf. above)
[290] There was also an option to use loans of 11 to 135 percent facilitated by Cidco.
[291] The categorisation was made by the author.

ies could come direct to the Cidco office with minimum documentation and book the tenements of their choice on a first come first serve basis. Representatives of Housing Banks attended on the specified dates. 10 percent of the cost of the tenement had to be paid at the time of booking and the remaining amount was recovered in 6 rates over 18 months.

2003: LIC – Housing Scheme Ghansoli-Gharonda
This scheme at sector 9 of Ghansoli is a low cost housing scheme developed by Cidco in 2003. Here the design symbolises a new postmodern era. The colourful four story walk-up structures are arranged in the form of perimeter blocks around inner courtyards. Designed by the renowned office of Hafeez Contractors the project features 2.792 apartments, with floor plans of 24 to 62 square metres. Prices range from 5.000 to 15.000 US$ (INR 2,26 lakhs to 5,60 lakhs). Notable is the arrangement of colours and iconic shapes, which apparently played a major role in the marketing and sales of the apartments. (Cf. Cidcoindia.com, r13.09.2008) In spite of that the scheme has yet to prove its practicality in every day life situations. (Cf. → Illustration C-17)

2003: 'Spaghetti housing' scheme – New trend for Middle Income Groups (MIG)
A large 4 to 7 story meandering walk-up 'spaghetti housing' scheme by Cidco is among the recent hodge podge of projects for lower MIGs. (Cf. below pricing strategy) The project represents an example of an application of a new consumer oriented approach towards the lower middle classes. Designed by the same designers as the Seawoods complex (Haafez Contractor) as a large icon[292], the project experiments with high-density urban schemes of lower middle class housing.[293] Apartments are being sold on a first come first serve basis.

1996 (2008): Seawoods I and Seawoods II – High Income
The Seawoods complex is Navi Mumbai's pioneering upper class housing project and one of the most prestigious housing developments in Navi Mumbai. Its success lies in the fact that it eventually succeeded in attracting rich residents from Mumbai and abroad to the New Town.

The scheme is oriented towards the Sea. It comprises the sectors 54 to 58 of the Nerul node. It is served by a major road connection, a four-lane boulevard named Palm Beach Marg. Today the area is one of the more expensive residential locations of Navi Mumbai.

Cidco completed the first phase of the undertaking in 1996. It consists of 46 towers and 1.534 apartments. Initially the project was called the NRI- complex (Non-resident Indian). This name points to the first target groups. The project has been a great success and is fully occupied. (Cf. cidcoindia.com; r02.08.2008) As a consequence Cidco started developing a second phase in 2005. This part will contain 665 apartments. These are distributed at subsidised rates of INR 5.000 to 7.000 per square foot (1.200-1.500 US$ per square metre).[294] (Cf. Sales brochure on Cidco's website) (Cf. → Illustration C-17)

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[292] Cf. www.hafeezcontractor.com; r09.09.2008
[293] The developer experimented with novel construction techniques (tunnel, Mywan) and developed innovative floor plan designs.
[294] A pricing technique developed by Cidco called Book Bidding Process (cf. below) creates much fuss and confusion about the distribution of apartments.

Designed in 1996 by Hafeez Contractor, Seawood is among the early examples of India's current Integrated Township boom.[295] The autonomous and gated enclave of landmark high-rise towers is well known among the expatriate Indian communities in Dubai, Australia and the US. Apartments have been provided with high-class amenities of western standards. It has its own shopping complex, a clubhouse with swimming pool and a park located inside the complex.

2003: Millennium Towers, Sanpada

The Millennium Housing Scheme represents Cidco's recent landmark development for the middle class segment in the Sanpada node. This project of 1.200 tenements was developed in Sector 9 of the township as a series of condominium towers. It is composed of 684 tenements of type A (80 square metres, 2 BHK[296], 336 tenements of type B (56 square metres, 1 BHK), 24 tenements of type C (2 BHK) and 156 tenements of type D (3 BHK). On-site services include its own shopping centre, consisting of 12 shops, as well as a club with swimming pool. The 15 storey-housing scheme was constructed using modern tunnel construction technologies.[297] (Cf. → Illustration C-17)

2007: Hiranandani Palace Gardens, Panvel – Integrated Township

"Hirco creates value by combining 'location, location, location' with 'infrastructure, infrastructure, infrastructure". (Hiranandani 2007: 10)

Among names such as Mumbai Manhattan, Arrow City, Magic Hills and Bollywood City, Hiranandani Palace Gardens at Panvel is one of the most distinguished Integrated Townships currently being developed in the vicinity of Navi Mumbai. Announced in October 2007, the 233 hectare project will feature fully self-sufficient infrastructure and service facilities. The undertaking is an excellent example of a vigorous deployment of public incentives and a 'smart' utilisation of international investment flows. (Cf. → Illustration C-29)

Hiranandani Palace Gardens is divided into two parts: Panvel Residential and Panvel Commercial. In addition, in 2007, a combined part has also gained the status of a Special Economic Zone (SEZ). This setup optimises the deployment of a maximum range of available subsidies (e.g. public assistance for township developments, IT parks and SEZs). Each of the project parts will feature about 18 million square feet (or 1,7 million square metres)[298] of floor space. This translates to a Floor Area Index (FSI) of about 1,5.

While it is located at a peripheral frontier location, Hiranandani Palace Gardens Panvel is not intended to be a suburban dormitory settlement. The preliminary master plan for the Panvel Township calls for an urban mix of flats, town houses and villas with high densities. The project is intended to become a densely urbanised milestone project featuring exclusive western style services, infrastructure and urban lifestyles: "We are designing Panvel to be one of the foremost communities in Mumbai and the country." (Cf. Hirco 2007: 17)

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[295] Cf. above: India, New trends in spatial development) [**Thriving in the real estate and IT boom the architects have meanwhile designed dozens of IT parks as well as middle and upper class projects including a projected high rise tower for Dubai. (Cf. www.hafeezcontractor.com; and http://www.indiabuildnet.com/arch/ahc_10.htm)

[296] BHK = Bed, Hall, Kitchen

[297] Among the material specifications announced by Cidco are: "a ceramic tile flooring, granite kitchen platforms with stainless steel sinks, concealed copper pipe plumbing, concealed copper wiring for electrification, connectivity to Internet, telephone, intercom & TV, LPG pipe line with reticulated system, powder coated aluminium sliding windows, intercom system, exterior sandtex matt paint and oil bound distemper internally, a separate capsule lift and fire lift for A type buildings and fire lift, passenger lift for B type buildings, DG sets and ample parking space for vehicles". (Cf. Cidcoindia, r112.09.2008)

[298] Or 260 soccer fields

Up to 40 percent of the township is devoted to open spaces for infrastructure and recreational facilities, reflecting world-class benchmarks. (Cf. Hirco 2007: 22) Of the remaining 60 percent built-up area, an equal share of 45 percent is devoted to residential and commercial land uses, while 5 percent is assigned to commercial and social facilities respectively.

Hiranandani Palace Gardens combines a variety of external and internal synergies: Firstly it thrives on the dynamics of the large real estate and infrastructure projects being developed in Navi Mumbai and the Mumbai-Pune development corridor (such as the New Airport, the deep sea harbour, other large SEZ projects, the new cross harbour bridge; cf. above: External Infrastructure). On the other hand the undertaking employs synergies with other incentives of the Hiranandani Group at the Mumbai-Pune corridor and beyond. Among these projects are the renowned Hiranandani Palace Gardens in Powai, and several projects in Mumbai's peripheral centre of Thane stemming from the 1990's, such as the Hiranandani Estates (1996) and Hiranandani Meadows, and the Hiranandani Biz Park, the construction of a 90 storey Marina tower in Dubai (cf. Hirco 2007: 10) and the parallel development of Hiranandani Palace Gardens, Chennai.

Combining the mantra of "location" and "infrastructure"[299] the Hiranandani Group has designed its strategies of developing large, independent and fully fledged townships in urban peripheries based on the most important economic and demographic trends. It was among the first developers that came up with the strategy to cater to needs of the newly rising affluent middle classes and corporate customers. Reflecting the fact that India's urban context lacks the necessary world-class infrastructure and services, it was consequently decided to build all the necessary infrastructure from scratch[300] and to concentrate on self-sufficient projects of several dozens or even hundreds of hectares (in order to benefit from the economies of scale). Importantly, this also included the approach "to place all Hiranandani projects in well-connected suburbs near major cities".[301] (Hirco Plc 2007: 10)

The project's privately developed infrastructure includes roads, fresh water and sewage facilities, telecommunication networks and autonomous power generation. Private schools and health care facilities, parks, landscaped gardens, retail complexes and leisure facilities comprise the services. In addition several domestic and international brand name shops, supermarkets, restaurants and cafés are integrated into the project.[302]

The Palace Gardens were developed in three steps of 28 months each. Each of the phases contains an own mix of infrastructure, residential and commercial land uses. It profits from increasing value as well as increasing demand as the project advances. In phase 1 a basic housing stock as well as the entire primary infrastructure is developed. This includes the roads as well as the water, power and sewage facilities. Primary demand is fuelled by the relevance of Hiranandani's existing brands, e.g. the Powai project.[303] While continuing to construct residential and commercial space, phase 2 provides for most of the secondary infrastructure such as hospitals, educational and commercial

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[299] "In the developed world, the real estate mantra is 'location, location, location'. In India, location alone is not enough. Increasing urbanization has greatly strained local infrastructure in major Indian cities and towns. Developers cannot simply put up a building and adopt a 'plug and play' attitude to basic services such as water, power, sanitation, and telecommunications". (Ibidem)

[300] We create everything in the self-contained township from the ground up. (Ibidem)

[301] "This approach retains the location advantages a major city offers, such as access to an international airport; rail and road networks; talent pool; leisure facilities; commercial services. At the same time, the scale of the undeveloped site enables Hirco to develop local infrastructure and services from scratch with a single unified vision and to the highest world-class standards." (Ibidem)

[302] Website of the developer: http://www.hiranandani.com (r11.09.200)

[303] The premium is driven by the strength of the Hiranandani brand and track record of existing townships such as in Powai. (Hirco 2007:11)

facilities. It is planned to sell many of the service facilities as stand alone businesses. In Phase 3 the township matures into a fully functioning location featuring high-quality social and residential infrastructure.

Indeed, The Palace Garden projects serve as an experimental field for the developer to create a set of own brands, which can then be replicated at a theoretically unlimited amount of locations. The pilot projects in this regard are the Hiranandani Schools, Clubhouses, a Galleria Shopping Mall, the Nirwhana Park, Hiranandani Hospital, Hakone Entertainment, the Rodas Ecohotel[304] and Lakewood Malls.

In contrast to most conventional developers concentrating on the house buyers, Hiranandani regards various clients from all over the world as its customers. "Stakeholders come from all over the world and from all walks of life and socio-economic backgrounds. They include: Hirco investors; governments and regulators; customers, employees and business partners; contractors and their employees; the people who live, work, study and play in our vibrant township communities; and our neighbours living near townships." (Hirco Plc 2007: 20)

Hiranandani Palace Gardens Panvel is being developed by the Hiranandani Group Inc. The group is one of the largest real estate developers in the country and renowned for its 25-year experience in the development of integrated settlements.[305] The project in Panvel is aimed to replicate the success of the "Hiranandani Gardens", a project built in 1986 at the Powai Lake close to Bollywood. (Cf. Kegler 2005) Importantly, the Hiranandani was also among the project consortium developing the Navi Mumbai SEZ project.

A crucial part of the development strategy of the Panvel and Chennai township ventures was the formation of an own 'investment vehicle', the Hirco Plc.[306] This subsidiary was set up in 2006 to harvest international money markets. The company was founded with the exclusive objective "to co-invest in large scale mixed-use township developments in suburban areas outside city centres in India". (Cf. http://www.hircoplc.com/) It is headquartered on the Isle of Man.

Founder of Hirco and co-founder of the Hiranandani Group is Mr Niranjan Hiranandani. Trained as an accountant, Mr. Hiranandani is a well-known figure in national as well as regional economic and political circles and holds key positions in various Indian government bodies, private and social institutions, schools and colleges.[307] Other board members of Hirco include internationally renowned financial experts, consultants and real estate experts. All senior board members have a 30-year plus experience, a strong focus on finance and accounting, including personal networks to finance and politics (e.g. Isle of Man, British pension schemes).[308]

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[304] The Rodas, Hiranandani's boutique business hotel in Powai township, is only the second hotel in India to be accorded the prestigious Ecotel® certification. (Hirco Plc 2007: 21)

[305] Being one of India's three large listed developers Hiranandani over the past 25 years has developed 30 million square feet (or 2,8 million square metres) of mixed-use townships in India". (Hirco Pct 2007: 3)

[306] Hirco plc is a closed-ended investment company formed to invest through its wholly owned subsidiary, Hirco Holdings Mauritius Limited (Hirco Mauritius) in certain foreign direct investment (FDI)-compliant Indian real estate development projects to be sourced by Niranjan Hiranandani, Kamal Hiranandani and entities controlled by them (together with Hiranandani). In three of the locations, in Chennai, Hirco has identified the Mumbai Metropolitan Region and Jaipur five pipeline projects for investment. The Company acquired Hirco Mauritius on November 21st 2006. The Company operates through its subsidiary, Hirco Holdings Ltd., which is its immediate holding company. (www.reuters.com; r15.09.2008)

[307] Current leadership roles include President of the Maharashtra Chambers of Housing Industry (MCHI); Chairman of Mumbai City, Development & Environment Committee of the Indian Merchants Chambers (I.M.C.) Mumbai; Member of the Task Force of the Government of India for reforms in Housing and Urban Development; and Member of the Study Group on Slum Rehabilitation Scheme, Government of Maharashtra. (Hirco Plc 2007: 30)

[308] Cf. http://www.hircoplc.com/board_biographies.htm; r12.09.2008

Hirco, as the investment arm of the conglomerate, is listed on the Alternative Investments Markets (AIM) of the London Stock Exchange.[309] The company's Initial Public Offering (IPO) became prominent as the largest IPO of the year and as the largest ever-real estate investment company IPO.[310] The sum raised at the IPO was £362,6 million. (Cf. Hirco Plc 2007:4) Hirco has invested 95 percent of this money in the township projects at Panvel and Chennai.

Importantly Hiranandani and its subsidiaries are early Indian adopters of the internationally prominent ISO 9001 (2000) standards.[311] This quality Management Systems is intended for deployment by any organisation seeking to provide world-class products and services in a customer oriented manner.[312] Importantly Hiranandani represents one of the first Indian real estate companies to adopt these standards.[313] [314]

In addition to betting on ISO-Norms and international accounting standards, the company also borrows from international best practice in pioneering the establishment of a Social Corporate Responsibility (CSR) strategy. Accordingly, the company opts to deliver more holistic lifestyles than finished products.[315] While this strategy puts the needs customers first it also takes into account the economic, social and environmental impacts of the products.[316]

Among the examples of social responsibility is the prioritisation of local workers, the provision of appropriate working and living conditions at the construction sites (including kindergartens).[317] Other achievements comprise more than 300.000 new trees (of regional species) that have been planted in Mumbai-area, a biogas plant installed in Thane, and rainwater harvesting practiced on a large scale in Powai[318].

Yet, while it is stressed that the projects will minimize environmental impacts on the surrounding areas and create social benefits such as employment and jobs[319], direct compensation strategies for Project Affected Populations (PAPs) are not mentioned.

2007: Elora Castle

Elora Castle, situated in Belapur's 15th sector, is among several new fashionable projects. Currently the project features the most expensive apartments in the Navi Mumbai re-

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[309] Hirco PLC was admitted to AIM on 13 December 2006. (Cf Hirco Plt 2007: 43) The AIM is a highly speculative and un-regulated market. The Company is incorporated in the Isle of Man under the Isle of Man Companies Acts 1931 to 2004 as amended (Ibidem: 47).

[310] Cf. also Maharashtra Herald, Oct 27.2007; at: http://propertybytes.indiaproperty.com/?p=1600; r11.09.2008

[311] Cf. Hirco Plc 2007: 26; cf. http://www.hiranandani.com; r11.09.2008

[312] "The most critical community for us is that of our customers. Without customers business has no reason to exist. We will always place the customer's needs first." (Hirco Plc 2007: 22)

[313] Indeed, Sinarmas, the developer of Bumi Serpong Damai in Indonesia, did the same. (Cf. previous chapter)

[314] In addition to the ISO norms other global standards are implemented and shape the structural logic of the company. The company works with an audit committee, a nomination committee and an investment committee. Among these are International Financial Reporting Standards (IFRS) applied by the external accounting consultants KPMG Audit LLC (Hirco Plc 2007: 37) or the valuation standard prescribed by the Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors utilised by Jones Lang Lassalle. Hirco also aims to adopt the recommendations on corporate governance made by the Quoted Companies Alliance (QCA) – a code of best practice for companies listed on the AIM. In addition, the Board is making progress towards ensuring the Company with the Combined Code, which is generally adopted by companies admitted to the Official List (companies listed on the London Stock Exchange's main market).

[315] "What we offer is more than bricks and mortar. We offer a lifestyle. The quality of that lifestyle is determined as much by the social environment we create as by the quality of the physical assets we build. Recognizing and carrying out our social responsibilities is an important component of this." (Hirco Plc 2007: 20)

[316] Hirco believes that Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) requires the Company to look beyond its financial bottom line. "We have adopted a broader perspective, one that considers our stakeholders and the economic, environmental and social benefits we provide and impacts we have – frequently referred to as the 'triple bottom line'." (Hirco Plc 2007: 28)

[317] Most of the unqualified construction workers in India are seasonal workers.

[318] During the four-month monsoon season, approximately 180 million litres of rainwater are collected through the combined central and rooftop collection systems.

[319] "We will minimize the environmental impact of our operations on the local communities. Wherever possible we will seek to create employment opportunities for local people.... We will respect the character and traditions of the communities in which we work." (Hirco Plc 2007: 28)

gion. (Cf. Mumbaiplus, Dec. 2007) It comprises thirteen private floors with a respective area of 641 square metres and a height of 3,4 metres (Chittora 2007). Each of the floors includes a private garden and automobile garages on the floor. The floors can be designed along individual preferences. "Welcome to true luxury in Navi Mumbai". (Cf. website of Siddhi Home; r06.09.2008) The project will be completed by July 2008. The capital cost is around INR 6.000 per square feet (1.340 US$ per square metre), rent will be around 950 US$.[320]

2008: Kharghar Hill Plateau – global greening and theming strategies
Only recently, in September 2008, Cidco opened the tendering process for the project "Kharghar Hill Plateau". The project, praised as the "jewel in the crown of Navi Mumbai", intends to exploit the picturesque scenery of the Kharghar Hill's area. (Cf. Cidcoindia.com; r12.09.2008) The elevated green site on approximately 200 metres above sea level is intended to become a mix of theme park and an "exclusive and premium" residential area (Ibidem). The theme park will take up 60 percent of the area and the residential / commercial area will take up the rest.

The project demonstrates Cidco's keenness to embark on the newest theming and greening strategies: "The vision is to develop the Kharghar Hill Plateau in an eco-friendly fashion and metamorphose the site into an exclusive and premium area, which would significantly raise the value of the city of Navi Mumbai" (Ibidem). Cidco's role will be to become a project partner by providing part of the land. The project is undertaken with the argument of putting Navi Mumbai onto a map of world-class places. Cidco seeks "to bring global recognition to the city of Navi Mumbai as well as add value to the city through a theme based development." (Ibidem)

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[320] The same company is developing a subsequent project of double size in sector eleven nearby. This project will feature on site amenities like a 24-hour coffee shop, a crèche, a cybercafé, a gymnasium, a swimming pool etc. IT parks, celebrity resorts, malls and commercial-cum-residential towers are some of the other ambitious and upcoming projects of Siddhi Home Makers. Celebrity Resort will be synonymous with leisure entertainment and will reflect cultures from different countries. (Chittora 2007)

Summary

"It should be noted that Navi Mumbai is very different from an average Indian City." (Tecs: 1999)

Region

Navi Mumbai emerges as a sub-centre of a dynamically evolving multiplex urban region and the starting point of a major interurban development axis, the Mumbai-Thane-Pune corridor. The city, about one hour from central Mumbai, accounts for circa one tenth of Greater Mumbai's population.

The cluster of new modern nodes has a high degree of self-sufficiency. Three fifths of all people that live in Navi Mumbai also work there. Walking accounts for the most prominent general mode of mobility, the majority of working trips are made by train and nearly all students remain at local schools and colleges.

Indeed, the availability of abundant infrastructure facilities and networks is among Navi Mumbai's biggest assets. Six rail corridors and an independent mainline rail terminal, connect the area directly to other parts of the country. Several national and state highways pass through the township. Two bridges provide essential links to the Mumbai peninsula across the Thane creek. The Jawaharlal Nehru Port (JNP) South of the Parallel City handles almost half of the country's maritime traffic. Navi Mumbai also stands out as a model of uninterrupted power, water supply and state of the art sewage disposal.

Of superior importance from the beginning have been major industrial zones. Presently Navi Mumbai's environs feature nearly 5.400 industrial enterprises with a quarter million jobs. Among the most important of these projects was the Thane-Belapur Industrial Area (TTC).

The project was slow to take off, and development stagnated during long periods in the 1980's and 1990's. Today the state Government is dedicated to promoting Navi Mumbai as the IT hub on similar lines as Chennai, Bangalore and Hyderabad. Accordingly a whole series of major infrastructure projects of regional relevance have been initiated. Among these is the spectacular 23 km Sewri-Nhava Sheva sea link to central Mumbai, a new International Airport, as well as a new private harbour, the Revas port, to the South.

It is likely that the new projects will reinforce and strengthen the relevance of the location and transform various nodes of the new town cluster into regional centres. Currently a new wave of speculation and private investment has created an unprecedented momentum attracting businesses and populations which so far had preferred to remain in the city. Several SEZ's, Integrated Townships, commercial zones and large housing estates are being promoted and planned along the Mumbai Pune axis in this way. Most of these projects are constructed for the high-end sector in the form of autonomous enclaves featuring world class standards. Of highest significance are the Navi Mumbai SEZ and the Mumbai SEZ which will jointly comprise 6.800 hectares.

Town

The description of Navi Mumbai's formal configuration constitutes the pivotal piece of this chapter. It is the nexus between the contexts described above, as well as the processes described below. The city on the other side of the Thane Creek has a history of 60 years and was elastic enough to accommodate a whole range of planning strategies. Its forms range between a centrally planned modernistic approach to new forms of postmodern privately developed corporate urbanism.

Navi Mumbai is enormous. With 34.000 hectares the place is bigger than Paris. It covers 80 percent of Greater Mumbai and is arranged along, what Shirish Patel, one of the authors of the city, calls a "string of nodes with variable densities". Hence, it seems more appropriate to speak about a parallel multi-centric city. Indeed, among the most powerful concepts behind Navi Mumbai is the combination of urban densities with transport arteries. The main configuration of this string-city is composed of 15 interconnected nodes in a scheme that highly resembles Howard's idea of a regional system of interconnected Town Magnets. While Navi Mumbai's population densities are somewhat higher that those of British garden cities, it unfortunately lacks the abundant green belts, as envisioned by the father of the garden cities concept. Moreover, by far most of Navi Mumbai's building structures have to comply to a uniform Floor Area Ration 1,0. This results in a homogeneously flat and widely spread 'pancake'-city.

One of the major differences between Navi Mumbai and an 'ordinary' Indian city is the opulent presence of infrastructure and open space. The new city is marked by an exuberant amount of public transport and employs a hierarchy of expressways, arterial roads and local roads that are chiefly modelled along modern architecture and planning principles. Navi Mumbai has an area wide coverage with state of the art educational and health facilities. Utility services in Navi Mumbai are also well above Indian average standards (only power is rationed at some locations). Among some of the success stories is the successful relocation of a number of traffic intensive wholesale activities from Mumbai to Navi Mumbai.

Combining the requirement of a planned city to have good infrastructure and important landmarks, several of the infrastructure projects serve as 'cathedrals' of the modern engineering and information technology age. 17 major railway stations have been planned and designed as unusual landmarks, most notably the combined stations and Infotech parks at Vashi and Belapur. The planned Seawoods Railway Station Integrated Complex represents an approach of combining railway, shopping, entertainment, and office space, along a strategy of privatisation and commercialisation. In addition, the city is being equipped with several large shopping malls, an entertainment and Leisure Park as well as a world class golf course.

Each of the 15 nodes caters for an amount of social infrastructure and services that is exceptional for Indian standards and provides it with a high degree of self-sufficiency. The new scheme introduced principles of modern functional separation. The city's high quality of life standards are essentially based on the fact that three fifths of all urban land is composed of open spaces and green areas, while more than 40 percent of the area is devoted for to housing, and by the 'high' urban densities of the neighbourhoods. Each of the townships features a distinct identity, name and economic focus. Each was planned as an independent town of about 50.000 to 200.000 residents, representing exceptional population densities of 200 to 700 persons per hectare. Almost half of Navi Mumbai's pollution is concentrated in Vashi and the adjacent nodes.

While Navi Mumbai was proclaimed as India's first slum free city, the greater area evolves as a complex mélange of planned and unplanned zones. Major informal settlements have emerged in the environs of the official project area. In addition a large amount of temporal structures can be found within the nodes. Turbhe Stores with a population of 50.000 to 80.000 is among the largest slums in the vicinity. In addition to informal areas, a significant amount of traditional villages (Gaothans) exist.

Neighbourhoods
Navi Mumbai is also a city of 700 'modern' villages. These neighbourhoods, or sectors represent the basic fabric of the urban structure. Accordingly each of the nodes contains

40 to 80 sectors. The neighbourhoods epitomise the city's compactness, featuring almost exceptional densities between 200 and 1.000 residents per hectare. The urban typology of a neighbourhood can vary from a mass-housing scheme to a golf-club–community. This leads to a highly heterogeneous urban fabric at the town level that also reflects the architectural and urban design paradigms of the last 40 years.

Yet, towards the interior, most of the neighbourhoods are more homogeneous than the 'generic' Indian city. Many of Navi Mumbai's sectors are constructed in the form of mass housing schemes by individual developers. A significant number of households reside in multiple family dwellings on rather large communal grounds. Private, individual land ownership is almost non-existent. Recent tendencies comprise of the growth of ethnical clusters, as well as the increasing formation of closed enclavic neighbourhoods.

Nevertheless, the nodes as well as the sectors portray a relatively high amount of design integrity and most of them have been developed in the form of openly accessible rectilinear plats. (Mainly due to the fact that a semi-public agency remains the master planner for the area.) The quantity and quality of open spaces in the planned neighbourhoods remains exceptionally high.

Housing

The share of housing in Navi Mumbai is constantly on the rise. From the early 1980's to the late 1990s the number of residential areas has more than doubled. Moreover an increasing amount of residential projects is being implemented by the private sector.

In 2005 the area accommodated 210.000 housing units. Importantly, an impressive number of 80 percent of the population is part of co-operative housing societies; most of these are in the form of multi-storey walk-up schemes. The new city comprises a significantly higher amount of social housing than a 'normal' Indian city (though, the numbers remain significantly lower than Indian demographics would require.) 11,5 percent live in a commercial apartment scheme, 6,4 percent reside in a townhouse, and 0,6 percent stay in a bungalow type building. Of the total housing stock almost a third consists of social housing for the low and no-income classes, while medium income populations occupy 60 percent, the rest by high-income groups. In the housing sector as well, an increasing privatisation is underway. Meanwhile more than 88 percent of the new units are built by the private sector, increasingly for the more affluent population segments.

Block and Buildings

Mumbai's satellite township new city represents a vibrant urban fabric. The character of its blocks, lots and housing typologies depends on the land use and varies greatly. Yet, notably more than half of the area is built in the form of society plots as part of large schemes. As a result the majority of people live in multi-storey walk-up apartments. The average built up area per tenement of 45 square metres is small by international, but rather high by Indian standards. As a result, Navi Mumbai provides four times as much space per resident as its mother city. The city's building structures are based on the latest state-of-the-art building technologies and construction materials.

A great variety of architectural styles can be found in the new city and these indicate an increasing proliferation of a consumer oriented 'spectacular' and thematic architecture. In spite of this, the context of traditional villages, local towns, industrial estates and modern billboards, results in an heterogeneous "landscape of surprise". This landscape is also marked by a widespread culture of individual adaptations, conversions and alternations by the inhabitants.

Exemplary nodes

To illustrate the data presented in the 'Structures-subchapter, four exemplary nodes, representing four decades of development were described: Vashi (1979), Kopar Khairane (1986), Kharghar (1995), and Dronagiri (2004).

   Vashi was the first node realised in Navi Mumbai. It stands for early paradigms in the design and construction of social housing. Due to its favourable location the node soon developed into Navi Mumbai's economic and cultural centre. The node Kopar Khairane stands for a shift of paradigms from a supply to a demand driven housing construction. It comprises one of the largest experiments in social housing for the lowest income populations along a site-and-services strategy. The World Bank financed the scheme in the second half of the 1980's. 1995 Kharghar represents a recently designed enormous 14th township-node. Mainly geared at housing, the scheme is developed by various developers for a mix of populations. Not least, 2004 Dronagiri represents a node that is being developed into a model Special Economic Zone. Major national and international real estate developers are part of this public-private project. Dronagiri aims to become a model of its kind for the future.

Exemplary projects

Thirteen extra landmark projects have been briefed to present a characteristic range of Navi Mumbai's urban forms and typologies representing different periods:

1. Vashi's first (1989) sectors represent an example of an early idealistic pilot project;
2. The node's 10th sector portrays the widespread typology of scale public housing schemes;
3. A Demand Registration Scheme in the 26th section of the same node (1987) represents a first endeavour by Navi Mumbai's developers to decentralise and deregulate housing construction;
4. The Land and Infrastructure Services Programme (LISP, or site-and-services) at Kopar Khairane (1986) develop bottom-up self-help strategies for housing the lowest income sector;
5. The Gharkul lower middle class project at Kharghar (1996) includes five important paradigms of liberal restructuring and an increasing demand side orientation;
6. The Gharonda Housing at Ghansoli (2003) represents an actual landmark solution for low income housing;
7. Among the recent hodge-podge projects for lower middle income groups is the Spaghetti housing project at Kharghar (2003);
8. With Seawoods I (1996) and Seawoods II (2008), Navi Mumbai's developers have set an early benchmark, and developed an own brand in regard to upper class schemes.
9. In a similar way the 2003 project of Millennium Towers at Sanpada seeks to cater for a mainstream middle classes market;
10. The 2007 announced Hiranandani Palace Gardens project is one of the first projects of the upscale 'Integrated Township' typology being developed in Navi Mumbai's environs in Panvel. The project perfectly exemplifies a broad range of 'neo-urbanist' development strategies;
11. Magic Hills (announced in 2006) is among the examples of luxurious villa type neighbourhoods in the greater environs;
12. Currently featuring the most expensive apartments in the area, 2007 Elora Castle is currently hyped as one of the most fashionable recent residential buildings in Navi Mumbai;

13. The 2008 Kharghar Hills Plateau is among Cidco's most recent landmark projects. It combines a theme park and an upscale residential area.

Population –
Dawn of India's real estate consumer

Table 24: Key indicators – Navi Mumbai's population

Population (2008)	*1,7 million persons*
Capacity	3-4 million persons
Share of greater Mumbai's population	11 percent
Mix of population	HIG: MIG: LIG: EWS (42: 34: 22: 2)
Share of middle and higher income groups (Mumbai)	73 percent (35 percent)
Share of 'unplanned population'	800.000 (47 percent)
Slum populations	30 percent
Village populations	17 percent
Median age	28 (in India 25)
Average household size	3,8 (5,2 in Mumbai)
Populations in formal jobs	32 percent (<10 percent in India)
White collar jobs	> 66 percent (23 percent in public offices)
Largest minority group and its share	Muslims, 4 percent
Population moving each year	10 percent
Share of population living and working in the place	60 percent
Share of working population	30 percent
Ownership of television, car, motorcycle	97, 10, 30 percent
Median income in NM (Central Mumbai, Country side)	3.600 (6.200, 200) US$ p.a.
Amount of population using a housing mortgage	~ 50 percent
Mode of local self-management	Widespread cooperative system

Introduction

The previous two subchapters have described the context and the structural characteristics of Navi Mumbai. The New Town was analysed at various scales and time frames up a 'street view' perspective. At this stage the portrayal of Navi Mumbai has reached a critical threshold. To describe the form and its context is only one side of the coin. The other side consists of contents and processes. If we agree with Lefebvre's hypothesis that space is actively created, we must not only ask "what space?" and in "what context?", but also accordingly put the questions of "by whom?" and "by what rules and instruments?" Accordingly having arrived at this nexus of the street, full attention will be shifted to the users, the makers, the financial flows as well as the regulatory framework of the process.

Consequently the following subchapter is devoted to the portrayal of the residents of Navi Mumbai. The living citizens, workers, students, housewives, families, natives etc.,

who represent the most direct dialectic counterpoint to the static urban form delineated above.

In the next section Navi Mumbai's population will be qualified by a series of indicators (demographic, socio-economic and cultural), as well as along a framework of differences and relations. The important questions in this context are: Who are the various groups populating the new city? What is the distribution of these? How is Navi Mumbai's population different from the 'average' (e.g. the 'natives', the residents of the mother city and the residents of the other NeoTowns that are presented in this work). The perspective of local and informal populations will be of particular importance, because it is left out by most of the official accounts. Last but not least it will be important to learn how the populations are organised at a neighbourhood level, in other words: which forms of local governance exist? Accordingly the subsection portrays these questions in three parts: The first part presents the population profile, the second unravels the main motives of the new residents to move to the new city, and the third part tackles the question of self-organisation.

Population profile

The profile of Navi Mumbai's actually existing residents reveals many interesting characteristics and trends, in particular when compared to the target lines of the master plan. Navi Mumbai was planned to accommodate a population of 3 to 4 million residents.[321] a total of 4-5 percent of Greater Mumbai's residents. While at present the emerging city houses about 1,7 million residents[322] it has reached more than 50 percent of the planned capacity.

It is very interesting to observe that half of the inhabitants (900.000) are concentrated in only two nodes: Half a million live in Nerul, which makes it the largest node. Another 400.000 are residents of Vashi. The remaining population resides in Belapur, Kharghar, Kopar Khairane and the surrounding areas.[323] This concentration principally contradicts the intention of Navi Mumbai's structure which aimed to distribute the population in 14 equal nodes.

Moreover, despite this large population number, growth in the past has been much slower than intended. While the development plan of 1973 targeted a population of 2,1 million by the beginning of the 1990's, the project had only achieved a population of half a million by that date (cf. Ghorpade). A revised Regional Plan projects this number now for 2011 (MMRDA 1999), while New Town has been steadily growing at double-digits since the 1980s. [324] This expansion was significantly faster than that of other parts of Mumbai.[325] In 2005 the growth rates of Navi Mumbai, meanwhile a million city, amounted to 7,4 percent.[326] (Cidco 2005: ES-5)

→ Illustration C-24: Chart of Navi Mumbai's population development

Basic population data
Mumbai is, by Indian standards, a mature city on its way to a consumer culture. The average age of Navi Mumbai's population is 28, this is three years more than the average

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[321] The assumption of 100 persons per hectare results in a a total number of 3,4 million.

[322] Cidco'c 2005 survey estimated a current population number of 1.43 million. (Cf. Cidco 2005: ES-5)

[323] Cf. www.mumbaipluses.com/newbombayplus/index.aspx; r19.09.2008

[324] Between 1981 and 1991 the area grew by 114 percent. The population has almost tripled in the 1990's, from a population of 210.000 in 1991 to 575.000 in 2000. (Cf. Shaw: 103)

[325] MMR's annual growth rate from 1990 to 2000 was 2 percent. (Cf. World Resources Institute quoted in Nissel 1997)

[326] The NMMC (2001) affirms a decadal growth of almost 90 percent.

in India (cf. CIA, r05.08.2008). Almost a third (28 percent) of the population is younger than 15 years[327] (TECS 2005: 01), only 3 percent are above 59 years[328], while the remaining part ranges in-between. (Cf. Cidco 2005)

Navi Mumbai features the smallest households in the metropolitan region. The area's average household comprises 3,8 members (cf. Cidco 2005), while households in the Mumbai Metropolitan Region have 5,2 family members on average (MMRDA 1999: 3.3.2). As elsewhere the household sizes are continuously on the decline while the trend goes to nuclear families (cf. Cidco 2005). Three quarters of the households are dependent on a single earner (Ibidem). Moreover, the number of single households is disproportionately high. All the above data reflects the process of maturation towards a consumer society.

Migration and ethnic composition

Navi Mumbai is an urban landscape largely formed by migration. This reflects the dynamically developing setting (cf. Gotsch 2005). A majority of the residents were born in other places. (Indeed, this is representative for a New Town.) Ten percent of the population move each year (Cidco 2005). In this context the city features a significantly larger gender inequality than similar Indian cities.[329]

The 2008 social survey by Cidco reveals that about half of Navi Mumbai's residents stem from the Mumbai Region (30 percent from the Mumbai Peninsula, 18 percent from other suburbs), 30 percent shifted among the nodes of the New Town, 10 percent moved from the villages in the area[330], and that the rest originated in the state of Maharashtra[331] and beyond. Shaw (2003:122) observes that affluent populations tend to originate in Mumbai[332], while poorer residents are inclined to have a rural background.[333]

Most of Navi Mumbai's residents are Hindu. Out of 100 residents 90 are Hindu, 4 are Muslim and 6 belong to other religious denominations (Cidco 2005).[334]

Education profile and language

Navi Mumbai's residents are also more educated than their peers in other locations. The literacy rate in Navi Mumbai is at 98 percent (Cidco 2005).[335] More than 30 percent have a secondary school education (Ibidem). The parallel city features a number of more than 250 schools and most children prefer private educational institutions. In the NMMC area the number of students attending a private school is five times as high as that of those attending a municipal school.[336]

While the majority of residents represent a mix of professionals from all over India, English is Navi Mumbai's lingua franca. It is spoken as a common language by 62 percent of the population, while 35 percent of the population (for the main part the poorer

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[327] This number decreased from 33 percent in 1995. (Cf. Cidco 1995, from Ananthakrishnan)

[328] The respective Indian number is 5 percent.

[329] Cidco 2005 reports that males make up 54 percent of the population.

[330] In the allocation of public apartments local villagers have priority rights.

[331] A crucial milestone, with a high impact on the population composition of the area, was a regulation introduced by the state government by the end of the 1980's. This regulation required from the applicants for publicly subsidised apartments to prove citizenship in the state for at least 15 years. (Cf. Adusumilli 2001: 10)

[332] In addition Adusumilli (2001:33) reports that most of the first time owners moved from much smaller accommodation in the island city.

[333] "Navi Mumbai in fact, is being peopled by two distinct kind of migration streams. One, an urban stream that represents the inflow of middle-class people from Greater Mumbai... Secondly, a rural to urban stream which represents an inflow of another class of people, the labouring poor, from surrounding rural regions, to provide labour...and other services." (Ibidem)

[334] Ananthakrishnan 1998 has confirmed a tendency of some ethnic minorities to cluster in specific sectors. (Cf. above Neighbourhoods,)

[335] As compared to 85 percent in the state of Maharashtra

[336] Although this data is representative for the NMMC area, it is supposedly also representative for a major trend. (Cf. http://www.nmmconline.com/english/services/educationShow.php; r17sept2008)

segment) commonly talks in Marathi. (Cf. below: education) This can be seen as a pointer to a) the mix, b) the educational levels, and c) to the origin of the population.

Working population

32 percent of Navi Mumbai's residents have a regular job. This is a rate that is almost 300 percent higher than India's average. (Cf. above: Context: India) The respective male to female job-ratio is 89 to 11 percent (Cidco 2005). Reflecting the high educational levels, more than two thirds of the working population works in white collar jobs: of this amount 45 percent works in private, a declining 23 percent in public offices.[337] While blue-collar workers hold one fifth of the formal jobs, unskilled workers comprise another tenth. (Cidco 2005)[338]

Consumption patterns

Navi Mumbai is populated by a pioneer population whose daily life patterns are increasingly centred around consumption. Significantly, almost all (official) households (97 percent) own a television[339]; three quarters a refrigerator, 67 percent a fixed line telephone (TECS 2001: 99).[340] In 2005 50 percent of people had a mobile phone, 35 percent of the households an air conditioner and 13 percent a personal computer (numbers are rising steeply). (Cf. Cidco 2005)

A classical pointer to the emergence of middle classes is the rise of individual motorised transport. While Navi Mumbai's private ownership rates of motorised vehicles are far below western numbers, they are rising at a fast pace and they are greatly above the regional average. (Cf. Pucher 2007) These days 40 percent of the population have access to an individual mode of motorised transport: 10 percent own a car and 30 percent have a two-wheeler.[341]

The majority of the residents is highly satisfied with the amount of infrastructure and the supply of services in Navi Mumbai's nodes and claims that the quality of life is better in the new city than in the place before (cf. Cidco 2005).

Mobility of the population

The travel and mobility patterns of Navi Mumbai's residents reflect high rates of the location's independence and self-sufficiency. Significantly a majority of the populations remains in the area, whether for work, going to school, recreational activities or shopping. A 58 percent majority of the population who live in Navi Mumbai also remain here for work.[342] The number of children going to local schools is even more impressive. Almost all (96 percent) youngsters go to schools in Navi Mumbai.

Availability of credits

The consumer orientation of the New Town is also represented by the fact, that a growing number of residents exploit access to formal credit. In addition accessibility to money from public and private financial institutions has continuously increased since the economic reforms of the early 1990's (cf. Adusumilli 01:16, cf. also above: General context,

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[337] The share of jobs in the public sector is shrinking. Only 1.200 of the 70.000 government-office that exist in Mumbai have been shifted to Navi. (Cf. Engel 1991: 102 quoted by Shaw 2003: 107)

[338] Since the 80's growth of jobs has occurred mainly is three areas: handling and marketing of agricultural products, education-related activities, medical services and small businesses (Cidco 2005).

[339] This is 30 percent more than the average of Maharashtra. (Cf. Urban Census 2001)

[340] Against Maharashtra's 27.3 percent (Urban Census 2001)

[341] In Maharashtra only 5,8 percent of the population own one of these. (Cf. Census 2001 Maharashtra Urban, quoted in Cidco 2005: ES-11)

[342] 2 percent work in the adjacent industries, 36 percent commute to the island city, and the rest to other suburbs Thane-Kalyan. (Cidco 2005, cf. Shaw 2004, 102)

India, economics), presuming that the households who borrow have a regular income.[343] The fact that 44 percent of the buyers take some kind of loan and an additional 9 percent depend on other financial institutions[344] (cf. Cidco 2005: ES-4) places Navi Mumbai well above the Indian average and underlines the parallel city's high degree of 'Westernisation'.

Informal population

Despite the fact that Navi Mumbai has been promoted as a slum free city, the parallel city has experienced a steep rise of 'unplanned' populations – on a par with the official population growth. It can be estimated that today more than 30 percent of the population, amounting to more than half a million, belong to the informal sector.[345] The numbers are rapidly rising and catching up with other, more consolidated Indian cities.

Preexisting (village) population

Navi Mumbai was not developed on a tabula rasa. 80 villages existed in the area prior to its development. (Cf. above: Structure) While 56 villages and 2 municipalities remain integrated as enclaves in the area, their number of residents is assessed at 17 percent of the total population or a population of 290.000 residents.[346] (Cf. Shaw 2003) In addition to this, in the coming years a high number of other villages will be affected by the surge of new projects, such as SEZs and Integrated Townships to the South and Southwest of Navi Mumbai.[347]

In contrast to the planned sectors, the population of these villages in the environs of Navi Mumbai contains a higher share of females than males (Ibidem: 36). With a decadal growth rate of 7,59 these Gaothans also grow significantly more slowly than average settlements in the state, not to mention the nodes of Navi Mumbai. Both of the previous facts appear to be as a result of a male-selective out-migration.

In addition, a study of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS) ascertains that although the average household income per annum in the villages is about INR 10.500 (US$ 200), most of the people live in poverty. This is explained by a lack of employment combined with the poor amount of arable land per capita. Land availability in the villages is only 0,903 hectares per household (cf. Ibidem).

On the other hand, since India's decentralisation course (cf. above: 74th Amendment) village populations and their administrations, the Gran Panchayats, are increasingly momentous stakeholders. In this context more and more people resist new projects. In 2007, for example the size of the planned MMSEZ was reduced from 10.000 hectares to 5.000 hectares after an enormous counter movement of the villagers.[348]

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[343] Before the reforms public housing was mainly supply side oriented. In this regard from the late 1970's to the early 1990's Cidco has acted mainly as a public housing developer, while it was receiving large amounts of direct public subsidies.

[344] The other half (47 percent) of Navi Mumbaikars finance the purchase of a dwelling in the traditional way, e.g. from their financial reserves.

[345] Combined with an "unplanned" 17 percent of village populations the number rises to 800.000. Conservative accounts, estimate Navi Mumbai's slum population at close to 20 percent. (Cf. MMRDA 2003: 8) These statistics, however, do not take into account the direct vicinity of the area. In 2001 adjacent suburban district areas such as Thane featured informal shares of 30 percent (Ibidem).

[346] As Navi Mumbai's nodes became consolidated, the villages (and slums) became fully integrated into Navi Mumbai's Municipal Corporation.

[347] The Social Impact Assessment of the Maha Mumbai Special Economic Zone (MMSEZ) by the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS), today Mumbai SEZ, lists a directly affected population of 26.171 persons, or 5.521 households, in 15 villages. (Cf. Shaban 2005) A large number of livelihoods in these villages are based on fishing and sand rising from the sea. The household size of these villages varied between 4.4 and 5.2. Literacy rates ranged between 57 and 86.8 percent.

[348] Gupta 2006, The Hindu 2006, kvcindia 2007, Gadgil 2008, also compare above: Box about SEZs.

Consumer-side finance

Income

Navi Mumbai's residents earn five times more than an average Indian citizen, yet only half the amount of a resident of the Mumbai peninsula. In 2005 the median income of Navi Mumbai's residents was INR 12.691 (~ US$ 280) per month. (Cf. Cidco 2005) Average earnings have doubled between 2005 and 2007.

Because of the high income disparity in India[349] it is even more revealing to look at the distribution of incomes among the main groups. Here it becomes clear that Navi Mumbai is more and more positioning itself between the middle and higher income segments. Cidco (2005) confirms that 73 percent of the population in the parallel city belongs to the middle and higher income groups. The same figure for Mumbai was at 35 percent. (Cf. Cidcoindia, r12.09.2008, Shaw 2003: 115) Its proportion between the HIG: MIG: LIG, and EWS residents was 42: 34: 22 and 2.[350] (Cidco 2000, from Shaw 2003:115)

As a result we can observe that despite Cidco's efforts for central planning that ameliorates differences, the income distribution among the nodes is not equal. Indeed, the growing polarity leaves deep marks in the housing markets and consequently in the spatial arrangement of the nodes. (Cf. Shaw 2003: 185, Nissel 1997) Vashi, as the economic centre and the best-connected node, features the highest incomes. These range from about INR 15.700 (~350 US$) per month. (Cf.- Cidco 05: ES-8) Income also varies in the respective apartment categories. At the turn of the 21st century those in the 18 and 25 square metre apartments earned INR 5.000 - 10.000 per month, and those in the 40 square metre apartments between 10.000 and 15.000. (Cf. Adusumilli 2001: 33)

While Cidco was pushing a planned mix of various income groups in most of its projects, interviews have revealed that a blend is not much appreciated by the residents.[351]

→ Illustration C-25: Differences between Navi Mumbai's nodes exemplified by the 'reserve price' of land

Affordability

While the average housing prices in Navi Mumbai are significantly lower than in the central city, the general affordability threshold in Navi Mumbai remains high by Indian standards.[352] This fact can mainly be attributed to larger structural reasons, the income of most Indians is simply too low to afford a house in the formal market.[353] (Cf. above Context: India: Economy) As a result the statistics reveal a high percentage of middle and higher income house owners.[354]

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[349] Half of Mumbai's households are living below the poverty line. While the incomes of the top earners have risen by an annual rate of 20 percent and more since liberalisation, the real wages have increased by 5 percent (Nissel 1997, quoting Geissbauer and Siemsen l996: 72).

[350] Of course with these numbers it can also be stated that a majority of 56 percent belong to the middle and low-income classes.

[351] Uma Adusumilli, former head of Cidco's planning department and long-time resident of Navi Mumbai, observed that "The residents of 18 and 25 square metre tenements interact with each other well whereas residents of 40 square metre tenements keep themselves independent and celebrate all their events in isolation." (Adusumilli 2001: 33)

[352] The level is only moderate for Navi Mumbai residents, yet these already represent higher than the average income groups.

[353] Formal housing has totally gone out of the affordability limits of India's Economic Weaker Sections. The affordability gap is further increasing because wages in the lowest income sector rise more slowly than housing prices. In addition, large populations without regular incomes are unable to qualify for formal loans. Preliminary studies done by Cidco in the 1970 revealed that more than 30 percent of the population of greater Mumbai could not afford the simplest pucca (durable) house (cf. Cidco, 1973). Indeed, according to the numbers presented, buying a house proved very hard to almost 93 percent of the population. (Cf. Ananthakrishnan: 8, 12)

[354] Nevertheless it has to be mentioned that western affordability standards may be difficult to apply. Facing these grim statistics it has to be noted that in practice more Indians are able to purchase a house than theory would allow. This is due to the fact that most of the houses in India are purchased from savings and not by taking a loan, and the relative household

As many of Navi Mumbai's residents move up the ladder of wealth by selling their formerly subsidised properties, it can be debated whether subsidised housing in Navi Mumbai can be seen as a failure or an economic success. While land prices in some of the individual nodes (e.g. Kopar Khairane) have multiplied,[355] many original residents have cashed in their profits and left.[356] Meanwhile, after a 500 percent increase in land values, 21 percent of all lower income units have been sold in Vashi, 30 percent in Airoli. The average reseale was performed after 14 years (Ibidem).[357] The result is that many areas such as parts of Vashi and Kopar Khairane have become gentrified.

Adusumilli (2001) confirms: "The selling of the housing stock by lower-income people to middle income groups is now widely prevalent in Navi Mumbai and, in many ways, defeats the efforts of the state to improve housing consumption for the lowest socio-economic groups".

Revenues from compensation schemes for PAPs

Meanwhile numerous village residents and former landowners in Navi Mumbai also make significant profits. After long years of deprivation with forced disappropriation and "relocation" on the agenda, today the political impact of populations in the 'unplanned' areas has dramatically improved. This resulted in significantly higher levels of compensation of the villagers. This is the case, in particular, of privately developed schemes.[358] (Cf. below; Developer, Strategies, R&R)

The following list demonstrates some examples of contemporary compensation measures: Cidco compensates about 3,50 INR per square metre land to private owners (government rate of INR 3,50 per square metre (TECS 2001: 80); In 2005 Sea King, leading partner in the SEZ projects, offered to compensate 10 INR per square metre (or INR 6-10 lakh per hectare, or ~ 20 Eurocent) (Shaban 2005: 11); In contrast the villagers interviewed demanded market rates of INR 40 for a square metre (~ INR 40 lakh per hectare, Shaban 2005).

Motives, values and role models of the target groups

The motives of Navi Mumbai's target groups range on a scale between basic necessity ('use values') and the need for representation ('exchange values'): For the lower and middle classes residing in one of Cidco's subsidised projects is a means of securing the basic housing needs and improving their quality of life. For the more affluent middle and upper income classes dwelling in the new city tends to take on the role of a life style commodity.

From the supply side the decongestion of central Mumbai was a major motive in planning the new city. On the demand side people are mainly attracted by the availability of space at cheaper prices and by an environment of reduced risks (environmental degradation, traffic safety, air quality). After all, for a wave of new middle and upper class

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saving rates in India are comparatively high, even for the lowest income classes. (Cf. Reserve Bank of India, 2007: 310, Karnad 2007: 23)

[355] In seven years prices have soared from INR 80.000 to INR 221.000 for the 3 categories at the beginning, to market rates of the INR 200.000 to 550.000. During the same time rents have increased by 300 percent and more. The rents of the smallest units of 18 square metres went from INR 400 per month in 1993 to INR 1.200 per month in the year 2000 (Adusumilli 2001: 33).

[356] Sale becomes possible after a quarantine period of 12 years.

[357] Current prices can be retrieved from: www.navimumbai.realacres.com; r12.08.2008.

[358] The situation is particularly intricate in the newly developing SEZs and the township projects. Meanwhile private developers have to purchase the majority of the land directly from the villagers. (Cf. Das Gupta 2006, Bunsha 2006, cf. also BOX on SEZs) The SEZ projects had to be repeatedly modified as village collectives blocked the acquisition of land, e.g. demanding highly inflated prices. (Cf. Das Gupta 2006, Bunsha 2006)

residents, questions of a secure investment, image, lifestyle and representation become increasingly important.

To this date Navi Mumbai has not been the place to fulfil the 'classical' dream of the villa in a romantic green landscape (at least not according to Western imagination). This is mainly due to several supply and demand side reasons: to the income status of the primary target populations, the planned urban densities, the perceived remoteness of the location, as well as the fabric of diverse land uses, including heavy industries, in the environs. For most of the residents the decision to move to one of the nodes has always implied to move to an everlasting construction site and to wait until the urban fabric eventually gets consolidated. The "villa in a garden" was a luxury only affordable by society's celebrities. And the mainstream evidently associated a 'garden' more with the backwardness of a rural lifestyle than with a luxury asset. Hence, real retreat was only possible to the interior of private apartments. This is also why the hitherto markets for the high-income classes, generally seen as the role models for the other income segments of society, mainly comprise Asian style multi-storey towers. (Cf. the examples Seawoods Estates, Millennium Towers)

Hence, it seems that so far, to the average Indian mind, the notion of a suburban lifestyle did not exist – all that was there was either rural or urban.[359] Yet, the situation has reached a turning point. While high-density apartment towers remain popular (e.g. in the Hiranandani project), more and more low-density villa style schemes are being developed in Navi Mumbai's vicinity. These projects are emerging around the highway corridor to Pune or on the Parsik Hills. Hollywood City, Magic Hills or the "hill town"-retreat of Lavasa (cf. above Predecessors) are the trendsetters of this development producing and reproducing a new generation of urban desires and dreams of a consumer orientated suburban lifestyle. India's large and growing middle class is emerging into a class of "real estate consumers". These seek an "unsurpassed living environment", as well as new investment opportunities. Real estate entrepreneurs are taking up this trend by "combining location with infrastructure" and by providing "world-class business environments", and retailers access to the new consumer classes.[360]

Values of target groups

As new suburban populations face a context of contradicting trends ranging between dynamism and stability, New Mumbai and other new suburbs in India have a double role to play. On one hand urban peripheries are the forerunners of modernisation and change, while on the other hand suburbs represent 'conservative' locations of harmony, stability and security. In this context the dawn of India's real estate consumers brings about gradually changing core values in parallel to new socio-economic, cultural and technological trends.[361] In the suburbs the atomisation of society[362] is represented by the proliferation of the one-generation core family model.[363] As a consequence, the suburban context becomes orientated around core family values, such as stability, harmony, security, the sovereignty to select what to consume and the freedom to be among similar peo-

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[359] E.g. Suburbs lacked all major infrastructures, including major transportation arteries. Hence entrepreneurs seeking to develop settlements had to provide everything.

[360] Cf. the maxims of the investment company Hirco at www.hircoplc.com (r23.08.2008): Original text: "Hirco creates value by combining location with infrastructure, thus providing India's new real estate consumer – the large and growing middle class – an unsurpassed living environment; Indian and international companies a world-class business environment; and retailers access to affluent consumers with disposable incomes."

[361] Among the greater trends are: An increasing focus on exchange values instead of use values, individual fulfilment instead of family clan, potential as opposed to achievement, live-style base instead of home, project instead of vocation etc. (Cf. Sennett 2006, Sloterdijk 2005)

[362] Another term for the increasing individualisation

[363] While these are emerging in a gradual transformation of a culture that was orientated towards family clans, the detailed discussion of this transition goes beyond the scope of this work.

ple. These are notably values which may reinforce urban fragmentation by the formation of enclaves and segregated lifestyles that also contradict the ethics of existing village populations.

Role models

The desires of the emerging middle classes are based on various role models. The most dominant fashions affecting local dreams and shaping indigenous tastes seem to come from the US, Europe and increasingly also from the Gulf region. New desires and life styles are conveyed through the media – from Swiss Bollywood movies to US American soaps and British news channels –and also transported by a rising number of Indians joining the tourist class. Family members who study or work abroad, so called Non-Resident Indians (INR), personify new ideals (Cf. Appadurai 1990, 1996; Brosius 2007) The matter is vibrant as contemporary migration, in particular of the more educated classes, is not an irrevocable movement but a matter of frequent location change.[364] In this context INR's must be seen more as intercontinental commuters, exporting goods, information, money and dreams (cf Nissel 1997). (Cf. above: Culture)[365]

Political orientation

The political orientation of Navi Mumbai's new and affluent residents is rather liberal. However, in the meanwhile it is often the 'poorer' population of the villages and informal settlements holding an important amount of political muscle. [366] In 1995 the Navi Mumbai Metropolitan Council was composed of 60 percent by representatives stemming from the villages, while only 24 seats represented the other residents of Navi Mumbai. (Cf. Sita 2005: 248) In this context many poorer people in Navi Mumbai choose to give their votes to populist parties such as the Shiv Sena ("Army of Shiva") or the BJP[367] Indeed, the Shiva Sainik's[368] strong impact in Navi Mumbai was referred to as a fortress. (Cf. Expressindia, 2008)[369]

Resident groups and associations – Collective land ownership *á la* Howard

Navi Mumbai's fresh population initially consisted of a population of strangers, a general feature of planned cites. Most of the people moved in from different places in the vicinity, the city, the region, and beyond. In this situation the time for an evolution of 'organic bottom-up governance structures was lacking. In this context resident groups and community associations initiated from above play an extraordinary role in the development of the new city. The state owned developer Cidco had always pursued the policy of surrendering the matters of self-organisation and political administration to other, more capable bodies – as a policy and by public regulations. Indeed, those organs

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[364] Qualified experts in IT, Machine Engineering, Accounting and Financial services are courted by many global firms – not only in Mumbai and in India – but, as a further effect of globalisation, also in the USA, Australia and in other Asian countries. (Cf. Nissel 1997, translation by the Author)

[365] For the ethnographer Christiane Brosius the INR's duplicate the 'enclavic gaze' (of the currently prominent "Integrated Township" typology) in an interesting way as: "Firstly they look from the enclave of privatopia at India (and the world). In addition, they have the perspective of someone who has made the experience of the enclave during migration." (Brosius 2007: 67, 68, translation by the author)

[366] Indeed a researcher familiar with the conditions in the area compared the impact of the villagers to the power of the developers. (Cf. Personal interview by the Author with a representative of TISS, July 2006) Today no SEZ, airport, or highway project can be realised without offering a generous R&R package. (Cf. Shaban 2005) E.g. the large 5.000-hectare Mumbai SEZ was repeatedly blocked by demonstrations and protests from below. (Cf. Menon 2006, Das Gupta 2006, cf. Gadgil 2008)

[367] Bharatiya Janata Party

[368] E.g. members of the Shiv Sena

[369] Currently the National Congress Party (NCP) holds the leadership of the Municipal Corporation. The major is Ms. Anjani Prabhakar Bhoir. (Cf. nmmconline; r12.09.2008). Another primary opponent is "The Congress".

such as cooperative societies, condominium associations, etc., are known as important hinge-points between larger administrative bodies such as the Sectorial Council or the Municipal Council, and the individual household.[370] They have proved to be successful instruments in the integration of the previously mentioned group 'strangers'.

Certainly, one of the most important innovations of subsidised housing construction in Navi Mumbai is the organisation of condominium associations and cooperative socie-ties. (Cf. Adusumilli 2001) More than 80 percent of the population in subsidised apart-ments is part of a self-governing body (CHS). (Cf. Cidco 2005: ES-3).[371] All these resi-dent-associations, cooperatives and condominiums have a compulsory membership and charge additional fees.[372]

Moreover "… ensuring participation by the residents in the maintenance of infrastruc-ture at a decentralised level, condominiums have also proved to be social units where innovative ideas can be introduced by the municipality or development authority." (Adusumilli 2001:11)

Box 20: Cooperative societies in Sector 26

Sector 26 (cf. above: Structure: Examples) may serve as an illustrative example of how cooperative organisation works: Here, Cidco constructed dwelling units in the form of residential condominiums, each one accommodating 100 to 200 tenements (Adusumilli 2001: 10, 11). Each household that obtained a house had to sign up with a resident as-sociation. The idea was that of an individual ownership of apartments, but a collectively owned and administered land.

The cooperative societies are officially registered and have an annually elected body. A ready built office has been an integral part of the scheme. They are responsible for the development and maintenance of the public open and covered spaces and infrastruc-ture within their boundary. The condominium associations enforce strict discipline on maintenance/usage of the common areas on the ground, conversion of building-uses to non-residential, use of condominium office space, sale of individual apartments, entry of hawkers into the condominiums and levying the maintenance charges for common services.

The two major sources of revenue are: 1) the monthly maintenance charges and 2) the transfer charges levied each time an individual apartment is sold. In addition to a gen-eral transfer charge ranging between INR 16.000 and 25.000; monthly charges in Sector 26 have amounted to INR 215 per tenement (or US$ 4,72) per month (Adusumilli 2001: 34).

Summary

Population profile
The residents represent the life of Navi Mumbai. In late 2008 Navi Mumbai housed 1,7 million people. This means that the city has reached a 50 percent capacity. While the city's growth has been slower than planned, the development has been consistent and faster than that of other comparable locations. For a long time Navi Mumbai was stig-matised and conceived as a secondary, distant and remote location – at least from the perspective of Mumbai. Yet currently, the place is overrun by a flood of new middle class residents and white-collar employees, as well as seasonal construction workers.

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[370] Beyond the above mentioned publicly installed bodies of self government, a variety of new bottom-up societal actors has emerged in the New Town cluster. These range from numerous local clubs such as the Association for Leprosy Education to the Stray dog lovers, various laughing clubs, and to the Navi Mumbai Action Committee, the voice of people foundation, or various NGO's, to name just a few. The umbrella organisation karmayog lists about 50 NGO's in the area. (Cf. http://www.karmayog.com/ngoarea/navimumbai.htm; r13.09.2008)

[371] On the larger scale the finished nodes have been transformed into a Municipality (cf. nmmconline.com), which is gov-erned by a local elected body. (Cf. below: Regulation)

[372] Local fee structures in the privately developed enclaves are not known yet as these are in the planning stage.

Sharing the fate of most planned cities, Navi Mumbai is a city of pioneers and migrants. It portrays a blend of a new booming 'edge city' location as well as an emerging middle class suburb. Yet, it is also polarised between the life styles of new consumer classes and traditional villagers. While the profile of the city's population reflects the conditions of a typical New Town (high migration rates, majority of males etc), it also reflects the development of a modern consumer society.

The parallel city represents a dynamic urban landscape that is largely formed by migration: One tenth of all residents move every year. A majority of the people originated at other locations, most (54 percent) are male, their average age is slightly higher, and the households are smaller (<4) than the Indian average. The 'official' population is highly educated and literate; English serves as the lingua franca (and Marathi comes second); a large majority of the formal working population belong to the white-collar sector and a majority of the children attend private schools.

The dynamic status of Navi Mumbai as a landscape of economic opportunity is underlined by the economic profile of the inhabitants. The new city more-and-more focuses on middle and higher income populations (in 2005 about three quarters of the population). The residents earn five times more than an average Indian citizen, yet only half the amount of an inhabitant of Greater Mumbai.

Indeed, the everyday patterns of the formal populations reflect a rapidly developing consumer society: communicational, household gadgets, as well as individual motorised transport, are all steeply on the rise. (In addition the spread of new mortgage and credit mechanisms, geared to the individual consumer, points to the city's advanced state on the way towards a consumer-oriented society.)

Despite the fact that Navi Mumbai is officially promoted as a India's first city without slums, the area accounts for 47 percent of 'unplanned' populations (e.g. residents of villages and slums). As a result a polarised political landscape is emerging, represented by a populist accent of the majority of 'non-formal' residents and the rather liberal views of the 'formal' populations.

Nevertheless, many of Navi Mumbai's previously poor were able to improve their conditions. Residents of subsidised LIG and EWS schemes benefit from the security of tenure and a general rise in the value of their properties. In addition, village populations are able to take advantage of generous compensation schemes, at least recently.

The motives of the residents to move to Navi Mumbai range from improved economic efficiency to an increased quality of life, up to lifestyle and representational considerations. The potential inhabitant personifies India's large and growing middle class of "real estate consumers" seeking an "unsurpassed living environment", as well as new investment opportunities. The new values and lifestyles also bring about increasing contradictions.

The parallel city features high rates of self-sufficiency, the majority of the population live, work, shop and spend their leisure time in Navi Mumbai. However, within the urban fabric an increasing amount of spontaneous polarisation and segregation can be observed. A growing polarity leaves deep marks in the housing markets and consequently in the spatial arrangement of the nodes. While 14 nodes are at hand, the population is concentrated in two (Vashi and Nerul). In addition, certain income groups, working classes as well as minorities, tend to concentrate in specific areas. The trend gradually approximates traditional urban patterns.

Despite the trend to polarisation and fragmentation Navi Mumbai is notable as a heaven of resident associations and co-operative societies. Navi Mumbai represents an interesting model where houses are mostly individually owned, but land is generally used and administered by the collective. The organisation of residents played an important

role since the groundbreaking and was a central instrument of all public housing pro-grammes. Today more than 80 percent of the population in subsidised apartments are part of some self-governing body.

Developers and designers –
State entrepreneurialism

Introduction

Table 25: Key indicators – Navi Mumbai's developers and designers

Name of company	Cidco (City and Industrial Development Corporation of Maharashtra Ltd.)
Name of developer	State of Maharashtra
Type of firm	State owned Non-for Profit Corporation
Purpose of Cidco	Public instrument to explore innovations in urban development and housing
Structure of Cidco	27 major branches, more than 2.200 of employees, traditional focus on engineering
Development of Navi Mumbai SEZ (NMSEZ)	Joint venture of Cidco and several other national and international private sector conglomerates (e.g. Parsons Brinckerhoff, Jurong, Reliance, SKIL, Hiranandani etc.)
Quality management standards	Integrated SAP and GIS package, CPM and PERT techniques, in some departments ISO 9.000, Customer Relationship Management (CRM)
Early goals	Balanced regional development ('Counter Magnet'), social housing strategy, modernistic ideals, holistic vision for Mumbai and Maharashtra
Present visions	"City of the 21st century", "international knowledge city"
Contemporary operational framework	Social, but increasingly demand driven
Novel trends	PPP's, SEZs and Integrated Township Schemes, Gated enclaves
Major 'ingredients of success'	1) Revolving fund, 2) land bank, 3) phased and incremental development, 4) holistic, autonomous plan, 5) focus on public infrastructure, 6) focus on social housing, 7) back up by the government
Implementation strategy	1) Shift of wholesale activities, 2) synergies with industrial area, port, airport, 3) new government centre, 4) autonomous development of the nodes, 5) integrated transportation corridors
Social and environmental policies, Rehabilitation and Resettlement packages	Mandatory Social and Environmental Impact Assessments, elaborates R&R packages (12, 5 percent rule, preferential supply with apartments, job training programmes)
Planners, Designers, Architects	MARG (Charles Correa, Pravina Mehta, Shirish Patel); Cidco, Balkrishna Doshi, Raj Rewal, and Hafeez Contractor, McClier
Urban design strategy	Contextual, place based design strategy envisioning a 'twin city on the sea'
Trends in design	'Iconic architecture', 'super monuments', outsourcing and specialisation of disciplines
Trends in open space	Symbolic, monumental space

Trends in marketing	'Demand inducing strategies', 'proactive image generation': Navi Mumbai as India's new 'super city', increasing focus towards international investors, novel CSR schemes used in SEZs, web based marketing, construction of an own museum (Cidcoseum)

Actuality and Goals

When describing an urban structure, the understanding of the form and its content, as well as the dialectics among these two, is of primary importance. The essence of a planned city is based on the interaction of spatial environment and the inhabitant, as much as the interaction of text and reader in the case of a novel. Nevertheless, what remains is the question of the author. The dialectic remains obscured without a familiarity with the producer. While a planned city in particular represents an 'act of conscious will', information on their authors (and their ideas) is of primary importance. As a result, the following section intends to characterise the creators of the planned city Navi Mumbai.

After all, in our time of rising specialisation, it must be clarified who precisely the driving producer(s) are. Do the forms on the ground represent the motives, ideas, and ideologies of designers, planners, the government, the developer, or a mix of all?

Indeed, within our context of an expanding importance of private urban development, it seems particularly attractive to inquire into the specific role of the real estate entrepreneurs, as these emerge as the main producers of Neo Towns. Indeed, this is in stark contrast to earlier New Town generations. While customarily it was the principal or the genius inventor (from Peter the Great and St. Petersburg, to Karl Friedrich and Karlsruhe) or the master architect and planner working for strong governments (from Leonardo to Edward Lutyens and Le Corbusier) or the more abstract public planning office (e.g. New Towns in Egypt) – with the rise of New Towns as private ventures, the developers and real estate entrepreneurs seem to be (consciously or not) driving the development of the newly planned cities, as discussed by this work.

Navi Mumbai is of particular interest in the context of this entire research, because the developer at hand (Cidco) is a state owned corporation, acting along hybrid rationales between public and private. In this role Cidco combines the security of a public organisation and the efficiency of a private venture. The example reflects a history of rising importance of the private sector, while at the same time exhibiting the strengths of a public institution.

Hence, it seems particularly attractive to contrast the hybrid operation of Cidco to the entirely private ventures of Bumi Serpong Damai PT and Alphaville Urbanismo and to elaborate the advantages of the one or the other. Furthermore, a second and unique aspect of special relevance in Navi Mumbai is the qualification of the new project arrangements, stakeholder frameworks and strategies that currently emerge in new SEZ schemes.

Consequently the following section delineates the characteristics of Navi Mumbai's major authors. It portrays developers and their strategies, the conception, design and marketing as well as the implementation and operation (administration) of the New Town. Naturally the planned city's developer Cidco draws our major attention. As a result, the first sub-chapter is devoted to clarify its background and institutional geography, as well as the main goals and strategies. (Importantly, this part will also include some of the latest schemes related to SEZs.) A second part delineates the role of planners and designers in the contemporary privatising framework. The third part is devoted to

the new role of marketing, sales and public relations. Last but not least, the fourth section outlines the delivery and the operation of the planned city.

Developers

Name and background of developers

Cidco

Navi Mumbai's main developer is the City and Industrial Development Corporation of Maharashtra Ltd., or Cidco.[373] (Cf. www.cidcoindia.com) Cidco is a hybrid construction between the public and private sectors. While it is a fully state owned corporation, it has to operate like an enterprise in an economically sustainable way. (Cf. Adusumilli 2006)[374] Cidco was founded with the exclusive aim of developing Navi Mumbai on behalf of the state of Maharashtra[375]. Its duties in this context include: 1) The development of a project strategy, together with preliminary drafts, programs, studies and policies, 2) The elaboration of planning documents on several scales[376] and 3) the implementation of the project[377].

Indeed, Cidco can be seen as a pioneer of market driven urbanisation in the hands of the state. Its assignment is aimed at a balanced and structured development of the region. This includes providing the major urban infrastructure and services, yet also the development of affordable housing for the poor. In this context Cidco developed various 'Robin Hood' strategies[378] of taking from the rich and giving to the poor. This was achieved, for example, by developing novel pricing mechanisms (cf. below: differential pricing) and undertaking joint ventures in other profitable projects. The fact that Cidco is an actor that performs along the principles of the market has also raised much criticism during the last 40 years. And indeed, as a matter of fact it can be observed that in the last years Cidco has produced an ever-decreasing amount of low-income housing.

NMSEZ Navi Mumbai Special Economic Zone – role model and developer's think tank

As of its recent endeavours Cidco, as an arm of the state, has also jumped onto the SEZ train. The mission to engage in profitable undertakings (in order to redistribute the profits among the poor) has led to the developer's recent commitment at the newly emerging Navi Mumbai Special Economic Zone (NMSEZ). The state government, seeking to develop lighthouse projects for the private sector and keen to benefit from new experiences, has appointed the New Town Development Agency as the nodal agency for the planning, development and marketing of the NMSEZ.[379]

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[373] "The City and Industrial Development Corporation Limited of Maharashtra (Cidco) was entrusted the responsibility of developing the metro city." (Cf. Cidcoindia, r12.08.2008) Meanwhile Cidco became a special planning authority for a number of other urban areas in Maharashtra. Currently several additional New Towns and infrastructure projects are on the developers project list. (Cf. Cidcoindia, r12.09.2008)

[374] Indeed the entire vicinity of Navi Mumbai is an example of an extensive entrepreneurial development strategy driven by the state. Both, the Maharashtra Industrial Development Corporation, as well as the Jawahar Lal Nehru Port Trust, are state ventures. The first was commissioned to develop the industrial areas around Navi Mumbai; the latter was aimed to develop the Nhava Sheva port.

[375] As early as 1965 the Gadgil Committee (cf. above) had proposed the foundation of a New Town authority. (Ananthakrishnan 1999: 14)

[376] E.g.: Land use plans, residential layout plans, infrastructure plans, industrial location plans, environmental assessment

[377] E.g.: Acquisition of land, finance, construction, sales and marketing, relocation strategies, etc. (cf. Ananthakrishnan: 14, 15)

[378] Name given by the authors

[379] As a result, the NMSEZ represents the only new SEZ in India where the land (except for the Regional Park Zone Area) was in possession of the project sponsor, e.g. the government. (Cf. website of nmsez.com; r25.09.2008)

Indeed, the development of the NMSEZ is another example of the 'strong hand' of India's state governments in regard to urban development. The project is implemented in the manner of a public private partnership. A special developer consortium, known as a SPV, develops it. While this unit performs as an enterprise with limited liabilities (Ltd.), it decentralises economic risks from its holders.

The group developing the NMSEZ can be seen as a real estate think tank and 'learning curve'. It contains some of the most renowned regional and international real estate conglomerates. The fact that many public and private partners are on board is a huge asset for the project. For example, most of the land was already in Cidco's hands.[380] It also brings along a long standing expertise of developing projects in the region. An additional trade off for its stake in the SPV are increased development rights (Cf. mnsez.com; r 12.07.2008)

In this context the SPV emerges as a structure that is nested in a two fold way. While Cidco, itself a semi-public agency, handles a share of 26 percent, several partners from the private sector share the remaining 74 percent. (Cf. www.nmsez.com; r23.09.2008) The company Sea King Infrastructure Limited (SKIL) has a major stake in the project. [381] Additional momentum is provided by several renowned national and international heavyweights: In 2007 22 percent of the SPV contained representatives of IFC Washington, IL&FS, the Pune-based Avinash Bhosle group, the Jurong Town group (an enterprise owned by the Singapore Government) and the engineering company Parsons Brinckerhoff of the USA.[382] (Cf. NMSEZ; r12.09.2008) Jurong Consultants as well as Parsons Brinckerhoff are participating each with a stake of 10 percent in the project. (Cf. SKPC 2005)

Box 21: Anand Jain *The man behind the scenes*

A central person who is currently steering the development of urban peripheries in Navi Mumbai's environs is the head of the enterprise Sea King Infrastructure Ltd. (SKIL) Anand Jain. SKIL is a private conglomerate that diversified from industrial products towards venture capital and the real estate business.[383]

Mr Jain's networks and activities illustrate the relevance that individual stakeholders can have in the development of the region.[384] He chairs the developing consortia of both Special Economic Zones on behalf of the Reliance Group. (Cf. Skil, r12.09.2008; The Indian Business 2005) Furthermore, Jain is also the Director of Rewas Port Limited, a gigantic US$ 1,3 billion port development project even further to the South of the two SEZ projects.

Indeed, Mr Jain is known as the main strategic advisor of Mukesh Ambani who is chair of the Reliance group, one of the "high-value" individuals in the world (cf. Forbes Magazine) and one of the most influential businesspersons in India. Yet, with the re-

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[380] How complicated land acquisition can get when no public partner is on board is being demonstrated in the Maha Mumbai SEZ project. (Cf. above BOX on SEZ)

[381] Importantly SKIL, along with the Reliance Corporation, is also the major developer of the Maha Mumbai SEZ (also called Mumbai SEZ, cf. SKIL, r12.09.2008). The MSEZ is located just 300 metres away from the MMSEZ separated by a creek. It is the first fully private SEZ in India. (Ibidem)

[382] During the starting phase the composition of the consortium has changed quite often. Nevertheless, it is interesting to see developers of several other major projects in the vicinity as part of the group. In 2004 the SPV included, in addition to Cidco and SKIL, the Hiranandani Group (cf. above Examples: Hiranandani Palace Gardens), Videocon, the Avinash Bhosle Group (cf. The Hindu 2004).

[383] Jai Corp was incorporated in 1985. It has traditionally been in manufacturing businesses like steel, plastic processing and spinning yarn. Apart from expansion of its plastic processing business, it is now focusing and investing in emerging opportunities like developing SEZs, infrastructure, venture capital and real estate. It is listed on the Bombay Stock Exchange and National Stock Exchange. (http://www.jaicorpindia.com/aboutus/anandjain.html, may 2008)

[384] Mr Jain's impressive references also list him as the chair of the Reliance Haryana SEZ Limited as promoter and chairman of Urban Infrastructure Venture Capital Limited (UIVCL), as ex-trustee of the Mumbai Port Trust and JNPT, a Member of the "Empowered Committee for Transformation of Mumbai into a World Class City". (Cf. Navimumbaisez, r23.09.2008)

cent focus on the energy sector, Mr Jain is more and more stepping out from behind Mr Ambani's shadow.

Cidco's institutional geography

Navi Mumbai's developer Cidco has many roles to play. The institutional structure of the firm is immense and conveys a complex character between a bureaucratic public agency, a planning bureau, an engineering agency, several town management offices as well as a market driven entrepreneur. Not least there is also a strong traditional emphasis on technology and engineering.

The board of directors is the highest body of management. It is appointed by the state government. The Vice Chairman and a Managing Director look after day-today management. The structure is supported by a team of joint managing directors, a chief administrator (New Towns), the heads of various departments and the personnel from various technical and non-technical disciplines including officers, engineers and subordinate staff.

A glance at the list of Cidco's departments[385] reveals a list of 27 major branches: 1) Marketing[386]; 2) Information Technology & Special Projects; 3) Town Services & Real Estate; 4) Public Relations; 5) Social Facilities/Services; 6) Legal Matters; 7) Finance & Accounts; 8) Company Secretariat; 9) Engineering[387]; 10) Transportation & Communication; 11) Railway Project Division & New Town Projects; 11) Planning & Architecture; 12) Special Economic Zones; 13) Lands & Survey[388]; 14) Unauthorised Constructions; 15) Economic Planning; 16) Personnel, House Keeping, Security and Library etc.; 17) General Administration, Public Health; 18) Computerization; 19) Rehabilitation; 20) New Nagpur; 21) Vasai-Virar; 22) Oras; 23) Other areas; 24) New Aurangabad & Waluj; 25) New Nanded; 26) New Nashik; 27) Joint Registrar's Office.[389]

The departments have evidently developed successively in time. Some cover functional and some geographic sectors. As impressive as they are, not all have the same relevance. The size of the sections reveals that traditionally a strong emphasis was put on engineering. Almost every fifth employee of Cidco comes from an engineering field. Out of the firm's 2.200 employees more than 300 are postgraduate engineers while another are 60 urban planners and architects.[390] (Cf. Adusumilli 2001: 30) Indeed, Cidco's engineering department acts almost like its own enterprise: including external consulting services and its own material-testing lab. Its significance is also reflected by the large amount of information on this department on the web page.[391]

Goals – from social utopia to international knowledge city

The original goals, maxims and visions of the respective authors of the New Town cluster are an important prerequisite to understand the foundations of this planned city. For the makers involved in the conception of Navi Mumbai the project was much more than just a technical task. The comprehensive goals and deliverables also have a visionary face. Annapurna Shaw, one of the most comprehensive biographers of Navi Mumbai,

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[385] Cf. http://Cidcoindia.com/Cidco/Deptandfunc.aspx; r02.10.2008

[386] Three sub departments

[387] Including horticulture and two additional sections for the Chief Engineer

[388] Including the '12.5 percent' compensation strategies (cf. below)

[389] The numbers have been added by the author.

[390] As a matter of fact, today many senior planning and development experts have been lured away by the private developers of the new SEZs and Integrated Townships. Firms such as SKIL, Hiranandani and Reliance recruit much human capital from agencies such as Cidco and the Mumbai Metropolitan and Regional Development Corporation (MMRDA). (Cf. Personal Interview with a leading representative of MMRDA August 2006)

[391] A diagram of the institutional structure of SEZs can be found in IL&Fs 07: 11

confirms that: "The building of this counter magnet can be regarded as one of the most ambitious urban-planning projects undertaken in India..." (Shaw 2003: 5)

The conception and design of the New Town cluster has many idealistic moments and high aims. Among others these are represented by Cidco's declaration to create "Cities of the 21ˢᵗ Century". (Cf. Cidcoindia.com; r23.09.2008) As in many other new city schemes, the makers of the new city dream of shaping a social utopia, rather than inventing a dwelling machine. To implement this complex and long-term challenge, the stakeholders drew on principles from the philosophical reasoning of Mahatma Gandhi[392] to the functionalistic theories of modernism (Ibidem: 18).

In summary, five major principles can be identified to be driving the imagination and generation of the new city: 1) By proposing Navi Mumbai its makers intended to provide a missing puzzle stone to harmonize the existing urban fabric of Mumbai. They aimed to achieve this goal by the decentralisation of housing and jobs, as well as by comprehensive measures of urban design; 2) One of the most urgent (and also one of the most ambitious) goals has been the solution of the housing problem, both qualitatively and quantitatively; 3) The authors of Navi Mumbai dreamt of creating an equal city and; 4) They sought to achieve this by the means of modern planning principles while; 5) Most recent fantasies on the new city are inspired by imagining Navi Mumbai as an international knowledge city.

Decentralisation and a nested strategy of urban design and regional planning

Back in the 1960's the group around the architects Charles Correa, Shirish Patel and Pravina Mehta carved out the idea of a new city as a twofold solution. Navi Mumbai was meant to become a) a mechanism to decongest Mumbai, and at the same time, b) a manoeuvre to solve the economic problems of Maharashtra.[393]

Notably the strategy regarded urban design as an integral part of regional planning. Accordingly Correa stated: "The inter-relation of city and region is crucial and it is essential that regional planning be undertaken simultaneously with that of the individual city... the whole is an interconnected and interdependent system." (1997 (1965): 318). Consequently, Navi Mumbai was intended to be a puzzle stone completing the whole and leading to a harmonious region. The move was "crucial to the prosperity of Maharashtra."[394] (Correa 1997 (1965): 314)

The thinking of the three young building experts was obviously focused around the generation of urban space. They designed a network of grandesque public spaces, both on the mainland and on the peninsula. The empty void of the bay was to become the authentic centre of the new urban organism. (Cf. below Urban Design) In spite of that, from a more practical point of view, decentralisation was the driving concept. In this context Correa assured that: "A major new urban centre on the mainland across the harbour would create this kind of pivot from which the energy of this city could spread out across the rest of the state." And also that: "...strong counter magnets are needed if we are to draw away the hordes of immigrants..." (1997 (1995): 317). He also concluded that "... This new centre would open up the entire region all the way to Poona." (Ibidem: 322).

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[392] The goal has been to create a city based on Gandhian principles of swavalamban (self-reliance) and swatantrya (self-motivation and mutual self-help). (Ganguli 1973, discussed by Ananthakrishnan 97: 12)

[393] Although the main objective of the design of Navi Mumbai was to create a self-sufficient urban environment, it also hoped to improve the quality of life of Bombay and well beyond. (Cf. Cidco, 1973: 10)

[394] The fact that the Bombay Metropolitan Planning Authority's as well as Maharashtra's Industrial Development Corporation were founded at the same time along Cidco, underlines these more holistic goals from the perspective of the state government.

Decentralisation was important in two aspects, for housing as well as for economic development. The plan sought to direct the coming tides of new urban migrants, as much as it wanted to lure populations away from the island city. In addition the planners intended to initiate a state-wide Industrial Location Policy that was supposed to facilitate a balanced development of urban centres in the hinterland.

Houses, houses, houses

Creating sufficient dwellings for the growing population was another central issue among the major maxims. "Of all of the problems we face, the most crucial concerns population." (Correa 1965: 317) "... while the population [of Bombay] has tripled since 1964, the squatters have gone up more than fifteen-fold! And yet we still do nothing – or precious little." (Ibidem: 314) Correa and his peers used projections that 70 percent of the state's population (i.e. 630 million) would seek to live in urban communities. Navi Mumbai was supposed to accommodate 2 million in 400.000 houses. (Cidco 1973)

Yet, Cidco's ambition was not only to produce a city without slums, but also to plot cheaper houses of better quality. The big challenge was that only a small part of the target populations could afford a house in the formal market. Cidco's own calculations located only 7 percent of the population above the affordability threshold. (Ananthakrishnan 1998: 8, cf. above: Population)

Equality

Navi Mumbai's planners wanted to achieve more than to accommodate many poor residents. A third major target was the ideal of Navi Mumbai as a modern model city based in the principle of equality. Consequently, the makers of the New Town neither wanted to produce a camp-like dormitory town[395] nor to reproduce the fragmented fabric of the traditional Indian cities.

In contrast, a crucial link from equality to modernity was drawn. The new city was to be based on a balanced, symmetrical mix of ethnicities, castes, and incomes at a small scale. The fabric was supposed to be placed in a system of open public spaces with access to abundant infrastructure and services. The draft development plan of 1973 affirms this position when it states: "It is expected that this accommodation of residents from various social and income groups within the same physical area will not only make for a healthier environment, but will also ensure a uniform standard of social and physical infrastructure and see that not one class of residents is better served than another." (Cidco 1973: 17-18 from Ananthakrishnan: 13) It was clear that a modern open city was the ideal of Cidco's planners. Indeed, the planners sought to actively produce this equal city through measures of physical planning.[396]

It is important to recall in this context that there had been significant differences among the ideals of the Modern Architecture Research Group (MARG) around Correa and the socio-economic goals (and political constraints) of Cidco's communal planners. There is no question that both of these had strong ideological moments, as both sought to achieve social equality through physical design. Yet, while the MARG group was dreaming of a new urban identity anchored in a system of strong urban spaces, the public planners sought to achieve a less dramatic and subtle atmosphere of equality. While the first probably thought along the spatial lines of Kevin Lynch's Image of the City, the second referred to the Gandhian values of social equality (cf. Ananthakrishnan: 13).

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[395] "Cidco is anxious that the new city develops its own identity as quickly as possible. It should contain its own jobs, shopping, recreational and other social facilities and should not become a dormitory for Greater Bombay." (Cf. Cidco 1973: 17)

[396] From a more critical perspective it could be debated whether Navi Mumbai's planners sought to be social engineers.

Yet, because Cidco's quasi-public planners were the ones to implement the New Town, most of the monumental ideals, as formulated in the early schemes, have been lost.[397] Yet, while academic critics deplore this, the 'average' residents highly praise the town's safety and high quality of life.[398]

Modern planning and the postcolonial quest for identity

Based on its marriage to the imaginary of an equal society, the ideal of modernity has to be named as the fourth omnipresent ideological motive for Navi Mumbai. It seems that postcolonial states tend to lean towards enlightened modernity (as much as to strong governments). Possible reasons for this tendency are to be found among the general quest for identity in a postcolonial tabula rasa setting. [399] In this situation the return to traditional pre-colonial circumstances is not an option and modernity appears as the sole conclusion.[400] Not least, and maybe most importantly, modernity can be correlated with a strong state that is based on (or, as in India, seeks to be based on) an industrial system of production.

Indeed in this framework it is possible to trace Navi Mumbai along the codes of modern planning and design (all very different from a traditional urban location): as a nested order of nodes, sectors and blocks and hierarchically arranged state-of-the-art infrastructural systems.[401] In this context Navi Mumbai can be better understood from the perspective of enlightened modernity and rational positivist ideology.[402] This perspective regards the problem of the city as a set of variables that can be analysed and technically solved. At the same time the process of specialised planning is divided up among various experts. As a consequence the various urban decisions are the product of economists, engineers, architects, health authorities and public administrators. (Cf. TECS: 1999) The downside of this approach naturally is a loss of individuality, indigenous culture, small-scale spatial coherence, etc.

Knowledge city in a global business scenario

In addition to the four major planning ideologies as described above, recently a fifth role model has entered the horizon of the emerging place. Navi Mumbai is increasingly imagined as a world-class knowledge city. Indeed, this new objective is strongly related to a general transition from an industrial to a service oriented society. While Mumbai increasingly competes with Delhi's Capital Region, Bangalore, Chennai or Hyderabad, Navi Mumbai's contemporary authors are imagining the place as a base of global production and consumption networks, in particular geared to information production and various business process outsourcing services (BPO's). Consequently the city is conceived as the starting point of a new 'knowledge corridor' towards Pune.[403]

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[397] Significantly critique and disappointment of what has been achieved is strongest among architects and aesthetically oriented engineers. Today Shirish Patel, one of the three members of the initial concept group estimates that the achievements of the city deserve a maximum of 3 out of 10 possible points. (Cf. personal interview in August 2007)

[398] Cf. Personal interview with former chief planner of Cidco, who still resides in Navi Mumbai in August 2006; Cf. also Cidco's Social Survey of 2005.

[399] A detailed discussion of the factors linking post-colonial conditions and modernity extends the scope of this work (cf. King 2004, Kusno 2000). However, the two other cases which are part of this research confirm the observation.

[400] A more pragmatic reason for the prominence of modern ideals can be associated with the increasing western-based education of elites (including planners and architects).

[401] Significant for a modern scheme, the infrastructure (and public spaces) was planned first. Driven by the requirements of motorised traffic and modern mass transport, different transport arteries were designed for various modes. In addition, the new town's land has been zoned along modern parameters of land use, such as industrial, commercial, recreational, institutional and residential types. Not least a significant amount of space has been reserved for common purposes such as town squares, parks, schools, hospitals, restaurants, entertainment places etc.

[402] Indeed, while this is a general critique of modernism, it is also valid for our object of study.

[403] The area is listed as one of the 17 most dynamically growing corridors of India. (Cf. Cushman and Wakefield 2007; Cf. above; India; Regional context)

The fundamental transformation was prepared by the installation of large IT technology incubator parks at Vashi's and Belapur's railway stations. Today it is marked by the advent of privately developed IT parks, such as the Dhirubhai Ambani Knowledge City or the Millennium Technology Park (cf. above: Infrastructure). Clearly the planned SEZ projects and integrated township schemes also represent this moment.

The image of contemporary Navi Mumbai is largely shaped by a "global business scenario". In this context Cidco's former chairman Anil Kumar lakhina delineates the desire of installing world-class spaces in the Navi Mumbai area as follows: "Our own Shenzhen or Jebel Ali will be on Indian soil with international systems." (Padmanabhan, In: India Times 2002) A further statement on the website of Navimumbai.com, a local information and business networking website says: "We can work towards strengthening the role of Navi Mumbai as a secure and avant-garde services back office for the world's process and service needs. The BPO industry continues to strengthen the world economies by translating their investments in operations into a profitable enterprise." (www.navimumbai.com; r.03.10.2008)

After all, on the ground, these global business paradigms lead to a significantly different spatial language than the representations of the early modernistic times. Now Iconic landmark shapes, themed worlds and architecture of symbolic exchange, are on the rise.

Development strategy, delivery

Implementation strategy

The above section demonstrated that Navi Mumbai emerged in an idealistic modern context; this framework is not sufficient to produce a successful project. Consequently, the next step is now to delineate the strategies (and the specific innovations behind) by which the new city has been implemented. The Navi Mumbai project has been an experimental field for new approaches in physical planning, land assembly, public-private partnerships, the provision of services, maintenance of properties by resident associations (condominiums, co-operatives) and public-public partnerships. (Cf. Adusumilli 2001: 21)

The success of the New Town cluster can be mainly related to four crucial elements: 1) exclusive land rights; 2) an initial land bank; 3) the hybrid structure of the developing enterprise; 3a) as a market oriented undertaking with limited liability; 3b) as a state controlled agency and pilot project; and 4) the utilisation of cross-subsidies and revolving fund principles.

Probably the most important element of Navi Mumbai's development strategy is the fact the developer was granted exclusive rights to develop the land. This fact has largely facilitated the financial, infrastructural and strategic urban planning of the area. Yet, it is important to note that the entire land was not donated to the developer at once. The state has only provided a minor area[404] on a loan basis to initiate the development process.[405] In this way Cidco, the developer, was compelled to operate along a revolving fund principle. Sufficient profits had to be generated as a prerequisite to develop the next development area.[406]

The hybrid set-up of the developing agency, as public-private company, was a major asset of Navi Mumbai's success. In contrast to other New Town projects elsewhere in India, and other parts of the world, for example some new capital cities, Cidco has not

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[404] Several sectors of the Vashi node

[405] Cidco started in 1972 with a seed capital of 40 million Rupiah plus land as resource. (Cf. below: Finance)

[406] An important detail to note is that all the land in Navi Mumbai is handled on a 60-year lease basis. This is the case with land provided by the state government to Cidco, as well as with land developed by Cidco that is transferred to housing societies and co-operatives. (www.cidcoindia.com, r21.03.2008)

obtained many direct financial resources. (Cf. Adusumilli 2001: 29) The fact that the agency was set up as a company with limited liability has helped to eliminate most of the drawbacks of public agencies, such as a bureaucratic water head, corruption, inflexibility to change, economic inefficiency, etc. As the agency was compelled to market principles the cost and time efficiency of the undertaking was largely streamlined.

A win-sin situation emerged. While the semi-privatisation has also helped to decentralise the political (and economic) risk for the state at a low price, the entrepreneur's legal and economic risks were also reduced as Cidco remained in the hands of the state government. The fact that Navi Mumbai had the status of an official pilot project helped to streamline legal processes, to obtain permits on a fast track, and to cut through the red tape. In addition old boy networks and the cosmos of other public agencies could be directly accessed.

Cidco's Robin Hood strategy – elaborate cross-subsidies

The necessity to generate revenues from some profitable undertakings in order to sponsor less profitable sub-projects has initiated several innovative strategies in Navi Mumbai. Seemingly these innovations are linked to the combination of Cidco's public mission to develop housing and infrastructure and the market's profit constraint. In this distinctive context Cidco became a master of developing innovative strategies for the redistribution of incomes.

Cidco's strategy, which can also be dubbed 'Robin Hood strategy', implies that the developing agency is selling a certain amount of land at market price and subsidises other less profitable elements of a project with that amount. So far the two most interesting applications of the strategy have been: A) the development of railway infrastructure with cross-subsidies from the development of space above railway stations[407], and B) the development of low income housing by using the instrument of differential land pricing.

The initial implementation strategy

Immediately after Cidco was installed as the central development agency for the New Town cluster the developer started drafting his own development plan for Navi Mumbai in 1973.[408] In seeking to "...reduce the growth rate of population in greater Bombay by creating an attractive urban area on the land across the Bombay harbour" (Cidco 1973: 10) the plan accentuates decentralisation as the foremost objective of the project.

The implementation strategy worked along 5 important components (cf. Ghorpade referring to Cidco 1973):

- The shift of traffic-intensive wholesale activities to Navi Mumbai;
- The creation of positive synergies with the existing industrial areas, the Nhava Sheva Sea Port, the ONGC offshore base at Nhava and the two municipal councils of Panvel and Uran;
- The transfer of the Mantralaya (Secretariat) and public sector offices to the New Town cluster;
- The development of Navi Mumbai's nodes as autonomous growth centres;
- The implementation of integrated transportation corridors of both road and railway systems.

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[407] Navi Mumbai's railways were built at 65 percent of the cost, because the airspace of railway stations and often also the vicinity (Vashi, Kharghar, Belapur) was commercially developed. In addition, 16 percent of land sale at market price has generated 75 percent internal revenues, making the Navi Mumbai project fully self-financed. (Cf. Cidcoindia.com; r12.09.2008)
[408] The Government in 1979 approved the plan.

These elements assert that Navi Mumbai was never planned to become a dormitory town. Even if housing and infrastructure remained central elements, the development strategy was mainly aimed at the generation of a sustainable economic base and sufficient employment opportunities.

The change of traffic intensive wholesale activities from Mumbai to the New Town cluster (1) was a central (and successful) part of the decentralisation strategy. In addition, the proximity to large industrial areas was seen as an important asset (2). Nevertheless, it was clear that a major amount of Navi Mumbai's jobs would be white-collar jobs.[409] Accordingly it was planned to shift a large share of government jobs (e.g. the Mantralaya) from the island city to the New Town (3).[410] Yet, unfortunately the goal of founding the New Town on the public sector[411] never succeeded, as the state government stayed averse to make this crucial move.

After these initial strategic cornerstones were established, Cidco planned to develop the new city for a target population of 2 million in the form of a series of independent nodes of 400 – 600 hectares for 50.000 to 200.000 people (4), with ample infrastructure[412] and services (including bicycle paths) and a particular emphasis on housing for the poor. In addition the nodes were to be integrated by state of the art transportation arteries (5). (Cf. above: Structure, cf. Shaw 2003: 83)

Housing strategy – integrated, equal and social

While economic development was handled as the foundation of Navi Mumbai's planning strategy, housing obviously remained central to the project. After all, decentralisation, not only of industries but also of people was one of the major motives of the new city on the main land. While Navi Mumbai was intended to become a base for several million livelihoods, these livelihoods had to be planned and organised along clear principles. In this context the state government and Cidco developed goals.

In seeking to develop Navi Mumbai as one of India's lighthouse projects, an ambitious shelter policy, intending to develop the first slum free city of India, was drafted. This policy consisted of three major ingredients. It sought to develop housing: 1) in an integrated manner, as a complete package of infrastructure and facilities needed; 2) for a mix of population groups, independent of ethnicity, class or income and; 3) with a particular emphasis on dwellings for LIC and EWS populations.

Uma Adusumilli confirms that: "The strategy adopted by Cidco was to first build composite housing schemes for all income groups and also the necessary social facilities such as schools, hospitals, fire stations, police stations, gardens, shopping, community centres, electrical and telephone facilities, sewage treatment plants, ground and elevated water reservoirs and also reserve plots for religious and other cultural amenities." (Adusumilli 2001)

Yet, Cidco never intended to develop all the necessary housing on its own.[413] A great emphasis was put on the development of best practices and the replicability of the schemes. The projects were intended to serve as lighthouse projects attracting further

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[409] 115.000 planned jobs in the industrial sector stand against 825.000 administrative jobs in the white-collar sector.

[410] „…critical to the success of this operation was the tacit agreement on the part of the state government to shift the bulk of its offices from the central business district on the southern tip of Mumbai Island to Navi Mumbai." (Cf. Shaw 2003: 84)

[411] as it was done in many newly planned capital cities in India and the world (e.g. Brasilia, Islamabad, Chandigarh, Gandhinagar)

[412] Indeed, today this 'smart' approach of combining 'location with infrastructure' was taken up by the developers of private Integrated Townships and the like. (Cf. above: Hiranandani Palace Gardens)

[413] In the watershed project of the Sector 26 DRS Scheme Cidco has essentially experimented with the outsourcing of project parts to external project management consultants, architects and developers. According to Adusumilli (2001:10) this practice was novel for Indian standards. Young architects and famous offices participated in a design competition for 10.000 housing units in 1988, which yielded innovative schemes.

projects of the private sector. Raje 2001 describes: "...rather than constructing high-rise tenements Cidco decided to build a certain amount of innovative public housing, as a demonstration of what the city fabric should be like and as a model for further growth." Not least, the performance of the composite housing schemes was based by the organisation of the respective dwellers in resident associations, condominiums and cooperative societies.[414] (Cf. above: Population; Resident Associations)

The 1973 Draft Development Plan provided that housing for all groups should be equal and every node should be a mix of various populations. (Cf. Adusumilli 1993: 6) Accordingly, Cidco experimented with various distribution methods to prevent segregation among the respective linguistic, religious and economic lines.[415] (Cf. Ananthakrishnan 1998: 16) A random distribution scheme worked on a first come first serve basis. In this context the allottees were chosen on the basis of a draw of lots. The first customers generally got to choose the location and floor of the apartment. (Ananthakrishnan 1998: 11)

Another general strategy to achieve a high amount of housing for low-income people was integrated in the general development plan. In this context one-third of the housing in New Bombay was devised as site-and-service plots. This share was equal to the proportion of Mumbai's slum population at that time. (Cidco 1973:17-18, Ananthakrishnan 1998: 9,12)

Likewise, in order to reach the stated targets and benchmarks for low income housing, Cidco also developed ground-breaking pricing strategies, cross subsidising low income projects with excess charges from medium and higher income projects. In this context a maximum surcharge of 15 percent was established for medium and higher income housing 'products'. The LIC and EWS projects, such as the above-mentioned BUDP site-and-service scheme, were subsidised at a maximum amount of 45 percent (Cidco, 1973 quoted by Ananthakrishnan 1998: 9). This means that only 25 to 50 percent of the Reserve Price for land for EWS/LIG houses was charged (Adusumilli 2001: 22). In most cases plots for higher income groups were provided at locations with higher market potential, for example at the periphery of the block "thereby making the subsidies on plots for EWS economically viable" (Adusumilli 2001: 22).

Despite this rich history of experiences, the future of Cidco as a provider of public housing looks rather bleak. Since the early 1990's no further commitment towards the provision of targeted housing schemes for the poor was made. While this fact can principally be related to a greater macro framework of housing finance shifting from the supply side to the demand side, no real solution for the no-income population segments (EWG's) seems to be in sight.

Unfortunately, various efforts to engage the private sector in provision of LIC housing by offering them large plots to develop did not succeed.[416] So today only the plots allotted to the villagers as part of the compensation packages are able to produce housing for low-income groups. (Cf. Adusumilli 2001, 27)

Moreover the problem of informal settlements has always been repressed. Cidco never had a policy of enumerating, declaring and addressing the problem of informal settlements within its own vicinity. Since most of the slums are situated in the developed parts

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[414] Adusumilli (2001: 10) describes this as one of the great innovations in the development of Navi Mumbai's housing schemes.

[415] It has to be noted that this approach did not bear the expected results. Ananthakrishnan 1998 demonstrates how Navi Mumbai's sectors are increasingly segregated along ethnic and economic lines.

[416] Cidco attempted to allocate large tracts of land (50 to 200 hectares) for development by the private sector by offering liberal payment and development conditions. In return, 25 percent of the land was to be reserved for LIG. But this clause discouraged prospective developers. (Cf. Adusumilli 2001: 24)

of Navi Mumbai, the problem has been delegated to the Navi Mumbai Municipal Corporation. (Cf. Adusumilli 2001: 25)

Strategies to prevent land speculation

A further important lesson the Navi Mumbai experience offers is the hitherto successful prevention of large-scale land speculation. In contrast to other new urban schemes in many urban peripheries worldwide (cf. to the Jakarta example), Navi Mumbai has very successfully prevented land speculation on a large scale, such as the emergence of land bank. The developers combined several strategies to preclude an immoderate consumption of space while the sale of subsidised housing on the free market was prohibited. Furthermore the sale of publicly assisted apartments has to be delegated to Cidco, while the original owners have to face high transaction costs.

As far as plots are concerned they are only leased with strict development obligations. Developers have to finalise the construction within a specified time frame and with 50 percent of the permissible construction on the land. Penalties in the form of additional levies are imposed for those who haven't conformed to the rules. Additionally, all plots leased by Cidco are not permitted to be re-sold in a vacant form. (Cf. Adusumilli 2001: 27) The developers of current SEZ are also bound to the rigid implementation rules. They have to pass these rules on to all sub-contractors.

History of strategies and goals (changing borderline between public and private)

An interesting and distinctive feature of contemporary Navi Mumbai is the fact that the city exists in the condition of being between a permanent construction site and a historic city. While today less than half of the project has been completed, the existing urban landscape brings to the fore 45 years history of concepts, ideas and paradigms, as well as failures and also first ruins. According to Charles Correa, one of the conceptual fathers of the New Town, the scheme started slowly, took off, collapsed and is now reviving. (Cf. Personal interview with Charles Correa, August 2006.)

Navi Mumbai's respective development policies, the plans, and its architectural forms reflect macro trends and micro events of almost 5 decades. A main moment that emerges in the chronologic perspective is advancing privatisation. Various examples demonstrate the scope of changing paradigms and stakeholder constellations. While Vashi's CRS housing schemes, or its International Technology Park, portray a publicly driven planning approach, Kharghar's Spaghetti Housing Scheme, the 18 hole golf course, or most recently the Kharghar Hill Plateau Theme Park cum residential project, point to an increasing leaning towards private urbanisation. In this context the following section seeks to draw an overview of the transition from the publicly driven and centrally oriented development policies of the 1960's to the increasingly privately driven policies of recent times up to the recent era of speculation and volatility.

The 60's – the golden age of state planning
Combine with NM milestones above?

Navi Mumbai's planning and implementation phase is marked by a strong alliance of visionary urban design, planning disciplines and centrally oriented development policies.

The 1950's and 1960's represent an area when planners felt invincible. It seems that architects and planners had a 'godlike' status.[417] This was the epoch when Navi Mumbai was born on the sketch board of two young architects and one engineer. Charles Correa, Pravina Mehta, and Shirish Patel published the project in the 18th volume of the architec-

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[417] Le Corbusier had designed Chandigarh (1953), Oscar Niemeyer Brasilia (1960), Constantinos Doxiadis employed more than 700 hundred associates to design Islamabad and many other New Cities worldwide. In his urbanistic concept of the Dynapolis (1968) planning was basically regarded as means of pacifying the globe.

tural and art journal MARG in 1965. The early concept regards the New Town as a civic endeavour. For the architects and planners Navi Mumbai was mainly a structural idea.[418] The architects have pursued a strategy of place-based design, based on the characteristics of the local culture and the respective environment.

It is important to note that private stakeholders and businesses were also integrated, however in a different way than today. In the first planned nodes Ulwe (and Vashi) Correa drew the line between private and public at the boundaries of the lot. His plan for Ulwe sought to allow small investors to develop individual sites within a set of controls. Emphasis was put on affordability, replicability, and optimal density.

→ Illustration C-26: Design of Ulwe node

In parallel, the 1950's and 1960's were also characterised by a strong 'public hand' and an omnipotent planning discipline. Planning and development were essentially extended arms of the government and in this context in 1967 the Mumbai Economic Development Council (MEDC) called for a strong New Town Development Authority to erect Navi Mumbai's entire stock of social housing.[419] Still, the issue of privatisation has always been highly debated. Therefore it seems only a logical step that Cidco was installed as a state owned planner and developer to implement these goals. And significantly in the 1970's the organisation included an army of 400 engineers, 25 planners and 10 architects. (Cf. Interview with Dinkar P. Samand; former chief planner of Cidco; Navi Mumbai; August 2006)

Therefore, between the lines the early concepts have also prepared the ground for market driven mechanisms: it was ascertained that the New Town should also be economically self-sufficient, while the mechanism of a revolving fund became a significant part of this strategy.

"There is no reason why our New Towns should not become an equally paying proposition, if sufficient money is raised for the initial investment. The return therefore could be used as a revolving fund for undertaking further development." (MEDC 1967, 63, 76; from Shaw 2003: 76)

This pivotal role of the government has already been affirmed by the first conceptual ideas. While industrial relocation played a leading role, more so did the relocation of public sector facilities. (Cf. above implementation strategies 1. and 2.) Correa, Patel and Mehta reaffirmed, in the famous 1965 issue in the MARG Magazine on the concept of Navi Mumbai, that the success of the New Town depends on the government's decision to move eastwards: "It is obvious that to Bombay the importance of the second centre can be assured if government undertakes to participate actively by moving its offices there and creating a new capital for the State."420 (Cf. Correa 1997 (65): 326; cf. below: Planners and Architects)

The 1970's – era of physical planning
V.N. Phatak, former chief planner of MMRDA, calls the 70's "the era of physical planning" (Personal Interview in August 2006). At that time Navi Mumbai was built as a

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[418] Charles Correa states: "Planning it about size & structure … All I could do was to devise a structure plan." (Cf. Personal Interview in August 2006)

[419] "… social housing can be brought about if the entire housing is put up by the New Town Development Authority." (Cf. MEDC 1967: 21, quoted in Shaw 75)

[420] When after five years it became clear that the Government would move to Nariman Point in South Mumbai, Shirish Patel, one of the authors of the Navi Mumbai, demonstratively left the consulting team, because he was desperate about the lack of public commitment. (Cf. Personal Interview with S. Patel in August 2006: „…then it wasn't followed, there was no political commitment" – at the same time government started selling plots in South Mumbai…") Ultimately only 1.200 of the 70.000 government-office jobs have been shifted to Navi Mumbai (Engel 1991, 102; quoted in Shaw: 107).

modern and civilised city for the poor.[421] This period of execution was predominantly marked by the implementation of the goals as formulated in the 1973 development strategy.[422] The strategy was "facilities and infrastructure first". Almost no physical restrictions to growth existed and the agency started to fill the gigantic area with projects. In this context Cidco succeeded in attracting significant capital e.g. from the national railways, large industries and institutions, to build housing estates. Caps on the maximum size of developable lots restricted large-scale development. Yet, while the initial plan foresaw the withdrawal of Cidco as early as the 1980's, Navi Mumbai's growth picked up at a much slower pace than expected. Among the major reasons was the decision of the government to stay in the centre city and to relocate to Nariman Point (cf. above). In addition, the construction of essential links to the mother city was delayed.

80's to late 90's: gradual privatisation, property boom and crisis

This unstable period was characterised by volatile land markets and massive financial sector reforms. The late 1980's to the late 1990's marked Cidco's gradual transformation from a public housing agency to a quasi developer. During this period a growing share of projects was subcontracted to external designers and developers and more and more land was leased to private sector stakeholders and institutional developers.

While the period between mid 80's and early 90's saw the biggest quantity of low-income housing construction, the reverberations of the early 1990's New Economic Programme marked a watershed for Navi Mumbai's progress (cf. above: Context, India). Public housing production was shifted from the supply side to the demand side. Consequently Cidco's sources of direct public funding, e.g. by HUDCO and the like, were drying up. This was reflected by a sharp decline of directly constructed public apartments. Since 1994 no new schemes for low-income (EWS) populations were taken up. (Cf. Adusumilli 2001: 30)

Importantly, during this time the structure of Cidco was also drastically reformed along neo-liberal lines. A policy of maximising performance and efficiency introduced novel practices of risk minimisation such as subcontracting and improved (international) standards on management, monitoring and accountability. In this context Cidco's part was generally boiled down to management and monitoring.[423] (Cf. Adusumilli 2001: 25)

A changing macro framework and the shifting policies were not without a major impact on the physical features of the sites and the typologies of the buildings of that time. Significantly the main trend went towards an increasing size of developable areas and towards extended private boundaries. In addition a high volatility of land prices has supported a process of privatisation and the sale of large plots: When in the mid 1990's Mumbai's real estate market was boiling with the highest real estate prices in the

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[421] It was realised along principles of enlightenment (modern architecture and planning) and Gandhi's principles. (Cf. Ananthakrishnan: 13, cf. above: Goals)

[422] Self financed, catalytic land bank and revolving fund principle, social housing programmes, site and service schemes, and co-operative projects.

[423] Uma Adusumilli, a former chief planner of Cidco, gives an illustrative and detailed account of the changing strategies and paradigms by the case of the DRS project in Vashi's Sector 26 (cf. above, DRS-project): "In 1987, the Board of Directors of Cidco, a fully owned company of the state government of Maharashtra, took a review of the houses constructed by Cidco over the previous 17 years and concluded that the organisation can be made much more effective.... It was then decided to adopt a different approach for delivering housing. Towards this end a) pre-qualified developers were invited to quote on turnkey basis with their own designs and layouts and b) eminent architects/planners invited to design other schemes... it was felt that the in-house professionals could concentrate on infrastructure development projects.... While the developer was to complete the construction and hand over the houses to Cidco for allotment to the registered eligible applicants, the architectural consultants were to bring the project up to the stage of tendered after which a contractor take up the construction under the supervision of the architect as well as the PMC. ... It was expected that use of modern methods of monitoring such as CPM and PERT networks by PMCs would deliver better results. They were also to report financial and physical progress of work with reference to pre-fixed targets, review progress in view of time and cost parameters, and suggest improvements from time to time."

world[424], Cidco sought to jump on the band wagon by placing an increasing amount of land on the private market. In addition, when in 1996 land prices collapsed by up to 500 percent[425], large clusters of undeveloped lots of land were sold to bulk buyers.[426] As a consequence the average size of developable lots increased steadily and grew to 50 hectares and more (or 500.000 square metres, or 80 soccer fields). However, private and institutional developers mainly catered for the middle and upper classes. (Cf. Shaw 2004: 45)

Vashi, once more, serves as a good example of rising privatisation. The node experienced a crucial turnaround in the mid 1990's. When in 1992 the public commuter rail arrived at the node, land prices soared. The node that so far had been a showcase for public projects (cf. above) became a major target for private commercial and housing investments (Shaw 2004: 154). Moreover the prices in Vashi have increased so much that developers are trying to acquire the former Phase-1 social housing areas. (Cf. Shaban 2006)

Late 1990's and 2000's: Ongoing privatisation and internationalisation, Megaprojects, SEZ-era
Navi Mumbai in the late 1990's and early 2000's reflects an ongoing drive towards large projects, flexibilisation and privatisation. Large autarkic enclaves, such as SEZs and Integrated Townships, and new colossal infrastructure ventures, such as a new international airport and the Sewri-Nhava Sheva Sea Link mark this era of expanded international investments (cf. above: Context, economy). On the demand side the new projects are mainly geared towards affluent classes, on the supply side the schemes are developed by enormous consortiums. (Cf. above: Developers: NMSEZ)

Significantly Cidco makes use of the momentum in leading the development of the Navi Mumbai SEZ, aligning its efforts with national and international developers. While the state of Maharashtra plays an important role as a facilitator in land acquisition, Cidco acts as an implementing agency (cf. above). While additional "SEZ-Township schemes", notably the Maha Mumbai SEZ, emerge on gigantic amounts of land to the South and East of Navi Mumbai, the size of the recently planned nodes also increases: Kharghar, a new Ulwe and a new Dronagiri-SEZ are being developed on areas of 1.600 to 2.500 ha for large populations of 350.000 to 450.000 respectively. These nodes are being developed almost entirely by the private sector.

2005 – 2008 Speculation and volatility
The period since 2005 is characterised by continuing speculation, up and downs of the markets and rising local resistance movements. Corporate strategies, including Cidco's become more refined. No new project can be developed without environmental and social impact studies, compensation as well as resettlement schemes.

At the same time a noteworthy counter-trend can be observed. While the size of new projects is growing steadily, the public impact appears to continue diminishing. Many of the large private developers (such as SKIL or Hiranandani) have head hunted key planning personnel (e.g. from Cidco) and now run their own large urban planning departments. Moreover the big private projects tend to be governed autonomously, while the urban management and administration in the new enclaves is privatised. (Cf. below: Maintenance, Operation) As a result developers enjoy an increasing political, economic, physical and creative freedom on their land.

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[424] In 1996, office space in Mumbai became the most expensive in the world. (Nijman 2000, IPR 2002; from Weinstein 2005: 18)

[425] Land prices in the node of Belapur fell from INR 50.000 per square metre to INR 10.000. (Cf. Shaw 2003)

[426] The German architectural journal Stadtbauwelt of 1997 on Navi Mumbai spreads an infernal scenario: it reports on peripheral 'tristesse', mediocre architecture, speculation ruins and devastated public spaces at the edge of Belapur.

However, after the real estate markets experienced tremendous new peaks in 2006 and 2007[427], prices collapsed in early 2008. The descent continued with the global financial crisis of September 2008. Experts are now calling for a reorientation of India's real estate sector towards lower middle and lower income classes (LIG's and MIC's) along more successful models such as Mexico (The Economist 2008).

Current times (Spring of 2009) are more volatile than ever. Native populations, organised by populist parties, continue to resist the commercialisation of the region on the mainland. They have reached the withdrawal of the state government from the second Maha Mumbai SEZ,[428] while the initial site of this SEZ had to be halved.[429] (Yet, the zone is still cited as the largest private SEZ in India.)

In its own cosmos Cidco experiments with new demand based selling mechanisms. e.g. at the NRI-Phase II project at Kharghar a fresh Book-Building process of open bidding.[430] Flats in the Spaghetti Housing scheme are sold on a first-come-first-serve basis. (Cf. Cidcoindia.com; r23.09.2009) The developing authority's private market behaviour is further accentuated by its own development of a Golf Course Project including a 5 star hotel next to the central Park in Kharghar, as well as by the new theme park-project of the Kharghar Hill Plateau. (Cf. above: Examples)

In spite of this, crisis times regularly underline the essential role of the 'public hand', as the project of the Sewri-Nhava Sheva sea link demonstrates. (Cf. above: Infrastructure) Here the government had to pitch in and take over the development after the project was caught in the power struggles of elite industrialists (e.g. the Ambani Brothers, cf. The Economist 2008).

R&R (Rehabilitation and resettlement strategy)

Cidco's Rehabilitation and Resettlement (R&R) schemes are among the outstanding experiences Navi Mumbai has to offer to its national and international peers. During the project's 45-year history Navi Mumbai's developers have come up with increasingly refined rehabilitation and resettlement strategies (R&Rs), addressing the needs of project-affected populations (PAP's). National decentralisation programmes leading to a rising impact of local politics as well a generally sensitised public have increasingly empowered Navi Mumbai's rural residents.[431] In this context questions of R&R have currently become central to the success of the upcoming SEZ projects in the area. On the other hand the strategies resonate in the corporate responsibility portfolios of the private sector.

Acquiring the necessary development land seemed a straightforward matter in the 1970's. At that time 47 percent of Navi Mumbai's project area was already in the hands of the public. The remaining territory was predominantly composed of agricultural and village land belonging to 80 affected villages. In the course of the development process of

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[427] Cf. above: Mumbai: real estate boom, for actual real estate quoting cf. also
http://property.magicbricks.com/newproperty/locality/propertyrates-mum.html; r30.09.2008)

[428] How hot and prominent the issue of the Navi Mumbai SEZ currently is can be seen on Google: A search on "Navi Mumbai SEZ" performed on Oct.01.2008 revealed 177 articles only for the same month.

[429] "Between 8 am and 5 pm on September 21, the Pen Tehsil was a theatre hosting a multidimensional drama. Villages bristled with activity and anticipation, anti and pro SEZ lobbies tried their best to outperform each other, modestly built government schools served as poll centres, and lush-green paddy fields mocked a claim made by the government that the land could not produce even fodder for the cattle. ... The Pen Tehsil in Konkan region kept its date with history on Sunday as it held India's first ever 'referendum' on whether villagers wanted to give up their land for a special economic zone. ... This was the first time such a public hearing and opinion poll was held over any large-scale land acquisition in India." (Cf. The Economic Times 21 Sep, 2008: "Low turnout spoils Mumbai SEZ; r.30.09.2008; cf. also to: Bunsha 2006, Gupta 2006)

[430] Article: "Cidco plays foul", Mumbaipluses, 12.12.2007

[431] It can be observed that, in the course of the 4-decade project history, a specific bureaucratic terminology developed: local populations whose livelihoods are influenced by new projects are called project affected populations, or PAPs, and accordingly compensation measures are usually referred to as rehabilitation and resettlement programmes, or R&Rs. Indeed, the emergence of that kind of jargon represents a growing specialisation and refinement of the matter, which is increasingly handled by external project consultants such as sociologists, risk mitigation experts, etc.

the New Town several strategies handling the PAP's were applied. While the residents of 27 villages (or Gaothans) were completely removed to an outer area, the remaining 53 villages were rehabilitated at the same place.

Since Navi Mumbai was deemed a project of higher public interest, the state government basically appropriated the agricultural land. The compensation at those initial stages was minimal. In the manoeuvres that were subject to the Land Acquisition Act of 1894 only the current value of (agricultural) land was offset.[432]

In contrast the Amendment of the Land Acquisition Act in 1984 dramatically changed the status of the local population. This Act made compensation and rehabilitation programmes mandatory. Cidco reacted by introducing the innovation of the '12,5 percent rule'. This regulation, foresaw that 12,5 of the land developed after 1986 would be returned to the farmers. Yet, significantly the new policy was delayed and only implemented in 1994.[433]

Since then the R&R packages have constantly improved. As a result the schemes account for the few successful low income housing policies in place today (cf. Adusumilli 2001: 24): A recent regulation retrospectively allocates a share of 8,75 percent of the land to the individual owners as serviced land and the villages are encouraged to resell the plots to developers for the purpose of developing low income housing. (Cf. personal interview with Cidco Planning staff in August 2006) In addition to the land, PAP's also get priority job contracts (for example for landscaping and security services), educational and vocational training as well as increased FAR development rights.[434]

Indeed, today the political context is so sensitised that no new major project is practicable without extensive R&R incentives. Accordingly all SEZ and township developers regularly seek the advice of external experts. In this context, for example, a large Social Impact Assessment on the Maha Mumbai SEZ was done by the Tata Institute of Social Sciences for Sea King Infrastructure Limited in 2005. (Cf. Shaban 2005) The study recommends the upgrading of the village infrastructures, extensive job training as well as long-term employment programmes for the Project Affected Population. (Cf. Shaban 2005: 9)

R&R Strategy offered by the MMSEZ

Facing fundamental resistance from the local populations, on February 19th 2007, the developers of the Maha Mumbai SEZ published their own comprehensive R&R proposition. Basically modelled along Cidco's 12,5 percent scheme, the offer of the private consortium tops the package offered by the state developer. Each affected household is offered a job, plus 12,5 percent of the developed land and compensation for land at market rates. The first options can alternatively be supplemented by monetary payments. In addition, the MSEZ management offers special programmes to landless families and women, as well as INR 90 crores (900.000.000) on village rehabilitation programmes. (Cf. http://www.msez.in/rehabilitaion.html; r.03.10.2008)

It is therefore not surprising that the large private developers seek to innovate and transform the burden of R&R into an advantage. As a result, the R&R tend to be integrated into marketing programmes and Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) packages. (Cf. below: Marketing, and http://www.msez.in/csr.html; r12.09.2008)

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[432] While Cidco used to compensate INR 3.75 per square metre land to private owners, the populations today often demand market rates of INR 40 per square metre. (Cf. above: Population, Finance, Revenues; cf. also Shaban 2005) The immediate village territories had always been excluded from acquisition. (Cf. Shaw 2003)

[433] Importantly, as a result, a wealthy and powerful elite emerged in the villages and started to challenge the interests of the developers and the middle class residents, e.g. village representatives dominated Navi Mumbai's municipal council in 2000. (Cf. Shaw 2003: 190, cf. above: Population: Preexisting)

[434] At Kharghar, for example, former villagers were granted an increased FAR of 1,5 to develop commercial areas under the 12,5 percent scheme. (Cf. above: Examples)

Design – from contextualism to the Supermonument

„Globalisation homogenises standards and management models. But it needs specialised economic capabilities." (Sassen 2007)
"... the chase for a singular perspective of architecture (read style) is in conflict with the present era where belief is often inundated by exponential change. My designs are usually a direct response to the needs of the client. In this way believe I have developed an architectural approach that is responsive to today's values and allow for a expressions in concert with contemporary society."

Introduction planners, architects and designers

Observing the factors as discussed above, namely Mumbai's congestion, macro economic and political trends and successful predecessors, one could be tempted to regard Navi Mumbai as an inevitable development. Yet, it is also impressive to observe that the development of this New Town is inevitably linked to the enthusiasm and the determination of certain individuals and groups. Consequently the next paragraph is devoted to the role of Navi Mumbai's planners and designers. Indeed, these are the authors with the strongest ideals and with the most powerful impact on physical form and spatial organisation.

Architects, urban planners, engineers and landscape architects are among the stakeholders acting on behalf of the developers, politicians and implementation agencies. Their job is to transform the combined goals, ideals and strategies into projects in space. Yet, while the designers are performing agents who give ideas a hand, the hand holding the pen also has its own determination and its own will. And these, consciously or not, find their way onto the physical schemes.

Early strategies

MARG

Even if the idea of the New Town is deeply rooted in Mumbai's planning history (cf. above: Milestones) the contribution of a group of three young individuals has been among the most important milestones for the new city. Charles Correa, Shirish Patel and Pravina Mehta have assembled and transformed the previously (more or less) dispersed ideas for the new magnet on the mainland into a set of visionary proposals.[435] The architect (Correa), the urban planner (Mehta) and the engineer (Patel) have teamed up to form a think tank (cf. Correa 1997 (1965): 312). The condensed publication of the group's visionary plans for Navi Mumbai in the June 1965 issue of the Arts Journal MARG[436] has led to a fundamental redirection of the regional development strategies of that time. The title of the issue was: "Bombay – Planning and Dreaming", hence pointing to the importance of visions instead of technical codes. The publication presented a combined

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[435] "We didn't invent it, a lot was already there" (Charles Correa in a personal interview in August 2006); "Charles and I looked at this.. and it was obvious...that Bombay should go eastwards... a bridge was under construction... port was being planned at Nhava Sheva... industries were already there... so we prepared a plan for a new city across the harbour"... "with Pravina Mehta we developed a plan for a second city on the main land, which would take the pressures of growth from Bombay..." (Shirish Patel in a personal interview in August 2006)

[436] MARG was established in 1946. It is the only magazine of its kind in India. While the name is an acronym of Modern Architecture Research Group, it also stands for the Sanskrit word of "path". (Cf. http://www.marg-art.org; r3.09.2008)

set of views of politicians, planners and architects and culminated in the proposals for the visionary development of a parallel city.[437]

When it decided in favour of the New Town in 1970 the Government of Maharashtra decided to hire all three authors. For 5 years (1970-1974) they became the principal planners for the new city and co-ordinated the work of a multi-disciplinary team of economists, sociologists, transportation, and city planners, architects and engineers.

The team sought to solve the concepts of a holistic metropolitan development, decentralisation, housing schemes and an urban design for the modern society (cf. above: Goals and paradigms) by means of urban design. The existing structure of Bombay, a 30-degree wedge, was questioned, culminating in the visionary suggestion of a parallel city.[438] In Correa's eyes only a strong new focal point, a new centrality, would be able to establish a certain level of independence from the mother city: "This area would then develop into a new self-sufficient city whose continental contact and exchange with the older city would be primarily for social, cultural and commercial contact." (Correa 1997 (1965): 322)

Twin city on the sea

The early visionary concepts of the new city were dominated by urban design. The discipline served as the main generator of the city's identity. Congruity was supposed to be generated from the features of the local place, such as topography, climate, existing land use patterns, flows, history etc. Accordingly, the MARG group's most central idea was to develop a city on the water and to transform Bombay into a "twin-city on the sea". (Cf. Correa 1997 (1965): 315) Correa imagined that the bay would become a new virtual centre, that much of the traffic would flow across the harbour, establishing a new East-West axis in the metropolis. The plan proposed to create a series of magnificent public spaces at the seashores of both sides, enabling people to experience the situation.[439] A historic place "Elephanta, and with it a sense of the past, would stand in the centre..." (Ibidem: 443). On a smaller scale the newly planned city was to get its own public void as well. This was represented by the circular transport line as well as the grandiose public promenade at the new public centre around Belapur.

→ Illustration C-27: MARGs conceptual drawings

While the new city of Navi Mumbai was intended as a series of interconnected nodes (cf. above structure), it was of foremost importance to create an individual identity for each of the nodes. A strategy to attain this goal was to outsource the master plan design of the nodes to different consultants. This tactic however, has been only partially successful. Of the more prominent architects' schemes, only that of Doshi's Kharghar was implemented. Correa's Ulwe became a victim of the coastal protection laws and had to be cancelled in 1998. Only some model sectors in Vashi and a housing scheme in Belapur have been implemented by this architect. (Cf. above)

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[437] The editorial states: "One of the problems facing civilisation today is the question of the growth of cities, such as Bombay. This special issue of MARG presents the moot points of the Bombay Plan in the form of a tentative blueprint by a group of officials, architects, and town planners." (Cf. http://www.marg-art.org/mVOL-18_3.html; r04.10.2008)

[438] Interestingly the team was opposed to the idea of a dispersed set of New Towns. Instead the image of a second, a parallel city, was favoured. Correa noted accordingly: "If however [instead of several satellites] a single major centre is created on the mainland directly opposite Bombay, of equal prestige and importance, it could develop into an area as large as the city (Correa 1997 (1965): 322, Fig. 12).

The early proposals proved visionary in demanding the development of a second cross thane bridge: Today the Sewri Nhava-Sheva bridge is constructed at almost the same position that was proposed by Correa and his peers 40 years ago. (Cf. above: Infrastructure) Correa stated accordingly "... as development proceeds, the need will eventually be felt for more than one link between the mainland and the penninsula. The feasibility of a second bridge accross the harbor exists from Trombay to Elephanta island and the mainland near the new doc area (Correa 1997 (1965): 331).

[439] Possibly the image of the twin city of Istanbul can be brought in here.

Indeed, after Cidco took over, the implementation of the new city urban design as a driving tool of urbanism lost momentum. The responsible planners justified the loss (rhetorically) by claiming to be developing a city for the common man. The urban design concept was accused of monumentality. This was declared incompatible with the social goal and even related to a Gandhian social ideology. (Cf. Ananthakrishnan: 12)

In spite of that, from a more rational perspective, it can be assumed that MARG's early design visions rather became the victim of the operational logic of a state run enterprise, constrained by bureaucratic rules, marked by the necessity of short term operational profits and dominated by a large base of pragmatic engineers. More generally Cidco's framework was characterised by an increasing dominance of process over form. The development authority has impressively concentrated (and impressively innovated) on the neighbourhood scale and implemented a remarkable amount of large monumental infrastructure projects. At the same the (urban design) vision of a city based on a network of public spaces on a metropolitan scale was lost and Cidco's monumental infrastructure projects evolved as rather isolated landmarks.

Disciplines

Architecture

Navi Mumbai is the ground for many architectural landmark designs and innovations. To date the project has neither been produced exclusively by international design experts, nor at 100 percent by locals. In contrast, it has been (and it is) produced by hybrid teams or personalities, who combine both global as well as local expertise.

Most of these better-known Indian architects have an international educational background. Charles Correa was educated in the US (University of Michigan; MIT). Shirish Patel is an affiliate of Cambridge University. Balkrishna Doshi was educated at the North London Polytechnic and at Corbusier's office in Paris.[440]

The wider range of architects and engineers at Cidco were educated at local schools and at Cidco.[441] Indeed, when the developer started operations, it had been hard to find qualified staff with the knowledge of constructing modern buildings and applying modern technologies.[442]

While some of the master planning schemes were carried out by foreign firms (e.g. McClier's plan on the NMSEZ), most of the developers preferred to rely on the expertise of locals when it came to implementation (and more and more often also design). As a result, most of the architects, urban planners and designers working in Navi Mumbai are Indians. This is based on the sheer scope of the work, but also because Indian business ethics are fairly different.[443]

In some of the more prestigious projects teams among foreign and local architects are formed in order to utilise both the name and technical ability of the foreign office. This is

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[440] All of the renowned Indian architects involved in Navi Mumbai's major projects – Correa, Patel, Hafeez – have done (or are doing) significant work abroad. "We are now doing work all over the world. We are working in Dubai, we are doing work in Shanghai and there is more in the pipeline." (Cf. Hafeez at Moneylife 2008)

[441] Cf. Personal interview with Cidco staff in August 2008

[442] Hafeez Contractor confirms "in 1988 there was a time in India when there was nothing like an office building and nobody had designed an office building". (Cf. Moneylife 2008)

[443] Cf. Hafeez Contractor in an Interview with Moneylife; 02.09.2008: "If you are working abroad the first thing the guy does is an agreement letter, sends it for confirmation and takes an advance before starting work. Here, when a guy comes and gives you a job you cannot talk about money, otherwise he thinks you are only interested in the fees and not the work. I just talk about work and after I have done the design one of my staff discusses the fees. So the work culture and ethics are different."

in particular the case when innovative building typologies such as office towers, hotels or convention centres are explored.[444]

In addition to the big names that were part of the early urban design schemes, several local architects have realised important projects in Navi Mumbai: Pheroze Kudianwalla has designed the Vashi and Belapur stations; the Dhirubhai Ambani Knowledge City and the Kharghar railway station stem from Ratan J. Batliboi.

In 1997 the award winning and Delhi based office of Raj Rewal designed one of the most interesting housing projects, The Belapur Housing scheme totalling 40.000 square metres. It is made of a modular block masonry construction. The cluster housing project resembles the approach to European Structuralism of the 1960's and 1970's[445] as well as Raj Rewal's renowned Asia Games village housing from Delhi. The project consists of 1.048 flats of 18 basic types. These have been arranged into 17 clustered buildings (cf. to the pictures).

→ Illustration C-28: Belapur Housing Project (Raj Rewal)

Doshi's post-Chandigarh approach
While none of the three initial architects of Navi Mumbai were able to implement a node of their own, in 1992 Cidco hired Balkrishna Doshi[446], another renowned Indian architect and designer, to draft the master plan for the Kharghar node. Doshi designed this along a strategy which he termed the post-Chandigarh approach. Today the township is an important showcase which experiments with a blend of the traditional public space approach of planning with various forms of privately driven urbanism. (Cf. above: examples)

Example: Hafeez Contractor
The most prominent contemporary architecture consultancy doing a magnitude of work in Navi Mumbai and the environs is the office of Hafeez Contractor. This office has designed multiple housing schemes and the new Seawoods railway station complex for Cidco. It also participates in several of the privately developed schemes, such as the Hiranandani Palace Gardens project (cf. above: Examples). Hafeez is a design factory with hundreds of associates, seamlessly producing spectacular architectural schemes that achieve the current 'Zeitgeist'.[447]

→ Illustration C-29: Examples of Hafeez Contractor's oevre in Navi Mumbai

Engineering
Navi Mumbai is too large to credit all the engineers involved in the project. However it must again be stressed that engineering is one of the most important disciplines in the

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[444] Hafeez Contractor describes along the example of DFL, one of Inda's largest developers, how Indian firms started to construct office buildings of international standards with the 'help' of international expertise: "DLF decided to take a trip abroad and took me along to see all office buildings - we went to London, Dubai, Canary Warf, we went everywhere. ... It is never a one-way street, especially when we are doing work of the kind that has never been done in India. For instance, if we are doing a Convention Centre, we had to take the help of a foreigner because they have done it before. I think we should not be afraid of doing that, but the next time we will do it ourselves."

[445] For example by Aldo van Eyck or Herman Herzberger

[446] Doshi is known for his collaboration at Chandigarh and became one of the leading figures in Indian building and settlements design. His Ahmedabad based Vastu Shilpa Foundation had designed an all India mass housing scheme for Cidco in 1988. The office was working at the formulation of urban planning principles geared to the Indian context, negotiating between Chandigarh's modernism on one side and ancient Indian planning traditions, such as the Shilpashashtra and Vastupurusha, on the other. The master plan for Vidyadhar Nagar, an urban extension of Jaipur, served as a fundemental model case for Kharghar. (Cf. above: Predecessors)

[447] Hafeez Contractor, a self made man and one of the most successful contemporary Indian architects, has Columbia University degrees in architecture and urban design. His office has done more than 1.000 projects (Hafeez at Monelife 2008). The architect claims to realise 85 to 90 percent of all Hiranandani projects. Cf.
http://www.indiabuildnet.com/arch/ahc_10.htm; r22.09.2008

whole scheme. This is so as Navi Mumbai is based on the extensive planning and implementation of infrastructure. Cidco's in-house staff implemented most of the schools, railways, roads, bridges and water reservoirs. Indeed the share of engineers in the agency is enormous. Of the firm's 2.200 employees more than 300 are postgraduate engineers and another 60 are urban planners and architects. (Cf. Adusumilli 2001: 30)

Shirish Patel has designed two of the most impressive railways stations in Juinagar and Nerul, as well as an award-winning footbridge at Juinagar. His office SPA[448] has also implemented the Belapur Housing cluster scheme for Raj Rewal at Belapur (see above: Form, Infrastructure).

Landscaping

Landscaping seems to be playing a 'normal' role among Navi Mumbai's design disciplines . While it does not appear to be the secret 'super discipline' as in Bumi Serpong Damai, a closer look reveals a rising significance. A total of almost 60 percent of land in various townships of Navi Mumbai, reserved for parks, gardens, green belts, open areas, non development zones and reforestation measures (cf. TECS 2001: 100), requires careful design and maintenance operations.

Cidco is responsible for most parts of the area. More than 2 million trees have been planted. Examples can be found on many scales: the calm interior zones of many of the superblocks and sectors developed by Cidco (cf. above DRS) are largely maintained by the cooperatives and resident associations; the luxury landscaping at Seawoods Estates stands out as a design feature; the recent redesign of Palmbeach Marg recreated as an important landmark boulevard; the newly planned central park at Kharghar aims at recreating the success of London's Hyde Park or Manhattan's Central Park. Moreover, the 18-hole golf course at the same node seeks to be an important 'green enterprise' and image generating upscale project. (Cf. Cidcoindia; r12.09.2008) Not least, the new Kharghar Hill Plateau project is going to take advantage of the picturesque natural location of the Kharghar hills for a luxury themepark cum residential development. Significantly the project uses eco theming and branding strategies while at the same time it carves into a natural forest reserve area. (Cf. also the Genesis and Burle Marx projects at Alphaville)

Contemporary trends in design

From self-construction to subcontracting

Initially Cidco was designing and implementing almost all projects with its own design team. Little by little this approach has shifted towards subcontracting and outsourcing to architectural consultancies, as well as to turnkey developers. An important watershed project in this regard was the CRS housing scheme in Vashi (cf. above. Examples).

From competitions to direct commissions

Today it can be observed that the role of designers and planners is increasingly changing. Back in the 1980's and 1990's Cidco supported the idea of architectural competitions as a mechanism to foster innovation and augment the diversity of options. (Cf. above: CRS scheme at Vashi) Today, in contrast, more and more design consultants are directly appointed. The most important broad trend is that master plans are dominated by business plans and that business consultancies are take the organisational lead.

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[448] Since 1970 Shirish Patel runs a cooperative office with several partners named SPA Shirish Patel Associates.

From holistic design to a diversified group of consultants

Indeed, today, urban planning and design are not at the head of the planning process (as was the case in the planning era of the 1960's and 1970's). They have become one of the subordinated, executing disciplines. Today financial experts and economic consultancies set strategies and development scenarios and lead the urban development process. Feasibility and implementation studies prepare the ground for the internationalisation of the project's design standards. In this context: "The master plan or development plan for the proposed Special Economic Zone (SEZ) is a planning tool, which is based on the broad objective of developing first world infrastructure facilities in a third world environment" (TECS 2001: 82).

The design (and implementation) for large real estate schemes, such as the SEZs, has long since become a part of comprehensive development packages. These are outsourced to consortia of international financial experts, urban planners and developers, etc., who feature extensive experience with international financing, business operations and 'world-class' standards. In this context the business consultants of Tata Economic Consultancy Services prepared the feasibility studies, business strategies and financial mechanisms of the NMSEZ (cf. TECS 2001). The business plan was drafted by the consultancy of Ernst & Young (formerly Arthur Andersen).[449]

Moreover, international consultancies have played a significant role in drafting the planning documents for the Navi Mumbai SEZ. A consortium of the US American design consultancy of McClier prepared the master plan.[450] In addition, Jurong Township Corporation (JTC), a state owned consultancy from Singapore, and the US American infrastructure specialists of Parsons & Brinckerhoff were appointed as project management consultants and have financial stakes in the project (cf. The Hindu March 28, 2004).

→ Illustration C-30: Ad "If you want to plan a new city for ..."

From monument to 'supermonument'

Interestingly, at the same moment when the schemes are more and more detached from the ideals of 'placemaking', there is also a déjà-vu experience with the urban monument. The recent emphasis on the process goes along with a recurring focus on the value of representative architectural forms.

Navi Mumbai's public spaces experience a remarkable boom of monuments as urban image generators. The nostalgia for historic identities is nurtured by new historicist landmarks such as the Utsav Chowk in Kharghar or the Shivaji Chowk in Vashi. While these structures are designed with marketing in mind, one of their most important functions is photogeneity.

The recent boom of landmarks is quite different from the role that landmarks played in the past. Formerly monuments chiefly represented (and reconfirmed) the power of the state.[451] Obviously industrial modernity (the modernity associated with the democratic welfare state), including the early visions of Navi Mumbai, secularised this approach. Here, monumental public space acted as a signifier representing the enlightened modern and democratic society.

Cidco's planners rejected this 'bourgeois' monumentality arguing that Navi Mumbai needed to become a city for the small man (cf. above). At the same time the agency

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[449] The business plan components comprise demand analyses and competitive positioning, key regulatory and political issues, a project development strategy, a capital structuring plan of the special purpose vehicle, organisation of manpower structure, asset and equity valuation and a financial model and plan for the SEZ. (Cf. Netscribes; r12.09.2008)

[450] McClier, an arm of the Aecom conglomerate, is a multinational company with significant experience in master planning, design and planning of infrastructure projects in various parts of the world (www.aecom.com, r12.09.2009).

[451] Before that it was the divine. (Cf. Lefebvre 1973, 2003)

erected a series of enormous infrastructure landmarks (e.g. the IT-park-railway-stations in Vashi and Belapur), which glorify the state's exclusive and positivist powers. Indeed the IT-terminals resemble enormous cathedrals, or gigantic cruise ships, that apparently rebel against the increasing powers of post-industrial dematerialisation. (Cf. → Illustration C-11)

Nonetheless, in times of privatisation and liberalisation the role of the monument is again changing. A new brand of urban landmarks not only addresses a longing for nostalgia and lost identity, it moreover becomes a significant component of urban branding strategies. Monuments such as Kharghar's Utsav Chowk or Vashi's Shivaji Chowk[452] seamlessly represent this trend. Moreover these new supermonuments are a significant component of unique tactics of identity generation[453] and valorisation within otherwise increasingly homogeneous urban landscapes.

Importantly, these new monuments represent a new typology of super monuments or 'monuments of monuments'. While earlier monuments used to represent a content, contemporary monuments tend to become simulacra – monuments that represent other monuments. Accordingly, the narratives of these contemporary landmarks are placeless, their typologies and facades reflect a global mediascape of omnipresent images.[454]

→ Illustration C-31: NM's new style monuments

From form to content (visualisation and marketing= Imagineering)
Architectural renderings and visualisations have always been an important communicational tool of architects. Yet, with the merging of urbanism and marketing (cf. below) the relevance of visual representations has entered a new dimension. As Navi Mumbai and other dynamically emerging urban peripheries tend to be portrayed as life style-scenarios, urban imaginations are generated by a flowing sphere of renderings and images.

For not long now the developers' web pages have been among the main entry points to Navi Mumbai. Brochures of Integrated Townships in Poway (Hiranandani Palace Gardens) seek to transport the bourgeois atmosphere of European metropolises.[455] Architectural objects are increasingly designed along their imaginative potentials (cf. above), nurturing the longing for distant histories or futures beneath the horizon. (Cf. the project of Hafeez Contractor above)

German Ethnographer Christiane Brosius gives an exemplary account of the relevance of nostalgic image worlds and media landscapes of Indian suburbs: "Wherever one looks – real estate ads enact a 5-star life with a complete 24/7 power and water supply – something that in India, even in the metropolises, can by no means be taken for granted. In addition, the best surveying and security systems, a clubhouse, swimming pool, fitness-studio, a golf course or a park, perhaps also equipped with rare flora and fauna, are also available. Geographical characteristics are blurred by the worship of luxury and of a global-Indian lifestyle. Are we in Bangkok? In Singapore? In a made-up collage? Countless real estate ads, interior design magazines and billboards illustrate this new home. Also popular are references to the 'great empires', such as the Roman Empire, Greek Antiquity, Egypt of the pharaohs or the former British colonial power." (Brosius 2007: 68; translated by the author).

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[452] A relatively new monument for the founder of the Maratha Empire

[453] A practice that appears to be relevant in all of the case studies and which we propose to call 'Imagineering'. (The fact that the term usually refers to the Walt Disney Imagineering corporation (WDI) only supports the case).

[454] The relevance of the longing for the greater world, is represented by the fact that for a long time online discussion forums fantasised about the possibility of the Eiffel Tower being reconstructed in Navi Mumbai. (Cf. "An evening in Paris... right here in Navi Mumbai"; at http://www.vashi2panvel.com/Navi-Mumbai-News/index.php?arr=item/51 (r12.09.2008); and at http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=210234&page=2; r12.09.2008)

[455] Others pretend to be direct offshoots of Dubai (e.g. The Lanco Hills Township in Hyderabad).

From western models to 'indigenous modernities'

Western architectural and urban models play a significant role in the genesis of Navi Mumbai[456], although these models are generally adapted to the requirements of local conditions. Yet the trend does not stop here, and a new quest for nostalgia enhances the resulting image. The results are hybrid urban landscapes and 'indigenous modernities'.[457] We propose to call these landscapes "Landscapes of Surprise". (Cf. Gotsch and Kohte 2007)

The original authors of Navi Mumbai dreamed that they could be creating a modern, equal and enlightened city (cf. above) and yet from the beginning the result turned out to be a hybrid and indigenous modernity. Many of the city's architects are blending Western with Indian experiences. Moreover, locally, outlandish concepts and typologies have always been the subject of socio-cultural adaptation and transformations from below.[458] Indeed, the following quote demonstrates that residents seem to be happier with this blend:

> *"Fortunately this place was nothing like we imagined it to be. Far from being a slice of America, it had India written all over it."[459]*

Indeed, current times are characterised by new forms of hybridisation. The danger posed by the high culture of modernity has lost its edge. Instead, in postmodern times, nostalgia for a lost history haunts the synchronised world: The perceived and experienced, jeopardy of global universalisation gives rise to a countertrend of esotericism and historical pastiche. No new integrated New Town is being built without a mix of Vastu Shilpasha-shastra principles, and modern amenities are wrapped in neo-historicist facades.

Marketing sales and PR

Introduction

During the 45 years of planning and implementation Navi Mumbai has experienced an increasing shift from a supply side oriented construction of housing towards a demand side oriented view (cf. above). Significantly the changing composition of the market has also had a major impact on the question of marketing and sales. While in the first 20 years Navi Mumbai's developing agency, Cidco, had to lobby among institutional stakeholders, such as large housing banks and state institutions, recently the market attention has shifted towards potential buyers as well as an increasing group of private developers (national and international).

The following section seeks to describe the relevance of marketing for Navi Mumbai in both the past and the present. Accordingly, it delineates essential marketing strategies, the creation of products and images, the organisational structure of marketing and sales departments and the respective marketing instruments. We are, after all, seeking to ex-

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[456] India has a 4.000-year-old urban tradition (see above: Predecessors). Yet, western urban models have played a major role in India's modern planning practice. Patrick Geddes made an impressive impact with his famous Cities and Town Planning Exhibition and his extensive surveys of about 50 Indian cities (Tyrwhitt, 1947). He has also consulted extensively. Moreover external figures, such as Sir Edward Lutyens (New Delhi), Le Corbusier (Chandigarh), Otto Koenigsberger (Bhubaneswar) made a fundamental impact. These brought Western building typologies, the maxims of hygiene, and eventually the modernist principles of functional separation, superblocks, neighbourhood design and modern infrastructure. In addition, prominent concepts whose main protagonists have never appeared in India, such as the Brutish New Town concept, have had a deep impact on the formation of Navi Mumbai.

[457] Jyoti Hosagrahar (2005) discusses the processes of hybridisation and the emergence of indigenous modernities during late colonial times citing the example of Delhi. In addition Ulf Hannerz (1997) has elaborated on the concept of hybridisation versus homogenisation.

[458] Malathi Ananthakrishnan (1997) reports how the urban social pattern of Navi Mumbai increasingly resembles traditional Indian cities as it is divided into quarters along caste and ethnicity.

[459]

tract and portray those strategies and dimensions which are characteristic for the context of neo-urbanism and the new economy.

Subsequent findings reflect a more fundamental 'revolution' in progress: In the age of mobile image- and information-scapes (cf. Appadurai 1996) marketing matures from an important, but more or less pragmatic exercise, into one of the core practices in regard to the production of contemporary urban spaces.

Marketing and 'proactive image generation'

Putting in general conclusion?

The role of marketing in the production of contemporary urban space, emerges as more essential than was perhaps thought. This fundamental role needs to be related to a broader framework of advancing rationalisation, a new international division of labour, new modes of the generation of identities and the roles the generation of images plays within. (Cf. Appadurai 1996) Indeed, a new blend of marketing and design plays a crucial role in a process that can be referred to as 'proactive image generation'.

This strategy of pro-active urban image construction and new 'urban rhetoric' is best represented by Cidco's omnipresent motto of "We make Cities". Nowadays Navi Mumbai is constructed along a model image of an information and outsourcing hub. Notably, in this context, Navi Mumbai is "no longer the mega city's poor country cousin", instead Cidco promotes the parallel city as India's new 'Super City'... – a label the project acquired after it was featured on National Geopgraphic's Television Channel.[460] Accordingly, a new scheme, such as the upcoming SEZs, is "developed and marketed as a joint mega world-class project adjacent to the business hub of India". (Cf. Skil; r12.09.2008)

Marketing strategies

The bottom-up perspective examining the practical operational aspects of marketing in Navi Mumbai reflects that Cidco, as a semi-public corporation with a quasi monopoly of subsidised housing, was able to maintain a special role for a long time. Nevertheless a gradual change from traditional to modern marketing techniques reflects the new relevance of the discipline in the production of contemporary urban space. Indeed, while the relevance of marketing is changing from the pragmatic business of distribution of subsidised goods to the masses towards a service for a diverse group of sophisticated customers, the strategies in this context are more and more similar to the techniques of the larger commercial sector.

Until the 1980's Cidco acted as a central supplier of subsidised housing. During that time marketing played a subordinate role. Lobbying had to be done towards big institutional political stakeholders, such as the national housing banks and the state governments. Yet, sooner or later (e.g. mainly as an effect of fundamental reforms of the national mortgage system) the individual consumer became the 'king'. Here, the launch of Demand Registration Schemes in the late 1980's marked a watershed towards the rising relevance of demand oriented housing construction (cf. above: Example: DRS scheme). Mainly projects for the middle-income populations served as the basis for the development of consumer friendly marketing and sales methods. The Gharkul scheme in the Khargar node (Cf: Examples) introduced several new marketing strategies: prospective customers were able to obtain their apartment in an easy single window system with easy payment methods. In addition, the practice of a first come first serve basis was established. (Cf. Adusumilli 201: 43)

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[460] Cf. Mr Rao, Vice chairman and managing director of Cidco, in the in-house Journal Namaskar (2007)

Recently Navi Mumbai's authors are focussing their marketing efforts on international investors. In respect of Navi Mumbai SEZ Cidco was looking for investors, partners and master planners on an international scale. In 2002 a global tender was published in journals such as 'The Economist'[461] and, in addition, the developing agencies toured several international real estate fairs.[462]

Novel tactics towards added value

As real estate developers become public figures whose movements are constantly monitored by public media, the field of corporate social responsibility (CSR) becomes essential. In addition to the theming and eco-branding methods, as described above, today strategies of green and social awareness as well as of Rehabilitation and Redevelopment (R&R) are packaged and marketed under the umbrella of holistic CSR schemes (Cf. http://www.msez.in/csr.html; r06.10.2008)

The Kharghar Hill Plateau project, announced in September 2008, represents some of the strategies of marketing and urban image generation which are in vogue.. It combines asset maximisation along global theming and branding strategies. In addition, ecological branding is a fundamental part of the theming approach: "The vision is to develop the Kharghar Hill Plateau in an eco-friendly fashion and transform the site into an exclusive and premium area, which would significantly raise the value of the city of Navi Mumbai" (ibidem). The sociologist, Amita Baviskar, describes these tactics as bourgeois environmental activism – portraying only another strategy of social segregation and environmental degradation.[463]

Despite the highly fledged goals, the major purpose of CSR is augmentation of shareholder satisfaction. Profitability and shareholder value remain its bottom line. An original source, the disclaimer of the Mumbai SEZ states: "CSR consists of integrating the interests of stakeholders - all those affected by a company's conduct - into the company's business policies and actions. CSR focuses on the social, environmental and financial success of a company - the so-called triple bottom line - with the goal being to positively impact society while achieving business success." (Cf. http://www.msez.in/csr.html; r06.10.2008)

Marketing media

Detailed customer surveys and professional demand analyses are among the chief instruments of modern marketing. Classified ads are largely used as a means of evaluating the market.

Cidco has established its own PR department as part of the marketing department. Here marketing is done through all conceivable media. Nowadays Internet presentations are among the most important information channels. The extensive information and marketing tool resembles the Internet presence of a large corporate enterprise, as opposed to state run agencies.[464] Significantly Cidco's Internet presence at "www.cidcoindia.com" provides comprehensive information on Navi Mumbai, its planning history, as well as on Cidco as the developing agency, the major projects, policies

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[461] The Economist Vol. 364, No 8291, 13.07.2002: 21

[462] India Times of November 2002 reported on a global sales trip of Anil Kumar Lakhina, vice chairman and managing director of Cidco: "Lakhina was here [New York] last week for a series of road shows to hard-sell the [$ 2-billion] project. He also visited San Francisco and Boston, besides holding similar investment meetings in London, Dubai, Singapore and Maylaysia. (Padmanabhan "Cidco seeks U.S. investment for Shenzen", New India Times, Nov. 2002, brackets by the author)

[463] Quoted in Brosius 2007: 69; Cf. also the discussion on the antagonism on green and brown ecology, for example in Environment & Urbanisation; Vol. 18.1; 2006

[464] The differences can be studied among the World Wide Web representations of the Navi Mumbai Municipal Corporation and Cidco at: "www.Cidcoindia.com" and "www.nmmconline.com" (r04.11.2008).

and the newest tenders. Important sub projects, such as the NMSEZ are represented at own domains (www.nmsez.com, r12.09.2008).[465]

The website is supplemented by advertisements and requests for tenders, in national and international newspapers. The PR department is also organising community events and on-site property exhibitions.[466] Not least, the marketing is supported by plans to develop its own museum, the "Cidcoseum". (Cf. www.Cidcoindia.com; r12.12.2008)

Summary developers and designers

While the portrayal of Navi Mumbai's authors and their ideologies illustrates the rising importance of the private sector, it also confirms the ongoing relevance of the public hand.

Navi Mumbai's main developer is the City and Industrial Development Corporation of Maharashtra Ltd., or Cidco. As a model project of privatisation, Cidco is a hybrid construction between the public and private spheres. Its primary aim is to develop and carry out the plan for Navi Mumbai.

The public developer had been set up to contribute in a structured regional development in implementing the major infrastructure and services, along with affordable housing for the poor in the Navi Mumbai area. Since Cidco was bound to the generation of profits, it embarked on various redistribution strategies, such as a land development along a revolving fund principle, or innovative strategies of 'taking from the rich and giving to the poor'.

As part of a strategy to utilize the dynamics of the private market, the developer has recently embarked on various PPP ventures such as the Navi Mumbai SEZ scheme. Among the project partners are a range of local and international private developers. Accordingly the NMSEZ serves a pioneering and experimental project for all parties involved. The fact that one developer had owned almost all of the SEZ land prior to the development, is unique in India and is a major competitive advantage. Some of the partners (e.g. SKIL, Reliance, or the Hirananadani Group) now develop their own projects in the vicinity and are transforming Mumbai's periphery into one of India's gateways of a transnational urbanism. Importantly, the activities and networks of certain individuals, such as Anand Jain, or Niranjan Hiranandani, demonstrate the pivotal role of distinct energetic personalities in the development of the region.

Cidco

The institutional structure of Cidco is immense and conveys a complex character, between a bureaucratic public agency, a planning bureau, an engineering agency, several town management offices as well a market driven entrepreneur. The list of Cidco's departments reveals 27 major branches. A strong emphasis has been put on 'traditional' engineering capacities. (Cidco is experiencing a brain drain as many senior planning and development experts are being lured away by the private developers of the new SEZ's and Integrated Townships.)

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[465] Sometimes in a confusing way, as older versions of the same project are retained online: cf. navimumbaisez.com, 12.09.2008.

[466] "The four day mega property exhibition – Haute - which drew to a close on Monday, November 19 (2007), witnessed a tremendous response from all quarters of the society from the lower and middle classes to the upper class. In the cool ambience of the colossal tent measuring around 4000 sq ft which was built on the Cidco exhibition ground opposite the Vashi Railway Station, the customers were keen on inquiring about the residential and commercial properties. There were some who seemed to be interested in investing their money in property considering the rapid growth and escalating property prices in the city." (www.mumbaipluses.com; r12.09.2008)

An important prerequisite to understand Navi Mumbai are the initial goals, maxims and visions of the authors of the new town cluster. Rather than seeking to invent a dwelling machine, the makers of the New City dreamed of shaping a social utopia. To implement this novel, complex and difficult challenge, the stakeholders drew on principles from the philosophical reasoning of Mahatma Gandhi to the functionalistic ideals of Modernism.

Navi Mumbai was conceived with five superior objectives in mind: 1) to be a puzzle stone completing the whole and leading to a harmonious region; 2) as a mechanism to solve the housing problem; 3) as a strategy to construct an equal society; 4) as a modern, postcolonial utopia, and 5) (most recently) as a information hub of global dimensions.

The two pivotal groups pursuing these goals were a group of young Planners around Charles Correa, Pravina Mehta, as well as Shirish Patel (MARG) and also Cidco's own planning department. While MARG imagined Navi Mumbai materialising as a spectacular public sculpture, the public planners pursued the subtler ideal of a Gandhian city of villages, however, the idea of rational modernism was always omnipresent. In contrast, today, the image of contemporary Navi Mumbai is more and more shaped by a "global business scenario", while private developers envision a Town Magnet on a global scale. Notably the global business paradigms are leading to a significantly different result on the ground than the representations of the early modernistic times. (Nowadays, iconic landmarks, themed worlds and generally an architecture of symbolic exchange is becoming prominent.)

Beneath its idealistic background, Navi Mumbai stands on four pragmatic 'ingredients of success': 1) The developers have always enjoyed the exclusive land rights for the whole area; 2) An initial land bank provided start-up leverage; 3) The structure of the developer combined the advantages of the private sector (efficiency and flexibility) and the public hand (security and control); 4) Not least, various financial innovations, such as cross-subsidies and revolving fund principles, were successfully deployed.

Cidco's following implementation strategy was based on the strategy of decentralisation and had 5 components: A) The relocation of some wholesale activities from Mumbai to Navi Mumbai; B) The creation of productive links to the existing industrial facilities and municipalities; C) The transfer of some government offices to the new city; 4) The development of Navi Mumbai's nodes in a self-sufficient way; 5) The development of integrated transport corridors.

Importantly, this development strategy was mainly geared towards the generation of an economic base and sufficient employment opportunities and not primarily on housing. One of the critical elements of the early strategy was the relocation of various government offices to Navi Mumbai. (The fact that Navi Mumbai's development stagnated in the initial stages can be strongly linked to the failure of this plan.)

Still, despite the fact that housing was not among the central strategic elements, Navi Mumbai was also aimed at becoming one of India's lighthouse projects in regard to residential schemes. It was intended to become India's first slum free city. Accordingly it had its own housing strategy. The plan contained three main ingredients a) self-sufficient neighbourhoods, b) an equal mix of populations, and c) a particular emphasis on low-income households. As part of this approach Cidco, above all, sought to build composite self-sufficient housing schemes for a mix of all income groups. These were intended to serve as lighthouse projects triggering further development by external developers. The special effort to provide solutions for the poor led to a target quota of 30 percent houses for the lowest income sector.

This dominant housing policy changed drastically during the course of the government's liberal reforms of the early 1990s – and with it also Cidco's role. When the na-

tional housing strategy of a supply driven system was substituted by a demand driven approach, the targeted provision of housing schemes for the poor in Navi Mumbai came to a halt.

History of privatisation

A specific characteristic about contemporary Navi Mumbai is the fact that the city exists in a state between a never-ending construction site and a historic place. Above all, the location embodies a narrative of privatisation: e.g. steady transition from centrally steered planning towards a gradually liberalised planning approach based on private sector stakeholders.

The plan for the city was born in the 1960s when architects and planners felt almost invincible and when planning was regarded as one of the core methods of pacifying the globe. Planning and urban development essentially were extended arms of the government. A strong 'public hand' marked Navi Mumbai's initial planning and implementation stages. (Yet the early concepts also prepared the ground for market driven mechanisms. Cidco was accordingly set up as a semi-private corporation that needed to operate profitably.) The 1970s were referred to as the era of physical planning. Significantly almost all major infrastructures were built during that period. The scheme was executed as a modern city for the poor. In the 1980's a period of transition followed. This was characterised by volatile land markets and massive financial sector reforms. The bulk of low-income housing was implemented. However, at the same time, a rising number of projects as well as land were subcontracted and leased to the private sector. During that time, Cidco's structure was also drastically reformed along neo-liberal lines. Its focus shifted from implementation to management and monitoring.

The shifting macro setting also had a direct impact on the physical features of the site and the typologies of the buildings. The main trend leaned to ever-larger developable areas and extended private boundaries. (When land prices dropped by nearly 500 percent in 1996, large clusters of undeveloped lots of land were sold to bulk buyers.) At the same time the public impact on the areas started to diminish with developers enjoying a more and more political, economic, physical, and creative freedom within the boundaries of their sites.

In the late 1990's and early 2000's Navi Mumbai reflected an ongoing drive to bigness, flexibility and privatisation. Large autarkic enclaves, such as SEZ's, and Integrated Townships and new gigantic infrastructure ventures, such as a new international airport as well as the Sewri-Nhava Sheva sea link, surfaced on the basis of immerse inflows of international money. At present, Navi Mumbai's developer Cidco is seeking to exploit this momentum, in heading the development of the Navi Mumbai SEZ. Nevertheless, Navi Mumbai's latest era (since 2005) is characterised by growing contradictions. Among these are: progressing speculation, volatile markets as well as rising local resistance.

Rehabilitation and resettlement

One of the most significant innovations of Navi Mumbai is its refined rehabilitation and resettlement strategy (R&Rs). In the last 45 years developers have taken a great leap forward in addressing the needs of project-affected populations (PAP's). In particular the Land Acquisition Act of 1984 has brought crucial reforms. Today no new major project is practicable without extensive R&R programmes. Under the 12,5 percent scheme, one-eighth of all land developed after 1986 has to be returned to the villagers. In addition to the land, PAPs also get priority job contracts (for example for landscaping and security

services), educational and vocational training, as well as special development rights. At the same time the R&R programmes account for a significant amount of new lowest income housing stock in Navi Mumbai. Moreover, a wealthy and powerful elite is emerging in the villages. The developers, in turn, seek to internalise the burdens of compensation in marketing their incentives as part of their comprehensive Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) packages.

Design

Designers and engineers are among the authors with the strongest ideals. They have a powerful impact on Navi Mumbai's physical form and its spatial organisation. The development of Navi Mumbai is inevitably linked to a group of three young individuals. The architects Charles Correa and Pravina Mehta, as well as Shirish Patel, a civil engineer, have transformed the previously, more or less, dispersed ideas for a new magnet on the mainland into a set of visionary proposals. The group's intuitive plans for the futurist development of a parallel city were published in the June 1965 issue of the Art Journal MARG.

The discipline of urban design dominated the early concepts of the new city and served as the main generator of the city's identity. The initial designers followed a contextual and place-based approach, seeking to develop congruity from topography, climate, existing land use patterns, traffic flows, history, etc. MARG's most central idea was to transform Bombay into a "twin-city on the sea". The bay was supposed become a new virtual centre, to be framed by a chain of magnificent public spaces on the seashore of both sides.

After Cidco took over the realisation of the project, urban design as a driving tool of development lost its momentum. For the next 20 years (1970-90) the framework was characterised by the idea of a conglomeration of "urban villages" based on Gandhian principles. The project however was marked by monumental infrastructure projects (e.g. the IT parks at the railway stations in Vashi and Belapur). These evolved as solitary landmarks celebrating the planning powers of the state and the potency of Cidco's engineers.

None of the three initial architects of Navi Mumbai, Correa, Patel or Mehta were able to implement their own node. While Correa has designed several of the early residential sectors, Shirish Patel produced some phenomenal railway stations. In 1992 Balkrishna Doshi, another renowned Indian architect and designer, was invited to draft the master plan for the Kharghar. Doshi's remarkable plan seeks to reconcile traditional and modern principles. The tactic was dubbed the post-Chandigarh approach. Renowned Indian architects such as Pheroze Kudianwalla, Ratan J. Batliboi, or Raj Rewal, completed additional landmark schemes on a smaller scale. Among the current designers dominating the scene is the architectural consultancy Hafeez Contractor. This is an extremely successful, but somewhat populist, Indian architectural practice.

Even so it can be observed that the role and strategies of architects are in a state of change. While business consultancies are taking the organisational lead, master plans are increasingly dominated by business plans. Significantly the NMSEZ was designed along a business plan prepared by Ernst & Young (former Arthur Andersen). A consortium of international and Indian business, finance, and planning consultancies prepared the plan. (Yet, because local knowledge remains essential, most of the architects, urban planners and designers that work in Navi Mumbai are Indians.)

While the new era is characterised by an ever-increasing emphasis on abstract processes (profits, codes, business cycles), there is also a 'déjà vu' experience with the urban monument on the urban level. Urban designers have to engage in the (pro)active genera-

tion of identity. While the cultural context becomes too complex, to be based on local congruity alone, cities are increasingly based on imaginaries. In this context theming and branding, adapted from the media and advertising industries, become state-of-the-art design strategies. The 'nostalgia' for the lost historic and spatial coherence leads to a boom of new Monuments. These experience a comeback as 'supermonuments', or 'monuments of monuments'. Kharghar's Utsav Chowk andVashi's Shivaji Chowk, serve as the most prominent examples valorising the homogeneous urban landscapes.

The visual representations, both of nostalgicand also futuristic worlds, have gained a new significance in generating urban imagination and as demand inducing instruments. While western (modern, as well as postmodern) architectural and urban models play a significant role in the making of Navi Mumbai, these are commonly adapted to the requirements of local conditions. In combination with an omnipresent historical nostalgia, what emerges on the ground are hybrid urban landscapes and 'indigenous modernities'.

Marketing

In the age of increasingly mobile images and 'information-scapes' marketing evolves as one of the core practices of urban development and planning.

Until the 1980's promotion played a rather pragmatic and secondary role within the project. The business of distributing the products dominated Navi Mumbai's first two decades. The situation changed with the general shift of the national policy from a supply, towards a demand oriented system in the late 1980's. From that time on the developers of Navi Mumbai themselves were forced to actively (and creatively) engage in the sales and marketing of their 'goods'. Hence, the relevance of marketing changed from the pragmatic business of distributing subsidised goods to the masses (as much as in a soup kitchen), towards a service towards a diverse group of clients. Nowadays, the 'products' are ever more geared towards the wants and tastes of affluent middle class customers as well as international investors.

The particular strategies have been borrowed from the larger corporate sector. In this context an increasing blend of marketing and design operates with strategies of 'life-style theming', and 'green-' as well as 'brown-washing'. The latter are combined under the umbrella of corporate social responsibility. Cidco's recent Kharghar Hills Plateau project, a combined theme park and villa community, located in a green-preservation zone, illustrates this approach.

At the same time as customer surveys and professional demand analyses gain importance, marketing of the projects is done through all conceivable media avenues. In this context new technologies as well as Internet based distribution and marketing enjoy a rising prominence.

Implementation

Navi Mumbai's developer Cidco has always sought to implement their products along the best standards available. Accordingly various state-of-the-art quality management strategies have been used. Among these are ISO 9000 and 14000 as well as progress monitoring and co-ordination tools such as CPM and PERT techniques. Moreover external consultants are hired on a regular basis. An example is Cidco's recent project called Intelligencity: here the developer seeks to innovate in exploring synergies of several electronic management tools, business process applications and geographical systems software. (E.g. System Applications Product (SAP), Enterprise Resource Planning (ERP),

Customer Relationship Management (CRM), and Geographical Information Systems (GIS)).

Finance – Liberalisation for social purposes

Table 26: Key indicators – Navi Mumbai's financial indicators

Supply side	
Start capital in 1972	40 million INR plus 'land as resource'
Strategy, Approach	Social redistribution of land ('Robin Hood Strategy')
General system	Land = 60 years lease, renewable; structures = private property
Amount of reinvestments	100 percent (Cidco is a non-for-profit corporation)
Innovative Instruments	'Reserve prices of land' (developed land without the usual profit margin)
Expenditures in 1989	INR 56 billion (~US$ 110 million)
Share of infrastructure expenditures	80 percent
Share of housing cost	16 percent
Project pipeline in 2.000	US$ 1.500 million
Capital investments in Navi Mumbai SEZ	US$ 520 million
Capital investments in the Hiranandani Township Scheme at Panvel	US$ 170 million
Impact of FDI	Infrastructure loans from ADB, the IFC and The World Bank, State Industrial and Investment Corporation of Maharashtra (SICOM), WB site-and-service scheme, today: international PPPs
Subsidies	More than half of the SEZ investments are public loans: 75 million invested by ADB and the IFC, US$ 170 million by the Indian IDBI, and US$ 40 by IFCI
Profits	Rising relevance of PPPs (Cidco has the land and the expertise, conglomerates bring the money), focus on the middle income and luxury segment
Planned annual return rates of NMSEZ	30 percent
Products	Whole spectrum from housing, to land development, to modern financial products (order along increasing relevance)
Financial products	GDRs/ADRs/and FCCBs/ Shares/ partly extreme speculative products on international exchanges such as the AIM (e.g. HIRCO's Urban Infrastructure Opportunities Fund)
Demand side	
Price of undeveloped land	500 –1.000 INR/ sqm (US$ 10 – 20)
Price of serviced land (Cidco)	2.500 – 7.000 INR/ sqm (US$ 50 – 140)

Price of serviced land (Mumbai)	20.000 – 60.000 INR/ sqm (US$ 400 – 1200)
Price of upscale apartment in central Mumbai	> 200.000 US$
Price of a middle class apartment (Cidco)	25.000 US$ (1,2m INR)
Affordability levels for Mumbai Residents (The average Mumbaikar earns 2,5 times as much as an average Indian)	NM = 2, Central Mumbai = 15

Introduction

> *"The property market in Navi Mumbai has well and truly arrived. Not only are flats and offices selling like hot cakes, but the demand for the premium flats too is rising by the day. There is no dearth of customers in the city who are willing to shell out Crore for exclusivity of the premium flats. The Palm Beach road commands the highest price and the costliest flats in the city fall in this area."*
> *(Cf. www.mumbaipluses.com/newbombayplus/index.aspx; 12.11.2008)*

Money is *the* fundamental medium and a basic infrastructure of modern market exchange.[467] At the same time the modern context of production of space is more and more driven by the private sector and the new economy. As a consequence the inquiry into the financial mechanisms of Neo Towns becomes a central issue.[468] In this context the next section seeks to shed light on the question in how far the abstract and fluid logic of capital resounds in the spaces of contemporary Neo Towns. Moreover it will be particularly interesting to find out how the financial context of Navi Mumbai is different from that of other cases and which novel form of innovations will emerge.

The next sub-chapter aims to delineate various aspects of the financial landscape of Navi Mumbai. Above all the section concentrates on the portrayal of the most recent dimensions and strategies , which are characteristic for the framework of the new economy (cf. to the first chapter of this thesis). The topic is delineated from a synoptic perspective, along a quantitative description of budgets, prices and investment sums, as well as along a qualitative discussion of investment and product strategies (e.g. important characteristics and innovations). Not least it investigates the role of new financial instruments (stocks, bonds, futures) and the internationalisation of financial flows to uncover some of the relationships between invisible networks and concrete spaces.

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[467] Matthew Edel writes in this context: "Capitalists must 'realize' their profits by selling their goods in order to keep on hiring workers and producing. Thus capitalism requires a 'sphere of commodity exchange', in which goods are bought and sold. ... Capitalist exchange has one other important feature: the use of money." (Edel 1981)

[468] New financial instruments change the equilibrium between real and virtual space, and between network and fragments: "Money tends to develop its own logic in creating networks, circuits, and channels for its exchange between markets. The reorganization of the global financial system brings about a dematerialised production with new means and financial instruments in invisible markets. Vast amounts of money flow through invisible circuits. Deregulation and financial innovation along with developments in telecommunications create a global stock market and a single world market of money." (Gotsch 1995)

Overview

Cidco, the developing agency of Navi Mumbai, acts as a land developer and also as a housing agency. The private developers of the Township Schemes and the SEZs profit from the lease of properties and from fees as service providers, as well as from a steadily diversifying range of financial service products.

For, in particular, land was the only (real) resource to finance the development of the new city (cf. Adusumilli 2001: 21). In this context Navi Mumbai thrives along a revolving fund principle, based on the consecutive development of particular areas.

Consequently Cidco's primary products are the preparation of habitable land and the construction of housing units. Since groundbreaking in 1974 a large majority of the 34.400-hectare project has been transformed. In addition more than 100.000 houses have been delivered (Cidcoindia; r12.09.2008). While the rates of housing produced by Cidco have declined steadily the relevance of land development has constantly increased (cf. Shaw: 151).

Today, the fact that Cidco directly (and indirectly) controls huge amounts of developed land but a falling share of public funds, has resulted in an increasing number of partnerships with private developers (PPPs). In this context Cidco participates in the NMSEZ, the Navi Mumbai International Airport, the Central Park, the new city's mass rapid transit system, the Mumbai Trans Harbour Link Project (MTHL, also known as the Sewri Nava-Shewa Sea Link), the Integrated Complex at Seawoods Railway Station, the Golf Course in Kharghar, and several others. Notably the PPPs of the new projects are represented by Special Project Vehicles (SPVs). Of rising importance is also an increasing array of financial products. In addition to the SPVs, some private firms, such as Hiranandani, operate on a completely private basis.

Demand side finance

Land cost

Fundamental in the analysis of Navi Mumbai's financial framework is the review of land and housing costs. Of course, the prices reflect a larger socioeconomic, historic and spatial context (e.g.: questions of affordability, trends in time, as well as in a local and global framework).[469]

Land in Navi Mumbai costs only one eighth of that of prime locations in the mother city. Cidco's 'reserve prices of land'[470], e.g. the prices of developed land without a profit margin, range between INR 2.700 (~US$ 55) per square metre in the recently developing nodes Ulwe, Kalamboli or Jui Kamothe, to INR 7.000 (~ US$ 140) in Vashi.[471]

Currently (in 2008), buildable land at Arrow City, one of the planned private projects on the way to Pune, costs INR 3.000 per square metre (~ 70 US$ per square metre). At 'Regent Park', or Arrow City's luxury section, land costs INR 5.000 per square metre (~US$ 105 per square metre).

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[469] Navi Mumbai was part of a property bubble in the mid 1990's. (Cf. above: General context, India, Economy) In the course of this bubble some housing prices escalated from INR 916 in 1991 to INR 15.474 per square foot in 1995 – a 16 fold increase. (Cf. Nissel 1997)

[470] Cidco's reserve prices ranged between INR 1.250 and 2.500 per square metre in 2001. Free market prices in 1996 could be as high as INR 8.000. That means that Cidco subsidised about 25 to 50 percent of the free market price. (Cf. Adusumilli 2001: 21)

[471] In contrast, land at central locations in Mumbai is fetching between INR 20.000 to 60.000 per square metre (cf. also above: Mumbai: Real Estate). Agricultural land fetches INR 40 per square metre.

Housing cost

The prices of subsidised apartments in Navi Mumbai reflect a good affordability level for the respective populations. On the other hand, they are well above the Indian average. In 2008 apartment prices in the Spaghetti housing scheme at Kharghar[472] ranged from INR 600.000 to INR 2.250.000 (US$ 13.000 to 48.000). (Cf. www.mumbaipluses.com; r12.09.2008) While this is well below Mumbai's standards of US$ 50.000 to 200.000, it is above the general Indian affordability range. (Cf. above: Context, India… Housing affordability)[473]

Yet, as the popularity of the parallel city is on the increase, some premium properties begin to rival Mumbai's prime locations. In early 2008, prime residential property at Palm Beach Road and the Belapur node skyrocketed to INR 10.000 per square foot (US$ 1.900/ sqm). (Cf. Mumbaiplus.com; r12.09.2008) Superior flats in projects such as Ellora Castle peaked at rates of INR 6.000 per square foot (~ US$ 1.000 per sqm). A complete flat here fetched up to INR 50 million (~US$1m).[474]

Supply side finance

Seed capital, Revenues

Indeed, it seems that Navi Mumbai's developer Cidco has done a good job of multiplying money and resources. The developer started in 1972 with a seed capital of 40 million Rupiah plus land as resource.[475] Less than 20 years later, by the end of the 1980's, the total development expenditure in Navi Mumbai had grown to INR 56 billion (cf. Cidco 1989).[476]

The distribution of project costs reflects that Cidco's most fundamental duty in the development of Navi Mumbai is the development of infrastructure. Infrastructure has comprised by far the biggest share of the total outlays amounting to 80 percent of all expenditures.[477] The remaining 20 percent of the project expenditures were comprised by the repayment of state loans, the construction of railway projects, construction of bus terminals and depots, police stations etc. (Cf. Shaw 2003: 133) Of that sum housing has consumed INR 9 Billion or 16 percent (Adusumilli 2001: 21).

Infrastructure also accounts for the highest position in Navi Mumbai's new projects. At the NMSEZ, for example, the capital cost has been estimated at US$ 520 million: Infrastructure is supposed to account for 72 percent of this share.[478] While Hiranandani's

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[472] Assuming average household income levels at US$ 6.000 per year, the Spaghetti prices reflect affordability levels of 3 to 8. (Cf. above: Population: Consumer side finance)

[473] In 2008 commercial space in Navi Mumbai amounted to INR 12.000 to 16.000 per square metre (~US$ 300) (cf. Cushman & Wakefield 2007).

[474] Cf. "The Finest Flats in Navi Mumbai"; at: www.mumbaipluses.com/newbombayplus/index.aspx; posted on Sunday, March 16, 2008; r12.09.2008

[475] Cf. Interview with D. Samand Chief Architect, Planner at Cidco in August 2006; also Cf. above: Strategies

[476] These are more than US$ 110 million, or 550 million in today's money. (Cf. http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency; r12.04.2008)

[477] Back in 1989 Cidco had installed infrastructure surpassing US$ 930 million. (Cf. Shaw 2003: 115; quoting Cidco 1989) At the beginning of the 21st century an additional US$ 1.500 million remained in the project pipeline (TECS, 2001). While earthworks, levelling and drainage amounted to 32 percent of the project cost, land reclamation alone comprised 19 percent. (Cf. Shaw 2003: 115 quoting Cidco 1989)

[478] Tata Economic Consultancy Services (TECS) prepared the "Techno Economic Feasibility Report" for the Navi Mumbai Special Economic Zone in 2001. TECS estimates that the cost of land will amount to 20 percent of the total expenditures, and other infrastructure to 52 percent.

Panvel Township is supposed to amount to US$ 170 million of investments, the focus on infrastructure will be equally strong.[479]

Major lending bodies, investors, banks

Navi Mumbai is not a 'normal' project. The new city has the status of a greater 'Nation Building Project'. In this context it was backed by various national and international banks. This is also true for the new Special Economic Zones in the area. Even large development funds and international lending institutions have committed themselves to the scheme.

Support in earlier times was received from HUDCO, the ADB or The World Bank. (Cf. the discussion of the BUDP project in this chapter) Cidco as well as the private conglomerate Reliance, was able to draw money from the State Industrial and Investment Corporation of Maharashtra (SICOM) [480] in the past. At the moment, according to a report by India's SKP Crossborder Consulting (2005), the Asian Development Bank and the International Finance Corporation have agreed to invest roughly US$ 75 Million in the Mumbai Integrated Special Economic Zone. Moreover, the Industrial Development Bank of India (IDBI) backs the project with US$ 110 million and the Industrial Finance Corporation of India (IFCI) contributes an estimated US$ 44 million (Ibidem 2005). Not least, further private funding comes from the partners in the developing consortium (SPV), e.g. Jurong Consultants, as well as Parsons Brinckerhoff have devoted individual stakes amounting to 10 percent of the total investments of the SEZ. (Cf. SKPC 2005)

Financial strategies

Valorising land

The major profits in Navi Mumbai and its environs are made on the basis of expected land appreciation. As in many comparable cases of peripheral land development around the world, most of the profits in Navi Mumbai are made on the basic principle of developing cheaper agricultural land in dynamically growing urban peripheries into urban land. While the price of agricultural land in Navi Mumbai is as low as INR 500 on the private market, urban land sells for up to INR 7.000. (Cf. table above)

Reinvestment and cross subsidies

Cidco has managed to develop Navi Mumbai as a financially self-sustained city at costs that are significantly lower (sometimes less than a fifth) than market prices. Several remarkable characteristics for Navi Mumbai relate to the fact that Cidco was set up as a not-for-profit organisation. [481]

This implies that the authority has to operate towards the recovery of full costs and that all profits have to be reinvested in the same location and for the benefit of the local residents. [482] Hence the development agency was never allowed to realise gains on the

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[479] Cf. INRnews; October 25, 2007:
www.inrnews.com/realestateproperty/india/fdiinvestment/hirco_invests_966_million_to_d.html; r24.09.2008
[480] SICOM is the nodal agency for foreign direct investment in "Maharashtra State". It was founded in 1966 and works as a Limited Corporation Ltd.. It operates with its own venture capital fund. (Cf. sicomindia.com; r12.10.2008)
[481] The not-for-profit strategy of communal land ownership administered by a land trust was also an integral part of Ebenezer Howard's proposals for the Town-country magnet. (Cf. Howard 1946 (1898): pp58)
[482] Howard elaborates in this context: "Such increment of the value [e.g. the difference between the value of agricultural and the value of urban land] may, with some foresight and pre-arrangement, become the property of the migrating people." (Howard 1946 (1898): 59; text in brackets by the author)

sole basis of speculative land appreciation. The 'system' thrives on a system of land lease. While the ground is leased for 60 years, only the built structures can be sold, and resold on a market. (Cf. Adusumilli 2001) Notably all profits have to be reinvested: A major part of revenues was reinvested producing what is today one of the best infrastructure and public space systems in India with a share of open spaces of up to 40 percent. Certain quotas were also used for low-income housing and for the integration of local agricultural populations (cf. above R&R schemes).

Distinct innovations

Indeed, only in this specific framework could innovations such as the differential land pricing and distribution schemes emerge, which made decent housing affordable to a larger amount of lower income populations. In regard to its 'mission' of full cost recovery, Cidco has developed intricate land value evaluation mechanisms (e.g. the reserve price mechanism) that make sure that "at any time the project will, in the worst scenario, break-even". According to Cidco, an amount of 16 percent of land sold in the private market was sufficient to finance 75 percent of the City (Cidcoindia.com; r21.09.2008).

Box 22: Differential land-pricing mechanism

Taking into consideration the goal that Navi Mumbai was supposed to become an equal city, Cidco has managed to develop innovative methods of pricing and distribution. In this context the authority developed the instrument of 'differential pricing', which discriminates between rich and poor buyers.[483] This approach can truly account for the main innovations of Navi Mumbai's development authority. While this instrument allows recovery of the full development cost (e.g. the Reserve Price, see below), prices are applied relatively, e.g. the value mainly depends upon the type of [land use] and the income groups. Thus, while the commercial, residential and industrial users pay higher rates, low income populations, social facilities and public utilities receive subsidies.

The strategy subsidises low-income projects by 50 to 75 percent of the average development cost without profits. Accordingly, lower income households are charged between 25 to 50 percent of the Reserve Price and social facilities and educational institutions 10 to 50 percent. (Cf. Adusumilli 2001: 21) In contrast, commercial areas, as well as projects for higher income groups, are sold at rates above the Reserve Price (Ibidem: 21) and this land is often offered by way of an auction with the highest bidder getting the land (Ibidem: 12).

An important prerequisite of applying the differential pricing mechanism is Cidco's concept of a Reserve Price of Land. This instrument reflects the value of the developed land without taking profits into account. Importantly the elaborate calculation method makes sure the project breaks even at any time and for each location.[484]

The price of land depends on the use, the affordability of the end user, its desirability in Navi Mumbai, and a comparative market value. The Reserve Price of land is calculated for each of the nodes respectively.[485]

Diversification, financial tools

Compared to the semi-public character of Cidco, private developers basically work with a similar motivation of developing land and profiting from the appreciated values, yet with fewer obligations. This enables them to invest elsewhere and to work with financial

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[483] Cf. http://Cidcoindia.com/Cidco/Crosssubsidy.aspx; r12.09.2008.

[484] Until 1993/94 the Reserve Price was deduced from the total aggregated land-development costs (absolute method). Later on the Reserve Price was calculated along a 'present worth concept', taking into account the change of land values over time. (Cf. Cidcoindia.com/Cidco/Pricingpolicy.aspx; r13.09.2008)

[485] In this context the reserve prices of land in the 2008 – 2009 period ranged between INR 2.700 for the cheaper, newly developing, nodes (Ulwe, Kalamboli, Jui Kamothe) to INR 7.000 for land at Vashi.

instruments and speculative mechanisms, e.g. raising money in the forms of bonds and stocks, as well as betting on the development of these. As a consequence recent strategies towards an optimal revenue generation increasingly bet on diversification and the effectiveness of the fiscal markets.

While Cidco is generally not allowed to directly generate profits, the developer has developed strategies to participate in certain private sector mechanisms. A common way to cream off some of the advantages of private markets is the means of Public Private Partnerships (PPPs). With the Navi Mumbai SEZ project, for example, the organisation has contributed its share of assets to the Navi Mumbai SEZ in the form of land. All its existing assets and land development rights are supposed to be transferred to the Special Project Vehicle, e.g. the private holding corporation of the SEZ. (Cf. TECS 2001) The Special Project Vehicle that operates the Navi Mumbai SEZ is supposed to earn revenues through sale of land, the lease of commercial and industrial space, as well as provision of utility services like power and water and various maintenance management fees. (Cf. nmsez.com/finance; r23.09.2008)

Importantly, the above set up allows for NMSEZ to become a target of various financial investments, such as external debt and equity funds (nmsez.com/finance; r23.09.2008).

Financial products (receipts, bonds, shares)

There is clear evidence that the private sector stakeholders in Navi Mumbai diversify the range of their products to the financial services sector, exploring monetary products and financial instruments new to the real estate sector. As most of the large privately developed projects in and around Navi Mumbai tap international money markets and utilise international subsidiaries, they also tend to become part of an increasingly complex jungle of global monetary flows.

Most of the large companies involved in the new real estate projects at Navi Mumbai are listed on the stock markets. The corporations can raise unrestricted amounts of international money by issuing GDRs, ADRs and FCCBs.[486]

Mukesch Ambani's Reliance, the major shareholder at both local SEZs is an internationally operating conglomerate that is listed on various stock exchanges world wide; Anand Jain's SKIL Corporation, the main partner at both SEZs, developed two urban infrastructure funds[487]; Niranjan Hiranandani has established its own financial investment arm HIRCO[488] that was listed on London's Alternative Investment Market (AIM)[489]. Up to the fall of 2008 most of the stakeholders profited from buoyant emerg-

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[486] GDR Global Depository Receipts, ADR American Deposit Receipts, FCCB Currency Convertible Bonds (GoI, Department of Industrial Policy & Promotion, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 2002: 11)

[487] The company is managing two funds, the Urban Infrastructure Opportunities Fund (UIOF) and Urban Infrastructure Real Estate Fund (UIREF), with a total fund corpus of over US$ 1.3 billion, While the UIOF is a domestic Indian Venture Capital Fund, and the UIREF is geared at an international market. Significantly it is based at the offshore centre of Mauritius (www.urbaninfra.com; http://www.jaicorpindia.com/ r.09.10.2008). Money invested in those funds includes many institutional investors, among these for example the Life Insurance Corporation (LIC), State Bank of India, ICICI and Axis Bank. This made it "one of the largest domestic venture capital fund scheme in Real Estate sector in India" (www.urbaninfra.com; r.09.10.2008). Stakes in this fund have also been offered as part of a closed investments fonds Bayernfonds Asien – Asia Growth. (Cf. http://www.fondsdiscount.de/download/pdf/xml/fonds/geschlossene-fonds/23940/realis_bayernfondsasien1_flyer] by the State Bank of Bavaria (Bayerische Landesbank)

[488] Hirco was founded in 2006 and is based on the Isle of Man, Douglas, United Kingdom, Mumbai, India and Wayne, Pennsylvania. The name of the stock is: "AIM:HRCO.L". Hirco was able to raise more than 600 million US$ making its initial public offering (IPO) "the largest ever real estate investment company IPO on AIM and the largest AIM IPO in 2006". (Cf. INRNews; Oct 2007; cf. http://www.hirco.com/hirco3.html; r23.10.2008)

[489] "The Alternative Investment Market (AIM) is a sub-market of the London Stock Exchange, allowing smaller companies to float shares with a more flexible regulatory system than is applicable to the Main Market. The AIM was launched in 1995 and has raised almost £24 billion for more than 2.200 companies. ... The companies predicted to make the biggest noise this year are from India. In 2006, 11 Indian companies listed on the LSE, raised more than £1 billion. (Essen, Yvette "Aim market: Offshore attractions for the 'sophisticated' investor"; In The Telegraph; 12.03.2007)

ing country markets and a wide-ranging real estate boom. (Cf. above: General Context) The Jai Corporation's stock (JAICORPLTD), for example, rose by a factor of 2.800 times in the last two years – "ostensibly on the back of the upside that lies in the company's new focus on infrastructure"– before it then fell by the same amount (www.jaicorpindia.com; r. 09.10.2008).

International investment and role of NRI
The boom of international investments Navi Mumbai thrived on between 2002 and 2008 occurred in the context of a global oversupply of money. In this context excess liquidity had attracted investors in search of higher returns into riskier emerging markets and assets. Low bond-market returns in the traditional markets combined with booming shares in emerging economies, encouraged bigger inflows into higher yielding emerging market bonds, equities and property, especially in Asia. (Cf. The Economist 2007) During this boom, the Indian market has certainly been one of the most attractive investment markets worldwide. (Cf. Goldman & Sachs 2001, 2003, and 2007; cf. also above: India, Economic context)

This condition was also shored up by a rising group of Non-Resident Indians seeking to invest in their home country. These Persons of Indian Origin (POI) and Non Resident Indians (NRI) or their enterprises (OCBs), are allowed to directly invest in a wide range of undertakings along an 'automatic scheme' of the Reserve Bank of India.[490] These groups also have permission to invest in projects such as housing and real estate (as well as aviation), which are restricted for other international investors.

Strategies to reduce financial risk
Navi Mumbai's financial security mechanisms and risk scenarios are characterised by strategies of spread and diversification and a parallel backup of the scheme by the public hand. The state, the developer, as well as the private sector stakeholders, have all cultivated particular risk optimisation mechanisms.

Navi Mumbai has always enjoyed exceptional protection from financial failure. Despite the fact that the state has created Cidco as an independent, quasi-private development authority, the developer entirely remains in the hands of the Government. While Cidco was equipped with a special status of guaranteed access to land and comfortable credits, in this setting the risks for the state were minimised and the opportunities were maximised.

The financial risk for Cidco was primarily reduced by the instrument of incremental development along the revolving fund principle and by the general public relevance of the project. Being part of a Nation Building Enterprise, the general impression always was that in case of failure the project would be rescued by the state. Cidco, in turn, has increasingly sought to diversify risks (and maximise revenues) by cultivating the practice of outsourcing and subcontracting and by establishing joint ventures with other large companies from the public and private sector. (Cf. above: Railways, SEZs, Kharghar Hill Plateau... etc)

Moreover, private developers have sought to minimise their risks by entering win-win partnerships with the state (e.g. Cidco) and in diversifying their products into the global financial service sector. The risk has been spread by diversification from a single developer to many investors and from a few products to a multitude of outputs.

Yet, at the same time, the general horizon of danger was widened as the projects are now more and more dependent on hard to predict money markets. While new financial

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[490] Cf. GoI, Department of Industrial Policy & Promotion, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 2002: 11

instruments boost the 'normal' gains of land appreciation and while they spread the potentials among a larger group of shareholders, these also maximise respective risks. In the last 8 years many privately developed projects have benefitted from over optimistic (bearish) markets. International financial institutions (Morgan Stanley, Wachovia and the like) have joined the leagues of investors as projects such as the Navi Mumbai SEZ lured investors with planned return rates of up to 30 percent per year (TECS 2001).[491]

Summary finance

At the same time as planned cities become economic ventures, financial strategies come out as central tools of contemporary private urban modernisation. The fiscal landscape of Navi Mumbai is characterised by the effects of a growing diversification of products, the internationalisation of investments, as well as the deregulation of markets (as is the case in many other places). As urban space is increasingly moulded by a synchronising logic of international codes and regulations (cf. above), its dependence on worldwide economic cycles is also on the rise.

Despite being a model project and social experiment, Navi Mumbai was bound to achieve financial sustainability from the very beginning. In this context Cidco, the semi-private/semi-public developer, needed to develop innovative strategies. These were principally based on a social re-distribution of profits realised by developing agricultural land (a strategy that was also one of the foundations of Ebenezer Howard's Garden Cities).

Cidco primary mission was the preparation of habitable land as well as the construction of housing units. Since groundbreaking in 1974, a large majority of the 34.400-hectare project has been implemented; in addition more than 100.000 houses have been delivered. The authority has managed to develop Navi Mumbai as a financially self-sustained city, at costs that are significantly lower than market prices. Serviced land in Navi Mumbai costs about one eighth of the amount of prime locations in the mother city and less than a half of the amount at private land markets. Housing is also significantly cheaper than in the central city. Whilst today the availability and affordability of low-income housing remains a major problem, an increasing number of prime properties reflect the rising regional and international importance of the location.

As far as the project budget is concerned, Navi Mumbai was supported with seed capital and an initial land bank in 1972. The city was started along the financial strategy of a revolving fund. Infrastructure comprised a gross of 80 percent of all project costs.

Indeed one of the most interesting financial innovations is Cidco's system of differential land pricing based on a reserve price mechanism. Given the goal of maximising opportunities for all and constructing an equal city for all classes and castes, the developer transferred surplus revenues from the sales of commercial, as well as higher income projects, to the benefit of lower income customers. Revenues are also maximised by using the instrument of auctions. These innovations have unquestionably made decent housing affordable to a larger number of lower income populations, as it is usually the case.

Land served as a genuine resource for financing the development of Navi Mumbai. Importantly, Cidco had a semi-monopolistic position. As a state company it has always enjoyed an exceptional protection from financial failure and was equipped with a guaranteed access to land and comfortable credits. In addition the planned city had the status of a Nation Building Project. This facilitated generous partnerships with national and international financial institutions, ranging from the Industrial Development Bank of

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[491] At the time of writing this chapter the situation after the 2008 global financial crisis remains vague. However many aspects point to the fact that India as well as China have been less affected by the catastrophe than most western countries. (Cf. The Economist: "BRICs and the world economy"; Jun 18th 2009.

India, India's Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO), to the Asian Development Bank, and also The World Bank. (The newly emerging SEZ project is part of some of these partnerships as well). In addition, Cidco started to diversify risks in cultivating a practice of outsourcing and subcontracting. The financial risk was mainly reduced by diversification from a single developer to many investors and from a few products to a multitude of outputs.

Today the organisation is progressively acting as a land developer and less as a housing agency. In order to profit from private real estate projects, the authority is entering into an increasing number of partnerships with private developers

In particular in the last decade the spectrum of financial service products has been steadily increasing. New generation private developers issue depository receipts, bonds or shares, and raise a significant amount of seed capital through international markets. Non-resident Indians also play important roles. They enjoy distinct investment quotas in many restricted sectors, including real estate. Moreover the organisational geography of various international partners (organisations and individuals) and their subsidiaries becomes increasingly complex.

Control and regulations –
The ramified anatomy of power

Table 27: Key indicators – Navi Mumbai's regulatory framework

Stakeholders	
Underlying power relations	State of Maharashtra controls the general regional development through the MMRDA, Cidco controls developing nodes, NMMC administrates the finished nodes, cooperatives at micro-scale, 'non planned populations' have enormous political power, populist parties have an enormous influence
Relevance of international lending institutions' guidelines	YES (WB, ADB for some projects, see also the finance section)
Novel forms of organisation and control	SPV and Development Commissioners (DCs) control the SEZ areas
PPPs, Joint ventures	YES (Railways, Infrastructure, SEZs, Luxury Township, also with international corporations)
Regulations	
Government approach during start of the project	Socially oriented central planning (5 year plans)
Important regulations at federal level	Amendment of the Land Acquisition Act (1984), Environmental Protection Act (1986), 73/74th constitutional amendments (1992), SEZ Regulations (2001, 2005)
Major change of economic paradigms	1990s and 2000s (NEP; Foreign Investment Laws, SEZ laws)
Social goals	YES (balanced development strategy, however largely skewed by a bias towards Maharashtra citizens)
Own town status	YES
Significant regulations at regional level	General Development Control Regulations, (uniform) FAR-Regulations
Master plan at start	YES (1971, NM was a crucial part of the MMRDA Master Plan)
Allowable heights and densities (FAR)	Uniform FAR of 1,0 (with few exceptions)
Local master plan	YES (Cidco's Draft Development Plan of 1973)
Novel trends	TDR's, Flexible market based development guidelines, (U-2 Zones)

Introduction

The final part of this chapter on Navi Mumbai is devoted to a portrait of the stakeholder and the regulatory framework underlying the parallel city. This is important to complete

the analytical framework that was outlined at the start of this work. Every game consists of an environment, a playing field (or a board), the players, someone who has conceived the game, a medium, as well as someone who implements the rules and regulations. Consequently this subchapter on Navi Mumbai devotes attention to stakeholders as well as the rules underlying the urban planning system of the new city. In contrast to the third subchapter, which focused on the private sector, the description will mainly concentrate on the role of the public sector. The latter generally provides the most important rules. Accordingly, the section is structured along two parts. The first focuses on the major public sector stakeholders of Navi Mumbai; the second part concentrates on some important aspects of the legal and regulatory framework of the new city.

Stakeholders

Whose city is it?

Political power in Navi Mumbai is mainly represented by government institutions, private developers and recently also by the village populations. The new residents supposedly have the least amount of political power.[492] Yet, despite the national efforts to decentralise power towards local authorities (cf. Context… Section on the 73rd and 74th Amendments), planning capacity in India remains largely concentrated at the state level. (Cf. Bertaud 2002) Accordingly, it is the government of Maharashtra that controls most of the essential organisations and authorities steering the development of Navi Mumbai.[493]

Public institutions, the private sector, civil society, as well as hybrid formations among these groups represent Navi Mumbai's major stakeholders. The power of the Indian Government is represented by federal regulations such as the Environmental Protection Act or by federal organisations such as the Indian Railways.

State level organisations are represented by institutions such as Cidco (the City and Industrial Development Corporation Ltd.), the MIDC (Maharashtra Industrial Development Corporation), the MMRDA (the Mumbai Metropolitan Regional Development Corporation), MSRDC (the Maharashtra State Road Development Corporation), (MJP) (Maharashtra Jeevan Pradhikaran as the State Water Corporation), SICOM (The State Industrial and Investment Corporation of Maharashtra) or MHADA (Maharashtra's Housing Area Development Authority.

Among the local administrative and planning bodies are the Navi Mumbai Municipal Corporation (NMMC) and the municipal and village councils (Gram Sabhas).[494] The private sector is represented by a large array of stakeholders: from the informal street vendor to the international industrialist (cf. above Developers). The civil sector is composed of residents and civil organisations, as well as political parties. With an advancing implementation of decentralisation programmes, today the numerous village populations and slum residents enjoy a constantly rising amount of political power (cf. above: population). In addition, a mix of stakeholder groups composes some hybrid stakeholder configurations. Prominent examples are: the partnership between Cidco and the Indian National Railways and the Special Project Vehicle developing the Navi Mumbai SEZs.

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[492] Cf. Personal interview with a researcher at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS) in August 2006

[493] Indeed, this is currently the case in most of the dynamically growing Metropolitan regions of India. Gotsch and Kohte 2007, for example, describe the influence of the state of Andhra Pradesh in the regional development of Hydarabad.

[494] Most of these organisations were installed in the course of Navi Mumbai's implementation. (Cf. Ananthakrishnan: 14)

Major Stakeholders

Among the major public sector stakeholders in the framework of the new city are: the Mumbai Metropolitan Development Authority (MMRDA), The City and Industrial Development Corporation of Maharashtra (Cidco), the Navi Mumbai Municipal Corporation (NMMC) and several populist parties. Furthermore, the private administrations of the SEZ projects have a growing political impact.

   MMRDA

The Mumbai Metropolitan Development Authority (BMRDA, later MMRDA) is the organisation that oversees the regional development of Mumbai's Greater Metropolitan region. The state had set up the BMRDA in parallel to Cidco in 1973, as it became clear that plans were needed to organise the growth of Mumbai beyond the municipal boundaries. The BMRDA took over such functions as coordination of metropolitan planning, funding, execution of programs, development control and maintenance of the entire Greater Bombay region including Navi Mumbai (MMRDA; UNCHS, 1993). However, MMRDA is not an implementing agency; its major job is the development of land use strategies for the region, represented by the Regional Plan for Mumbai Metropolitan Region. The last version of this plan was drafted for the time span from 1996 to 2011. (Cf. above, cf. MMRDA 1999) It was Cidco's role to implement the new city of Navi Mumbai, an integral part of the first regional plan. In this context MMRDA and Cidco are two state agencies with close ties.

   NMMC

Technically Cidco acquired the entire land of Navi Mumbai on behalf of the state of Maharashtra and its people. The land was principally leased out for 60 years. Today, the political, administrative and managerial control of the new city is generally divided into two parts, the Navi Mumbai Municipal Corporation (NMMC) which administers one part and Cidco which administers the other. The NMMC is a Municipality, headed by a major; Cidco is a state run enterprise. In Addition the municipal councils of Panvel and Uran) are governed by their own municipal bodies (cf. Ghorpane).

   The Navi Mumbai Municipal Corporation represents the local administrative level of Navi Mumbai. It administrates the completed parts of Navi Mumbai. Constituted in December 1991 the NMMC controls 8 of Navi Mumbai's 15 nodes. Its administrative area spans 162 square kilometres, mainly in the northern part of the new city. It comprises about half of Navi Mumbai's total area. (Cf. www.nmmconline.com; r 08.10.2008) The jurisdiction of NMMC starts at Digha in the North and ends at Belapur in the South and has been divided into nine zones. These are Belapur, Nerul, Turbhe, Vashi, Kopar Khairane, Ghansoli, Airoli, Digha and Dahisar. It is important to note that the industrial areas to the East of Navi Mumbai (MIDC) are an integral part of the NMMC. Cf. Shaw 2004: 99 [495]

→ Illustration C-32: Political boundaries of the NMMC

The MMNC represents the local implementation of the 74th Amendment in Navi Mumbai. It comprises an elected mayor and an elected council. Its instalment in 1991 was a major political watershed. It implied that the state (and Cidco) had to surrender significant political, planning and administrative powers of large areas of the new city. (Cf. Ananthakrishnan: 15) The shift of power was not only between the state and municipal levels. Crucially the NMMC also spurred a rising importance of local populations, as it incorporated the entire population of adults with voting rights. Since then the representa-

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[495] Cf. also the Website of NMMC at http://www.nmmconline.com/english/aboutUs/zoningShow.php; r13.09.2008

tives elected by the villagers and informal populations make up a major share in the Municipal Council. (Cf. above: Population) Accordingly Annapurna Shaw (2003: 248) reports that the representatives of the non-planned areas had won 40 of the 66 seats of the Navi Mumbai Municipal Council. On the other hand the impact of the Municipal Corporation on the overall planning framework of the area remains limited. Applications for respective SEZ projects, for example, have to be made to the Industries department of the state of Maharashtra.

Among the consequeces of the 74th amendment is also the increasing popularisation of India's landscape of local political parties. The Shev Sena party is one of the most influential of these.[496]

A significant amount of governance is also in the hands of smaller groups of stakeholders. In this context it is important to recall that on a minor scale cooperative societies and condominium associations run many of the sectors developed by Cidco. These play the important economic role of decentralised asset managers and the cultural role handling the integration of diverse populations. (Cf. above: Population; cf. Adusumilli 2001: 38)

Joint ventures (PPP's) between developers and government

Besides the above-mentioned 'classical' stakeholders, various forms of joint ventures and hybrid institutions have been important for the development of the new city. These start with Cidco and its mixed structure between state agency and enterprise oriented (cf. above: Developers). It continues with the partnership of Cidco and federal institutions (such as the National Railways, or the nested structure of the Navi Mumbai SEZ Special Project Vehicle, that includes Cidco and a range of private developers), to joint ventures among various private stakeholders, for example the partnership of Reliance and SKIL, and the stakes of several international enterprises (such as Jurong and Parsons-Brinckerhoff at the Maha Mumbai SEZ project).

The state and private stakeholders

The state, however, remains among the most influential stakeholders. Private developers, active as they are, are bound to perform in the public operative and regulative framework. In the context of Navi Mumbai, the seemingly unlimited freedom of private developers has been repeatedly constrained by the power of the people and the state government. This was the case, for example, when the state of Maharashtra refused to support the developers of the Maha Mumbai SEZ with land acquisitions and when, as a result, the size of the MMSEZ had to be cut in half. (Cf. Press Trust Of India, 2007) Or when the government had to take the development of the new trans harbour link from Sewri to Nhava to Sheva, back into its own hands. The project was in danger of falling victim to a feud betweem the two Ambani brothers. (Cf. The Economist, July 24th 2008)

New forms of private governance

Most recently, mainly in the SEZ and mega township projects, ever-larger tracts of land will be serviced and maintained by private town managements and headed by private 'mayors' or Development Commissioners (DCs). (Cf. Ahya 2006; cf. above SEZ)

Significantly, the NMSEZ is expected to become a municipality in its own right. The Mumbai SEZ will be a totally "delineated deemed foreign territory" for the purposes of duties and tariffs" (GoM, Minsity of Commerce). While the SPV will act as the implementation agency, a special Development Commissioner will be appointed as the sole

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[496] The Shev Sena largely promoted the change of Bombay's name to Mumbai. It has also introduced preferential quota for people from Maharashtra for subsidised housing in Navi Mumbai.

planning and management authority. (Cf. TECS 2001: 153; cf. The Hindu 2004) Indeed, the SEZ project is supposed to become more than an industrial area, but a mega township featuring housing, schools, and commerce. In addition its organisation will come close to resembling a privatised municipal organisation. (Cf. nmsez.com; r03.10.2008)

Wrap-up: Decreasing public intervention

In conclusion in can be stated that the large amount of public intervention in Navi Mumbai is slowly decreasing.

Navi Mumbai's public sphere is being increasingly diluted, as it is sandwiched between the combined process of decentralisation and globalisation. Generally, India is a highly bureaucratised country and the amount of public power in the Indian context is relatively high. Not long ago, central planning and five year plans drove the spatial development of the country (cf. above Context: Planning Framework). Then, in the first stage of decentralisation, the planning authorities were shifted to the state level, and it must be stressed here that the project of Navi Mumbai can be seen as a landmark of state power in this context. This chapter has demonstrated that the project clearly reflects a high impact of public intervention. Navi Mumbai's urban qualities, the planned structure and the high amount of infrastructure and services differ greatly from a 'normal' Indian city and could not have been achieved with a lesser amount of public control.

This amount of central control began to crumble from the early 1990s causing a slow, but ongoing empowerment of local administrations and populations (cf. 74th Amendment). Navi Mumbai reflects this change. Moreover ongoing trends of privatisation, liberalisation and economic globalisation have consistently weakened the impact of the public hand. More and more large private developers are entering the scene. Ever larger areas are being planned by private planning teams and controlled by private service providers, acting as quasi municipal authorities. While international players are part of most of the Special Planning Vehicles, developing consortia, through international money, predominantly nurture the newly planned real estate ventures.

As its urban structure matures and consolidates, Navi Mumbai finds itself in an increasingly tangled web of various government institutions, private developers and residents. Moreover its context is more characterised by corruption[497] and spontaneous, informal development. In fact, the differences between Navi Mumbai and the 'normal' Indian city are on the decline.

Regulations

The regulatory framework of the new city is comprised of federal programmes, incentives and laws, as well as local land use regulations. The most critical for our context are: the MMRDA Master Plan, Guidelines for Development Control Regulations, Floor Area Ration prescriptions, Transferable Development Rights and local development plans.

Federal regulations

General subsidies and programmes

Navi Mumbai was developed along extensive public subsidies and development programmes. (Cf. above: Finance) Such programmes continue to play a major role today. In the early planning stages Cidco was backed by the government by massive physical, legal and financial subsidies : Land and seed money was given to the agency for free, the long-term acquisition of land was guaranteed and access to public credit was assured. The government also intended to support the new city by shifting its offices to the new loca-

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[497] On the problematic of the term see above at: Context, India, culture.

tion. Many current projects in Navi Mumbai thrive on public programmes and economic development incentives such as federal infrastructure funds (e.g. JNNURM), SEZ programmes; subsidies for IT related business parks etc. (Cf. above: Context)

73rd and 74th Amendment

Among the most significant regulatory milestones for Navi Mumbai was the 74th Amendment of the Indian Constitution[498], also known as the 1992 Amendment Act on Municipalities. The 74th Constitutional Amendment in India enabled the Industrial Development Corporation to perform as a planning authority. Later on it was the basis for establishing the NMMC. (Cf. Adusumilli 2001:30; Cf. above)

Land Acquisition Act of 1894

The public hand fundamentally facilitated the purchase of land for Navi Mumbai. The state government guaranteed exclusive availability of all land necessary for the project. Prior to 1984 Most of the land was confiscated under the Land Acquisition Act of 1894. Later, the Amendment of the Land Acquisition Act in 1984 dramatically changed the status of the local land owning populations, leading to improved practices and better Rehabilitation and Resettlement programmes. (Cf. above: Developers… R&R)

SEZ regulations

Among the most recent and important federal level incentives are the SEZ and Township regulations of the new millennium. (Cf. above General Context…SEZ and Township Acts)

Land use planning at regional and local levels

The Mumbai Metropolitan Development Authority (MMRDA) Master Plan accounts for the most influential planning and regulatory instrument at the regional level.

Rise and fall of the 1973 Master Plan

Navi Mumbai's legal framework document is Mumbai's Regional Development Plan. The Mumbai Metropolitan Development Authority (MMRDA) formulates this plan every fifteen to twenty years. The first draft plan was published in 1973, the second plan in 1996, major revisions were made in 1996, and a third plan will presumably be formulated in 2012.[499] Navi Mumbai was a substantial part of the strategies of the first master plan.[500]

1973 plan recognised the relevance of the extended urban region for Mumbai's development. Its underlying rationale was a belief in the immense power of planning to deterministically change the course of urban development. In this context population targets for different urban centres in the region were set. These were based on predetermined norms of population and job densities. Navi Mumbai played an important part in the industrial location policy[501] and was designated as one of four important regional

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[498] The 74th Amendment of the Constitution of India (the 1992 Amendment Act on Municipalities) is one of India's important milestones towards political decentralisation. It seeks to institutionalise a shift of planning powers from the central governments towards the local level. The Act foresees that Municipal Corporations are responsible for the economic development and also the spatial planning of their respective areas. Importantly two thirds of the municipal councils are supposed to be elected. The implementation of the 74th Amendment in India is a slow and cumbersome process. (Cf. Bertaud 2002) Generally the respective state governments are reluctant to give up their planning authorities and fearful that an organised spatial development may be hindered by small fragmented municipalities. (Cf. Gotsch 2007)

[499] The current plan-document is published online at: www.mmrdamumbai.org; r12.10.2008.

[500] "The main focus of the new organisational arrangement was on the new metro-centre across Thane Creek (i.e. Navi Mumbai) for which the State Government created Cidco and appointed it as the New Town Development Authority for Navi Mumbai". (MMRDA: 1999, 14.3.3.)

[501] Following the recommendations of the Regional Plan, on the 23rd March 1973, the Government introduced the Industrial Location Policy for MMR. It divided the region into 4 zones, namely, Zone I (island city of Mumbai), Zone II (suburbs of Mumbai, Thane and Mira-Bhayander area), Zone III (Navi Mumbai) and Zone IV (Rest of the MMR). (MMRDA: 1999, 14.2.4.) The Industrial Location Policy (ILP) sought to foster decentralisation processes by prohibiting new medium and large-scale

zones (MMRDA: 1999, 13.4.1.). To achieve its goals the 1973 plan divided the region into 5 principal land use zones: 1. The urbanisable zone (U-Zone); 2. The industrial zone (I-Zone); 3. The recreational zone (R Zone); 4. The forest zone (F-Zone) and; 5. The green zone (G-Zone).[502] (Cf. MMDRA 1999: 13.7.1)

The failure of the New Town strategy as the leading model for regional development

> *"Despite the statutory land use plan and the host of laws, rules, regulations and policies, the development control system in the region has remained weak. It has not been able to prevent undesirable development. The unauthorised construction activity in the region in the past two decades has been alarming". (MMRDA: 1999, 14.3.1.).*

The generally fruitful 1973 Master Plan has also brought about a series of problems and contradictions.[503][504] Principally it was lagging behind a boundless progress on the ground.[505] Whereas the plans thrived on an eternal and absolute spirit, Mumbai's patterns of socio-economic, as well as spatial development, increasingly varied from what was anticipated: Navi Mumbai proved incapable of absorbing most of the suburban growth. The urban periphery was growing much faster and in an more unregulated manner than was anticipated.[506] The authors of the 1999 revision of the Master Plan verify that Navi Mumbai, which was expected to absorb "two-thirds of the incremental growth of the urban population between 1971-91" and "to achieve a target population of 2,2 million by 1991", has not developed as planned – as at that point the city had reached only 600.000 residents.[507] [508](Cf. MMRDA 1999: 13.8.1.)

While Mumbai's periphery was ultimately overrun by the spreading wave of urbanisation, the 1999 Master Plan illustrates a general change of paradigm. The planners acknowledge that the region grows in many and sometimes surprising directions, and that development is largely driven by a bottom-up dynamic of myriad of (private market) stakeholders. As a consequence the centrally steered (top-down) urban development approach gives

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industries or their expansion in Zones I, II, and the Kalyan Complex area of Zone IV. It also placed severe restrictions on the growth of small-scale industries in Zones I & II. (MMRDA: 1999, 14.2.4.)

[502] The U-Zone covered existing towns and areas marked for their planned expansion, proposed new towns and other new township areas. Large industrial areas outside the existing towns were designated as ‚I'-Zone, and rest of the areas ‚F' or ‚G'-Zone. In ‚G'-Zone no development except existing structures and certain special activities is envisaged (MMDRA 1999: 13.7.1).

[503] These difficulties can be grouped into two major areas: Firstly, the unanticipated contradictions that emerged through the dynamic growth of the city, and secondly problems inherent to the plans structure and its methodologies (e.g. the classification of the zones). The overarching question is to what extent planning, represented by a master plan, can have a significant impact in steering certain trends and growth processes shaping the region, and to what extent it may also produce unintended and counterproductive effects.

[504] An additional problem was also that the Master Plans were largely based on outdated data. The current plan, published in 1999, was based on data from 1994. (Cf. MMRDA 1999; cf. Personal interview with former chief planner of MMRDA in August 2008)

[505] In regard to Navi Mumbai alone it can be stated that almost none of the recent large projects in its vicinity has been a part of the original 1973 Regional Plan document. The new international Airport, the Mumbai trans harbour link, the Revas Sea Port, the two SEZ projects of combined 7.500 hectares, the Integrated Townships (Hiranandani, Mumbai's Manhattan, Magic Hills) – all have been incorporated only retrospectively into the official planning documents.

[506] E.g. Mostly in opposition to the officially designated locations, many areas designated as park and preservation areas were urbanised; Slum development was spreading at a much faster pace than anticipated; Moreover agricultural land was informally urbanised at highway corridors and around existing villages. (Cf. MMRDA's list of unauthorised developments, also discussed above at: Context, Mumbai, Structure of the Periphery)

[507] This stagnating development was rightly related to a tardy implementation of the Nhava Sheva Port, the failure of the government to move to the new city, inadequate transport linkages with Greater Mumbai and problems of land acquisition. (Cf. MMRDA: 1999, 13.2.1.: Outcome of the Regional Plan-1973)

[508] In addition, the MMRDA planners related a large part of the problems to 'internal reasons' such as inadequate land use categories and a system lacking local monitoring and implementation (MMRDA: 1999, 14.3.1.)

ways to tactics that are flexible stakeholder oriented and demand driven. The plan introduces significant modifications to the system of land use and zoning. Most significantly it introduces a new U-2 land use category in addition to the existing U-1 category. (Cf. MMRDA: 1999, 13.4.3.)

In this light Navi Mumbai emerges as a modernistic and Keynesian experiment of the past. The vision that urban development could be steered by large and centrally planned counter magnets such as Navi Mumbai looses momentum, and strikingly, at the same time, the city's incompleteness provides an arena for the private sector.

Cidco's new role as a special planning authority in the environs of Navi Mumbai
Interestingly in this post-new-town-era, Cidco also evolves into a Special Planning Authority, supposed to control the rapidly urbanising parts of the environs: The Regional Land Use Plan had defined a two-mile belt around Navi Mumbai in 1973. This buffer was intended to act as a green belt and also preclude land-speculation. Yet, due to a lack of any agency supervising the development of the region, the area is rapidly urbanising. The same is true for the corridor along the Mumbai-Pune highway. Given the proximity of Navi Mumbai, Cidco is supposed to serve as a Special Planning Authority to these zones (MMRDA: 1999, 14.3.6.).[509]

Box 23: Mumbai's U-2 Zones: New experiments in market driven urbanisation

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The U-2 land use class seeks to address rapidly developing "zones in transition" in the whole region. These are locations that have embraced most of the unauthorised growth in the previous decades, i.e. mainly sections close to transport corridors and commercial hubs.[510]
The novel U-2 category is intended to serve as an experimental ground at the boundaries between control and self-organisation. No formal development plan will be in place. Instead novel development control regulations will be implemented. These liberal and flexible rules will be entirely demand driven taking into consideration the dynamics of the private sector. A vital ingredient of this regulation is that all developers will be required to provide their own infrastructure. In addition, the practice of land pooling and organised development of large plots will be encouraged. This will be mainly achieved by the instrument of tradable development rights such as increased building permits.[511]
The new ^land use instruments will be employed in the whole region. Hence they will surely have a significant impact on the future of Navi Mumbai and its environs, hopefully domesticating masses of unofficial construction activities. (Cf. MMRDA 1999: 13.8.2)
Moreover they will surely lead to 'refined' balance sheets and certainly also to improved living standards. On the other hand the question of how ecologically sensitive areas can be safeguarded from urbanisation remains open.

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[509] Excerpts from MMRDA 1999 (14.5.6.) underline that: "Today Cidco is helplessly witnessing building activity in the ‚G' Zone just outside Navi Mumbai's boundary, especially near Taloja, New Panvel, Panvel etc. The decision to dispense with the extra control in the two-mile belt has indeed proved to be a short-sighted one" ... "This was a buffer zone and was intended to ensure that, taking advantage of the developments in Navi Mumbai, private development does not take place just outside its boundary." ... "The area along Mumbai-Pune highway and Mumbai-Goa road near Panvel has been zoned as U-2 and is under considerable pressure of development. Planning of this area needs to be undertaken immediately. Given the proximity to Navi Mumbai, Cidco may be appointed as the Special Planning Authority for this area." ...

[510] So the U-2 zone "In particular, includes lands within 1 km on either side of important roads and within 1.5 km radius from railway stations subject to other physical and statutory constraints." (MMRDA 1999: 13.8.2)

[511] New Development Control Regulations propose a graded scale of FSI (FAR) as well as a weighing system (MMRDA 1999: 13.8.2). Accordingly the permissible FSI will increase with the size of the plot: For plots up to 0,5 ha the FSI will be 0.2; it then progressively increases to reach a value of 0,34 for a plot of 10 hectare or more. In addition, the weighting system proposed will allow for additional built-up area ranging between 20 and 40 percent if the land owner or developer allocates additional land for public facilities over and above the rates proposed by the Development Control Regulations". (MMRDA 1999: 13.8.2)

Role of General Development Control Regulations (GDCR)
General Development Control Regulations play a two-fold role for the Parallel City: Firstly, the development of building structures in the parallel city is governed by the General Development Control Regulations for Navi Mumbai (GDCRs). These GDCRs specify the codes for the urbanisation of an area.[512] Secondly, General Development Control Regulations apply for all areas in the Mumbai region, which are not part of a local development plan. (MMRDA 1999: 15.1.2) Therefore these are of highest significance for newly urbanising areas in the periphery including Navi Mumbai's environs.

While the revised Master Plan of 1999 designated some generally novel land use categories, such as the U-2 zone as discussed above, the Development Control Regulations specified particular rules for these areas. The following box summarises some significant parts of the codes for U-2 zones as reworked by the MMRDA in 1999. Importantly these: 1. Delegate the provision of basic infrastructure to the private sector stakeholders; 2. Encourage the grouping of developers in larger formal entities; 3. Regulate the supply of public services for areas exceeding certain proportions and finally; 4. Set the permissible FAR for the U-2 zone to 0,2.

Box 24: Excerpt from the Development Control Regulations for U-2 Zones

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[I]: "No development of any land in zones other than U-1 or I-zone shall be permitted unless the owner undertakes to provide at his own cost physical and social infrastructural facilities, such as roads, water supply, sewage disposal system, solid waste collection and disposal system, electricity, recreational open space, playground, school, etc. as, in the opinion of the Planning Authority, may be reasonably required for the development proposed, and provided that the owner also undertakes to maintain these facilities for a reasonable period specified by the Planning Authority." (15.3.5)

[II]: "The Organised Development may be undertaken by a co-operative society of land owners, a land owner, developer or builder on behalf of a land owner, local authority or any public agency who shall submit to the planning authority or where there is no Planning Authority the Collector of the District, an Outline Development Proposal (ODP) for approval in principle." (15.5.2)

[III]: "In the case of sub-division or layout area exceeding 10 ha., the Planning Authority will be entitled to take over 50% of the open space free of cost for providing higher recreational facilities." (15.5.3)

[IV]: In the case of Organised Development, land for residential purposes, certain proportion as specified in Table-15.6 of the gross plot area shall be provided for public facilities. ... The land so reserved shall be handed over to the Planning Authority or any agency specified by it free of cost. (15.5.3)

[V]: "The permissible FSI in U-2 Zone shall be 0,2." (15.5.4)

The legacy of FAR
Among the most important regulations at the building scale in the Indian context is the Floor Area Ratio (FAR). [513] [514] A universally applied FAR of 1,0 in Navi Mumbai is a leading reason why Navi Mumbai emerges as a relatively dense, but uniformly flat 'pancake' city. (Cf. above: Structure...)

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[512] In addition special development regulations were applied at several model projects, such as the BUDP site-and-service schemes at Kopar Kharaine, or certain rehabilitation projects. The specific codes for this project allowed for significantly reduced maximum standards (e.g. for lots or open spaces) and increased densities. (Cf. Adusumilli 2001: 22; cf. above: Examples BUDP) In the case of the rehabilitation projects the special regulations allowed for increased densities.

[513] Also known as Floor Space Index or FSI

[514] The floor space of a large majority of the building structures in Navi Mumbai is restricted to the size of the lot they are standing on. In other words the bulk of buildings in Navi Mumbai conforms to a general Floor Area Ratio (FAR) of 1,0. This value concerns plots that are smaller than 1.000 square metres. (Cf. Betraud 2003, MMRDA 1999)

Yet, despite the homogeneous application of FAR regulations a series of exceptions exist at some locations. Increased FAR development rights are used at selected insular locations, mainly as compensation measures for local villages and as instruments to stimulate economic development. Accordingly, here the figures for plots larger than 2.000 square metres have been raised to a FAR of 2,0; for 'residential cum commercial' or for commercial plots the FAR permission is 1,5; the same is true for some village resettlement and rehabilitation projects.[515] Some locations also feature FAR-ratios lower than the standard 1,0: A FAR of 0,5 is common in certain row house residential projects; while 0,2 is used for some suburban bungalow type schemes and the U-2 zones as discussed above.

Exceptions however tend to be on the rise. Cidco plans to increase development rights at locations of critical importance and augmented demand, such as the railway nodes, and some locations in proximity to the new sea link, but also as part of selected resettlement schemes and private megaprojects.[516]

Apparently these trends reflect a twofold dynamic between integrating as well as disintegrating forces. Hence, it is left open if the resulting urban fabric will be more accentuated or fragmented and polarised.

Box 25: Floor Space Index (FSI/ FAR)

Floor Area Ratio (FAR) regulations are a very crucial key to understanding the spatial form of contemporary Indian cities. As a significant planning instrument affecting the form of the built-up structures in relationship to the underlying plots, the FAR largely affects the form of the greater urban fabric. (Cf. above: Structure, and cf. below: Regulatory framework)

Indian FAR regulations are an integral and widely used part of the urban planning culture on the subcontinent. (Cf. Bertaud 2003, 2004, cf. Patel 2007) The reason why in most of the cities FSI values have been kept relatively uniform and low, was a top-down orientated planning policy aiming at the creation of equal and socially inclusive cities.[517] (Cf. Jain 1993, Bertaud 2002, cf. above: Context: Planning regulations)

Greater Mumbai's FSI values have been uniformly set to a level of 1,3 and do not account for specific features such as urban nodes and land value differentiations. (Cf. MMRDA 1999; and Bertaud 2008). The numbers for suburban locations range at the level of 1,0.[518]

→ Illustration C-33: Mumbai FAR Map

Experiments with Transferable Development Rights (TDRs)
In the privatising context delineated above market oriented planning instruments enjoy a rising popularity. In particular the tool of Transferable Development Rights (TDR) is

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[515] Warehouse plots are not subject to FAR regulations at all. (Cf. Cidcoindia/faq's; r16.09.2008)

[516] Indeed some of the private stakeholders have developed 'tricks' to virtually increase the FAR of a project, e.g. the Seawoods Integrated Commercial Complex at Nerul is operating with augmented development rights of 1,5. Yet, while the scheme itself is significantly denser, a 16 hectare 'land bank' area was integrated into the terrain (cf. http://www.projectsmonitor.com/detailnews.asp?newsid=15453; r19.09.2008)

[517] Betraud (2004: 10) argues that the conservative policy on FAR regulations is one of the most destructive regulations of Indian cities: "The constraint imposed by the low FSI is by far the most damaging compared to the 3 others constraints constituted by topography, muddled property rights and poor infrastructure. This is because the low FSI compounds the effect of the three other constraints. ... This commentator opposes the "vision" of the common man to the vision of the developer; he does not seem to realize that eventually if people in Mumbai want to consume more than the current 2.9 square meter of floor space some developers would have to build this floor space somewhere or several million people would have to leave Mumbai to make room for those who can afford floor space at the current high prices."

[518] New York, Singapore and Seoul feature FSI values of up to 20. (Cf. Betraud 2008)

frequently used as a non-plus-ultra strategy in combination with the FAR regulations.[519] Contemporary Navi Mumbai contains a great deal of experimentation with these instruments. As building controls become liberalised, the practice of Transferable Development Rights finds its way into the planning practices of the area. Nowadays developers who decide to provide an extra amount of social or ecological amenities are allowed to increase the load of their project. Elsewhere the MMRDA plans to make extra revenues in selling supplementary development rights at the two bridgeheads of the new Sewri-Nava Sheva trans harbour link. (Cf. Phadnis 2008)

Cidco's Draft Development Plan of 1973

→ Illustration C-34: Picture of draft development plan

To date, the development of Navi Mumbai is guided by the 1973 Draft Development Plan.

The general MMRDA Master Plan, as discussed above, was supposed to guide regional development in general. Local authorities and the other government agencies were responsible to implement the plans in their respective jurisdictions. Because Navi Mumbai had the status of a special project, Cidco authored an own master plan, the Navi Mumbai's Draft Development Plan in 1973.[520] The state government in 1979 approved the plan. The document is a strategic plan that is largely text-based.[521] Importantly it is still valid until today. (Cf. Shaw 2004: 83) Updates were made in the form of regular revisions.[522]

The fact that the new city's 35 year old development plan is still valid underlines the timeless relevance of the initial goals and objectives of the undertaking. On the other hand, a widening gap between plan and reality can be observed. New projects, such as the two SEZs, create increasing contradictions in regard to the city's primary objectives.[523] This is why various experts note that this plan is also outdated and reactive, and that a radically new version is needed.[524]

In addition to the text based 'strategic' Draft Development Plan, each of the respective nodes features its own spatial development plan. Cidco is obliged to draft the legally binding documents. In some instances external consultants prepare the guidelines for the spatial development framework.[525]

Local design ordinances

In addition to the land use planning and ordinances at regional and local level, guidelines and ordinances at the scale of neighbourhoods play a major role in Navi Mumbai. These underline an increasing trend of decentralisation. Vital rules governing the place can be found at the scales of neighbourhoods and blocks of the new city. In the 'traditional'

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[519] TDR's imply that a specific amount of the permissible FAR of a location can be traded on a market. While relatively new to the Indian planning context, they are becoming increasingly popular. The city of Mumbai has introduced these strategies to cross-subsidise the development of infrastructure and services in some of the city's poor areas, notably Dharavi. (Cf. MMRDA 1999; Bertaud 2004: 5; The Economist 2007) TDR's are also increasingly used in other booming Indian cities. A prominent example is the special development zone around the new Hyderabad Airport HADA. (Cf. Gotsch 2007)

[520] Cidco developed this plan in fact in parallel to the MMRDA Master plan 1973. (Cf. above: General Context: Milestones, Navi Mumbai)

[521] The plans' concrete goals and visions are listed in the Developers section above.

[522] This leads to a continuously expanded document of hundreds of pages that non-experts can hardly comprehend.

[523] Interestingly in 2003 Cidco proposed to include the SEZ in the list of land use categories as listed in the Development Plan. (Cf. Cidco 2003)

[524] Cf. Personal interview with a former chief planner of Cidco in August 2008

[525] E.g. The node Kharghar was conceived by Balkrishna Doshi. (Cf. above: Examples…)

Cidco neighbourhoods local resident associations and cooperative societies mainly handle the implementation of design guidelines. (Cf. Adusumilli 2001; Cf. above: Residents)

Summary regulatory framework

Navi Mumbai remains a landmark of state power – notwithstanding the major trends of privatisation and deregulation, as discussed in this chapter. Urban Development in India is a state subject. The government of Maharashtra controls all fundamental organisations and authorities steering the development of Navi Mumbai, such as Cidco, SICOM, MHADA, MISD, and the MMMDRA. Accordingly private developers, active as they are, are bound to perform within the operative framework of public regulations (The state demonstrated its power, inter alia, by the forced reduction of the Navi Mumbai Special Economic Zone (NMSEZ), as well as the recent takeover of the new cross harbour link).

Nevertheless, as Navi Mumbai is increasingly sandwiched between the combined processes of decentralisation and globalisation, the high amount of state intervention in Navi Mumbai seems to decline. The power of local administrative and planning bodies such as the Navi Mumbai Municipal Corporation (NMMC) and village councils is on the rise. Local populations are gaining political power (mostly represented by local populist parties) as a result of ongoing decentralisation programmes. Micro institutions such as cooperative societies and condominium associations represent local power. In addition, some privately developed areas, such as the SEZs, are serviced and maintained by private town management bodies and headed by private mayors (Development Commissioners).

In regard to the framework of regulations, extensive public subsidies and development programmes supported the development of the new city. Moreover the scheme was part of a Nation Building initiative. Among the most crucial federal rules with a direct affect on the progress of the project are the 73 and 74th Amendment, the Land Acquisition Act of 1894 and its revisions of 1984, as well as the SEZ and Township Acts in relation to the series FDI reforms of the new millennium.

The MMRDA Master plan accounts for the most relevant documents on a regional scale. Moreover the General Development Control Regulations, including the generally Prescribed Floor Area Ratio (FAR) and the new practice of Transferable Development Rights are highly relevant building codes. The most important local planning regulation is Navi Mumbai's Draft Development Plan, of 1973. While this strategic document is still valid today, more and more contradictions come forward between its initial aims and trends on the ground.

Navi Mumbai was a significant strategic part of the first MMRDA master plan of 1973. It was supposed to become Mumbai's primary counter magnet and alternative pole. Nevertheless, the new city developed at a slower rate than expected. Moreover, the area was overrun by the rapidly sprawling region. As a consequence Navi Mumbai can serve as an example to demonstrate the limitations of central planning. The public planners have recently acknowledged that the region continues to grow in many, and sometimes surprising, directions and likewise that regional development is driven by bottom-up dynamics.

→ Illustration C-35: Urbanised in the MMR

Notably, Mumbai's urban planners seek to tackle the problems of uncontrolled development by the definition of new urban land use categories. The 1999 master plan proposes a new U-2 land use class. These areas are experimenting with novel liberalised and flexible regulations encouraging the pooling of landowners and the personal construc-

tion of basic infrastructure. (In addition, Cidco recently also proposed introducing a new land use category explicitly for SEZ's.) Indeed, the results of this remarkable experiment will have great relevance for many cities worldwide.

A significant class of regulations in India at a building scale with a high relevance for the greater urban form are the FAR parameters. Significantly Navi Mumbai's FAR features a flat FAR ratio of 1,0 for all of the nodes. This notably results in a uniform and flat 'plancake' urban form without any highlights. Because the green-belt regulations are not working, the nodes also blend into each other. On the other hand an increasing number of projects, such as relocation schemes and new railways nodes, enjoy exceptions. In addition a new generation of building controls is experimenting with market oriented planning tools such as tradable development rights.

It, however, remains highly unclear if this will lead to an urban fabric that is more accentuated, or to a form which is even more fragmented and polarised. Will Cidco be able to counterbalance these trends, as it becomes a Special Planning Authority for significant parts beyond the Navi Mumbai?

D. Case 3:

ALPHAVILLE-TAMBORÉ THE ACCIDENTAL NEW TOWN

Abstract

"Esta é a terra mais valorizada do entorno da maior metrópole brasileira."
(Arthur Castilho de Ulhôa Rodrigues,[1]

"AlphaVille (or first city) is one of the world's earliest and best known gated communities and its origins lie in a number of co-determinants, namely rising crime in São Paulo, improvements in infrastructure under a massive public works programme and new modes of urban planning around the city, such as the ABC Region."
(Stevens 2007)

"Mention AlphaVille to someone from Britain's chattering classes – and certainly France's – and the association will be with the 1965 film by French director Jean-Luc Goddard, in which AlphaVille is a futuristic city where the wicked scientist in charge, Von Braun, has banned love and self-expression. But say AlphaVille in Brazil and the connotation is quite different: firstly it does not concern the stuff of films, but reality; and secondly, it is generally a place aspired to by the middle classes." (Davidson 2004)

AlphaVille-Tamboré emerges in Brazil's postcolonial context. The nation has a legacy of political and economic elites aiming to lead the modernisation process. Major economic and political shifts and the reverberations of the Cold War mark the moment. At the time of the project's ground breaking the country is governed by a military regime. It undergoes a major industrial transformation. The local context of São Paulo epitomised many of the dynamics and portrays a status of dynamic change, this is in particular true for the urban periphery. While the city offers immense opportunities and serves as a fertile ground for the emergence of new middle classes, it also represents a context of inequality and increased risks. In this context significant processes of process of clustering and concentration of prime businesses and affluent populations in particular sectors of wealth can be observed.

The project comes out as modern regional node on the basis of a state-of-the-art regional infrastructure (E.g. regional highways). The city of 90.000 residents and 130.000 jobs represents a new residential as well as commercial hub in the form of an 'edge city'. Its structure is highly hierarchic and modular. It is based on the combination of highly homogenous neighbourhood enclaves ('residencial') and a system of highly controlled semi-public space.

Affluent Bourgeois are among the major target populations. Their major motives are: 1) security, 2) life-style, 3) investment, and 4) decongestion (quality of life). The urban venture is fundamentally based on tertiary economies and the experience of consumerism. Important part of the success is the principle of contractual 'automanagement' of the neighbourhoods on the basis of Resident Associations.

The private scheme developed as a start-up venture of two engineering graduates and rapidly developed into one of Brazil's largest and most successful real estate undertakings with more than 40 projects in Brazil, Portugal and Angola. It was taken over by Gafisa, a Brazilian real estate conglomerate in 2007. The project is one of the forerunners in the

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[1] Mastermind behind Tamborè SA, at Tambore's website

development and application of 'market-driven-strategic-planning' tactics. It thrives on a strategy of secured access to land, the objective of a balanced land use, a strategy of phased development (in time and in space), and the application of modern corporate management mechanisms. Moreover the developers innovate by introducing novel marketing strategies to the real estate sector: mainly in the form of new Social Corporate Responsibility (CSR) methods.

Aiming to create landmark neighbourhoods of a hitherto unknown quality in Brazil, they excel in examining the market demand, exploring the productivity of standardisation, seamless product improvement, and the capability of the market to structure terrain. On this basis a project emerges which is extremely resilient, adaptive, and adjustable to volatile urban environments.

The designers of the project engage in a (pro) active generation of identity. They are mainly occupied with the creation of highly synthetic controlled environments. In this context staging, eco-theming and branding emerge as crucial design methods. Planning is increasingly equalled with the management of business processes.

As it is geared to higher-income classes AlphaVille-Tamboré emerges as a highly profitable venture. The project features price levels which double the amount of projects in the vicinity. The 'only' price of the privatisation and profit orientation seems to be exclusiveness and segregation. The NeoTown evolved into important investment targets of large corporations, which started to diversify into the real estate sector. As a consequence urban space is more and more affected by the homogenising rationale of international norms and standards, mainly in relation to credit and accountability regulations.

AlphaVille emerges as an example par excellence of a model of an elite driven modernisation at the end of the Keynesian era, which experiments with the dynamism of market based instruments. Thriving in a political context of a strong federal level and a weak local government, the project employs various informal tactics. On one hand AlphaVille developers were nurtured by the benefits of Federal Finance Programmes geared to housing and infrastructure development, on the other side the scheme lacks an own city administration, despite the physiognomy and morphology of a fully-fledged town.

Introduction –
Non-plus-ultra private city?

AlphaVille-Tamboré is the third example of a NeoTown examined by this thesis. After describing an example from Indonesia (BSD) as well as India (Navi Mumbai) this case provides a perspective from Latin America.

While Bumi Serpong Damai (BSD) appeared as the largest planned town in the hands of an individual private developer and Navi Mumbai emerged as one of the largest systems of planned New Towns worldwide, AlphaVille-Tamboré appears as one of the biggest clusters of autonomous, gated communities, which together result in a vast private edge city.

AlphaVille-Tamboré is an agglomeration of several real estate ventures, spreading over São Paulo's peripheral districts of Barueri and Santana de Parnaíba. The two most important projects dominating the system are AlphaVille and Tamboré. While AlphaVille is the largest private city in Brazil and the core of the system, the environs comprise a large agglomeration of similar models: Aldeia da Serra or Granja Viana are neighbourhoods created under the concept of 'bounded communities'.[2] The whole represents a new breed of urban forms, challenging the 'classical' notions of a 'city'. Since AlphaVille and Tamboré form a joint urban system, the following chapter will refer to the AlphaVille-Tamboré NeoTown. Both are the most visible projects in the area, sharing a significant amount of facilities.

AlphaVille challenges many traditional notions of planning on one hand, and of self-organisation on the other. Of the three cases discussed in this thesis, AlphaVille is the project that evolved along the least amount of 'traditional' planning. Whereas the area does not have a general master plan, the structure represents a case of bottom-up incremental growth and the result of a persistent learning-by-doing process. Yet its fabric is very different from the irregularity of slums and favelas. A series of questions emerge that will be driving our examination:

Does AlphaVille represent the non-plus-ultra private city? Has it emerged a sole result of the efficiency of the market? Can we think of this model at other locations other than the periphery of São Paulo? How is the project responding to public laws and regulations? Was the public hand implicitly driving the process? Can it be classified as a New Town? What kind of ideology does a purely privately driven New Town follow?

In correspondence to the structural approach inherent to this work (cf. Introduction) the chapter was ordered along six perspectives on the topic: The planned city's general context will be described first (general context), its formal features are subject of the second section (physical structure), the third part profiles the residents of AlphaVille, the fourth section delineates the developers and designers, the fifth component attends to the financial framework of the project, and finally the sixth part closes with an examination of the project's formal regulatory framework.

Table 28: General overview AlphaVille-Tamboré

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[2] Cf. www.vogaimoveis.com.br/teste/english/exploring_region.htm, 12.01.2009

Name of NeoTown	*AlphaVille-Tamboré, São Paulo*
Country and region	Brazil, São Paulo Region (RMSP), Barueri and Santana de Parnaíba
Start date	1973
Status	Incremental development
Size	3.600 hectares3
Population	90.000 persons
Daytime population	150.000 persons
On-site population	None
Structures	22,000 residential buildings
Developers	AlphaVille Urbanismo SA, Tamboré SA4
Major motive ['1' = decongest; '2' = economic development; '3' = security; '4' = lifestyle and representation, own ranking]	3, 4, 2, 1
Type ['A' parallel city; 'B' satellite town; 'C' regional node; 'D' independent new centre; 'E' others]	C

→ Illustration D-1: Map of Brazil

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[3] Own calculation for the entire group of schemes using Google Earth and area measuring software (http://www.geo-news.net/index_geof.html)

[4] The firm Gafisa SA appropriated AlphaVille in late 2007. Brascan SA acquired Tamboré in the same year.

Context –
The city as a venture

An almost chaotic mass of buildings, fragmented by vacant lots, spreads with a diameter of approximately 45 kilometres above the hilly terrain of medium sized 800 metre mountains. A smog dome spans this structure above. When the aeroplane breaks through this dome, groups of high-rises become visible, but no public squares. At the edge of the building-mass, and also partially towards the interior, industrial estates can be discerned. Everything is immersed in a greyish-white and reddish colour with some dark-green strains [...]. The question emerges if a settlement of this type deserves to be labelled a "city". (V. Flusser 1994) [5]*

Introduction

AlphaVille-Tamboré develops in a specific ground. The project is marked by distinct national, economic, cultural and historic parameters. Therefore the following section investigates this fundamental basis. Various spatial and temporal narratives are established which facilitate our understanding of the NeoTown venture.

According to the objectives as presented in the introduction to this thesis, the following section examines four major aspects: The first section presents a general socio economic and cultural profile of Brazil with a particular emphasis on the condition of inequality. Thereafter São Paulo is scrutinised at various dimensions from the basic numbers, to the economic performance, specific spatial forms and typologies. A third part devotes attention to the temporal sequence of events from a dual perspective: a) from a countrywide, as well as b) from a project based standpoint. Finally the fourth part examines the environment of AlphaVille-Tamboré's predecessors, peers, and its 'offspring'.

Brazil is the largest nation in Latin America and the fourth largest democracy in the world. Since the country became independent in 1822 it was in a constant struggle between top-down and bottom-up modernisation. The country's profile portrays advanced levels of socio-economic development: urbanisation levels are at 83 percent, services amount to three fifths of added value and the human development index is above the levels of a developing country. On the other hand, enormous levels of inequality remain a constant structural feature of space and society - more than 30 percent of the population subsist on less than 2 US$ per day and unofficially this percentage is constantly rising.

AlphaVille-Tamboré is located in the periphery of the greater region of São Paulo (RMSP). This is South America's most important global city region and one of the largest urban agglomerations worldwide. While the city is a forerunner of national modernisation, it also condenses major extremes and problems such as segregation, crime and pollution.

The historic framework of AlphaVille is marked by two major periods: The ground breaking phase of the project occurs in the context of a major industrial boom of the

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[5] English translation by the author: "*Eine beinahe chaotische, von Lücken durchbrochene Häusermenge erstreckt sich mit einem Durchmesser von zirka 45 Kilometern über ein bis 800 Meter hohes Mittelgebirge. Darüber hinaus wölbt sich eine Smog-Glocke. Durchstößt man mit dem Flugzeug diese Glocke, dann werden verstreute Gruppen von Hochhäusern und Hütten sichtbar, jedoch keine Plätze. Am Rande der Häusermenge, stellenweise auch in ihr, erkennt man Industrieanlagen. Alles ist ins Grauweiße und Rötliche getaucht, mit einigen dunkelgrünen Flecken. [...] Es stellt sich die Frage, ob eine derartige Siedlung "Stadt" genannt werden kann.*"

early 1970s, marked by national liberalisation strategies of the military regime. Moreover, the consolidation and maturation of the scheme is embedded in a framework of 'denationalisation' and international liberalisation and democratisation of the 1990s.

What emerges from AlphaVille-Tamboré is a rich context of predecessors and peers, serving as an important model for many other schemes, albeit none of which reach the size and complexity of our NeoTown.

Brazil – 'O Brasil, é o pais de futuro'[6]

> *"At the core of the crisis was the continued unwillingness of the elite to share the benefits of Brazil's wealth with the majority of the people."*[7]

Table 29: AlphaVille-Tamboré, Selected country level indicators

Name	Federative Republic of Brazil
Population	174 Million
Independence	1822
Shift from industrial to services sector	1970s
Economic growth rates (1998-2008)	~ 2 percent
GDP p.a.	1.600 billion US$
HDI	80 (South > 90, North < 70)
GINI Index (Income Inequality)	0,6
Urbanisation rate	83 percent
Added value of services	57 percent
Population < US$ 2 per day	27 percent
Cars per 1.000 people	120

General profile

Country

AlphaVille is located in the Federative Republic of Brazil. Brazil is the fifth largest country in the world by geographical area. It occupies nearly half of South America's terrain and is only slightly smaller than the USA.[8] Brazil is the fourth largest democracy in the world and is fifth overall in terms of population.[9]

Political system

Brazil is a young parliamentary democracy.[10] The country was governed by a military regime up until the mid 1980s. The foundation of AlphaVille falls in the era of Brazil's third 'open' dictatorial regime (1964 - 1985). The era is marked by neo-liberal economic

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[6] A popular Brazilian slogan portrayed by Theresa Caldeira (2000)

[7] James Hudson's (1997) statement on the 1964 coup d'état

[8] Cf. www.CIA.gov, r12.09.2008

[9] India is the largest democracy. Indonesia is ranking fourth.

[10] After three colonial centuries, Brazil became independent from Portugal in 1822. Slavery was abolished in 1888. Since 1889 the country was nominally a democratic republic, except for three periods of open autocratic systems (1930–1934; 1937–1945 and 1964–1985).

policies on the one hand, and movements of resistance and extreme levels political violence and insecurity on the other (in particular in the years from 1968 to 1973).

Brazil's present constitution was passed only in 1988. While urbanisation rates are among the world's top, stark problems of poverty, social and economic inequality[11], spatial fragmentation and political corruption persist.[12] Since colonial times the country has been marked by a history of elite-driven and authoritarian politics (this combination is also referred to as 'Caudillismo').[13]

The end of Brazil's autocratic regime was not as radical as in South Africa, for example. It represented an evolution rather than a revolution. Only one year after AlphaVille's inauguration in 1974, the government started a gradual "abertura" (opening). The year of 1986 marks the end of the dictatorial regime. In this year a new constitutional commission was elected. A new constitution was finally passed in 1988. 1989 saw the first election (Cf. Landman 2002: 7). Of course it can be stated that evolutions have many advantages over revolutions. The moderate speed also reflects a reluctance of certain population segments to change.[14] (Cf. also below: Milestones)

Market attitude

The Brazilian market attitude is rather liberal. The authoritarian regimes introduced liberal reforms as early as 1965. The democratic Governments of Collor de Mello, Franco and Cardoso promoted a second wave of economic liberalisation between 1991 and 2001 (Cf. below, Milestones). During this 'Desestatização' almost all state owned enterprises were denationalised or privatised.[15] While the present government under Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva maintains a high degree of continuity, it is also credited for inquiry into new solutions 'beyond the consensus' (Cf. Fendt 2004: 3).[16]

Nevertheless, the country's governmental system remains characterised by a 'corpulent' bureaucratic apparatus. The complex system consumes large amounts of money and is highly embedded in the country's authoritarian and clientelist traditions. In 2006 the

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[11] Stevens (2007) writes that even "By Latin American standards, the disparities in Brazil are particularly unnerving, with a political system that in the two decades since the negotiated end of its military dictatorship has been saddled with instability through corruption and inertia. Brazil's elites, in place since colonial times, have remained above reproach throughout its modern history". (Stevens 2007)

[12] Indeed, as we will see in the course of this chapter, the discussion of equality (and inequality), as well as socio-spatial segregation, is one of the most widespread topics of intellectual discussion among Brazilian academicians. From the perspective of the author, there exist in general three large groups of argumentation: one representing a traditional social critique, a second representing a perspective of global-city research, and a third preferring a 'neutral' and descriptive approach. Of the papers accessible to the author during the short period this research, Erminia Mericato, Flávio Villaça, or Theresa Caldeira represent the first 'home-grown' group, scholars such as Regina Kato, Eunice Abascal, or Paulo Pereira represent the second global approach, while individuals such as the historian Nestor Reis, or the landscape architect Silvio Macedo represent the 'neutral' phenomenalistic make-up.

[13] The contrariness of Brazil's 'unlimited' freedom is illustrated when Holston and Caldeira (2008: f19) describe how ruling elites managed to erode the privileges: " Upon independence, Brazil's birthright citizenship was only restricted by freedom – that is, unlike American citizenship, Brazil's was inclusive and unrestricted for all free people regardless of race. ... In 1881 they made suffrage direct and voluntary but restricted it to the literate. Moreover, in the Republic's founding constitution (1891), they eliminated the right of citizens to a primary education..."

[14] James Holston and Teresa Caldeira see the massive informal suburbanisation of large cities as a central trigger of the democratisation movement: "... these social movements [of poor peripheral dwellers protesting for their „rights to the city"] were central actors in the political processes that brought the miliary dictatorship to an end. Their influence was especially important during the national Constitutional Assembly (1986-1988) and the numerous state and municipal assemblies that followed. ... Most of these articles confer rights unprecedented in Brazil precisely because they concern the new urban experiences in the peripheries" (Holston, Caldeira 2008: 21; Cf. also below: São Paulo, Urban Structure).

[15] With yields of about US$ 67.9 billion for the state and US$ 18.1 billion debts transferred to the private sector this programme was among the largest privatisation incentives worldwide. (Cf. Anuatti-Neto et al 2005: 152, Cf. also below: Economic Indicators)

[16] Indeed, commentators have dubbed Lula's approach of combining social programmes with liberal politics as the "Brasila Consensus" (Cf. Fendt 2004: 1). After the world financial crisis in the fall of 2008, Lula has been actively lobbying for a revision of the consensus (Cf. http://anba.achanoticias.com.br/noticia_diplomacia.kmf?cod=7870341, r.15.12.2008).

country's average tax rate amounted to 38 percent of the GDP.[17] This is a sum higher than in the US and close behind France and Italy (Goldman Sachs 2007: 79).

Urbanisation

Brazil is a country with very advanced levels of urbanisation. 83 percent of Brazilians live in cities.[18] [19] In the Seventies, the time when AlphaVille was implemented, about half of the country's population was urbanised. It was the era with the starkest urban growth. In 2006 Brazil had 14 municipalities with over 1 million inhabitants and 36 municipalities with 500 thousand inhabitants (Cf. IBGE 2006).

As much as other emerging economies, the country developed from a predominantly rural into an urban society in only a few decades. While urbanisation was at 30 percent in the 1940s the proportions swapped in the 1980s. (Cf. Caldeira 2008) The urban population was growing from 30 million in 1950 to 85 million in 2005 and is supposed to reach 91 million by 2030. (Cf. Demographia, r12.12.2008) In 1991 nine metropolitan Regions, had a combined population of 42.7 million people, almost one-third of Brazil's total population.[20] (Cf. Hudson 1997) Most of the cities have colonial roots. Manaus, Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, or São Paulo, among others, emerged as centers of power and trade (Rojas 2004: 7).

Brazil's largest urban regions are São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Porto Alegre. All are located in the Southeast. They have an aggregated population of 28.6 million, nearly 67 percent of the total metropolitan population and almost 20 percent of Brazil's total population.[21] (Cf. Hudson 1997)

Migratory movements, internal and external

Brazil's urban transformation from the 1950s to the 1970 was predominantly triggered by an enormous internal migration.[22] Within this period the country's rapidly industrialising urban centres attracted more than 20 million people (Hudson 1997). The urban population grew from 56 percent in the 1970s to 75 percent in the 90s (Ibidem). By far the greatest number of internal migrants came from the poor Northeast of the country (Bogus 2004).[23][24] In the 1990s the process of regional migration lost momentum, and people started to move from the central cities to the suburbs (Hudson 1997).

Decentralisation programmes

Brazil is a federative republic of 26 autonomous and equal states (plus the federal district).[25] Populous states such as São Paulo, and deserted ones tend to have the same po-

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[17] India's tax rate was at 10 and China's at 18 percent (Goldman Sachs 2007: 79).

[18] 75 percent of all Latin Americans are urbanised (Cf. UN 2001)

[19] This also represents a higher amount than France (76%), or the US (77%). Cf. The World Bank 2006)

[20] Belém, Fortaleza, Recife, Salvador, Belo Horizonte, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo, Curitiba and Porto Alegre (Ibidem)

[21] Looking at the whole Latin American continent, there was no single city in the region with one million inhabitants at the turn of the 20th century. 100 years later, about 50 cities of 1 million and more were documented. (This amount had doubled since 1975). Four of them were among the 10 largest cities in the world with more than 10 million inhabitants. These megacities are Mexico City (with 16.6 million inhabitants), São Paulo (16.5 million), Buenos Aires (11.6 million) and Rio de Janeiro (10.2 million) (Cf. Rojas 2004: 4)

[22] The national migration of the 1950s and 1960s is known as the third major migrational movement of Brasil. The previous two waves are represented by the slave trade (16th to 18th centuries) as well the movements from Europe (19th century).

[23] In the 1970 the per capita income of the Southeast exceeded the national average by 53.2 percent, while that of the Northeast was 44.4 percent lower (Cf. Hudson 1997).

[24] About 20 percent of São Paulo's residents are supposed to be Baianos (e.g. stemming from the state Bahia in the North East, Cf. Rolnik 2008).

[25] The 18th article of the 1998 constitution states: "A organização política administrativa da República Federativa do Brasil compreende a União, os Estados, o Distrito Federal e os Municípios, todos autônomos, nos termos desta Constituição" (cf, Marini 2000).

litical significance.[26] While a large share of taxes and revenues goes towards the state and central governments, more than half of the municipalities rely on redistributions from the federal and state governments.[27] This flat distribution of votes and competencies is believed to be problematic.[28] (Cf. Fendt)

Economic indicators

"One of the main reasons why Brazil's growth has been slower than China's and India's is that Brazil is richer and more urbanised." (The Economist 2007)

In 2002 the GDP of Brazil, a country of 170 million, amounted to US$ 452 billion (The World Bank 2004). Latest figures of October 2008 indicate a current GDP of US$ 1,6 trillion and an average per capita product of US$ 8.600.[29] This roughly equals India (1 billion residents), a quarter of Germany (80 million residents), or slightly less than the gross product of the city of London.[30] [31]

In 2002 Brazil's per capita yearly gross domestic product (GDP) averaged US $2700, a figure five times higher than India's and three times that of Indonesia.[32] Indeed Brazil is one of the most dynamic emerging economies worldwide.[33] The country's GDP grew at moderate rates of 2,3 percent between 2001 and 2006[34], reflecting the advanced rates of urbanisation and development (Goldman Sachs, 2007). During the same period, the country's stock markets have grown by 369 percent (Ibidem) – mainly based on a booming demand in resources.

The time of the late 1960s and early 1970s saw the most rapid economic expansion and major social and economic transformation. The growth rates of that time amounted to 'Asian dimensions'.[35]

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[26] "The biggest enemy of Brazil's promise is an overbearing state: Brazil's federal system makes no distinction between forested provinces and the metropolis of São Paulo with its population of 10,8m… 'Every municipality has competence to do everything, which is absurd', says Raquel Rolnik, the national urban secretary… Most don't have capacity." (The Economist 2007)

[27] Basically municipalities get about 10 percent of tax revenues, while the central government's share is as high as 40 percent (Cf. The Economist 2007, quoting the Inter American Development Bank).

[28] In November 2008 Brazil received a us$ 500 Million credit to overhaul its tax management system (Cf. Rojas, at www.iadb.org/NEWS/detail.cfm?id=4855, r 12.12.2008).

[29] Cf. IMF, World Economic Outlook Database, 2008, r12.12.2008

[30] Cf. Appendix: Comparative Indicators table

[31] Brazil will be the world's 8th largest economy in 2025. By then it is supposed to become the fourth largest economy, after China, the US and India. Its GDP in PPP is projected to reach US$ 12.000 billion (Goldman Sachs 2007: 140).

[32] Mostly due to high inflation and fiscal reforms, this medium GDP per capita has more than tripled to US$ 8600 in 2008, (Cf. The World Bank 2004, CIA 2009, and IMF 2008).

[33] In 2001 the investment bank Goldman Sachs grouped the country, along with Russia, India and China, as one of the four "BRICs that would share the dominance of the world economy by 2050. Cf. Goldman Sachs, 2001: Building Better Global Economic BRICs'; New York.

[34] This figure is quite moderate compared to the rates of the other three BRICs; it reflects the relatively advanced state of the Brazilian economy.

[35] Brazil's average growth in whole 20th century averaged at 4.9 percent. The 1970s period (also the start-up era of AlphaVille) marked an extraordinary "taking-off" period (Cf. Goldman Sachs 2007: 78). In the 1970s, GDP grew 8.7 percent annually; industry, 9.5 percent; and agriculture, 4.4 percent. In the same period, the employed population increased 3.9 percent annually, from 29.6 million to 43.9 million persons (Cf. Hudson 1997), and per capita income experienced a marked increase in the 1970s, from US$ 1253 to US$ 2266. Though, the economic growth largely stagnated in the 1980s ("lost decade"). This was mainly a result of the 1978 oil shock as well as a severe debt crisis in 1982. Following Geisel's Real stabilisation plan in 1994, finances were reorganised and hyperinflation eradicated. The country started to grow again. While population growth rates have declined since the 1980s, economic growth has become increasingly dependent on capital accumulation and total factor productivity. (Cf. Goldman Sachs 2007: 78)

Distribution and transformation of economic sectors

The fact that Brazil's economy is comparatively advanced is reflected by the distribution between the three major economic sectors: agriculture, industry, and services. In 2002 the agricultural sector produced 24 percent of added value, the industrial sector accounted for 19 percent, and services made up 57 percent (Cf. The World Bank 2004, Goldman Sachs 2007).[36] The tertiary segment, in 2002 was 2,6 times as large as in India's and 1,5 times as large as Indonesia's (Cf. Appendix: Comparative matrix).[37] Nonetheless, it is important to note that the ever-increasing informal domain accounts for a significant part of the trend (Cf. below, Cf. Hudson 1997).[38]

In the 'Macrometrópole' São Paulo the primary sector amounted to insignificant with 0.1 percent of the total employment, industries engage a rough third of all workers, commerce takes up a sixth of all labourers, services 41 percent and public administration 15 percent (Cf. Villaça 2002). Also, in reference to the well-developed public sector described above, public administration posts make up one of the largest parts of the economy for many cities.[39]

Household size and income

Demographically decreasing household sizes[40] and population growth rates[41] reflect the trends of socio-economic maturation. For Eduardo Rojas of the Interamerican Development Bank this is a reason to hope that the situation of the poor may also significantly improve: "... people will have an opportunity to increase their income-earning capacity and improve their human capital and expand their physical assets, both conditions to overcome poverty." (Rojas 2004: 47)

Rise of middle classes

Economic growth has repeatedly lifted the country's average incomes towards the middle-income sector (Cf. Hudson 1997). (This was the case during the 1970s, when AlphaVille was underway, and again at the turn of the 20th century.[42] Many households crossed a threshold allowing for increased disposable incomes (Cf. The Economist 2009).

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[36] While the period from 1950 to 1970 witnessed slow growth in agricultural employment and a rapid increase in typically urban occupations, the 1970s and 1980 were marked by rapid growth in industrial employment, and the 1980's and 1990's were characterised by a rise of the services industries (including a rise of urban based informal employment). Correspondingly, the portion of agriculture in total employment fell from about 60 percent in 1950 to 44.3 percent in 1970, that of the industrial section expanded from 14,2 percent to 17,9 percent, and that of the services sector increased from 25,9 percent to 37,.8 percent. The share of Agriculture fell from 30,1 percent in1980 the share of agricultural employment had fallen to 9.4 percent in 1992 (Cf. Hudson 1997)

[37] In the industrialised economies service sectors range above the 70 percent mark and agricultural sectors amount to less than 5 percent (Ibidem).

[38] Interestingly the numbers for the secondary sector are almost equal with the Indian and Indonesian numbers. They range from 17 to 19 percent (Ibidem). While the industrial segment of Indonesia and India increased by 3-4 percentage points in the 1990s, in Brazil it declined by six percentage points (Ibidem).

[39] IBGE reported in 2005 that 31.3 percent of all Brazil's municipalities had more than one third of its economy dependent on public administration, and the weight of value added of public administration in Brazil, in 2005, was 13 percent. (Cf. http://www.ibge.gov.br/english/presidencia/noticias/noticia_visualiza.php?id_noticia=1061&id_pagina=1, r05.02.2009)

[40] Brazil went through a very fast transition between the 1980s and 2004, when fertility reached the replacement level (Naves 2007:2). Today one person households are on the increase (with a majority of women headed households), and large households on the decrease. (Ibidem: 3)

[41] In the 1950 population growth rates were around 3 percent per annum, at the turn of the millennium at 1,5 percent, and they are projected to fall below 0,2 percent in 2050. (Cf. Globalis 2008, r 1.12.2008) The average household size in 2008 was 2,4 people (Cf. http://www.idcide.com/realestate/in/brazil.htm, r12.12.2008)

[42] Only between 2002 and 2005 the number of households with annual disposable incomes over US$10,000 rose by 31,6 percent (Cf. http://www.euromonitor.com/Brazils_new_middle_class_has_a_growing_appetite_for_consumption, r27.03.2009).

The resulting population segment chiefly works in the services sector and embarks on consumer-oriented lifestyles (de Santos: 2, reciting Caldeira 2000).[43]

The growth has engendered a steep rise in demand for consumer goods and services: Nowadays 120 out of 1.000 people own a car[44], a 75 per thousand have their own personal computer, the country's energy consumption ranges at 1074 kg of oil eq.[45]

Poverty

Despite the advanced levels of development a large proportion of Brazil's population remains poor. In 2003, 21 percent of the population lived off of less than US$ 2 and 8 percent on less than one US$ 1 per day.[46] [47] Poverty is also reflected by high mortality rates, in particular among children: death rates of children under 5 are at 37 per mille.[48]

The informal sector

A growing informal sector is an integral part of Brazil's economy (as much as in many other parts of the developing world). While in the last 15 years extra-legal activities have decreased on a national scale, they have sharply increased in the cities (Cf. The Economist 2007). Increasing deindustrialisation[49] and a drastic rise of unemployment are seen as the main triggers of this informal boom. This has been particularly drastic in some of the traditional industrial centres. Between 1989 and 1997, Porto Alegre lost 31 percent of its industrial jobs, Campinas lost 28 percent, Curitiba 7,5 percent, Belo Horizonte 5,5 percent. But nothing matches the loss in Rio de Janeiro – here 45 percent of industrial jobs were cut over that period.[50] [51] [52] [53] Today informal employment accounts for almost two fifths of all wageworkers.[54] [55]

Marcio Pochman, a specialist in working relations at UNICAMP[56], draws an ever bleaker picture and marks out the trend as a process of dismantling of formal working

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[43] Ribeiro (2001:63) states more generally: „The total insertion of Brazil into the global economy solidifies its compliance with an international model of urban consumption and its consequences for urban organization."

[44] This is 10 times more than in Indonesia, and 20 times more than India, yet 4 times less than in the USA. (Cf. The World Bank 2004; Cf. also Appendix: Comparative Indicators).

[45] Only slightly more than the Indian and Indonesian numbers, it amounts to 25 percent of US American and 50 percent of European levels (Ibidem).

[46] Cf. http://earthtrends.wri.org/povlinks/country/brazil.php, r14.12.2008.

[47] This number was falling from 26,5 percent in 2001 (UN-Habitat 2001; Cf. Comparative chart in the Appendix)

[48] In the in the same range as Egypt or Turkey (Cf. The World Bank 2004)

[49] The value of industrial output decreased nationwide from 23.8 percent in 1994 to 19.1 percent in 1998 (Data from SEADE)

[50] FSP: Sep 19, 1999: 2-4

[51] This fact is supported by the observation that average labour productivity has declined since the 1980s. (Cf. Goldman Sachs 2007:79)

[52] Precise data on informal-sector employment is rare, but there are indications of its expansion since 1980 (Cf. Hudson 1997). Unemployment rates have soared from 7,9 percent by the end of the 1980's (Cf. Hudson 1997) to 18,2 percent in 1998 (Cf. SEADE figure, quoted in Villaça 2002). Between 1980 and 1990 the share of employees in the total employed urban labour force fell from 78,7 percent to 74.6 percent, and the share of the self-employed (many in the informal sector) rose from 17,2 percent to 19,1 percent (Cf. Hudson 1997).

[53] One important factor for the rising levels of informality is the rising global demand for flexible supply chains (Cf. the mainstream account on informality and globalisation such as Portes 1989). The other interlocking component is Brazil's extraordinarily bureaucratised regulatory context that encourages firms to work undercover (Cf. Goldman Sachs 2007:80).

[54] Soares 2004 accounts the impact of the increase of non-registered workers, as well as a constantly decreasing (!) wage gap between registered and non-registered workers as the two decisive factors behind the rise of the Brazilian informal sector. He estimates that almost 14 out of 36 million private sector wageworkers work informally. In this context the rise of informality is also related to market-oriented reforms, of the early nineties (Ibidem). The data used by Soares stems from the Annual Household Survey (PNAD – Pesquisa Nacional de Amostragem Domiciliar) carried out by the Brazilian Statistics Office (IBGE – Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatisticas).

[55] „One of the distinguishing features of the Brazilian labour market is the existence of a large number of workers whose job contract is not regulated by the legal labour code, i.e., they do not have a "signed work-card". These contracts are informal and illegal but make up something around 40 percent of the "wage workers" and seem to have increased since the early 1990's." (Soares 2004: 4)

[56] University of Campinas, State of São Paulo.

relations: "Between 1940 and 1990, for each 10 working positions created in the country, 8 were formally paid jobs. Two were non-paid jobs [autonomous or other]. In the 90's, from each 10 working positions created, 8 are non-formally paid [autonomous work or other] and 2 are paid, but without formal bonds to the employer." (Cf. FSP: Jun 14, 1999: 3-1).

Informality is also a common feature of Brazil's urban landscapes. According to data provided by Urban Age (2008) in the year 2000 37 per cent of the population in Brazil lived in favelas.[57]

Inequality and segregation

> *"The knowledge of the enormous inequalities which prevail in Brazil, is of vital importance, in the understanding not only of the country and its society but also of the urban space of its cities as well." (Villaça 2002)*

Income inequality is one of the most characteristic features of Brazilian society. Fernando Henrique Cardoso proclaimed in 1994 "Brazil is no longer an underdeveloped country. It is an unjust country."[58] Despite of multiple indicators pointing to a relatively matured economy, socio-economic unevenness remains a persistent enigma, in varying dimensions: from the North and the South, from rural to urban, and between Caucasian and coloured populations. Indeed, as Villaça says above, this sort of 'structural unevenness' is an important precondition to understand the country.[59]

Critical voices such as Oscar Ribeiro speak not only of inequality but of a deliberate social exclusion and urban usurpation: "Today, in the context of these ongoing changes, the Brazilian urban question is no longer qualified by just inequities, but even more so by social exclusion"(Cf. Ribeiro 2001: 64).

Trends in income and income distribution – rising incomes but growing disparities
The overall picture presents a parallel development of rising per capita incomes yet at the same time falling minimum wages.[60] Moreover, the disparity between the top 10 percent of earners and the bottom has steadily increased.[61] Spatially, the divide surfaces from North to South, between city and hinterland, as well as among local neighbourhoods.

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[57] Respective numbers for other countries amounted to 33 percent in Argentina, 22 percent in Colombia and 68 per cent in Peru. The average number across South America is 36 percent (Cf. http://www.urban-age.net/10_cities/_data/data_SP.html, r07.01.2009).

[58] Quoted in http://www.everyculture.com/Bo-Co/Brazil.html, r03.01.2008.

[59] A county survey of The Economist's (2007) confirms inequality as one permanent feature of Brazilian culture and politics: "Brazil's bloodiest conflicts, with the exception of the ruinous Paraguayan war of 1865-1870, have been internal affairs, pitting classes, regions and races against each other. The country's thinkers have dwelt on the paradox of a nation where power is a rich man's luxury and vitality flows from below. Its politics are a quest to narrow the awkward gap between the Brazil of closed condominiums and the other Brazil of untreated sewage. ... In metropolitan areas informality rose sharply between 1992 and 2005 even as it fell nationally". (Cf. The Economist 2007: "Rich man, poor man")

[60] While Brazil's average per capita income was raised from the low-income range in the late 1950s to the upper middle-income range in 1980, the average minimum wage shows a downward course. In 1961 the monthly minimum wage averaged US$ 113,30 (in 1986 dollars), while in 1991 it amounted to less than one-third this sum (Cf. Hudson 1997).

[61] In 1960 the poorest 10 percent of the employed labour force with earnings received 1.9 percent of the total earnings, but in 1990 their share was only 0,8 percent. At the other extreme, the richest 10 percent increased their share of total earnings from 39,6 percent in 1960 to 44.1 percent in 1990 (Cf. Hudson 1997).

Growth Environment Score (GES) [62]

Brazil's ambivalent standing between the first world and the developing world is reflected the country's Growth Environment Score (GES). In 2007 Brazil's GES amounted to 4,2. The country was ranked 88th rank among 170 nations. Notably, the individual components of the GES reveal the county's fragmented and ambiguous condition. While life expectancy and technological standing correlate to Western standards, education, macro-economic conditions, as well as high debt and inflation are stated as the major problems (Cf. Goldman Sachs 2007: 92).

HDI versus QoL

These contradictions are also revealed when juxtaposing the Human Development Index (HDI) with the quality of life index. While the HDI ranges at 80, along the same levels as China, Russia, or Turkey (Cf. UN 2008), if features a quality of life index of 6,47 that is not far from Great Britain's 6,91.[63]

Household incomes and polarisation

Another good indicator of economic polarisation is the distribution of household incomes: In 2002 11,2 percent of all households had no income, 32,2 percent earned up to 3 minimum salaries[64], 52,4 percent earned up to 30 minimum salaries, and a residual part of 4,2 percent earned more than 30 salaries.[65] (Cf. Villaça 2002)[66]

Gini-Index

Brazil's Gini-Index, a prominent measure for income inequality, amounts to 0,61. It affirms the country as one of the most unequal places on the globe and underlines critical trends of rising polarisation.[67] The Gini coefficient for the country has been constantly increasing: from 0.50 in 1960 to 0.56 in 1970, 0.59 in 1980, and 0.60 in 1990 (Hudson 1997). On a worldwide scale the country is ranked just below Sierra Leone, Botswana, and Bolivia.[68]

Detailed data for the environs of our study case reveals that AlphaVille-Tamborè is located in one of the country's most unequal regions: Santana de Parnaíba with a Gini of 0,73 is leading the list of the most uneven municipalities in Brazil. Barueri is not far behind with an index of 0,69.[69] [70]

→ Illustration D-2: Income gaps in São Paulo and Santana de Parnaiba

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[62] GES is an index to measure the openness of a country's environment to support potential economic growth. It was developed by Goldman Sachs in 2005. The index measures 13 components across five broad areas macroeconomic stability, macroeconomic conditions, human capital, political conditions and technology to assess the growth environment (Cf. Goldman Sachs 2007: 143).

[63] The quality of life index is measured on a scale from 1 to 10.

[64] One minimum salary in 2006 amounted to about 170 US$

[65] If a threshold is drawn at the mark of one minimum salary, the 1990 household survey revealed that 30.8 percent (some 19.9 million people) of the employed population earned this amount or less. Accordingly 14 percent earned more than 20 minimum salaries (Cf. IBGE 2001, Censos Demográficos).

[66] "In Brazil the wealthiest 20 percent have an income 33 times bigger than the poorest 20 percent. In Mexico it is 13 times bigger... the wealthiest 10 percent capture 46 percent of total income, whereas the poorest 10 percent capture only 1 percent..." (Cf. Villaça 2002, quoting the UN Human Development Index, 2000).

[67] Cf. UN 2007, Cf. cia.gov, r12.03.2009.

[68] Indonesias's and India's Gini values range below 0,4, Germany's at 0,3 (Cf. Appendix: Comparative Indicators).

[69] Barueri heads the list of municipalities of 200.000 residents and more. Cf. http://www.fomezero.gov.br/noticias/barueri-usa-pesquisas-para-melhorar-odm/?searchterm=urbaniza%C3%A7%C3%A3o, r28.03.2009

[70] In contrast the State of São Paulo, with a Gini of 0,59 was slightly less unequal than the whole country,
(Cf. IBGE 2002: Atlas do Desenvolvimento Humano no Brasil, quoted in: Prefeitura do Município de Santana de Parnaíba, Plano Diretor 2005/2006, ANEXO A.08)

North-South divide

Brazil continues to be marked by an immense North-South divide. In 1990 53,1 percent of the country's 39,1 million poor, stemmed from the deprived Northeast - less than half that amount (25,4 percent) came from the well-off Southeast. Notably, in the Northeast, the majority of the poor lived in rural areas, while in the Southeast the largest portion of the poor lived in cities (Hudson). While huge national disparities existed from the beginning (initially the North was dominating the country), the period of 1968-73 (the planning period of AlphaVille) marks an important watershed, characterised by a concentrated industrialisation of the South leading to an increasing concentration of incomes and an increasing articulation in regional disparities (Hudson 1997).

The polarisation and concentration in wealth is even more clearly displayed at the level of metropolitan regions. In 2006, only five municipalities bundled 25 percent of the country's wealth. The contributions of São Paulo (11,9%), Rio de Janeiro (5,4%), Brasília (3,8%), Belo Horizonte (1,4%) and Curitiba (1,4%), together accounted for about one quarter of the Brazilian GDP.[71]

Literacy rates – disparity among class, ethnicity and place

As with other socio-economic data the combination of advanced development and high polarisation is displayed by literacy rates. Almost 88 percent of Brazilian's above the age fifteen can read.[72] The rates for the genders are almost equal. On the other hand, a regional resolution reveals that in rural areas of the Northeast and North literacy rates are at African levels, while in the urban areas of the Southeast and South the figures correlate to developed nations (Cf. Hudson 1997). Moreover, the literacy levels also correlate with the income levels.[73] Illiteracy is ten times greater in the poorest 20 percent of population.

Notably it is not only the quantity but also the quality of Brazilian education that has a poor reputation – at least as the public sector is concerned. While, for example, Brazil spends almost twice as much (4,1 percent of GDP a year) on education as China; it ranks poorly in terms of the average number of years spent in school (Goldman Sachs 2008).

Urban-rural-gap

As much as elsewhere, Brazilian income levels also correlate with urbanisation rates. In the period 1975 to 2000, with few exceptions, urbanisation led higher per capita incomes (Cf. Rojas 2004: 8).[74]

In general the proportion of poverty in cities is smaller than in rural areas. While, in absolute terms about half of Brazil's poor lived in rural areas and the other half in urban areas, in relative terms, the proportion of the urban poor (22,5 percent) was substantially lower than that of the rural poor (50,1 percent, Cf. Hudson 1997).[75] In 1990 the total number of poor in the nine largest metropolitan regions amounted to almost 12,3 million people, or 28,9 percent of the total population. São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro had the

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[71] Cf. IBGE 2006: "Gross Domestic Product of Municipalities 2003-2006" at
http://www.ibge.gov.br/english/estatistica/economia/pibmunicipios/2006/default.shtm, r05.02.2009

[72] This is about the same rate as Indonesia, and twice as much as India (UNESCO data, at Globalis 2008).

[73] According to the 1991 census data, illiteracy rates can be as low as 0,4 percent among those youngsters (16-19) whose families earn more than two minimum salaries in Rio Grande do Sul and as high as 84,3 percent among those in ages 79 living in the Northeast and in families with incomes equivalent to one quarter of the minimum wage (Cf. http://www.brazil-brasil.com/blajul98.htm, 28.03.2009).

[74] On the entire Latin American subcontinent Economies of more urbanised regions grew faster than those of less urbanized regions, as urban areas offered better employment opportunities, higher incomes and easier access to public services.

[75] Significantly the Greater São Paulo region featured a lower share of households that earned more than the 20-fold minimum wage. In 2000 the respective number for the region ranged at 7 percent, while it amounted to 20 percent for the whole country (Cf. IBGE 2001, Censos Demográficos).

largest absolute numbers of poor (over 3 million, or nearly 24 percent of the total metro region), but the highest levels of urban poverty were in the urban regions of the North and Northeast (Cf. Hudson 1997, Cf. above).

Disparities within urban regions

The income gap has also constantly increased within urban areas. It widened in all metropolitan regions, except Curitiba, between 1970 and 1988 (Cf. Hudson 1997). In the Greater São Paulo region of the early 1990s, 60 percent of the employed work force earned less than two minimum wages.[76] At the other end, 11 percent of the employed workers secured more than 10 times the minimum wage.[77]

Lucia Maria Machado Bogus and Suzanna Pasternak (2004) describe how the trend towards spatial polarisation and segregation leads to gated communities and informal settlements as two extremes. They also describe the problematic impact of these urban typologies towards basic rights and democratic values: "One similarity between the two extremes, the slums and condos, is the denial of democratic values in the city, regarding the law, freedom of movement, the existence of a public space and equality."[78]

Spatial fragmentation

> „*Social class segregation is a necessary process for the upper classes to control the process production of urban space*" (Villaça 2002)

Since inequality and exclusion have significant implications for space and the urban structure, urban fragmentation and polarisation are major characteristics of the contemporary Brazilian city. In this context the urban tissue is increasingly fragmented and various land uses exist in close proximity without a direct interrelation: we find luxury enclaves next to favelas, schools next to light industries, or agriculture. The Argentinean scholar Eduardo Garay compares this phenomenon to the process of coagulating mayonnaise or milk.[79]

Box 26: Theory of social class segregation

We have seen above, that the comprehension of phenomena such as segregation, fragmentation and exclusion is of utmost relevance to understand the condition of Brazilian cities.[80] Unfortunately the interrelationships of urban structure and social structure are rarely understood. While many researchers keep measuring and describing social gaps and spatial fragmentation quantitatively, few theories on the phenomena have been developed. The São Paulo urban planner and professor Flavio Villaça represents one significant school of thought. He seeks to tackle this knowledge gap by de-

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[76] 10,8 percent, or 6,5 million persons, earned only one-half of a minimum wage (a monthly average of US$ 299), and 49,2 percent of the employed work force, or 29,8 million persons, received two minimum wages or less (Cf. Hudson 1997 quoting IBGE's the 1991 household survey)

[77] 7,8 percent received more than ten minimum wages, a monthly average of US$ 1941, and 3,2 percent, or 1,9 million persons, earned more than twenty minimum wages, or a monthly average of US$ 4000. At that time, more than 60 percent of formal employees earned less than the average monthly earnings of US$ 211 (Ibidem).

[78] "Uma semelhança entre os dois extremos, as favelas e os condomínios, está na negação dos valores democráticos da cidade, o respeito`a lei, o direito de livre circulação, a existência de um espaço público e igualitário." (Bogus and Pasternak 2004, Translation by the author)

[79] Cf. Prof Garay during a lecture given in 2003 at the FADU/UBA in Buenos Aires.

[80] "One of the most outstanding features of urban space in Brazilian large and middle size cities is that all of them exhibit to a considerable degree a significant pattern of socio-spatial segregation. It is a subtle type of segregation, different from traditional patterns. ... This pattern has to be understood if one has to understand the structure of metropolitan space in Brazil." (Villaça 2002)

veloping a theory of Social Class Segregation.[81] The perspective is based on Villaça's professional expertise as a public planner and a scholar with a profound familiarity with the work of Manuel Castells.[82]

The most important 'principles' of the theory of class segregation and the characteristics of the elite sectors that Villaça has in mind can be summarised as follows:

Social class segregation is:

1) Defined as a process that enables upper-class populations to control urban territories and the production of urban space. "In societies with a wide gap between the rich and poor the control of urban space production process would be impossible without segregation in one single region of the metropolitan area."(Ibidem)

2) Dominating other kinds of segregation, for example segregation along lines of ethnicity or religion. Villaça writes accordingly that "Class segregation is the main force determining urban spatial structure and differences in urban space, in societies with a deep gap between social classes." ... "In São Paulo rich gays and poor gays meet in different sectors on the city". (Villaça 2002)

3) Mainly driven by the upper classes, who cultivated certain patterns in Brazil. Villaça writes accordingly "In Brazil upper-class neighbourhoods have shown a pattern of movement, always in the same direction." (Ibidem)

4) Dependent on the size of the social gap that exists in a society: "We believe that the wider the gap between social classes' economic and political power (as in Latin America) the stronger will be upper-class segregation and the stronger the role their segregated area will play in shaping the whole of urban spatial structure." (Ibidem)

5) Fostering a trend towards a disproportionally high concentration of upper income households in certain areas: "In most cities – São Paulo included – such areas concentrate about 10 percent of total population but more then 50% of upper class families. (Ibidem) and "Only segregation in one single broad urban region – the one we are calling here area of high concentration of upper income classes – makes possible for upper classes the control of the urban economy... " (Ibidem)

6) Nonexclusive as: "The remaining 50 percent are spread out all over the remaining urban area." ... "The majority of upper class families live in such areas, but the reverse is not true." (Ibidem)

An "Area of high concentration of upper income classes" is characterised as follows:

a) It is heterogeneous and thus may contain several neighbourhoods of different social classes, sometimes-even favelas (Cf. Paraisópolis is Morumbi)

b) The elite group does not need to make up the majority in numbers. "Most often a majority is comprised of non-middle class households." (Ibidem)

c) Centrality and access to jobs, services and infrastructures are of primary importance.

d) The structure grows in a certain direction. In the case of São Paulo the wedge formed 'vetor sudoeste'. (Cf. below)

→ Illustration D-3: Photograph of São Paulo's 'operative landscape'

Liberalisation programmes and their effects

„Trade liberalisation has exerted a strong positive influence on TFP [83], and thus has been a key driver of growth" (Goldman Sachs 2007: 78).

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[81] Indeed Villaça (2002) charges the research world of not having developed any significant insight on urban segregation since the renowned works of Chicago School of Sociology in the 1920s.

[82] Castells' theories are fundamental to Villaça. The Spanish-Californian researcher established a theory of spatial segregation as an instrument of power and control and stressed the relevance plays in this process when he states: "Urban space is a set of resources produced by human labour and social classes struggle for its unequal appropriation... location is the main and non-reproducible or these resources. ... Through segregation, the production (and consumption) process of locations (and their counterpart which is transportation) is controlled. The control we are talking about is exercised through the control of space production in itself." (Castells 1978 quoted by Villaça 2002)

[83] Total factor productivity

A high level of internationalization is among the basic characteristics of the Brazilian economy. For many years now foreign corporations have played a leading role in many economic segments (Cf. Hiratuka 2008). Private entrepreneurs have played a crucial role in the development of urban infrastructure.[84]

After the World WarII the county experienced two significant waves of economic liberalisation: a first linked to the model of a techno-authoritarian development of the 1960 and 1970s, and a second in relation to the democratisation process of the early 1990s. The intermediate era of the 1980s was marked by a recession and a debt crisis. This has largely contributed to the end of the authoritarian era leading to democratisation, deregulation and privatisation reforms (Cf. below: Milestones).

I- Wave – Economic policies during AlphaVille's founding

AlphaVille's story is deeply embedded in the economic strategies of the military regime and the resulting economic boom. "When the revolutionaries took over in April 1964, Brazil was approaching bankruptcy, with foreign-exchange reserves of less than US \$150 million, and a cost of living that was soaring at the fantastic rate of 144 percent a year." (Hudson 1997).

The situation changes when the military regime of 1964-1986 embarks on a development policy marrying central planning and liberal development models that results in a technocratic planning approach.[85] At the time, foreign corporations are matched with domestic enterprises (public as well as private) to develop a diversified industrial (infra)structure of western standards. This is seen as an important precondition for the success of import substitution policies aimed at helping the country to rebound[86] (Cf. Ribeiro 2001; Veiga 2004; Hiratuka 2008; Cf. below: Milestones). The strategies, along a context of a favourable world economy, result in a very rapid growth.[87]

Amount of World Bank aid money, funds in the 1970s

An important factor that supported Brazil's economic turnaround in the 1970s was a gush of international aid money. Some say that Brazil's decision to join the anticommunist club was rewarded by a flood of investments and loans. The Time magazine of December 31 1965 heralded that: "President Humberto Castello Branco's tough-minded revolutionary government is giving Brazil a breath of political and economic stability." (Cf. TIME Magazine, December 31, 1965)[88]

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[84] In the 19th century São Paulo's streets, tramway and electricity systems are developed by the São Paulo Tramway Light & Power (also termed 'Light'), a British-Canadian enterprise (Cf. Anelli, 2008:17).

[85] Cf. the postcolonial Suharto regime in the Indonesian Chapter of this thesis.

[86] In the mid-1970s, the regime began implementing a development plan aimed at increasing self-sufficiency in many sectors and creating new comparative advantages. Its main components were to promote import substitution of basic industrial inputs (steel, aluminium, fertilizers, petrochemicals), to make large investments in the expansion of the economic infrastructure, and to promote exports. (Cf. Hudson 1997)

[87] The policy was only possible at the expense of enormous sums borrowed on international markets, while: "… the international financial system was awash in petrodollars and was eagerly offering low-interest loans." (Hudson 1997).

[88] The TIME article reported in more detail that: "Alcoa is planning a \$50 million aluminium project, Volkswagen is spending \$100 million to double its 60,000-car annual production, and Ford is building a \$30 million plant that will turn out all-Brazilian Galaxies in 1966" (Ibidem). Moreover, The World Bank – absent from Brazil since 1959 – agreed to lend US\$ 80 million for power projects. The International Monetary Fund, another long-absent investor, chipped in \$125 million, plans to offer \$120 million to \$180 million more in new standby credit next year. And the U.S., which cut Alianza aid to Brazil to a trickle under Goulart [the last president before the overthrow], has granted more than US\$500 million in technical and economic assistance. (Time Magazine 1965: "Brazil: Toward Stability"; Friday, Dec. 31, New York; at: http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,842333,00.html, r27.12.2008)

II Wave– 'democratic liberalisation'

As a reaction to the structural and debt crisis of the 1980s the democratic governments embark on further liberalisation reforms. In this context the Collor, Itamar and Cardoso governments become known for their Plano Collor and "Plano Real" programs.

During this time the state starts to privatise an increasing number of strategic national entreprises under the National Privatization Program (Programa Nacional de Desestatização, or PND).[89] In addition the country opens up for direct foreign investments and international trade.

Notably, the liberalisation and decentralisation policies aggravate two important spatial trends: a) an ongoing dispersal of the industrial productive system throughout the country; and b) the concentration of points of power, decision making, innovation and advanced tertiary services. This context was affirmative for São Paulo's role as an economic centre of Brazil and beyond (Mercosur).

Internationalisation

Since the return of the democracy as well as the opening up of trade borders, economic internationalisation is on the rise. (Cf. below: Milestones) The expanding presence of internationals, as well as massive inflows of international money and technology, has had far-reaching effects on the local economic system, up to the organisation of enterprises.[90]

Significantly in the mid 1990s most of the legal differences between Brazilian companies and foreign owned companies are abandoned, and state monopolies on oil and gas end (Cf. Veiga 2004: 4). The major reforms affect not only the FDI regulations but also the investment rules. Likewise many public monopolies (e.g. health and infrastructure sector) are opened up for private entrepreneurship (Ibidem: 4).[91] As a result international corporations begin to expand their presence in the Brazilian economy again.[92]

FDI inflows; Aid money, remittances etc

A notable result of the democratic liberalisation is a huge inflow of foreign money. Brazil becomes the largest addressee of foreign direct investments (FDI) in Latin America and one of the largest worldwide.[93] It also becomes one of the largest clients of The World Bank.[94] At the turn of the Millennium FDI amounts to US$ 30 billion. Only China receives more money at that time (Cf. Rothmuller 2003)

After reaching 5,4 percent of GDP in the year 2000 and declining to less than 1,7 percent in 2003, international investments rise to US$ 3, 5 billion in 2007 (Cf. The World Bank 2008). The largest share of the international money, 28 percent, originates in the USA. 15 percent comes from Germany (UNCTAD 2002). While before 1995 the largest share (64 percent) of the money went to the manufacturing sector, the ratio flips in 2000 towards the services sector (UNCTAD 2002, Hiratuka 2008). [95]

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[89] The Banco Nacional de Desenvolvimento Econômico–BNDE coordinated the plan. (Cf. Hudson 1997)

[90] The recent merger of AlphaVille Urbanismo with Gafisa, and of Tamboré SA with Brascan, can be seen as a reverberation of this trend of economic consolidation under conditions of increased international competition

[91] Hudson 1997 also reports that: "During the Collor government between 1990 and 1992, fifteen state-owned enterprises were privatized, yielding about US$ 3.5 billion in total proceeds. The most important sale was that of the Minas Gerais Iron and Steel Mills, Inc. (Usinas Siderúrgicas de Minas Gerais SA-Usiminas) steel company in October 1991, which alone accounted for nearly twice the revenue of all previous privatizations and sold for US$ 2.3 billion."

[92] Hiratuka 2008:4 notes that: from the 1980s to the mid nineties FDI inflows increased from approximately US$ 1.5 billion to an average annual level of US$ 24 billion.

[93] Cf. United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), 2002, FDI in brief: Brazil, at www.unctad.org/sections/dite_fdistat/docs/wid_ib_br_en.pdf, r12.12.2008.

[94] Cf. Catoinstitute.org 1988, https://www.cato.org/dailys/5-04-98.html r.04.01.2008.

[95] By 2000, the service sector's share in the FDI stock increases to 64percent and that of the manufacturing sector had dropped to 33.7 percent. (Cf. Hiratuka 2008: 5)

Crucially, the monetary inflows augment the share of the Brazilian economy in foreign hands (Cf. Hiratuka 2008: 5). The implications of this trend are highly controversial and are debated among liberal and protectionist sides. Some critics suggest that mainly the donor countries benefit from their FDI investments (Cf. Rothmuller 2003).[96] Others see more positive effects: Hiratuka (2008: 9), for example states that multinationals in Brazil are generally more productive, have a higher qualified labour force, pay higher wages, are more innovative and have a higher degree of trade integration.

While Hiratuka is sceptical that the impact of internationals would have a dynamising effect on productivity for the industrial structure as a whole, the contrary can be observed in the case of AlphaVille Urbanismo and Tamboré SA. As will be seen in the course of this chapter, AlphaVille's major developers appropriate international standards and technologies early on and become part of larger conglomerates and overseas markets,[97]

Liberalisation of the housing sector

In the context of deregulation and liberalisation as described above, Brazil's housing sector has also seen a fundamental overhaul (Cf. Rojas 2004).[98] The national housing strategies increasingly shifted from supply towards demand-driven tactics along the principles of the Washington Consensus (Cf. the Introduction chapter).[99] This 'enabling approach' to housing markets implied that the government started to play the role of a regulator and facilitator instead of a direct provider.

The new policy rested on two main pillars: 1) A direct, demand-driven system of direct household subsidies, as well as 2) the provision of houses by private sector enterprises. Long-term mortgage-backed loans for households as well as for developers have been an essential instrument in this context.[100]

Another important aspect of the reforms was political decentralisation. In the 1990s, the state and municipalities took over expanded responsibilities for the provision of key services (such as health and education) to low-income populations and the regulation and overseeing of privatised services. International donors largely supported these initiatives.[101]

Effects of liberalisation on the real estate and construction sectors

By the end of 1980s Brazil became The World Bank's largest urban development borrower and many Brazilian cities started to invest in urban infrastructure. As a consequence the property and construction sectors were experiencing a major boom. In the first decade of the 21st Century the country's economy experienced extraordinary growth

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[96] Hiratuka 2008 states that: "According to data from the census of foreign capital carried out in 1995 and 2000 by the Brazilian Central Bank, total sales of foreign majority-owned companies reached 14.4% of Brazil's total output in 1995. In 2000, this ratio increased to 19.7%. Foreign corporations also increased their share of the country's foreign trade, reaching 41.3% of exports and 49.3% of imports" (Ibidem: 5). The role of the foreign capital is even stronger when we consider only large companies. Among the largest 500 private Brazilian companies, those under foreign control accounted for 41.2% of sales in 1989. This share increased to 49.9% in 1997 and, by 2003, reached 51.7% (Ibidem: 5).

[97] Cf. the Developers and Finance sections below

[98] It appears that many aspects of the liberal reforms in India and Indonesia worked along parallel lines.

[99] The 1980s in particular witnessed the gradual consolidation of a novel approach to low-cost housing and housing sector financing and management" (Rojas 2004). The approach was originally advocated by the United Nations (HABITAT, 1988) and then adopted by The World Bank in the early 1990s (The World Bank, 1993) and by the IDB shortly thereafter (IDB, 1995a). (From Rojas 2004: 23)

[100] Rojas (2004: 23) lists among the major priorities for reforms: The development primary and secondary mortgage markets, the facilitation of land subdivision and servicing for residential uses, and improvements in the construction industry.

[101] International donors accordingly introduced new programmes and policies to strengthen the capacities of the sub-national governments. In addition, they developed 'Private Sector Lending Windows.' The Bank provided syndicated loans and guarantees for private companies investing in municipal infrastructure, most frequently in sanitation, transportation and energy distribution (Rojas/IADB: 35).

along a global boom of basic resources (Cf. Goldman Sachs 2007), as well as a tempered inflation (Cf. The Economist 2007). Now international investors seek to diversify their stakes in infrastructure as well as real estate projects and property and construction companies are increasingly prominent among those heading for the Novo Mercado (The Economist 2007).[102] The real estate consultancy Colliers reports a recent boom in the construction of large Grade A and A+ office buildings, which is based on the increasing valorisation of spaces in central cities.[103] Consequently, São Paulo now features the third highest office prices, after New York and Washinghton D.C.[104] [105]

Culture – A colourful balance between integration and segregation

In addition to demographic, historic and economic factors, culture is a significant component of society. Consequently it becomes important to understand the same as a precondition of conceptualising the production of contemporary space. Behavioural codes, morals, and traditions the everyday have a tremendous impact on the construction (and structure) of space and politics. Yet, in contrast to profits, population numbers or historical dates, the object is elusive and much more difficult to qualify. A subject aiming to conceptualise his own culture faces the puzzle of transcending it at the same time. Moreover, culture, as much as space, is a process that is subject to constant development, redefinition and change.

Even so, the next paragraph makes an attempt to elucidate the cultural context of Brazil and to explore the possible impacts of culture on the production and formation of contemporary space. It will thus provide a brief outline of the political, religious and ethnic dimensions of Brazilian culture. Some of these dimensions, such as 'Caudillismo', have been briefly encountered above.

Multiethnic society

> *The Brazilian culture is known for its relative freedom regarding the human body: From carnival to soccer, Bodies are constantly being moved, vitalised, and presented. This attitude parallels a way of life for that the exterior space was always more important as a space of representation than interior spaces, consequently the street is more important than the four walls of the own apartment.*[106]

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[102] The Economist 2007 comments in its special report titled "The blessings of stability": that "investors are crowding around Brazilian infrastructure projects like thirsty sheep". It also reports that: "Now builders lick their lips at the prospect of "Mexicanisation", thanks to stability and better loan guarantees. Property and construction companies are prominent among those heading for the Novo Mercado. (The Economist 2007: The blessings of stability. Lower inflation has done wonders for finance and industry.)

[103] „O Índice Nacional de Preços ao Consumidor Amplo (IPCA) prevê uma leve redução da inflação para os próximos 12 meses, e um pequeno aumento no crescimento da economia de 3,90% para 4%. ... A estabilidade da economia que vem aquecendo o mercado imobiliário desde 2006 tem permitido uma rápida absorção das novas áreas que estão sendo entregues, motivando assim, o investimento de construtoras que tiram do papel grandes projetos e aceleram a construção de empreendimentos já em andamento. ... Os edifícios considerados A e A+ são grande parte do novo estoque, que entrará no mercado nos próximos anos, representando 90% dos edifícios em construção em São Paulo. (Cf. Colliers International: Knowledge Report Primeiro Trimestre, 2007)

[104] Cushman & Wakefield 2005 at http://www.cushwake.com/cwglobal/jsp/newsDetail.jsp?repId=ca3400256&LanId=EN&LocId=GLOBAL, r03.01.2009.

[105] The average monthly rental price for a square metre of A+ office space in the city was ranging around BRL 110,00. Price peaks of BRL 130,00 per square metre per month have been reported for the new centre of Faria Lima (Colliers 2008b).

[106] "Die brasilianische Kultur ist bekannt für relative Freiheit in Bezug auf den menschlichen Körper. Vom Karneval bis zum Fußball werden Körper bewegt belebt und zur Schau gestellt. Diese Einstellung ist parallel zu einer Lebensweise, für die der Außenraum als Ausdrucksmöglichkeit immer wichtiger war als der Innenraum, und daher auch die Stadt und die Straße wichtiger als die eigenen vier Wände." (Cf. Silke Knapp at Wolkenkuckucksheim; http://www-1.tu-cottbus.de/BTU/Fak2/TheoArch/Wolke/deu/Themen/021/Kapp/Kapp.htm, r04.01.2008)

Brazil represents one of the most colourful, multicultural and multiethnic societies on the planet. The Brazilian model of society is based on cultural and ethnic heterogeneity, social integration and tolerance, while for example, the Anglo-Saxon model has much longer thrived on the institutionalisation of difference, anti-miscegenation policies are unknown in Latin America.[107]

The roots for the country's hybrid culture date back to colonial times, marked by a legacy of Portuguese colonial rule, African slave populations[108], as well as large inflows of migrants from Europe and Asia. A significant amount of ethnic and cultural mixing occurred between Native Americans, Portuguese and Africans. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries Italian, German, Spanish, Arab and Japanese added to the cultural diversity.

While the strong tradition of racial integration made Brazil, at least officially, a 'coloured democracy' without prejudice towards diverse people,[109] the country's fragmented urban landscapes portray the fact that various cultural dimensions have never mixed and that a culture of differentiation and segregation exists.

Religion

The language, religion and law of the Portuguese colonisers can be seen as an instrument of synchronisation and control. Portuguese is the major language spoken by almost every citizen. Likewise the country is predominantly Christian, featuring the world's largest Catholic community in the world.[110]

Ethnicity

Still, Brazil is among the most racially heterogeneous countries on earth. A blending of African, Indian, and European elements makes Brazilian culture unique. Slightly more than half of Brazilians, 53.7 percent, are classified as white, about two fifths, or 38.5 percent are mulatto (mixed white and black), 6.2 percent are black, Japanese, Arab, and Amerindian minorities comprise about one percent, and 0.7 percent are unspecified (2000 census quoted in www.cia.gov, r 04.01.2008).

Yet, these distinct categories may be misleading as most Brazilians are supposedly of mixed ancestry. In the past the country never had two discrete racial categories—black and white—and Brazilians recognize a wide variety of ethnic categories.[111] As a consequence a national identity of a Brazilian "race" is prevalent, and this in turn serves as a common reason for most of Brazilians to distinguish themselves from other Latin Americans.[112]

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[107] „Quando analisamos o modelo norte-americano (ou mesmo anglo-saxão) observamos que a segregação étnica e racial é uma prática histórica. Nossa tradição latina defende que a convivência entre diferentes permite uma maior tolerância social. O local por excelência de convivência de grupos sociais distintos seria o espaço público." (Loffredo 2006: 2)

[108] The practice of slavery began earlier, lasted longer, and involved the importation of two to three times more slaves than in the United States. When by the 17th century the deportation of slave into North America was just beginning, slave trade had already been operating for more than a century in Brazil. While the greatest amount of settlers who came to the North American colonies were families, the Portuguese colonists were frequently single males (Cf. http://www.everyculture.com/Bo-Co/Brazil.html, r04.01.2008).

[109] Cf. http://www.everyculture.com/Bo-Co/Brazil.html, r04.01.2008.

[110] Nearly three quarters of all residents are Roman Catholic; another 15,4 percent are Protestant. (Cf. www.cia.gov, r 04.01.2008)

[111] Historically Brazil was a nation of coloured people until the 1870s. In the first national census in 1872 over 60 percent of the population was classified as black or of mixed ancestry. Portuguese colonists amounted only to a small proportion of slave and indigenous populations. The resulting tendency of single white men to take African or indigenous women as concubines or wives eventually lead to the great racial mix that characterizes Brazilian society today (Cf. http://www.everyculture.com/Bo-Co/Brazil.html, r04.01.2008).

[112] Ibidem

Despite the formally open and multiethnic society the real population is extremely polarised and fragmented (Cf. Above: Section on segregation). Undoubtedly dark-skinned populations are more likely to be deprived and poor.[113] Ethnic compositions also vary in the various parts of the country. The Northeast has a high proportion of people of African descent; the South and Southeast are home to the bulk of Brazilians of European and Japanese ancestry. Indigenous people live largely in the North and Central-West. (Cf. Ibidem)

Elite cultures

Despite being one of the most equal and tolerant countries on the globe, by constitution as well as by culture, the country remains dominated by feudalistic traditions and elitist cultures.[114] Powerful minorities generally resist political change, explore legal loopholes and slow down the redistribution of political and economic power. This was the case, for example, when it took ten years to approve a new constitution.[115] Moreover the power of the privileged groups appears to be reinforced by government support (Cf. Villaça 2001, 2002).[116]

The country's elite culture is rooted in a legacy of large monopolist land holdings. Brazil's agrarian structure is dominated by large land possessions. Significantly, less than one percent of the farms comprise more than 44 percent of the area. While more than three million farmers work on 20 million hectares, the twenty largest landowners own the same amount. [117]

Today, this tradition of the privileged is increasingly drawn along the lines of class and income. It materialises in affluent urban sectors attracting large sums of public money, or in the increasing prominence of high-rise condominiums or guarded land divisions (loteamentos fechados), modules that also form the basic structure of AlphaVille-Tamboré.

Jeitos and Clientilism

In many developing countries, including Brazil, it is not the existence of laws and regulations that is a problem, but their acceptance and enforcement (Cf. the Jakarta Chapter). While the regulatory frameworks tend to be extremely formalised and occasionally corrupt, down to earth pragmatism in achieving the desired ends is what counts.

Two important survival strategies in this context are 'jeitos' and clientelism: 'Jeitos' demarcates a strategy of cutting through bureaucratic obstacles, such as rules and red tape, to achieve a desired end.[118] Clientelism refers to a practice of produced and main-

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[113] Whites' incomes are 250 percent greater than non-whites. Non-whites have fewer years of schooling than whites, with illiteracy rates of 30 percent and 12 percent respectively (Ibidem).

[114] "20 years of military dictatorship did not abolish the culture of cordialidade" and even former presidents condemn a lack of citizenship and respect for the law. (Former president Fernando Cardoso quoted in The Economist 2007)

[115] Theresa Caldeira 2000 (372) confirms that: "the justice system is ineffective, justice is exercised as a privilege of the elite, individual and civil rights are delegitimized, and human rights violations (especially by the state) are routine."

[116] In studying São Paulo's elite neighbourhood of Morumbi Gonçalvez (1998: 12), a renowned local architect, confirms that the state reinforces the powerful elites by providing them with the entire major infrastructure necessary to sustain the present system. James Holston and Teresa Caldeira (2008:18) speak of an "exclusionary regime of political citizenship".

[117] Historically a small white elite of Portuguese ancestry dominated the colonial country. It owned sugar plantations worked by Indian, and later African slaves. A small European elite continued to dominate the country's political and economic life, when gold had replaced sugar as the principle source of wealth (later coffee would replace gold). (Cf. http://www.everyculture.com/Bo-Co/Brazil.html, r04.01.2008)

[118] "Jeitos are partly a response to Brazil's notorious bureaucratic thicket which makes getting a government document—be it a driving license, passport, or marriage license—a cumbersome process. Those who can afford to hire despachantes (dispatchers), professional facilitators who know how to do "jeitos", to get things done. Others do "jeitos" on their own; perhaps a small "gratuity" to a low-paid government clerk will produce the desired document." (http://www.everyculture.com/Bo-Co/Brazil.html, r05.01.2008)

tained influential connections and personal networks of patrons, politicians and high-ranking bureaucrats. (Ibidem)

Corruption Index

The concept of corruption attempts to qualify an incorrect handling of entrusted power. According to the organization Transparency International: "Corruption is the abuse of entrusted power for private gain. It hurts everyone whose life, livelihood or happiness depends on the integrity of people in a position of authority."[119] Transparency International attempted to quantify corruption by developing an index that describes the perception of corruption by a country's population.[120] According to this index, Brazil scores a value of 3.5 on a scale of 1 (most corrupt) to 10 (least corrupt).[121]

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[119] http://www.transparency.org/about_us, r03.01.2008

[120] "The Transparency International CPI measures the perceived levels of public-sector corruption in a given country. It is a composite index drawing on different expert and business surveys. The 2008 CPI scores 180 countries (the same number as the 2007 CPI) on a scale from zero (highly corrupt) to ten (highly clean)." (http://www.transparency.org/news_room/in_focus/2008/cpi2008, r05.01.2008)

[121] While this is the same range as India's 3,4, corruption seems to be worse than in Peru (3,6), Romania (3,8), Cuba (4,3), or Chile (6,9), but somewhat better than Argentina's score of 2.9 (Cf. Transparency International 2007).

São Paulo – 'Macrometrópole'

"Discutir a paisagem implica em discutir os processos sociais" (Campos 2005: 3)

After the basic parameters of AlphaVille-Tamboré's national-scale framework were examined above, the following section seeks to provide a synopsis of the local-regional setting. Consequently selected parameters on São Paulo and the region will be presented.

Table 30: Selected indicators of São Paulo and the SP Region[122]

Name	São Paulo
Size of SP region	850.000 hectares
Population of SP region	19,7 million123
Population of SP municipality	11 million124
Total regional density	21 persons per hectare
Annual population growth rates	0,8 percent
Densities at the centre	71 persons per hectare
Gross urban domestic product	224 billion US$
Quality of Life	131 in the world°
GINI Index	0.59
Share of country's GDP	13 percent
Number of high rises	> 6.100
Populations in slums	20 percent

The Macrometrópole's basics

São Paulo is the largest and most affluent region of the Brazil, South America's number one global city region and one of the largest metropolises worldwide. The city is the predominant economic and demographic growth pole of Brazil – as much as Jakarta and Mumbai are in their respective countries.[125] It represents a Brazilian milieu as described above with all its opportunities, ambiguities and problems in a concentrated form.

The city is situated in the south-western part of Brazil. The locality, only 50 kilometres from the sea on a plateau at 800 metres above sea level, results in a moderate climate. In 2006 every 10th Brazilian lived in São Paulo's metropolitan region. According to the Urban Planning department of the Municipality of São Paulo EMPLASA today São Paulo's Metropolitan Region (RMSP) features almost 20 million residents[126]. A further 4 million residents exist within a 90km radius. (Cf. Villaça 2002)

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[122] If not indicated otherwise the numbers stem from the comparative matrix (Cf. Appendix)

[123] Emplasa 2008: at http://www.emplasa.sp.gov.br/portalemplasa/infometropolitana/rmsp/rmsp_dados.asp, r.06.01.2009

[124] IBGE 2007: at http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/estatistica/populacao/contagem2007/defaulttab.shtm, r.06.01.2009

[125] The city is the 2nd most expensive city in the Americas (after New York City) and ranks 25th worldwide. (http://www.mercer.com/costofliving, r05.01.2008)

[126] When Campinas with around 2,5 million residents as well as the port city of Santos with another 1,5 million are included: http://www.emplasa.sp.gov.br/portalemplasa/index.asp, r06.01.2008

A significant detail (which São Paulo shares with many Megacities) is a huge disparity between the political boundaries of the city and the footprint of the urbanised area.[127] The locals, or Paulistanos, came up with the new term Macrometrópole to describe this overwhelming regional agglomeration (Cf. Meyer 2008, Cf. Emplasa-website, r07012009). Some even portray the entire urban corridor between São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro as a large megalopolis. (Cf. Goulhard 2006)

→ Illustration D-4: Region of São Paulo (RMSP)

São Paulo experienced a phenomenal growth during the past century and a half. It grew from 31.000 residents in 1872 (the first year with census records), to 1,3 million in 1940, to 10,5 million by the year 2000. The growth was highest at the peak times of industrialisation. In the 1960s and 1970s the city was growing at decanal rates of 5,3 percent, more rapidly than the state (3,2 percent), or the nation (2,7 percent).[128]

The city represents an extreme economic, demographic and cultural concentrate. Among the predominant contemporary trends are ongoing increasing suburbanisation (or 'peripherisation') and a dynamically growing informal sector ('favelisation'). The 1990s represent an important watershed marked by first time negative migration rates. This was the decade, when people started to leave the centre towards the region at an average rate of 69 thousand per year while growth rates had slowed down to an annual 1,13 percent in the 1980's. Only informal areas kept growing at rates of 4 to 7,5 percent per year. (Bogus, Pasternak 2004: 2)

AlphaVille is located in one rapidly urbanising peripheral areas of the metropolitan region. While the area marked an urban frontier during the [129]1970s, today it has became fully integrated into the dynamic and widespread urban corpus.

Economy – superb concentration

São Paulo represents an enormous concentration of wealth. The state of São Paulo is by far Brazil's richest, most developed and populous, accounting for over 50 percent of industrial production (Cf. Rojas 2004: 13). Here 22 percent of the national population generate 34 percent of the county's gross national product. Moreover, São Paulo's greater metropolitan region (RMSP) is the most important economic pole of state and country. In 1996 the region was responsible for 90,3 percent of the industrial added value in the state (Cf. Villaça 2002).

Its size coupled with a relatively advanced state of development made São Paulo the 19th richest city of the world in 2008; a rise to the 13th rank is forecasted for 2020. According to data of IBGE, Brazil's major statistics institute, the city's Gross domestic product (GDP) in 2005 amounted to BRL 240 billion (US$ 160 billion). This was an equivalent of 13 percent of the national GDP.[130] São Paulo's role reverberates in its urban landscape. 6.100 highrise structures[131] spread as far as the horizon.[132]

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[127] In 2000 about 10 million people, lived in what is the City of São Paulo, representing while 60 percent of the regional, and 30 percent of the state's population. (Cf. Bogus, Pasternak 2004: 2)

[128] Cf. Brant 98 quoted by Bogus and Pasternak: 11

[129] The periphery accounted for 55 percent São Paulo City's population increase in the 1970s and for almost 97 percent in the 1980, and for 127 percent in the 1990s. São Paulo's central neighbourhoods between the Tiête and Pinheiros rivers lost 130 thousand residents in the 1980s, and more than 168 million during the 1990s. On the other hand the periphery has added 1,3 million new residents in the 1980s and more than 1 million in the 1990s (Bogus, Pasternak 2004: 4, Cf. also to the chart there)

[130] This is more than the output of Egypt, and twice as much as the GDP of Mumbai or BSD

[131] Emporis.com, r30.03.2009 lists 5,649 as 'existing', 435 as 'under' construction, and 261 planned high-rise structures.

[132] This number is only topped by New York and Hong Kong

Global impacts

Brazil's cities have been the focal points of the country's economic development and in- dustrialisation early on.[133] Today a specific set, lead by São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, plays a central role in linking the country to global networks of production, consumption and exchange. These cities at the nexus of global and local are marked by the rise of ad- vanced business services in particular (Cf. Cato 2006: 5, 6). By the end of the 1990s, São Paulo concentrated 70 percent of all large national and 94 percent of all international banking headquarters. In addition the city houses the headquarters of the many large Brazilian conglomerates. (Ibidem: 6)

São Paulo's political geography

In order to understand the situation of AlphaVille-Tamboré it is important to have an idea of São Paulo's political geography. São Paulo is the name of a state, a metropolitan area and a municipality. The respective Metropolitan Region (RMSP) was established in 1973 and comprises 39 municipalities. Notably in the same year AlphaVille-Tamboré emerged. Municipalities are the smallest autonomous political units in Brazil. Each mu- nicipality has a mayor and a city council, which is elected for 4 years.

São Paulo's municipality has a shape close to a trapezoid, spanning 110 kilometres from North to South and 70 kilometres from West to East. Notably AlphaVille-Tamboré lies just outside this shape. It is part of two municipalities, Santana do Parnaíba, as well as Barueri.

Significant master plan documents

Significant milestones of São Paulo's master planning are the 'Plano de Avenidas' by Prestes Maria and Ulhôa Cintra (1924), the Public Improvement Programme ('Pro- gramma de Melhoramentos Públicos') of 1949 (Consultant Robert Moses), the 1969 'Plano Urbanisto Básico' (PUB) by the consultancy Asplan/Daily/Montreal, as well as the Plano Metropolitano de Desenvolvimento Integrado from 1971.[134] These plans supported the development of major transport arteries based on mortised traffic that largely rein- forced and structured São Paulo's urban regional growth. The foundation of AlphaVille was strongly influenced by the construction of the Castello Branco highway, the devel- opment of the two expressways along the Pinheiros and Tietê rivers, as well as the turn- pike (Çebolao) between at the nexus of the two. These large infrastructure projects trans- formed AlphaVille's terrain overnight into a highly desirable prime location, to be ac- cessed in 20 minutes travel time from São Paulo's southwestern centres of Morumbi and Faria Lima.

Box 27: Master plans

Important master plans and government publications (Cf. Csaba 2001):
1940: Maia, Prestes, Plano de Avenidas, São Paulo,

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[133] Historically São Paulo's economic success is based on its role as a market for agricultural products (i.e. coffee) as well as raw materials in the 19th century. The city played a crucial role as an interface between major ports as well as the hinter- land, a market, as well as a centre of power and control. (Cf. Abascal 2006: 8). An exceptional network of rail and road connections provided the essential connectivity and linked the city to the hinterland, as well as to Minas Gerais.
In the 1950s São Paulo became the cradle of the country's industry (mainly automobiles) under president Kubitschek (Cf. below: Milestones). Notably the industrial sector was at the forefront of the economic boom of the 1970s. At this time São Paulo's region comprised 42 percent of the national industrial product with São Paulo State accounting for 75 percent of the same. (Cf. Abascal 2006: 8)

[134] Cf. Anelli 2008; and also the Milestones section of this sub chapter.

1968: Plano Urbanístico Básico- PUB, GEGRAN, São Paulo,
1971: Plano Diretor de Desenvolvimento Integrado- PDDI*
1993: Plano Metropolitano de Desenvolvimento Integrado- PMDI
1999: Plano Integrado de Transportes Urbano – PITU 2020, State Secretariat for Metropolitan Transport SP
2001: Plano Diretor Estratégico do Município de São Paulo*

* The only two documents with legal status, approved by the Muncipal Council

Risks and disasters.

A brief look at the risk and vulnerability profile of the country contributes to a deeper understanding of the motivations of people moving to specific locations. The following marks out an epigrammatic, but holistic, overview of risks in the context of São Paulo – ranging from the effects of global change to urban pollution and crime.

General risk framework

São Paulo's mega city region comprises dangers such as flooding, landslides, but also locally made problems such as water scarcity and urban air pollution. Significantly, the poor were always facing the highest threat, having their own weighting and perception of danger. Most of São Paulo's informal settlements are constructed on steep slopes or near the water reservoirs. Paraisópolis, one of the larger favelas, located in Morumbi (Cf. below) is constructed with an average inclination of 43 percent (Cf. Vigliecca 2008).

Water

While almost all urban residents in Brazil have access to fresh water[135], considerable variations in the water's quality exist. Less than 50 percent of the sampled river water was classified as "good quality water" in 1998.[136]

The supply with wastewater services is poorer than the drinking water supply. Less than half (48 percent) of urban and only 3 percent of rural households in Brazil are connected to public sewers (Cf. UN 2004, Cf. Csillag). In addition, 80 percent of collected wastewater in Brazil does not receive any kind of treatment before it reaches waterways (SEDU and SEPURB quoted by Csillag 2000). This has a significant impact on health. A large number of hospital admissions as well as infant deaths are attributed to water-borne diseases. Again the poor are in a weak position.[137]

The most prominent environmental problems in the São Paulo Region are related to rising conflicts among human habitats and fresh water reservoirs. As ever-larger amounts of water are needed, the available sources, such as São Paulo's Guarapiranga reservoir (Cf. Porto 2001), become gradually more depleted. Informal urbanisation and uncontrolled waste seriously threatens the fresh water assets.[138] [139]

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[135] Cf. http://www.wssinfo.org/pdf/country/BRA_wat.pdf, r05.01.2008

[136] 35 percent of samples were classified as acceptable, bad or very bad, and only 15 percent were rated as excellent (Cf. Csillag 2000; Cf. The State Secretariat of Environment São Paulo, 1998).

[137] Csillag 2000 states that „According to a 1995 report from the Ministry of Planning and Budget titled Assessment of the Sanitation Sector: Economic and Financial Study, 32 % of all hospital admissions in 1990 were due to diseases related to inadequate sanitation. ... The same report cites research showing that infant mortality in households with adequate sanitation is 21,9 per thousand - less than half that found in homes with inadequate sanitation (59,0 per thousand).

[138] Informal settlement along water reservoir is a common feature in Brazilian cities. For example, by 1997, 662.000 mostly low-income people were living within the watershed and occupying 15 percent of the total watershed area of the Guarapiranga reservoir. These slum dwellers, living on public land and irregular plots, tend to concentrate in precarious, flood-prone areas in the basin and have no appropriate infrastructure for water supply, sewage, drainage and solid waste management. (Cf. Porto 2001, Cf. The World Bank "Water Quality and Pollution Control Project" at

Traffic and Air pollution

Air pollution accounts for the most tangible environmental and health risks. The population reference bureau estimated in 2007 that São Paulo is among the metropolises with the world's worst outdoor air pollution.[140] A large share of this pollution is caused by motorised traffic. The number of vehicles registered in the city has been growing at a much higher rate (4 percent per year) than the population and road network. Nearly 5,5 million vehicles roam the streets of the region.[141] Almost all parameters of particulate matter and vehicle emissions reach levels above accepted standards, with the exception of sulphur dioxide.[142]

While the average concentrations in air of SO2 and lead have been decreasing drastically during the period of 1982-88, an effect attributed to the introduction of ethanol-based fuels, non-methane hydrocarbon, NO2 and O3 levels have been constantly on the rise (Cf. Kabuto 1990).

The Paulista capital is well known for its notorious traffic jams, while it has one of the highest car densities in South America.[143] The city features 200 kilometres of clogged streets on each working day. Commutes of 3,5 hours and longer are on the daily agenda for many residents. (Cf. Anelli 2008:17)

Crime

The experience of violence and crime (real and mediated) is probably among the chief triggers causing households to relocate to new and more secure locations such as AlphaVille, as well as to invest in private security services (cf. Calderia 2000).[144] Crime rates in Brazilian cities, in particular São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, are among the highest worldwide. Among the most significant crime problems are homicide and murder.[145] Sadly the country also has the highest rates of youth crime worldwide.[146]

The murder rate in greater São Paulo, for example, is more than seven times that of the New York metropolitan area. The city figures 60 murders per 100,000 citizens compared to New York's 7.8 (Cf. Stevens 2007) or Newark's 35 (The Economist Aug 17th 2006). The rates of violence have been rising in particular after the democratisation process in the late 1980s. While in 1990 a total of 8.287 murder cases have been recorded in the region, the number almost doubled in less than ten years to 14,132 in 1999.[147]

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http://web.worldbank.org/external/projects/main?pagePK=64283627&piPK=73230&theSitePK=40941&menuPK=228424&Projectid=P006541, r.05.01.2008).

[139] Another serious problem is the pollution of urban rivers. Enormous sums have been invested to clean up the Tietê River in São Paulo and the surrounding municipalities. (I.e. The river also flows through a part of AlphaVille; Cf. Csillag 2000)

[140] Cf. www.prb.org/Articles/2007/FightingAirPollution.aspx, r05.01.2008

[141] Cf. H. Ribeiro 2005, at http://library.witpress.com, r05.01.2008

[142] Cf. Csillag 2000, quoting the "Report of the Quality of Air in the State of São Paulo 1999"; by the Department of Environmental Quality at CETESB

[143] 354 of 1.000 residents own a car; the car density comprises 2.500 cars per urban square kilometre – only Buenos Aires features more cars. (Cf. urban-age.net, r06.01.2009)

[144] Mercer Consulting's quality of life index (2007) places São Paulo at the last position of large Brazilian cities and at a 131 position worldwide. The rating was heavily skewed due to the increased crime rates in the city. (Cf. http://www.mercer.com/summary.htm?siteLanguage=101&idContent=1262695, r05.01.2009).

[145] The South African urban security specialist and researcher Karina Landman compares crime rates in Brazil with those of her country and states that: "In South Africa it was especially common robbery, assault with the intent to commit serious bodily harm, rape and car hijacking that increased the most from 1994 to 1999" (Schonteich and Louw 2001). In Brazil it was especially homicides that increased significantly. (de Mesquito Neto 2000 in Landman 2002: 7)

[146] World Health Organization: World report on violence and health, 2002, from http://www.nationmaster.com/graph/cri_mur_com_by_you-crime-murders-committed-by-youths, r05.01.2008.

[147] Data from SEADE, and EMPLASA, quoted in Villaça 2002

As much as the residents crime has also a history of migrating to the suburbs.[148] Indeed for AlphaVille-Tamboré and its peers this is tragic and ironic at the same time. While the worst of São Paulo's central city districts featured homicide rates of 60 per 100.000 residents per year, several suburban locations featured murder rates of more than 110.

One of the consequences of Brazil's extreme crime levels is that the prisons are filled beyond capacity. 169 per 100.000 people are jailed.[149] Two years São Paulo ago was terrorised by gangs operating from inside the prison system (Cf. The Economist 2007). On the other hand the police has a reputation of being corrupt, and police violence is a daily occurrence.[150]

The spectre of violence

The experienced and perceived levels of crime are among the major factors limiting the quality of life of major population segments. Large parts of the city, e.g. São Paulo's central district, become no-go areas at night. Excessive media coverage of spectacular murders and kidnappings contributes to an atmosphere of uncertainty. A report by The Economist 2007 titled "No end of violence" affirmed that issue of violence displaced unemployment as the Brazilians' top worry for the first time in years (Despite the fact that crime rates had been on a steep decline since the turn of the century again). About a half (49 percent) of the respondents of a large national study claimed that they do not feel safe when walking the streets of their neighbourhood. The respective rate for São Paulo was 57 percent. Significantly, all segments of the population perceived the danger of crime in the same way.[151]

As a result the security business is booming and has had a large impact on the layout of urban spaces. Whoever can afford it lives behind high walls and employs private security services. Rich Paulistanos drive armoured cars and send their children to school in the company of bodyguards. (Cf. The Economist 2007). The Washington Post reports that at night on *TV Alphaville* the residents can view all exiting employees being patted down and searched in front of a live video feed.'[152]

Urban Structure

> *Uma característica marcante da moradia paulistana neste início de século é o crescimento das favelas e dos condomínios horizontais fechados.*
> *(Bogus andPasternak 2004: „A cidade dos extremos").*

From central city to 'operative landscape'

It is noticeable that many Brazilian urban researchers conceptualise São Paulo's urban structure not by the classical dichotomy of city and nature but as a contemporary landscape.[153] This notion does not intend to romanticise the matter. In contrast, it points to a postmodern operative landscape. This is scenery which is actively and dynamically

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[148] "Crime follows the path of wealth, not poverty" (Sérgio Adorno, head of the Nucleus for the Study of Violence at the University of São Paulo. Quoted by The Economist 2007)

[149] (Cf.: http://www.nationmaster.com/country/br-brazil/cri-crime, 05.01.2008)

[150] Killings by police are common in poorer urban areas. (Cf. http://www.everyculture.com/Bo-Co/Brazil.html, r05.01.2008)

[151] (Cf. Opinion poll conducted by IBOPE, the Brazilian Institute of Public Opinion and Statistics, in a Target Group Study, from http://www.zonalatina.com/Zldata194.htm, r05.01.2008)

[152] Cf. Chris Darke, a film theoretician and lecturer, in his 2006 article "AlphaVille exists"; at http://www.vertigomagazine.co.uk/showarticle.php?sel=bac&siz=0&id=203, r09.02.2009

[153] The new (postindustrialist) urban landscape is regarded as landscape that is in a constant flux and that is actively produced. In this context various studies are devoted to producing an inventory of new urban spaces in a phenomenological manner (Macedo 3003, Lemos and Soares 2004, Gonçalves and Soares 1998).

shaped, produced and reproduced, developed and redeveloped, and which can mutate in the course of few years beyond recognition and faster than any planning.[154]

As much as many other large urban agglomerations worldwide[155], São Paulo has undergone an enormous process of transformation in the 20th century. It changed from a centrally oriented metropolis to a multiplex urban region. It seems that social, economic, and cultural processes have always played the driving role for the organisation of the urban structure, resulting in the contemporary 'fragmented corporate metropolis'. (Cf. Santos: 1990)

Ana Cecilia Campos (2005: 5) equates São Paulo's Region with a "diversified industrial park" that evolved mainly along the needs and structural dynamics of capital accumulation.[156] She states that the city evolved as a bottom-up process driven by affluent elite populations, whereas legislations and master plans were added only in retrospect. Gilda Collet Bruna, planning professor at São Paulo's renowned McKenzie University, describes how a mega-metropolis network is developing, distributing production and jobs outside the region, and engendering a different equilibrium of economic activities.[157]

Box 28: Brazilian discussion on the driving forces of urbanisation

> The Brazilian researchers cited by this research reflect a rich debate on the driving forces of urban transformation. Four major perspectives can be identified: global, historic, socio-economic, and 'planned'.
> Some experts claim that global forces mainly produce new urban structures and typologies.[158] Others stress the relevance of local socio-economic dynamics (Cf. Villaça 2001[159]) or infrastructure (Cf. Anelli 2008). A third group attempts to draw a differentiated picture of spatial-societal realities as an outcome of a multiplicity of trends and multiple stakeholders. (Cf. Abascal 2006, or Caldeira 2008)[160]

The 'periferia'

> „*The development of Brazil's urban peripheries occurred overwhelmingly through private market operations that were almost completely unregulated.*" *(Holston, Caldeira 2008: 21)*

The concept of the 'periferia' has made a stunning career in the Brazilian context, which goes well beyond the classical nation of the 'suburb'. São Paulo's urban periphery is of particular relevance in our effort to contextualise AlphaVille-Tamboré, as it is a frontier

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[154] This new terminology is importantly pointing to a quest for new conceptualisations and terminologies within a changing macro framework shaping contemporary spatial and temporal realities (Cf. Macedo 2003, Lemos 2004, Reis 2006). Work such as that of Lemos 2004 is titled: Condomínios Residencial Horizontais Fechados Na Região Metropolitana De São Paulo: Um Aspecto Da Produção Paisagísta Contemporânea (Lemos 2004).

[155] Cf. the other examples within this thesis

[156] The same author describes Rio de Janeiro as a city planned around the idea of public spaces.

[157] Cf. Collet Bruna, in Simmonds 2000: p.117.

[158] „A emergência desses artefatos arquitetônicos e urbanos globalizados começou revelar eorganizou uma nova maneira de segregar e discriminar a localização de grupos sociais no espaço metropolitano, ...intensificar a privatização e difundir os condomínios fechados; ...Esta transformação da urbanidade pode dar origem a um modelo de cidade tanto mais excludente, quanto menos civilizada. ... Desde o final do século, não só em São Paulo, mas em várias metrópoles, emergiram as empresas corporativas multinacionais associando-se às novas centralidades, o que fazia crescer os subúrbios reforçando o papel policêntrico da metrópole". (Pereira 2004)

[159] Also the Chilenean Sabatini 2000

[160] "Em sociedades historicamente desiguais como a brasileira, estabelecer vínculos específicos entre segregação socio-espacial e processos recentes da mundialização da economia é uma tarefa muito difícil, sobretudo porque antigas desigualdades sociais se reproduzem e se agregam às novas condições." (Cf. Abascal 2006: 6)

in many aspects: it has developed from the sphere of the strange and uncivilised 'other' to a cradle of modern democracy. Mediating the clash of city and nature, and among various social classes, this vast territory between city and hinterland the 'periferia' is the most dynamic and rapidly changing part of the city and often also landscape of surprise (Cf. Gotsch 2008). It challenges traditional concepts and ideologies and brings to the fore new lifestyles, typologies, and sometimes even new societies.

Peripheries are perceived as places of disorder, wilderness and destruction (an unregulated predatory capitalism), but also as localities that allow for spontaneous appropriation and where (sometimes radical) alternatives can develop.

Box 29: Pigs killed on the boulevard

The 'periferia' is a blend of the urban and rural, the formal and the improvised, leaving space for the possibility to slaughter a hog in the streets. Silke Knapp describes[161] the uncertainties and freedoms of the periphery as follows: "It allows people to build without a predefined pattern, to raise pigs, and to sit on the street." The storyline is confirmed when the Folha de São Paulo describes a visit of São Paulo's former Major: "Then I found out on the outskirts of Sao Paulo pigs killed on the road and the meat divided among the people. This was my first lesson of the reality of the periphery."[162]

After all, the reality of the periphery is more complex than its image. Suburbs are more than an antithesis to the city. On the contrary, in many cases they embody potentials of new urban realities.[163] In this regard over the last 40 year the Brazilian version of the 'periferia' was a central space for the consolidation of idea of an urban civil society. (Cf. Holston, Caldeira 2008: 21) "Traditionally a disadvantaged place for the poor, in the past 40 years the suburbs received masses of working class migrants and other displaced central-city -poor.[164] During this phase the periphery became the home, but also a political and symbolic space, of the poor in Brazilian society (Ibidem: 21).[165] The 'periferia' become the cradle of Brazil's democracy, while its residents gradually discovered that they have a right to claim their right to the city: [Slum residents] ... discovered that being taxpayers legitimated their 'right to have rights' and their 'rights to the city"... (Ibidem)[166]

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[161] Along the highly illustrative case of Belo Horizonte at: http://www-1.tu-cottbus.de/BTU/Fak2/TheoArch/Wolke/deu/Themen/021/Kapp/Kapp.htm, r31.03.2009).

[162] "Desse primeiro dia, uma coisa que lembro muito é que eu estava andando com o Otávio [Pereira de Almeida, secretário de Obras Públicas] e fomos em direção a onde é o jornal 'O Estado de S. Paulo'. De repente, nós entramos num lugar e foi uma lição para o prefeito urbano, que era eu. Eu vi uma correria e perguntei: 'O que é isso?' e me responderam: 'Ah, é porque estão matando um porco e eles pensam que é a prefeitura que vem apreender'. Então, eu fiquei sabendo que na periferia de São Paulo se matava porco na rua e se dividia a carne entre as pessoas. Foi a minha primeira lição da realidade da periferia", sobre sua passagem como prefeito de São Paulo (1975 a 1979).
(Folha Online; 27/08/2008; Veja frases de Olavo Setubal sobre política, economia e São Paulo; at: http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/folha/dinheiro/ult91u438385.shtml; r05.04.2009)

[163] Cf. the thought of Fishman and King in the Introduction Chapter

[164] „… state planning in the centres resulted in evictions, demolitions, and high rents that ejected most low-income residents from the central districts of cities... thus public policy consolidated the centres for the upper classes, while neglect made the peripheries feasible as a repository for the poor" (Holston, Caldeira 2008: 21).

[165] The same authors describe how in this context the meaning of the term povo (people) shifted from representing the disadvantaged lower class to labelling a politically active and economically mobile urban proletariat. (Hudson 1997)

[166] Possibly 2009 marks an end to the 'chaotic' condition: Nowadays a major milestone for the normalisation and consolidation of the Periferia has been achieved. As part of the programme ‚Cidade Legal' more than 830.000 hitherto illegal properties in the Greater Region of São Paulo will be legalised. (Cf. below: Milestones)

Fragmentation, segregation and the practice of 'walling'

In the 1990s São Paulo has matured into a complex metropolitan region that "cannot be mapped out by the simple opposition of center-rich versus periphery-poor." (Caldeira 2000: 231). At the same time the city's urban fabric is characterised by a "city of walls."[167] (Ibidem)

According to Caldeira the development of São Paulo's urban structure was dominated by three subsequent patterns: 1) A 'concentrated city' was preeminent throughout the early industrialisation in the 19th century up to the 1940s: 2) A dual centre-periphery system with a predominantly affluent centre and a dynamically growing 'periferia' characterised the industrialising metropolis between the 1940s and the 1980s[168]; 3) The present 'city of fortified enclaves' is marked by heterogeneity and fragmentation. It emerged since the 1980s and is characteristic for a new post-industrial economy (Caldeira, 2000: 213).[169] In this context São Paulo displays a different segregation pattern, than the one represented by the famous Chicago School. While rich and poor now live closer to one another than ever, this happens by the means of walls, which are higher than before.[170] [171]

Interestingly Caldeira also describes how the spatial structure of Santana de Parnaíba, one of the Municipalities of which AlphaVille-Tamboré is a part, is transforming along a new post-industrial pattern of suburbanisation based on the proximity of housing and tertiary services:

> "*Santana de Parnaíba exemplifies what one might call a new suburbanization of Sao Paulo. Its growth has been neither the traditional expansion of poor and industrial areas nor the American outgrowth of the 1950s and 1960s, but a new type of suburbanization of the 1980s and 1990s that brings together residences and tertiary activities. Santana de Parnaíba has not had the same economic performance as its adjacent municipalities Barueri and Cajamar, but it shows more clearly how the area is becoming a new middle and upper class enclave.*" (Caldeira 2000: 253)

Distribution of wealth – the 'vetor sudoeste'

> "*...a metrópole paulista vive um processo de mundialização incompleto, seletivo e desigual*" (Kato 2006: 12)

In the section above an idealised image was established that portrays São Paulo as a highly homogenised but profoundly fragmented 'city of walls'. Yet this representation requires an important modification: While in the recent 30 years São Paulo's urban structure has undergone a significant spread and rich and poor neighbourhoods have been

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[167] Indeed, "City of Walls" is also the main title of Caldeira's influential book on São Paulo. The work is based on her doctoral dissertation on the city from the early 1990s.

[168] During the urban expansion of the 60s and 70s the city merged with some of the surrounding municipalities: At first with Osasco and Taboão da Serra to the West, then Guarulhos in the East and thereafter with the so-called ABC-area towards the Southeast (Cf. Rolnik 2008). Most of the growth occurred in the form of informal 'autoconstruction' (Ibidem).

[169] Rachel Rolnik states that also a scattered landscape of new commercial services, such as regional supermarkets and shopping malls (also entering the central districts) largely adds to the status of fragmentation and diffusion. (2008: 14,15)

[170] Cf. Koll–Schretzenmayr 2001, discussing Caldeira's work.

[171] Interestingly the Chilean Francisco Sabatini observes similar phenomena, of a diffusion of poor and wealthy neighbourhoods in Santiago de Chile (Cf. Sabatini's chapter on Santiago in Simmonds 2000).

more and more dispersed throughout the region, specific areas of modernization remain essential.[172]

Of particular importance in this context is the 'vetor suoeste'. This enormous and affluent wedge stretches from the centre towards the Southwest. Its history dates back as far as to the late 19th century (Cf. below: Predecessors). Crucially the area contains some 80 percent of São Paulo's urban wealth, the best infrastructure. It is also home to important national and international enterprises. (Cf. Abascal 2006)

→ Illustration D-5: São Paulo's 'setor oeste' indicated by AAA rated office locations
→ Illustration D-6: … and by educational levels*

[A recently published gis-map of educational levels in São Paulo perfectly portrays the geography of the 'Vetor Sudoeste'. In this context AlphaVille-Tamboré appears as the only enclave of high educational levels in the region.[173]]

It is important to note that this 'slice of gateau' is not defined by the absence of poor neighbourhoods, but by the presence of wealth and the quality of urban infrastructure. It is also important that it continues to grow. Villaça explains the existence and persistence of the sector with the ability of the residents to channel a disproportional amount of the limited urban development resources into their own area (Ibidem). The strategies of gating and fortification can be seen as important tools that help to increase levels of 'tolerance' in this increasingly complex and fragmented framework.

The modern facilities of the 'vetor', its major boulevards, shopping centres, offices and lifestyle centres, have acted as triggers of the urbanisation of a whole catchment area, and also served as an important reference point for AlphaVille-Tamboré's. Since the 1970s the Avenue Faria Lima has emerged as a major spine, triggering a massive real estate boom in the whole zone. (Costa 2006: 7, Abascal 2006: 8) Today the development continues along the axis of Luiz Carlos Berrini and extension of the Av. Brigadeiro faria Lima e towards the Avenida Marginal do Rio Pinheiros - areas notable for their concentration of tertiary services and corporate headquarters of national and global relevance. (Cf. Abascal 2006b: 2)

Notably, the development of the 'sector' was nurtured by massive government interventions. Transport arteries along the Pinheiros River and to São Paulo's city airport of Congonhas were installed. As a consequence the area became an alternative modern centre, rivalling São Paulo's traditional core (Abascal 2006: 13).[174] The location emerged as one of the most important new tertiary centres of Latin America (Ibidem).[175]

Featuring levels of wealth previously common only for more central elite districts (Cf. Caldeira, 2000: 231-234), AlphaVille became a part of the extended wedge. In addition, it also emerged as an own magnet driving further growth. This underlines the fact that São Paulo's regional development occurred along new points of centrality and convergence, and not only by an even spread.[176]

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[172] Abascal (2006: 14) describes how in the context that is governed by the laws of the market and real estate speculation concentrations of modern islands emerge, playing a major role in the valorisation of urban land.

[173] Cf. Urban-Age 2008, at http://www.urban-age.net/10_cities/_data/data_SP.html, r06.01.2008.

[174] In the 1990s alone the inner city neighbourhoods of Sé and República have lost 22 percent of their populations (Cf. Sampaio et al 2008, Cf. Brito 2008).

[175] The dominance of the new centre is also symbolic: Significantly the German portal of Wikipedia features the Ponte estaiada Octavio Frias, a large spectacular crossing of the Pinheros river, as *the* landmark image of São Paulo (Cf. http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/S%C3%A3o_Paulo). Moreover, the English Wiki features the new skyline at the Pinheros which portrays the image of a 'global' city.

[176] Mônaco dos Santos (2002: 2) notes accordingly: "A partir dele afirmouse a tendência em se implantar esses empreendimentos nos municípios vizinhos a São Paulo, ao longo das rodovias Castelo Branco e Raposo Tavares, nas regiões

'Fortified enclaves' and gated communities

The principal components of the practise of walling are gated communities and fortified enclaves. (Cf. Caldeira, 2000: 211). In the early 1980s middle classes started an unparalleled mass migration to the suburbs. "For the first time in the history of modern Sao Paulo, rich residents were leaving the central and well equipped areas of the capital to inhabit distant territories." (Caldeira, 2000: 234) Among the target designations were some municipalities to the Northwest and the South of São Paulo with good accessibility to the new centres.

Yet, when arriving at their new destinations, the new middle class residents discovered that they were surrounded or poverty (another wilderness). Facing the problem of preserving security and also status, guarded enclaves became the typology of choice. What is interesting is that several critics trace the practice of building walls was not to economic insecurity and criminality, but to the extreme contrast of rich and poor.[177] Moreover, walling is seen as a continuation and evolution of the widespread practices of self-organisation already in place in central city neighbourhoods[178], "where private security arrangements are the norm", "given a notoriously unresponsive police force". (Cf. Stevens 2007)

Indeed, currently Brazil is experiencing a boom in gated communities. The total number of horizontal enclaves in São Paulo's region increased from 168 in 1992[179] to 2.533 in 2002. The settlement typology experienced a particular boom at the beginning of the 21st century, while numbers of new projects were up by 243 percent in the first quarter of 2001.[180]

Types of residential enclaves in São Paulo

While walling and fortification are urban practices that are as old as urban settlements themselves, three specific types of 'fortification' are of specific importance in the post-industrial landscape of São Paulo: 1) The vertical estate (condominio verticais), 2) The horizontal land subdivision (loteamento horizontais), and 3) The horizontal estate (condominio horizontais). The fortification of existing areas constitutes an additional practice. The following section will expand upon these practices. (Also cf. below: Control, Regulation)

'Condomínios verticais'

'Condomínios verticais' are jointly owned, secured and serviced types of residential towers or groups thereof. The history of the model in São Paulo dates back to the early 20th century (Cf. below: Predecessors). A specific boom occurred during the growth phase of the 1970s and 80s. During this period, mutations and variations of the typology

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oeste e sudoeste da Grande São Paulo. Ao longo da rodovia Castelo Branco encontram-se, além de AlphaVille, outros grandes loteamentos fechados, como Tamboré e Aldeia da Serra, e, ao longo da Raposo Tavares, o Granja Vianna, entre outros."

[177] "A obsessão de construir muros e cercas fechando os bairros dos mais ricos ocorre, não só num momento de incerteza econômica e de medo da criminalidade, mas também quando os mais ricos começam a ficar mais próximos dos pobres e miseráveis excluídos, ou seja, quando os ricos começam a ir para a periferia". (VILLAÇA, 2001: 152, quoted in Abascal 2006: 7)

"...também em áreas da periferia, onde ao lado das áreas de habitação popular erguem-se condomínios residências de alta renda, cujos muros escondem o luxo e sofisticação das moradias. Além de constituírem um símbolo da separação entre os ricos e o pobres que coabitam uma área marcada pela desigualdade, esses condomínios constituem verdadeiras "ilhas de riqueza" em meio à periferia pobre." (Bogus 2004: 11)

[178] Cf. Andrew Stevens and Elisangela Fracaroli in 2007

[179] When Embraesp (Empresa Brasileira de Estudos de Patrimônio) started to collect data.

[180] Cf. Santos, 2002; Bogus: 15; Loffredo: 7

emerged. Jointly owned and fully serviced ensembles of residential towers are particularly representative of this phenomonen.

Caldeira tracks the main history of fortified enclaves in São Paulo to the 1970s.[181] At a period when industrialisation peaked, essential regional infrastructure systems were installed, tremendous masses of immigrants arrived, a new middle class emerged, and the city was rapidly suburbanising. Notably an exemplary case and forerunner was the 1973 Ilha do Sul project in the central-western neighbourhood of Alto de Pinheiros. Significantly, this fully serviced complex for upper income classes[182] was conceived and built by Yoshiro Takaoka, one of the developers of AlphaVille.[183] Combining several high-rise complexes into one compound, Ilha do Sul portrays a new typology that become extremely successful during the following decades. Most closed condominiums constructed in the 1980s Sao Paulo were vertical and were built in Morumbi. (Cf. Caldeira 2000)

A matured typology of vertical condominiums is represented by the landmark project of Portal de Morumbi, in the neighbourhood of Morumbi. (Gonçalves 1998: 17) The neighbourhood is a part of the 'vetor oeste'. Located to the East of the Pinheiros River, it contains exceptional concentrations of affluent neighbourhoods and belongs to the most significant elite neighbourhoods of São Paulo. Accordingly, its Mansions and 'condomínios fechados', the clubs, higher schools, and the apartment high-rises get the highest real estate ranking in the city (Gonçvales 1998: 17). Yet, on the other hand the neighbourhood also houses one of the largest favelas of the city, Paraisópolis (Vigliecca 2008).

'Loteamentos fechados'

'Loteamentos fechados' are walled land subdivisions comprised of privately owned lots and public streets. This typology emerged in the early 1970s and boomed in the 1980s when more and more of the middle class opted for a suburban life-style with yet greater levels of security. The closed subdivisions usually contain several dozen to several hundred private properties. Significantly, AlphaVille was one of the pioneers of this model. Only recently the typology becomes increasingly prominent among lower income classes, not for prestige, but more for security reasons[184] (Cf. Loffredo 2006: 5). The greatest dilemma of the typology is its legal standing. Such an urban form was not foreseen by any public laws (Cf. below: Regulation).

'Condomínios horizontais fechados' – (R3-03)

Condomínios horizontais are walled enclaves. They are comprised of a large jointly owned lot which and a low-rise housing typology such as row housing, walk-up apartments, or villas. Condomínios horizontais are much smaller than 'loteamentos fechados'. The type has boomed in the second half of the 1990s, after the City of São Paulo enacted the 'Lei de Vilas' in 1994.[185] It serves as a means to redensify São Paulo's inner city

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[181] Some other researchers trace the history of segregation back to the colonial courtyard typologies of the 17th, or the bourgeois neighbourhoods of the 19th century. (Cf. below: Predecessors)

[182] Comparable to contemporary Indian 'Integrated Townships (Cf. the Navi Mumbai chapter)

[183] Cf. dos Santos 2002 discussing Caldeira's work

[184] Antes destinados à moradia da classe alta e localizados em grandes áreas das zonas periféricas da RMSP, os condomínios fechados atualmente atendem outras classes sociais e possuem características bastante distintas (tamanho da gleba, tamanho e padrão da unidade habitacional, serviços coletivos oferecidos, etc.). A preocupação com conforto foi suplantada pela necessidade de segurança e pelo status. (Cf. Loffredo 2006: 5)

[185] The Law 11.605 of 12 July 1992, or of Vilas made possible the construction (and indiscriminate installation) of small horizontal condominiums in almost all residential areas of Sao Paulo. Most of these belonged to a specific typology, the R3-03. The maximum size allowed for such as condominium was 15.000 square metres. The building coverage was limited to 50 percent.

neighbourhoods (Cf. below: Milestones).[186] As a result 82 percent of all 'condomínios fechados' of the whole region (RMSP) were launched in the Municipality of São Paulo (Loffredo 2006: 7).[187]

Fortification of existing areas

Recently fragmentation is produced not only by the construction of new gated communities of various scales, but also by retrofitting existing neighbourhoods and blocks with gates, fences, modern security technology, as well as security services. While certain elite neighbourhoods such as Morumbi, Pinheiros and Itambi stand out in producing the starkest contrast, the tendency towards fortification is omnipresent. Among the most prominent means are the 'private' closure of cul-de-sac streets or dead-end roads and the conversion of high-rise buildings[188] (Cf. Landman 2002: 10). As the city evolves into a fragmented patchwork of various types of neighbourhoods, the trend occurs at an increasing amount of locations.[189]

Favelas and more

"O crescimento de São Paulo pode até mesmo ser caracterizado pela expansão de zonas urbanas ditas ilegais, nas quais vive uma parte cada vez maior de sua população" (Rolnik 2000)

The economic momentum produced by São Paulo's rising bourgeois population was able to induce a large and profitable real estate sector. This sector is servicing the affluent populations with various dwelling typologies. While most of these typologies have developed in the West (gated community, villa, apartment tower, condominium), they were adapted to the local living conditions.

Nevertheless, while the elite populations concentrate much of the financial power, they don't make up the majority of the population. More than 87 percent of the population earn less than 3 minimum wages. A formal housing market does hardly serve the segment of the "other" poor populations. In this situation São Paulo experienced a gap of almost 200.000 dwelling units in 2005.[190]

Because the demand was/is colossal the city has predominantly grown in a self-organised way. In this context, several kinds of semi-legal and illegal settlements emerged. Official estimates indicate that between 30 and 40 percent of all dwellings in

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[186] „A Lei de Vilas possibilitou a instalação indiscriminada de condomínios horizontais em todas as zonas Residencial da cidade de São Paulo. Porém, o grande incremento nos lançamentos de condomínios horizontais só acontece a partir de 1999-2000." (Cf. Loffredo 2006)

[187] The boom of horizontal condominiums in the inner-city areas significantly demonstrates another far-reaching trend: this is the spread of this building typology towards lower income groups. Embraesp's statistics reveals that 30 percent of the units were smaller than 75 square metres, 35 percent of the projects had only one bathroom (both typical indicators of lower middle class standards in Brazil). Many of the apartments had a footprint of 35 square metres or less, which is even below the Brazilian public housing standards (Cf. Loffredo 2006: 8).

[188] In this context many older apartment blocks in São Paulo's central city were converted to closed condominiums. (Landman quotes Correado Lago 2001: 11)

[189] Several researchers depict manifold examples to describe the intensifying fragmentation of even rich neighbourhoods. Maria Loffredo sketches an illustrative image of the juxtaposition of Paraisópolis, with 82.000 residents one of São Paulo's largest favelas, and its upper class surroundings located in Morumbi: "Quando imaginamos exemplos de exclusão social e segregação espacial, imediatamente pensamos em imagens paradigmáticas como a favela Paraisópolis. Lá, podemos observar os "barracos" (que, aliás, deixaram de ser barracos há bastante tempo) praticamente colados aos enormes muros dos grandes e luxuosos edifícios do Morumbi, na cidade de São Paulo". (Loffredo 2006: 2)

Costa (2006:8) reports about two favelas which are directly located in prime areas of the 'vetor': The favela ‚da Peinha' with 2.500 persons on the Jardim Santo Antônio hill between the Marginal de Pinheiros and the Avenida João Dias, as well as the Favela Real Parque, between the neighbourhoods of Brooklin and Morumbi with 7500 residents.

[190] ...while on the other hand more than 400,000 houses stood vacant. (Cf. Rolnik 2008: 15).

Brazil are located in such areas.[191] This amounts to a stock of 8 to 11 million dwellings with 30 to 40 million people (Rojas 2004: 28). In the São Paulo region currently about 13 percent of the population exists in favelas.

Nevertheless, a concerning trend is the increasing level of informalisation. At the time of AlphaVille's emergence, slums were an exotic urban type, amounting to a mere 1,09 percent of the population. Just five years later their respective share had increased to 4.01 percent, and it went on to rise to 7,7 percent in the next 10 years. In 1995 the level of 9,1 percent was reached, with the 10 percent mark being broken shortly after the turn of the millennium. Significantly, since the 1980s the informal populations have grown at higher rates than the general population.[192] The rise of slum populations has persisted despite the liberalisation and democratisation reforms of the early 1990s.

The number of slum dwellers in the Paulista capital has increased from 891.673 in 1991 to 1.160.590 in 2000.[193] A large majority (70 percent) of the population are coloured and originate at Brazil's North (Bogus 2004: 21). A look at the spatial distribution of slums reveals that a large number of favelas concentrate in the southern sector of the region close to the large water reservoirs (Cf. Bogus: 19). Examining the ethnic composition, we find that more that more than half of the population is black and coloured - a rate exceeding the medium of the Paulista capital by 25 percent.

While this number is significantly lower than in India, Indonesia or many other developing countries, slum populations do not account for the only type of informal living models in Brazil. Most of the peripheral dwellers, rich and poor, dwell on semi-legal land divisions. These illegal land subdivisions became a feature dominating São Paulo's urban expansion in the last 30 years. (Cf. Holston and Caldeira 2008: 22)[194] Bogus and Pasternak (2004: 10) locate the origins of the practice of illegal land subdivisions in the early 1970s, when the Metropolitan region of São Paulo was established (Cf. below). Today the Urban Planning Department estimates that 65 percent of Paulistanos violate property laws in one-way or another.[195]

Historic Perspective

National milestones

The information presented in the above sections makes clear that Brazil is a relatively matured economy. It can be located midway between developing countries and the West. Yet it remains open whether this status represents backwardness or an inopportune (even tragic) progress.[196]

Certainly the country has undergone important economic, spatial and societal transformations at a much earlier stage than many other developing countries (e.g. those in

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[191] In Latin America the numbers range between 20 and 50 percent (Ibidem)

[192] Between the 1980 and 2000, São Paulo's slums grew at an average annual rate of 5.12, during the same period the municipal population increased at an annual rate of 1.07 percent (Cf. Bogus 2004: 19).

[193] Cf. Bogus 2004:18; quoting numbers by the Centro Estudo da Metrópole, CEM.

[194] The various settlements are called ‚loteamentos', ‚clandestinos', ‚subúrbios', ‚cidades satélites', ‚ocupações', or ‚favelas', and that they are generally subsumed as ‚periferia'. (Ibidem: 21)

[195] A expansão da periferia pela chamada Região Metropolitana, constituída oficialmente, como área administrativa, em 1973, ocorreu principalmente a partir da década de 1970 com a abertura de inúmeros loteamentos, muitos deles "clandestinos", ou seja, projetados e vendidos sem a aprovação da municipalidade e desrespeitando a legislação de parcelamento e uso do solo. (Bogus 2004: 10)

[196] Brazil features urbanisation rates of western levels and a great degree of freedom. Yet, it is also extremely polarised: wealth and quality of life are extremely fragmented. It remains unclear whether and how this entrenched situation can ever be overcome, whether we find here in Brazilian a model of an advanced post-industrial society that may become a prototype for many developing countries.

Africa or Asia). A major boom of industrialisation, urbanisation, migration and infra-
structure construction has been taking place since the late 1960s. Processes of suburbani-
sation and the growth of the middle classes gained momentum in the 1980s. On the
other hand, democratisation (along with new forms of liberalisation) occurred only since
the late 1980s. The question arises: why has a country that industrialised so early and
developed already far not been able to achieve a fully developed status?

A historical perspective emerges as a significant element that may open up new per-
spectives on the matter. AlphaVille represents a history of more than 35 years, which is
asking to be contextualised. Consequently, in the next section we seek to develop a time
axis for the project, presenting some important political, economic and urban milestones
of the last century. A particular attention will be given to the early 1970s as the historical
and political point in time which saw the emergence of AlphaVille,

Indeed, it turns out that AlphaVille-Tamboré has developed in an ambivalent context:
the peak of the country's economic boom and the darkest days of the military regime.

→ Illustration D-7: Milestone chart Brazil, São Paulo, AlphaVille

*1930 to 1964: 'prehistory' – wishy-washy populism, modernisation as a project and the
concentric city*

Politics

Brazil's 1930s to 1960s, also known as the 'populist era', is characterised by a rising con-
flict among the elites and the common man. The rulers of this epoch seek to buy off the
disorder and achieve a tolerable degree of stability in initiating large-scale industrializa-
tion. Getúlio Dornelles Vargas is the most famous of them. The epoch is characterised by
nationalism and state-guided industrialisation (modernisation). It is demarcated by the
contrasts of rural elites and the urban proletariat, struggles between pro-Communist and
pro-fascist movements, and by volatile shifts between self-proclaimed authoritarian re-
gimes and elected governments. The post-depression and pre-World WarII era (1937-
1945) is subject to Varga's authoritarian administration, also known as the Brazilian
'Estado Novo'. His overthrow and re-election and several democratic presidents follow,
thereafter the period (1945 to 1964), known as the second republic, is marked by Jus-
celino Kubitschek's modernisation programmes and ends with the left-populist presi-
dency of João Goulart.[197]

Economics

> *"In less than one generation Brazil's leapfrogged from the bull cart and mule
> train era into that of the internal combustion engine". (Cf. Hudson 1997)*

The great depression of 1929 ends the dominance of commodities such as coffee and
triggers the country's industrialisation. This populist era is characterised by a strong, but
liberal state that promotes economic nationalism, state-guided modernisation and import
substitution trade policies (Cf. Box below). The modernist-paternalist spirit is based on
holistic planning, characteristic of many postcolonial regimes worldwide (Cf. the Indone-
sian Example).[198]

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[197] Cf. McCann 2005 at: http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/brtoc.html., r12.04.2009.

[198] Significantly, the Estado Novo (1937-1945) sees the foundation several large state owned industrial companies, such as:
the Fábrica Nacional de Motores (FNM); the Companhia Siderúrgica Nacional" (CSN) (National Iron Smelting Enterprise); or
the Conselho Nacional do Petróleo" (CNP) (Cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Brazil_(1930%E2%80%931945),
r12.04.2009)

50s industrialisation – "São Paulo não pode parar"

The 1950s is an era of major industrialisation. For the first time the industrial share of GDP (25.2 percent) surpasses that of the agricultural sector (22.5 percent). In only ten years, the number of industrial workers more than doubles from 1,6 million in 1940 to 2,9 million in 1950. São Paulo becomes the industrial powerhouse of the country. The majority of the country's industries is installed in its periphery. "São Paulo não pode parar" – São Paulo cannot stop – is the motto that spurred the city. (Cf. Koll-Schretzenmayr 2001)

To some accounts President's Juscelino Kubitschek's national modernisation programme (1956-1961) is particularly important. Kubitschek, a trained doctor of medicine, commissions the new capital Brasilia, and pushes the automotive industry and grand infrastructure projects.[199]

Yet the state guided modernisation is a costly measure. By the end of the populist era, Brazil falls into a hefty economic (and political) crisis. In the 1950s and 1960s inflation reaches 75 percent. Frequent working class protests and strikes point to a rising self-confidence of this non-elite.

Urbanism

The period of the Estado Novo is also the cradle of modern Urban Planning. One of the paradigmatic figures is the French planner Donat-Alfred Agache. His master plans for Rio, Recife, Porto Alegre and Curitiba serve as a model for the later planning efforts of the 1960s.[200]

A new urban landscape of São Paulo materialises as a mix of a tradition of French boulevards and US American skyscraper typologies. Whereas the 1920's configure the shape of the central area of the city, one decade later Greater São Paulo undertakes initial efforts towards orchestrated public planning (Cf. Nery 2002). Notably, consolidation and legalisation policies are fostering the emigration of working classes (and later also of middle classes) from the inner city to the suburbs.

1929: Working Code Arthur Sabóia

The 1929 law 3.427/29, also known as the 'Código de Obras "Arthur Sabóia' arranges the city in four concentric zones: 1) Central commercial, 2) Urban, 3) Suburban and 4) Agricultural. It maintains a general urban pattern of a dense city centre[201], permitting exceptions at important locations.[202]

1930: Plano de Avenidas

Between 1924 and 1930 the Plano de Avenidas, São Paulo's first important comprehensive planning document is drawn up. This scheme by Francisco Prestes Maia and João de Ulhôa Cintra' is famous for its idealist radio-concentric structure.[203] (Cf. Anelli 2008: 18) Maia and Cintra lay out the basic transportation structure for a São Paulo entering the motor age. They propose to connect the city and 'periferia' by a number of new avenues

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[199] His legacy comprises a modern highway network and the world's eighth-largest automobile production. (Cf. Hudson 1997)

[200] Cf. Moreira 2004, at http://repository.upenn.edu/dissertations/AAI3138056/, r12.04.2009

[201] Based on the municipal standards (law 2.33/20)

[202] The law allows buildings up to 80 metres in the 'centro novo', and restricted buildings in some placed of the 'centro velho' up to 50 metres (Cf. Nery 2002: at http://jmarinho.sites.uol.com.br/1periodo.html; http://www.usp.br/fau/docentes/depprojeto/e_nobre/AUP274/cidade_industrial.htm, r13.04.2009).

[203] Francisco Prestes Maia was an architect and engineer. Like many of São Paulo's renowned planners and bureaucrats, he was based at the Polytechnic School of the University of São Paulo, (Cf. below). Maia became prefect of the city during the Second World War, and again on the eve before the milirary regime. His second important planning document, published in 1945 was "The Improvement Plan for São Paulo" ("Os Melhoramentos de São Paulo") (A short biography is available at: http://www.vivabrazil.com/vivabrazil/francisco_prestes_maia.htm, a short film documentary on Maia can be retrieved at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-WNY5aBFZos r12.04.2009).

radiating from the centre. The progress triggered the re-organisation of large parts of the inner city and initiated a real estate boom.[204]

1948: Robert Moses

In the year 1947 São Paulo sees the foundation of a planning department and the start of a coordinated master and land use plan.[205] As industrial development takes off, the planning office commissions a new development study. Notably the project team is lead by the US American Robert Moses.[206] Moses focuses on an efficient road infrastructure and proposes to replace many of the Maia's avenues with highways (Cf. Anelli 2008:17). A negative consequence is the fragmentation of the urban fabric (as much as in New York City).

1955: Industrial Zoning: 4.805/55

The law 4.805/55 regulates the location of hazardous industries in the city's areas. The law is guided by the spirit of a separated and uncluttered city and operates by the means of noise regulations. As a consequence São Paulo is divided in 4 types of zones: residential, predominantly residential, mixed, and manufacturing industrial.[207]

1957: Law Anhaia (5.261/57)

When in 1957 the socialist Adhemar de Barros becomes mayor of São Paulo, for the first time in the city's history a zoning law (5.261/57) is drafted for the whole municipal area.[208] The law, also known as the law of high-rises, aims to regulate the increasing congestion of the city centre. While it drives the modernisation (and the gentrification) of the downtown area, it also leads to a boom of high-rise constructions beyond the traditional core.[209]

1956 to 1958: SAGMACS (Estrutura Urbana da Aglomeração Paulistana)

In the second half of the 1990s São Paulo's mayor Toledo Pisa commissions the French Dominican Louis Joseph Lebret with an urban study. Lebret's group the SAGMACS (Sociedade Para Análise Gráfica e Mecanográfica Aplicadas Aos Complexos Sociais), known for an approach of a 'humanistic economy', prepares a holistic planning document on a regional scale.[210] It identifies the rising disparities of a developed centre and the underdeveloped peripheries as the major problems of the city's development, proposing the development of sub-centres. Lebret's propoals are widely discussed. They influence later documents such as the The Plano Urbanisatico Básico (PUB) of 1968 (Cf. below).[211]

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[204] Caldeira, who is providing a critical comment, writes: "The *Plano de Avenidas* also chose to enhance roads instead of expanding public trolley transportation in the city. Consequently, the working classes, who could not afford the increased rents, were driven out. The launching of a bus system, associated with the progressive opening of new avenues, made possible the expansion of the city toward the periphery." (Caldeira, 2000: 215-20)

[205] Cf. Feldmann 2005, Cf. http://www.usp.br/fau/docentes/depprojeto/e_nobre/AUP274/metropole_industrial.htm, r12.04.2009)

[206] Moses is a famous urban planner from North America and author of New York City's master plan of that time. His projects were the main object of Jane Jacob's critique. (Cf. Flint, Anthony 2009: Wrestling with Moses: How Jane Jacobs Took On New York's Master Builder and Transformed the American City; New York)

[207] Cf. Nery 2002 at http://jmarinho.sites.uol.com.br/4periodo.html, r13.04.2009

[208] The law prescribed maximum floor area ratios of 6 for commercial and 4 for residential buildings; the maximum density was set at to 600 persons per hectare; the minimum size of an apartment at 35 square metres (Cf. Nery 2002 at: http://jmarinho.sites.uol.com.br/4periodo.html, r13.04.2009).

[209] Caldeira (2000: 255) sees the law as another trigger pushing poor populations from the inner city towards the peripheries (Cf. Calderia 2000: pp225)

[210] The document, known as the "Estrutura Urbana da Aglomeração Paulistana" is regarded as a pioneering document. It represents an integrated planning approach based on methodical research, scientifically determined indicators, historical analyses, the inclusion of the public, and a global vision of development (http://www.urbanismobr.org/entrevistas/topicos.htm, r12.04.2009).

[211] SAGMACS prepares more studies for the city of Belo Horizonte and for the state of São Paulo in the 1960s (O Plano de Ação do governo Carvalho Pinto).

1964 to 1985: immediate context – military autocracy, developmentalism2 and metropolisation

Politics

The rising economic crisis, intensifying protests, as well as indirect impacts of the Cold War, lead to a *Coup d'Etat* in 1964. Once again, Brazil becomes an autocratic regime. The coup reflects a rising interest of the expanding state to control the economy. Different from a true dictatorship, where power resides with one person (Cf. Indonesia), the power of the junta is founded on the whole military apparatus. While the leadership is regularly passed to a series of appointed general-presidents, the military era comprises several stages. After a modest start but then a fierce first period (1964-1974), from 1974 a gradual re-opening begins. The regime lasts until the new constitution of 1988.[212]

1964 - 1967Castello Branco

Brazil's military *Coup d'Etat* of April 1964 dethrones the republican president João Goulart, in an overthrow, which is known as the 'quiet intervention' (Cf. Parker 1979). Fifteen days after the plot, the Army Chief of Staff, Marshal Humberto de Alencar Castello Branco becomes appointed president. (Cf. Parker 1979)

In a context of the hot atmosphere of the 'Cold War' – the Cuban revolution is only three years prior – the new government is directly recognised by the US government and its allies (Cf. Hudson 1997). The new years issue of *Time* magazine,1965, heralds the transition with the headline "BRAZIL Toward Stability".[213] [214] The country is run along a fictitious two party system. The parties are popularly known as the "Yes" party (Arena) and the "Yes, sir" (MDB) party. Anyone who opposes the government is removed from office. Moreover the military government controls the posts of all Governors and Mayors of large cities.

1967 – 1969 Artur Costa e Silva

In 1967 Castelo Branko's moderate leadership style gives way to the most rigid stage of the military regime. Artur da Costa e Silva, former war minister became president between 1967-1974. At this time the military elite seeks to consolidate and fortify its standing. E Silva proclaims the 5th Institutional Act (AI-5). It gives the president the power to dismiss the National Congress, strip politicians of their offices of power, to censor public media, and to institutionalize repressive methods of rule (Cf. Hudson 1994). The government's infringements of human rights trigger a wave of student protests.

1969 –1974 The Médici Administration

The third military government engenders a general tightening of the situation and a parallel rise of counter movements. The state becomes increasingly oppressive under the general Emilio Garrastazu Médici, former chief of Intelligence Services. The period is one of the most repressive stages of Brazil's autocratic era. It includes torture and strict censorship.[215]

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[212] It seems that the autocratic era is a white blanket in Brazilian history. As of August 2006, nobody in Brazil has been convicted of human rights violations during the 21 years of military dictatorship (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation_Condor#Brazil, r07.04.2009)

[213] Cf. http://www.time.com/time/printout/0,8816,842333,00.html, r04.04.2009.

[214] The coup was also described as an action of military elites to prevent a further erosion of power to the left and to maintain present power relations (Cf. the article by Celso Castro of the of the Getúlio Vargas foundation: "O Golpe de 1964 e a instauração do regime milita"; at: http://www.cpdoc.fgv.br/nav_fatos_imagens/htm/fatos/Golpe64.htm, r04.04.2009).

[215] The resistance movement sought to gain publicity by kidnapping several important foreign diplomats. Charles Burke Elbrick the U.S. ambassador was kidnapped on 8th October of 1969, Nobuo Okuchi Japanese consul general in São Paulo in several months later. Other victims were the US consul in Porto Alegre as well as the German ambassador. (Cf. http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,902646,00.html, r12.12.2008)

The truth and reconciliation commission stated in 2007 339 documented cases of government-sponsored political assassinations or disappearances. (http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/folha/brasil/ult96u323017.shtml, r12.11.2008)

1974 – 1979 Ernesto Geisel – start of the 'abertura'

By the end of the first half of the 1970s the effects of the oil crisis in combination with rising inflation becomes visible. Ernesto Geisel, a military General and Industrialist of German-Brazilan ancestry, is the first of the military generals to embark on a path of opening and a gradual democratic reform ('abertura') during his 5-year rule (from March 15th 1974 to March 15th 1979).[216]

Table 31: São Paulo's prefects form 1965 to 1979 (AlphaVille's start-up phase)

While the military junta seeks to run the large cities like gigantic machines, it handpicks a series of successful industrialists, managers and engineers as to serve as prefects of the country's economic powerhouse São Paulo.[217] The following list provides an overview of these personalities. It reveals that all of them were relatively young (in their 30s to 50s) and the majority of them were trained as Engineers. Importantly the Polytechnic School of the University of São Paulo emerges as a seed institution. Notably the examination reveals that most of the technocratic prefects are of the same generation and of the same back ground as AlphaVille's developers Yoshiro Takaoka, and Renato Albuquerque.

Term	Name	Year of Birth (Age when taking office)	Training	Profession
1965 - 1969	José Vicente Faria Lima	*1909 (56)	Military College	Military Engineer, Pilot, Politician
1969 to 1971	Paulo Salim Maluf	*1931 (39)	Civil Engineer, Polytechnic School at USP	Industrialist, Politician
1971 to 1973	José Carlos de Figueiredo Ferraz†218	*1918 (53)	Civil Engineer, Polytechnic School at USP	Engineer, Professor, Consultant, Politician
1973 to 1975	Miguel Colasuonno	*1939 (34)	Economist, USP	Economist, Politician
1975 to 1979	Olavo Setúbal219	*1923 (52)	Trained Engineer, Polytechnic School at USP	Industrialist, Banker, Head of Itaú (one of the largest Brazilian Banks)

Economics: developmentalist-technocratic model

The military regime is devoted to reviving the country's economy. Its economic reforms are centred on a right wing liberal model.[220] Development is carried out along a liberal,

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[216] Geisel's government permitted elections for the legislative organs and increased the freedom for the opposition party. Moreover, the practise of Censorship was abandoned by the end of his mandate.

[217] Jamie Lerner, the author of the Curitiba's prominent master plan, was picked as the prefect of the capital of Paraná in 1971.

[218] Ferraz was closely associated with Pires do Rio and Prestes Maia. His office did the engineering of Lina Bobardi's Museum of Modern Art in the 1950s

[219] "It was one of the rare periods I had insomnia and had to take medicines to sleep..." , "Administrating the city is a fantastic thing, I feel honoured, but you have to work much harder than you do while running a bank and the salary is much lower." (Mr Setúbal about his time in office as mayor of São Paulo: at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Olavo_Set%C3%Babal, r06.04.2009)

[220] In contrast to India and parallel to Indonesia (Cf. the two other cases studies of this investigation)

technocratic, and positivist model (Cf. Ribeiro 2001).[221] Strategic partnerships with the corporate sector play a pivotal role and the policy results in a remarkable and quick economic upturn.

The strategy of the military regime seeks to put forward a policy of economic independence. To achieve this goal the state seeks to substitute imports of as many capital goods as possible. Moreover it undertakes huge investments in the country's infrastructure.[222] The situation is characterised by a strong alliance of corporate and public sector elites. As international corporations are invited to invest and implement model projects, these play a crucial role for the transfer of know-how. Moreover they are hassle free partners for the government.

Thus, the darkest days of the military regime are paralleled by the launch of Volkswagen, Ford, GM and Mercedes production plants. The Trans-Amazonian Highway is constructed through the northern rain forests, and the world's largest hydroelectric dam emerges at Itaipu (Cf. Hudson 1997). Metropolitain areas, with São Paulo and Rio at the forefront, see major planning efforts and an enormous boom of construction and investment (Cf. below).

Notably the autocratic governments also revamp the housing market and credit systems by installing demand driven systems with a privatised supply side and reforms in housing finance. As part of this effort a new 'Housing Finance System' (SFH) and a new National Housing Bank are installed.[223]

Fuelled by huge amounts of government subsidies and international finance, the economic policies lead to impressive results: Brazil becomes one of the fastest growing economies in the world, growing at rates beyond the 10 percent mark from 1968 to 1973 (Cf. Hudson 1997). The military regime sees itself as validated. The state of euphoria peaks when the World Cup is won in 1970. (Cf. Hudson 1997)[224]

Nonetheless, the situation is bound to change. The continual injection of capital proves unsustainable. By the mid of the 1970s, in the aftermath of the oil crisis[225], an increasing number of contradictions of the right-wing central planning model become apparent. This leads to a gradual transformation of the system.

1980 'a lost decade' with hope in the end

The 1980s are widely conceived as a 'lost decade' (Cf. Hudson 1997). Yet it is also an era of immense progress towards democracy. It becomes evident that the developmentalist technocratic model is an unsustainable 'money-eating machine'. The realisation of infrastructure and industries requires immense financial resources and triggers a fatal vicious circle. (Cf. Hiratuka 2008: 4) While constantly growing sums of money have to

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[221] Presupposing that the 'Volk' is not mature enough to decide what is best for its own development (Cf. Holston 2004).

[222] Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI) is a strategy of state induced industrialisation. The policy was highly popular in Latin America at that time. The policy is influenced by the economic theories of John Maynard Keynes. It was largely promoted by international organisations such as the UN subsidiary CEPAL (United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean) (Cf. Baer, Werner (1972), "Import Substitution and Industrialization in Latin America: Experiences and Interpretations," Latin American Research Review vol. 7 (Spring): 95-122.).

For an indebt discussion of ISI see for example: Hira, Anil 2007: Did ISI fail and is neoliberalism the answer for Latin America? Re-assessing common wisdom regarding economic policies in the region. Rev. Econ. Polit. [online], vol.27, n.3, pp. 345-356 ; (Available from: http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0101-31572007000300002, r04.04.2009)

[223] Cf. Rodrigues 2000: 11; Cf. below: BOX SFH

[224] Ana Cecilia Campos (2005, 2007) describes the political and economic moment as one of easy financial resources, highly indebted states, an ambiguous position of the federal subsidies towards middle class and low-income populations, and the preference of large companies. She illustrates the situation by the example of the New Town of Barra da Tijuca in Rio de Janeiro: „A implantação do plano para a Barra espelha o momento político e econômico brasileiro na década de 70: a facilidade de recursos, o endividamento do Estado, a posição ambígua do BNH financiando maciçamente habitação para camadas mais altas ao mesmo tempo em que tentava prover as camadas mais baixas da população, o favorecimento às grandes empresas e o que se altera quando os recursos financeiros se tornam escassos." (Campos 2005: 5)

[225] The oil crisis halved the amount of growth in 1994.

be borrowed on international markets, the augmented supply in the homeland causes spiralling rates of inflation (Cf. Ribeiro 2001). Eventually the elite regime, seeking to preserve its power, becomes incapable of inducing a sustainable economy from the top. By the 1980s an external debt crisis ends the economic growth cycle and activates political reforms.[226] The economic decline triggers unemployment, pushing large populations towards informality and spurring a growing dissatisfaction from the working classes. When huge strikes are called off in 1978 and 1980, in São Paulo's peripheries the machines come to a halt.[227]

Urban planning in the autocratic era – the modernist-developmentalist model
The economic boom of the late 1960 and early 1970s is paralleled by the great wave of migration from Brazil's Northeast, South and Southwest, boosting the growth of the industrial urban centres (Cf. Bogus, Pasternak: 10). São Paulo matures into a regional metropolis. Its urban mass is growing beyond the municipal area of São Paulo merging with Osasco und Taboão da Serra in the West, Guarulhos to the East and the so-called ABC-Area in the Southeast (Cf. Rolnik 2008). The city administration draws up integrated development plans and its technocratic mayors steer the implementation of large infrastructure projects (most visibly in the transport sector).

1964 – SFH/BNH, Housing Finance System
A critical federal regulation of the time is the federal housing finance programme. The scheme provides loans for up to 400 thousand houses and apartments a year from the mid-1970s to the early 1980s (Rodrigues 200: 12). Notably municipalities are obliged to draft development plans in order to be eligible for credits, moreover they have to take on private entrepreneurs to carry out the projects (Botega 2007: 68), so the programme promotes the private real estate sector, construction industries and private consultants.[228]

1965 - 1968 PUB – towards a polynuclear metropolis
The second half of the sixties sees the urban footprint of growth beyond the administrative limits of the city. This causes mounting efforts to bring the development under public control. Most notably, the Gegran (Executive Group for Greater São Paulo)[229] is founded as a regional planning body and a new master planning document, the Plano Urbanisatico Básico (PUB) is prepared. José Vicente de Faria Lima, the new prefect of São Paulo[230] awards the preparation of the plan to the international consortium of Asplan-Daily-Montreal-Wilbur and Smith (Cf. Anelli 2008).

The PUB is among the first documents that seek to organise São Paulo's disparate growth. It develops several scenarios of a 'polynuclear metropolis'. The preferred option entails the creation of a strong core and five regional centres. 650 kilometres of new metro lines and 4.000 kilometres of new expressways are supposed to become the veins and arteries of this system. Nevertheless the plan reflects the technocratic spirit of the 1969 – 1974 economic 'miracle' in its belief that the metropolis of 42 million could be

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[226] During this time not only Brazil, but many Latin American Countries face a severe debt crisis. Brazil's deficits rise from US$ 6.4 billion in 1963 to nearly US$54 billion in 1980. At the same time inflation augments from 16.2 percent per year in 1973 to 110.2 by 1980. (Cf. Hudson 1997) On the northern part of the continent, The World Bank develops principles to respond to this Latin American debt crisis. These become known as the Washington Consensus. (Cf. Chapter 1: Introduction: Neoliberalism).

[227] "Protesters asserted that wage increases indexed to the inflation rate were far below a liveable level. Union leaders, including the future 1990 presidential candidate Luis "Lula" Inácio da Silva, were arrested for violation of national security laws." (Hudson 1997 at: www.country-data.com/cgi-bin/query/r-1700.html, r05.04.2009)

[228] Among the programmes developed by the BNH was also the program of accelerated urban community revitalisation the (Comunidades Urbanas de Recuperação Acelerada – CURA). (Cf. Anelli 2007)

[229] The Gegran is the direct precedent of the Emplasa (Cf. below Regulation)

[230] Faria Lima also immediately abandoned the law 5.261/57, replacing it with law 6.877/66, which abandoned the density limitations and applied a maximum far of 6 to the whole municipal area. (At: http://jmarinho.sites.uol.com.br/4periodo.html, r13.09.2009)

fully developed by the year 2000 (Deák 1999) and providing no means for the participation of society at large. (Cf. Holston and Caldeira 2004, p. 407).[231] While the PUB is actually never legally enforced, it has an important impact on subsequent planning documents and sectored plans.[232]

1969 triumph of pragmatism and large scale infrastructure projects

When in 1969 a new mayor, 39-year-old Paulo Salim Maluf[233] takes over the municipal power, São Paulo's population has 6 million residents (Cf. 4 million in 1960). Pragmatism triumphes over idealism, the PUB is abandoned, and Maluf government embarks on a 'Haussmannian' transformation of the city based on transport infrastructure. The measures comprise the completion of the expressways along the Tietê and the Pinheiros. 78 important bridges and several major tunnels link the East and West and the North and South. Dozens of Avenues are remodelled. Among the famous projects of Maluf's time is the Elevado Presidente Costa e Silva in the centre of São Paulo.[234] The radical project, also known as the 'Minhocão' (Earthworm) (Cf. Anelli 2008:20), is aimed at linking the centre to the southwestern vector, penetrating some residential areas.[235]

1971 PDDI

In December 1971 the Empresa Municipal de Urbanização – EMURB, is founded (Cf. Anelli 2007) and another master plan the 'Plano Diretor de Desenvolvimendo Integrado' (PDDI) is developed. The PDDI is distinctive, as it is one of the few master plans that win the approval of São Paulo's city council, becoming the law 7688/71[236]. This was necessary as authorised planning documents are a mandatory requirement of receiving federal urban development grants (e.g. SFH, or CURA). Nevertheless, in contrast to the high ambitions, the power of the plan remained limited. Like many of its peers, it was not capable of resolving the complex set of problems of the growing urban region (Anelli 2008: 20).

1972 São Paulo Zoning Code (Lei 7.805/72)

The fact that the funding requirements of the federal government also demand land use and zoning regulations to be drawn up has critical effects. A new zoning code enforced in 1972 in the form of the Law 7.805/72, under the prefect Figueiredo Ferraz, is bound to remain one of the most central planning regulations for more than 30 years to come (Cf. Nery 2002). While it represents modernist principles of a functionally separated and dispersed city, it is highly beneficial to the emerging real estate sector[237] Accordingly São Paulo's fabric is divided up into eight zones (Z-1 to Z-8) and categorised along a set of

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[231] Faria Lima's administration is notable for the completion of important projects. Among the most important of these are: the Marginais Tietê and Pinheiros, the Avenida Sumaré, the Radial Leste, 23 de Maio, or the Rubem Berta. In addition the trolley was discontinued and the Metro was initiated. In addition the city government embarked on health, education, social service projects.

[232] So, for example the 1971-72 highway plan (Plano de Vias Expressas), or the 1971 Plano Diretor de Desenvolvimento Integrado.

[233] Maluf was a trained engineer and made his career out of a 'right-wing neoliberal populist' practice. Before becoming mayor, he chaired the São Paulo Chamber of Commerce as well as Brazil's Federal Savings Bank - the Caixa Economic Federal. Maluf later became a notable figure in Brazilian politics, both for his achievements as well as being part of several corruption cases. He was serving as the governor of São Paulo and led the Progressive Party of Brazil. Even a political style was named after him. His political of right-wing liberal populism became known as Maulufismo. Maluf was to become Mayor of São Paulo again in 1992. By then he initiated another remodelling of the city (pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paulo_Maluf; r23.03.2009).

[234] Conceived by Faria Lima in the previous legislature period.

[235] When after his term of only two years Maluf becamomes transport minister of the state from 1971- 1975 he commissions important train and metro projects in the region.

[236] Cf. Holston 2004: 409; Cf. below: Regulation

[237] "Um dos objetivos mais importantes desta lei foi auxiliar a produção habitacional por grandes empresas imobiliárias, ao estimular a construção de conjuntos Residencial - R3 - na cidade". (Cf. Nery 2002 at http://jmarinho.sites.uol.com.br/conclusao.html, r12.04.2009)

land uses and densities (residential, commercial, industrial, nature etc). The Floor Space Index is fixed at a factor of 4 and confined to 10 percent of the city's area.

Caldeira (2000: 222) and Nery 2002 discuss, how the zoning laws at the same time contributes to the consolidation of inner city elite districts, while at the same time driving the exodus of the 'others' (e.g. the poor, industries etc). The new zoning codes protect most of the traditional elite neighbourhoods through zones classified as exclusively residential, which strictly safeguard land use and density (Z-1). As the scarcity of space in the inner city along with the formalisation of land use results in an increase of land prices, poorer populations are driven out. Moreover, particular strict restrictions towards for industries result in an exodus of this land use from central locations (Cf. Nery 2002).[238]

The zoning code reinforces the trends of segregation and polarization: It reinforces the trend to locate apartment buildings away from the central areas, but not evenly. Middle class residents tend to move along the southwestern axis to Morumbi, or even further to Granja Viana and AlphaVille. The national housing bank sponsors the owners of (expensive) formalised land and bypasses the proprietors of illegal subdivisions. As a result, the tendency to regulate e.g. restrict the development of the central areas, contributes to an increased demand in the peripheries, particularly those areas featuring connections to the central locations.[239]

1973: Establishment of the RMSP

The last important milestone in the early seventies, and a consequence of the 1969 PUB plan, is Gegran's establishment of the São Paulo Metropolitain Region (RMSP). The RMSP comprises of the city of São Paulo and 42 additional municipalities.

1986s and onward: democratisation, liberalisation and regional consolidation

Politics

The late 1980s mark a period of democratisation and economic reforms. The top-down developmentalist method gives way to a bottom-up approach in regard to economic growth, state intervention and urbanization (Cf. Ribeiro 2001). In December 1989 Fernando Alfonso Collor de Mello seizes the moment and becomes the first elected head of state for 29 years[240]. While inflation amounts to 25 percent per month, Collor and his successor Franco Itamar initate major economic and political changes.[241] These are marked by a massive wave of privatisation, in the local context known as 'denationalisation' (Desestatização), deregulation as well as a severe fiscal policy. [242] (Anuatti-Neto et al 2005) Under the name *Plano Collor I and II*: a moratorium on Brazil's foreign debt is negotiated; the policy of import substitution is revised and import restrictions for more than 800 products are abolished; more than 70 state companies (almost all) are privatised; public salaries are frozen, and (quite controversially) private savings confiscated[243].

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[238] In addition, the Lei 7.805/72 and its modifications in 8.001/73 lead to some alternative typologies for higher income classes in the central areas. Notably, the R-3 form of land use in Z-2 zones triggers the boom of vertical condominiums such as Ilha's do Sul, or Portal Morumbi. The famous "Fórmula of Adiron" allowes the increase of Floor Space Index by a proportional reduction of the occupation index, and a parallel provision of common green areas and facilities for collective use. (Cf. Caldeira, 2000: 225-28, Cf. Nery 2002 at: http://jmarinho.sites.uol.com.br/producao.html, and.... conclusao.html, r12.04.2009).

[239] The zoning codes were further revised, refined and 'softened' by the laws 53 laws, most notably the 8.001/73, 8.006/74, 8.211/75, 8.848/78, 8.843/78, 8.844/78, 9.049/80, 9.411/81, 10.041/86, 10.071/86, which resulting in a greater mix of land uses. (Cf. Nery 2002 athttp://jmarinho.sites.uol.com.br/consideracoes2.html)

[240] The conservative Collor defeates Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva by 35 million votes.

[241] In São Paulo Salim Maluf becomes São Paulo's mayor again in 1992 and starts remodelling the city.

[242] The telecom sector was one of the first of the privatised sectors. As early as November 1990 private mobile phase companies were competing for the market (Cf. Fendt 2004).

[243] Cf. From a self description of Collor's achievements at: collor.com/collorplan_001.asp., r06.04.2009

In addition an increased amount of goods was purchased at foreign markets resulting in a rise of imports from 4.8 percent in 1989 to 20.3 percent in 1998.

Itamar's successor the sociologist Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-2002) maintains free trade and privatisation programs along his *Plano Real*. The stabilisation of the Real and its reintegration in the world economy is among the most significant achievements of his term (Cf. Hudson 1997).

The year 2002 sees the election of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva. 'Lula', as he is commonly known, is a popular public figure of the working-class movement[244]. His presidency is particularly known for its widespread social (and environmental) reforms. Yet he also maintains liberal policies including public sector reforms. (Cf. Fendt 2004) Lula's success is widely approved and he is re-elected in 2006.

The government develops a series of social programmes geared at a social redistribution of wealth and the eradication of poverty. A significant initiative is the *Fome Zero* (Zero Hunger) program. This program intends to give each Brazilian three meals a day. Other measures comprise a drastic increase of minimum wages from R$200 to R$350 in four years (Cf. Fendt 2004). The government's social reform approach also translates into various infrastructural and service programmes. Among these are plans to supply 3.7 million people in Brazil's poorest Northeast region with potable water, to construct 1.2 million housing units for the poor, and to provide essential public health services for those in need (Ibidem).

Economy

The notable aspect of Brazil's democratic and economic restructuring is the fact that an intense liberal restructuring of the economy parallels the deep socio-political reforms (indeed a pair full of contradictions and innovations). Color's, Itamar's and Cardosos's reform programmes of denationalisation (privatisation), deregulation and decentralisation[245] bring the inflation down and restart the country's economy. While the country's credibility ratings are rehabilitated Brazil becomes the largest borrowers of urban development money from The World Bank by the end of the 1980s. [246] This makes possible new massive infrastructure investments. On the problematic side are for example the polarising effects of an unrestrained global capital. (Cf. above: ...Inequality)

Space/ legislation

The progression of economic and political reforms has tremendous impacts on the urban surface. Most notably the 'periferia' matures into a multiplex urban region along a new logic of connectedness, access and fragmentation, despite the fact that master plans are absent or redundant. The relations of centre and periphery are reshuffled. While some of the advanced services, such as command, control and innovation cluster in distinct centres, other less knowledge intensive secondary functions decentralise. Rising disposable income leads to the rise of ever more middle classes, which then strive to realise a consumer oriented lifestyle. On the other hand, growing unemployment and disparities bring along a boom of informality and greed. As a consequence Brazil's urban centres experience a major crime and security crisis. While crime level peak in particular in the 1980s and 1990's, thereafter the peripheries are increasingly affected.

The economic and spatial restructuring is generally based on the decline of the industrial and the rise of the services sector. New modes of production and control become

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[244] He played an important role as a working class in the 1978 and 1980 strikes around São Paulo.

[245] Cf. Antônio Barros de Castro, FSP: Sep, 22, 1999: 2

[246] The 1990s reforms have to be regarded in a wider framework of political and socio-economic trends. It was the time when the iron curtain fell, the Cold War ended and the triumph of the market economy was heralded.

possible. As a consequence industries tend to spread throughout the country, reversing a 40-year-old trend of agglomeration and concentration. São Paulo's relevance as an industrial centre is reduced, while at the same time its status as a focal point of command, control and as a producer of advanced tertiary services increases. (Cf. above: São Paulo)

Political and spatial decentralisation

The country's debt crisis and the dwindling government resources are not only triggering the economic reforms described above, they also reinforce a process of political decentralisation. As the relevance of the local level grows, municipalities enter into a stage of competition. While all seek to attract resources and economic facilities within the own jurisdiction, the trend of industrial deconcentration is reinforced.

While on one hand social movements struggling for equity, participation, 'the right to the city' and the preservation of the environment are stronger than ever before, the cities become increasingly dependent on corporate initiatives and private assets.[247] In this context, city governments try out neo-liberal planning and development strategies. Two significant programmes in this regard are São Paulo's 'paid authorisation for the right to construct' ('outorga onerosa do direto de contruir') and 'urban operations'.[248] Both initiatives thrive on the idea of public-private partnerships. While developers can buy increased development rights in certain areas that are promoted, the public side obliges itself to spend the revenues for public ends. Two important (and controversial[249]) projects that develop in the manner of 'urban interventions' are the Avenida Faria Lima and Bernini, Aquas Espraiadas. Both schemes emerge as global business hubs in the 'vetor sudeoste'.

1986 to 1988: National Constitutional Assembly

The national constitutional congress is critical for Brazil's democratisation. Between 1986 and 1988 this assembly elaborates the general basis of the country's democratic constitution. Importantly this includes a new conception of citizenship and a 'right to the city'. (Cf. Holston, Caldeira 2008: 21)

The constitution contains several elements of the highest relevance for the configuration of human settlements. The constitutional article 182, for example, defines a new framework for a 'socially oriented and inclusive master planning'. Hence it stresses the idea of the city as well as its elements as common goods that have to be developed with the participation of all inhabitants.[250] Another important part of the constitution is the Article 193. This section allows squatters of small properties to legalise their land after a period of five years. Indeed, this regulation promises far-reaching consequences, as the land titles of the majority of the inhabitants of urban peripheries are unclear. The 2009 program 'Cidade Legal' represents a first step towards its implementation.

1993: Lei de Vilas (11605/94)

This law enables the construction of small closed condominiums in inner city areas providing alternatives for the increasing outmigration of middle class residents.[251] The result

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[247] It is representative for the situation that São Paulo's mayors continuously oscillate between right and left in the decade (Cf. Holston: 408; Wikipedia gives a first outline at: en.wikipedia.org/wiki/S%C3%A3o_Paulo#Law_and_government, Cf. 05.03.2009).

[248] Holston (2004) discusses the issue in more depth

[249] It is highly debated whether public subsidies were a necessary prerequisite for the development the projects (Cf. Abascal 2006: 10).

[250] The principles represented by this article played an important role in the conception of the new law of land divisions and the current discussion on the legality or illegality of guarded condominiums (Cf. below: Regulation, Lei da Responsabilidade Territorial Urbana (PL 3057/2000)).

[251] The type is also referred as R3-03.

is a sharper competition with the suburban enclaves (loteamentos fechados) in the peripheries.[252]

2001: Estatuto da Cidade (City Statues)
The landmark legislation of Etstatudo da Cidade (Lei 10.257), enacted on July 10th 2001, stresses the social function of the city (including private properties) and the importance of environmental preservation. Importantly the law institutionalises participation at the basis of master plans, as all cities with more than 20.000 inhabitants (40 percent of all Brazilian municipalities) are asked to rewrite their planning documents.

São Paulo's 2002 Plano Diretor Estrategico PDE (Municipal law 13.430)
São Paulo's 2002 Plano Diretor Estrategico PDE is the direct application of the Estatudo Da Cidade. Notably, it is the city's second plan to be approved by the City Council replacing the 1971 PDDI master plan and zoning regulations. Importantly, this milestone document takes into consideration the in rising significance of non-state-actors, the civil society and also the private sector. It institutionalises socio-ecological principles, as well as market-oriented development mechanisms.[253] The question of how market mechanisms can best augment social and ecologic assets remains to be resolved.[254]

2009 Cidade Legal
The current programme Cidade Legal promises to emerge as one of the most significant milestones of the new urban constitution. This agenda rationalised by the state of São Paulo in March 2009, aims to legalise more than 830.000 illegal properties in 47 municipalities of the Greater Region of São Paulo.

Project milestones
The last section sought to contextualise our case within a general (political, economic, spatial) chain of events. It was operating from a macro (top-down) perspective. What is still missing is a time axis from the perspective of our particular project as well its developers. The next section therefore summarises the major milestones of AlphaVille-Tamboré. In this context five important development stages emerge: 1) prehistory, 2) initial experiences, 3) unfolding, 4) maturation, and 5) refinement and diffusion. The ongoing exploration revisits some of the important events of the greater context.

Before 1950s: 'Prehistory'
Some parts of AlphaVille's history can be traced back to the early colonial times of the 16th century. By then the land belongs to several native villages. The villages are destroyed and the land becomes part of the Union territory by the end of the 16th century.[255] On the 31st May 1739 Bernardo José Leite Penteado gains unrestricted leasehold

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[252] Cf. Loffredo 2006, Cf. above: São Paulo; and below: Regulation

[253] Cf. Chapter III: §15, Cf. http://www.usp.br/fau/docentes/depprojeto/e_nobre/AUP274/novos_instrumentos.htm, r12.04.2009

[254] Entretanto, ainda é difícil avaliar o papel de políticas públicas que visam à regulamentação e à gestão dos resultados espaciais, arquitetônicos e urbanísticos destes aportes de capitais, e possam gerir a aplicação de mecanismos capazes de gerar ações redistributivas em outras áreas da cidade e da região (venda de potencial construtivo e a prática da outorga onerosa do direito de construir. ... Estes instrumentos estão regulamentados pela Lei Federal 10.257 de 10 de julho de 2001 – Estatuto da Cidade, conforme consta do Plano Diretor Estratégico do Município de São Paulo Capítulo III, "Dos instrumentos de Gestão Urbana e Ambiental"). Da mesma forma, o Plano Diretor Estratégico (15) dirimiu sobre as Operações Urbanas Consorciadas, estabelecendo áreas estratégicas em que podem ser realizadas. (Abascal 06:10)

[255] The history of AlphaVille's lands is relatively well documented, as land disputes of the area are on a daily agenda (Cf. below: Regulation): Duran 2006, a lawyer working on the present land disputes quotes Jerônimo Leitão, a captain of the Portuguese army in 1580. Another account on the site's history is portrayed at: Revista Isto É, SP, 27/7/05. Seção Economia & Negócios, p.76 a 77; online at; online at http://geodesia.ufsc.br/wiki-ctm/index.php/Posseiros_de_Luxo; r16.01.2008.

on the land that since then was called Fazenda Tamboré. The farm remains in the hands of the family until the 20th century (Duran 2006).[256]

The terrain is not subdivided until 1935 (Cf. Duran 2006).[257] By then it is partitioned into six pieces.[258] It is also reported that Japanese immigrants settled on a significant amount of the land and cultivated coffee and other crops (Cf. Revista Isto É, SP, 2005). In 1966, with the military regime in place, the Penteado family regains control of the entire Fazenda Tamboré. As a consequence settlers who have gained ground have to leave the area (Cf. Revista Isto É, SP, 2005). The way for the commercialisation of the land is paved.

1950s to 1970s: Pioneering – first experiences

In 1951, in the same year as Getúlio Vargas comes to power again and the Government of São Paulo undertakes great efforts to invest in large urban infrastructure[259], Renato Albuquerque and Yoshiro Takaoka[260], two college mates from the Polytechnic School of São Paulo's University, establish the firm 'Construtora Albuquerque, Takaoka ltda.'. The firm operates in a 20 square metre office in São Paulo's centre. (Cf. Cruz 2003)

Takaoka's and Albuquerque's were: "Dedicated, from the first moment, to participation in public works projects".[261] The firm rises to the ten biggest engineering consultancies in the country in second half of the 1960s[262]. It carries out 250 projects in several States of Brazil and makes important experiences (and profits) in the residential sector in implementing publicly funded social housing and infrastructure sector. Many of the programmes are based on federal loans (Cf. Box: SFH/BNH programme).[263]

Box 30: 1960s – SFH program

Most of Takaoka's and Albuquerkque's early projects thrive on federal housing subsidies. The government seeks to enable mass segments of the population to afford their own house. As part of this effort, a new 'Housing Finance System' (SFH) is created and a new National Housing Bank installed. (Cf. Rodrigues 2000: 11) An important part of the SFH programme is the requirement for municipalities to draft development plans in order to be eligible for credits.[264] What is very crucial, however, is that the federal government only grants a loan if private developers do the implementation. (Cf Botega 2007: 68) As a result, from the mid 1970s to the early 1980s the scheme provides loans for up to 400 thousand houses and apartments a year, (Rodrigues 2000: 12). Signifi-

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[256] This former farmland comprises the whole southern part of AlphaVille comprising the first 5 residential areas (0 to 4), the whole industrial and commercial centre as well as some two other condominiums of the Tamborè enterprise, Nova Aldeinha and Mel Ville (Ibidem). The fact that such as large chunk of land was open can be seen as a crucial factor in the unique development of the area.

[257] At that time the first military regime ends and Getúlio Vargas initiates a 'paternalistic' autocracy. Varga's policy favours an entrepreneurial state and nationalises several industries. (Cf. Prutsch 2003; http://www.lateinamerika-studien.at/content/geschichtepolitik/brasilien/brasilien-63.html, r07.01.2009)

[258] It remains unclear whether Renato Albuquerque and Yoshiro Takaoka, the developers of AlphaVille, obtain parts of the area by that time (Cf. Duran 2006).

[259] Robert Moses just prepares the Programma Melhoramentos Públicos geared towards mortised traffic (Cf. 'National and urban Milestones'). Niemeyer builds the famous Copan Building, as well as the Ibirapuera-Park, The Paulista area becomes a new business centre (Cf. Timetable in Arch+ 190)

[260] Yoshiro Takaoka's father Sentaro Takaoka was a doctor who was sent by the Japanese government to take care of the immigrants who arrived in Brazil at the beginning of the century (Cf. Takaoka.org.br, r23.08.2008).

[261] Cf. History of the firm at: www.takaoka.eng.br, r.12.08.2008.

[262] While the new military regime under General Castello Branco makes a 'frontal attack' on housing (Cf. Rodrigues 2000: 11)

[263] Albuquerque Takaoka S.A: completed 12.200 metres of bridges and viaducts; they regulated 8 million metres of rivers and sanitary canals; constructed 250 thousand square metres of public buildings, as well as 3.036 housing units (of these 1729 within their housing system). (Cf. http://www.sitedaaldeia.com.br/DrYoshiroTakaoka.htm, r17.01.2008)

[264] As a consequence in São Paulo the Plano Metropolitano de Desenvolvimento Integrado (PMDI) was drafted. (Cf. above)

cantly the SFH programme mainly supports the richer parts of society. Botega confirms that middle and higher income populations 'cannibalised' 80 percent of the loans of the National Housing Bank (2007: 69 quoting Maricato 1987 and Kowarick 1979). Developers such as Takaoka and Albuquerque benefit, because, developers are granted exclusive rights to acquire large tracts of land in São Paulo's periphery below market rates and to develop these along reduced standards (Cf. Sampaio 2008). In exchange they had to retain certain quota for the lower income sector (Ibidem).[265]

Indeed, working on behalf of the government in public works and housing, by the end of the 1960s Albuquerque and Takaoka assemble the necessary knowledge and an enormous set of skills, only waiting for the right moment and the right combination of circumstances to realise its full potential.

An essential constituent of AlphaVille's success in this context is the construction of major traffic arteries providing access from the city towards the region. The main direction of 'where to move' is demonstrated when in 1968 the first section of the Rodovia Presidente Castelo Branco inaugurated. This artery is Brazil's first expressway. It unlocks up São Paulo's hinterland to the West.

It is also significant is that development plans recommend the development of the area: The 'Plano Urbanistico Basico' 1969, for example, outlines a future growth of São Paulo along the axis of the Tietê-river. (Cf. Above) 'The Plano de Desenvolvimento Integrado – PDDI' as well as the zoning regulations of 1972 further consolidated the process. These divide the central city into eight zones with different uses and utilisation rates (Cf. Caldeira, 2000: 225-28). While the historic centre is being pedestrianised, the Avenida Paulista and the Jardins area emerge as new centres of economic and political power. (Cf. Rolnik 2008, Cf. above) As the central spaces become valorised, many people, affluent and poor, leave the city. The well-to-do populations predominantly move along the Southwest axis, the 'vetor sudoeste' (Cf. above). Morumbi becomes the first privately planned developed neighbourhood.[266] Another constituent of AlphaVille's success is the fact that the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo is established in 1973 (Cf. Bogus: 10). This fact contributes to a real estate boom and leads to a rapid apportionment of the urban periphery, both by the formal, as well as by the informal sector. (Ibidem) In this way, the puzzle of AlphaVille-Tamboré is pieced together.

In course of these early 1970s turnovers as well as the real estate boom, Albuquerqe and Takaoka demonstrate a right mix of experience and intuition and try their fortune in parallel, in the inner city as well as in the periphery.

1970 to 1980: Unfolding – From nucleus to fully fledged city

In 1972 Albuquerqe and Takaoka launch the 'Ilha do Sul'-Project (Cf. below: Predecessors). This gated and fully serviced luxury ensemble of six buildings á 80 apartments soon develops as the new reference point for luxury housing in Brazil.[267] On the other

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[265] Poor residents were pushed out of the city at that time not only because the critical condition of the traditional low income housing, the 'Cortiços', but also because they were driven out by a process of gentrification. Costa (2006: 7) describes the effects of this real estate boom, with constantly increasing prices mainly for the Vetor Sudoeste: "Nos anos de 1960, impulsionada por *boom* imobiliário, a Avenida Faria Lima, eixo de ligação de imensa área entre os bairros do Itaim e Santo Amaro, foi o vetor desta nova centralidade. ... "Centenas de terrenos, muitos ainda vazios, ou ocupados por galpões industriais e residências de classe média, foram adquiridos por grandes agentes imobiliários e estocados, numa estratégia de valorização a longo prazo".

[266] In particular a stringent preservation of affluent residential neighbourhoods, so called Z1 zones, limits the dwelling options for the middle classes in the city and spurs the desire to relocate towards the periphery. (Cf. Gonçalvez 1998: 9)

[267] Cf. Aragão 2007: 54; Caldeira 2000 quoted by Landman 2002: 2.

hand, the two seize the favourable moment and develop the 500 hectares in Barueri.[268] Interestingly, at this initial moment in 1973, the developers seek to develop the site as an area for non-polluting industries.[269] The US American firm Hewlett Packard, one of the initiators of Silicon Valley, demonstrates a strong interest and becomes one of the major tenants.[270][271]

The important innovation of transferring the vertical Ilha-do-Sul-strategy from the compact centre into the horizontal plane of the spacious periphery is realised only three years later. Notably, this specialty emerges not as an ingeniously planned coup, but is induced by a growing demand - mainly from the employees of commercial facilities in the vicinity who seek to settle close to their working place. (Cf. AV-Webpage: "História"; and Davidson 2004) When in 1975 the first residential cluster, named 'Residencial-1' is developed, the result is "the first concept of a jointly owned horizontal property " (Davidson 2004).[272] This is the nucleus of AlphaVille that will later develop into a brand.[273] 'Residencial-1' comprises single-family houses on 900 lots, (each of circa 700 square metres), and a central clubhouse with tennis courts. Crucially a large perimeter wall of 4 metres encloses the neighbourhood with only one access. (Cf. below: Structure). While Albuquerque buy the land and plan for the infrastructure, Takaoka takes care of the construction and the marketing of the houses (Cf. AV-História). The designers Reinaldo Pestana and José Almeida Pinto elaborate upon the urban design and name of the project.[274] [275]

While both the commercial as well as the residential areas boom[276], "the neighbourhood-venture becomes such a great success that it soon becomes clear that it would become more important than the commercial" (Cf. AV Historia, translation by the Author). By the end of the 1970s Takaoka and Albuquerque launched two external projects. While one of these is the holiday beach resort named Toque Toque in 1979, the other is the significant project Aldeia da Serra in the vicinity of AlphaVille.[277]

Despite the fact that these projects become important precedents of the lifestyle, and eco-schemes of the late 1990s (such as Gênesis, or Burle Marx), Albuquerkeque's and

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[268] It has to be noted that the data on the acquisition of the land is somewhat clouded. It is not clear if and how much extra land was bought at this moment in addition to the amount that Takaoka and Albuquerqe had acquired in the 1935 (Cf. Duran 2006 above). The chronology on the website of AlphaVille Urbanismo says that the land was mainly bought in 1973, and that the land transfer demanded a long negotiation as most of the offered land of 500 hectares, was occupied by 110 legal owners (Cf. AlphaVille História at: http://www.AlphaVille.com.br/modules/content.php?recid=762).

[269] Albuquerque recalls the initial discussions with Takaoka in 1972 regarding the possibility of a business development. The idea was for a new business environment for non-polluting companies, in reaction to the massive unplanned and haphazard industrial boom that was occurring at the time. (Cf. AlphaVille História http://www.AlphaVille.com.br/modules/content.php?recid=762, r.12.12.2008, Cf. Davidson 2004)

[270] HP is considered to be one of the symbolic founders of Silicon Valley. The firm became known for mass-produced scientific calculators and personal computers in the 1970s. Today it is one of the largest computer companies worldwide (cf. http://www.hp.com/hpinfo/newsroom/facts.htm, r11.04.2009)

[271] In addition, companies such as C&A, DuPont, Sadia and Confab move the area.

[272] As a matter of fact the project was a 'loteamanto fechado', a legally unprecedented and highly disputed construction (Cf. below: Regulatory framework).

[273] Indeed, developing the concept of an 'ordered occupation' (ocupação ordenada) Takaoka and Albuquerque (more or less consciously) explore the incapacity of the public hand to provide for a regulated urban development. Its standards (quality, security, governance) remain the national benchmark until today" (Cf. Davidson 2004).

[274] Pinto is also credited for having conceived the name (Cf. AV História, r12.06.2008).

[275] Indeed there are many comments and speculations about this name by intellectual critics. The Brazilian filmmaker Paulo Caruso has produced one of the most recent notes (Cf. Stevens 2007, Cf. http://www.paulinhocaruso.com/AlphaVille/AlphaVille%20info, r1.07.2008). Yet, rather than being a reference to the dystopic film-noir of Jean Luc Goddard (1965), the name has be to regarded as a direct tribute to the quest of creating a 'first' and 'optimal' *Alpha*-city (Cf. http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/alpha, r14.01.2009).

[276] The light-industry area was fully developed five years after its inauguration. In addition a new commercial centre emerged. Today AlphaVille-Tamboré's daytime population amounts to 150,000 people.

[277] Implemented in 1980, 20 kilometres to the west of AlphaVille on an elevation of 1000 metres above sea level, the project became the basis of the Takaoka family. (Cf. also http://www.sitedaaldeia.com.br/DrYoshiroTakaoka.htm, r17.01.2008)

Takaoka's activities focus on the Barueri and Santana de Parnaíba site.[278] The demand at the Barueri site is so huge, that by the early 1980's AlphaVille had turned into a fully-fledged city. The commercial centre (centro commercial) develops into a true edge city, featuring a significant amount of jobs (and some of São Paulo's highest office and residential towers). Moreover, the place attracts all essential services such as schools, banks, and supermarkets (Cf. Bogus 2004: 13).[279]

1980s to 00s: Maturity and consolidation – AlphaVille-Tamboré and more
By the time of the late 1980s, when democracy was fully restored after 20 years of military dictatorship, the environs sees more than a dozen residential clusters. AlphaVille matures and evolves into a serious role model of urban development (Bogus 2004: 13).

At this time, also more and more projects by other developers appear in the area. Most of the new ventures copy AlphaVille's strategy of residential clusters. Each featuring its own variations, they increase the range of products on the market, and hence the attractiveness of the whole.[280] Indeed, the situation of several private stakeholders developing a city as a bottom-up process between symbiosis and competition is quite new and unique.[281]

It is during the late 1980s that the firm Tamboré SA is launched to develop the lands of the Penteado family. Arthur Castilho de Ulhôa Rodrigues, and Elbio Fernández Mera launch the project in 1988.[282] [283] It is the same year when Brazil's new democratic constitution is declared.[284] Notably, the 600-hectare project is more than a copycat and subordinate to AlphaVille. It develops into an essential component of the New Town venture, and contributes a notable share of the infrastructural and service facilities. As a consequence, the fundamental set-up and the basic structure of the area and accordingly the underlying rationale of the New Town typology at hand is altered. This magnitude and impact suggest the use of the terminology 'AlphaVille-Tamboré'.

In the course of 80s the AlphaVille-Tamboré complex almost doubles in population size to almost 40 thousand residents (Cf. Campos 2005: 7). New facilities, such as the Sopping Tamboré (1992), the first open-air mall of Brazil are opened.

The middle of the decade brings major generational changes, both for AlphaVille as well as Tamboré: Yoshiro Takaoka's dies in October of 1994. The firm Albuquerqe and Takaoka Empredimentos is inherited by Yoshiro Takaoka's son Marcelo. Albuquerque starts a new venture under the AlphaVille brand incorporating the venture as a 'sociedade anónima', SA, (Cf. Cruz 2003). The other main shareholder of the firm is his son-in-law Nuno Luís de Carvalho Lopes Alves. Notably from that moment on, the firm concentrates more on the refinement and commercialisation of the product than on the

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278 We have to keep in mind that this is still a time of the military regime. Only in the 1980s the regime began to soften and gradually turned into a democracy. (Cf. the National milestones section)

279 In 1981 Takaoka's son Marcelo, who stepped into his father's shoes as an engineer, founded his own company, the MVT Ltda. Engineering. The company is important, because in the period that followed Marcelo pioneered several innovations and developed a series of own projects in AlphaVille's vicinity (Cf. below). MVT has also implemented the building, which houses the AlplaVille headquarters at the Barueri site (Cf. Takaoka, Timeline at www.takaoka.eng.br, r12.01.2009).

280 Some of the 'new' projects bring new innovations: Tamboré SA, for example, is the first to deliver turnkey buildings. (Cf. below)

281 The constellation is quite different from all the other examples within this thesis, and also different from other prominent predecessors such as Irvine. On a worldwide scale the author knows no other case like this.

282 Arthur Castilha de Ulhôa Rodrigues is a lawyer and the son in law of Sílvio Álvares Penteado, head of the clan presiding over of the farm. Fernández Mera is one of the most important real estate tycoons of São Paulo (Cf. http://geodesia.ufsc.br/wiki-ctm/index.php/Posseiros_de_Luxo, r12.01.2009).

283 There is a third major landholder in the area. The engineering company Jubran, is holding another area of 600 hectares in the vicinity. Yet apparently the firm remains in the background and did not act as a developer of residential properties in the area. (Cf. www.jubran.com.br, r12.01.2008)

284 Cf. Ramiro 2006 at: http://www.terra.com.br/istoedinheiro/471/negocios/o_dono_de_tambore.htm, 14.01.2008

land.[285] In parallel, the control of Tamborè is transferred in 1996 from Arthur Castilho de Ulhôa Rodrigues to his son Fábio Penteado de Ulhôa. Furthermore, Takaoka's son Marcelo starts his own company, the Marcelo Takaoka Empreendimentos SA (MTA), aiming at the development of new lifestyle products and sustainable residential enclaves.[286]

By the end of the decade the AlphaVille-Tamboré São Paulo experiences increasing saturation. At this moment the concept of the 'loteamento horizontais', as cultivated by Albuquerque and Takaoka, matures into a product brand and export starts to other metropolitan regions of the country. The main targets are the large metropolises of one million and more, promising a large base of potential middle class buyers. (Cf. Davidson 2006) AlphaVille Caminas opens in 1997, a branch in Belo Horizonte the year after, and another in Curitiba in 2000 (Cf. Teixera 2002, Cf. www.AlplaVille.com.br).

The 1990s see a snowballing demand for guarded condominiums (condomínios fechados, loteamentos fechados) in São Paulo and beyond. A great number of new projects hit the market, not only in the peripheries, but also in the central areas (Loffredo 2006: 1). When, for example, in 1994 a new legislation, the "Lei de Vilas"[287] allows for the installation of new small housing enclaves in residential inner-city neighbourhoods (the so called Z-1 zones[288]), new options for middle class families emerge (Bogus 2004: 14). From this point, the typology of the 'condominio fechado' not only quickly spreads from São Paulo to other regions, becoming adapted to inner city conditions (in a smaller format), but also spreads out to the lower income segments.[289]

On the other hand, the original site of AlphaVille SP does not come to a standstill. In particular AlphaVille SP faces increasingly saturated and competitive markets, as well as a decreasing availability of land. New solutions emerge in the environs: When by the mid of the 1990s the project reaches an age of 25 years, large patches of central public spaces are modernised and redesigned with an emphasis on pedestrian walks and pocket parks.[290] Moreover, the late 1990 are marked by the advent of new marketing strategies and lifestyle approaches. In this context Marcelo Takaoka emerges as the primary, and one of the most ambitious, entrepreneurial innovators exploring a new 'eco-sustainable' approach. In 1998 Marcello cultivates his father's Aldeia da Serra concept, and introduces this 'novel' issue to the market segment of closed neighbourhoods. Gênesis, as the project is branded, combines the AlphaVille set of strategies with a strong eco-flavour.[291] [292]

Marcello Takaoka also demonstrates his professionalism and intuition for novel trends, when he initiates another life-style scheme geared towards a new health and wellness market for the middle classes at the same time. The project is coined "São Paulo

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[285] Stemming from Portugal Mr Alves apparently is Albuquerque's son-in-law. He became AlphaVille's CEO in 1997 (Cf. http://www.geneall.net/P/per_page.php?id=373734, r17.01.2009; and goliath.ecnext.com/coms2/gi_0199-5946034/Gafisa-Acquires-AlphaVille-Urbanismo.html, r17.01.2009).

[286] Cf. www.takaoka.eng.br/website/default.asp: Nossa Historia, r12.06.2008.

[287] This means as much as 'law of villages'. The official name of the law is 'Lei municipal de loteamento de vilas em São Paulo'

[288] Cf. below

[289] Cf. discussion of the Vilas Alpha project at: "Predecessors and peers"

[290] In the year 1996 the total green area along the main Avenida Rio Negro is redesigned. More than 30000 m² of pedestrian walks and pocket parks are installed. (Cf. Gonçalvez 1998)

[291] Indeed, the name stresses the earnestness and ambition of the developer. (Cf. www.projetogenesis.com.br, r12.06.2009, Cf. below Structure: Examples)

[292] The Gênesis project emerges on remote areas in the vicinity of the AlphaVille-Tamboré cluster on a site previously covered by Atlantic Rain forest. It features lots of 2000 square metres and more (Genesis II). The project received the "Top of Marketing" as well as the "Top de Ecologia" awards of the Brazilian Marketing and sales association (ADVB, Associação dos Dirigentes de Vendas e Marketing do Brasil).

Wellness". It is a superblock of four 100m residential towers placed on top of a base centred on health and medical services.[293]

In the same year, 1998, the private Viaoeste consortium adds a four-lane tollway to the Castello Branco highway. The project that opens in 2001 features exclusive lanes, as well as an exclusive access point for AlphaVille. Yet, the fact that at the same time the toll-free access point is demolished initiates protest from the inhabitants of the area (Cf. Fiedler, 2001).

21. Century: Refinement and diversification of the model

The first decade of the 21st century is marked by high profits, rapid growth and appreciation. Standardised state-of-the-art management methods, as well as marketing and sales techniques become omnipresent.

MVT Ltda., Marcello Takaoka's venture, is the first real estate undertaking in the country to receive significant quality certifications; such as the ISO 14.001 certificate by the BRTUV, as well the green certificate of the FSC (Forest Stewardship Council).[294]

The Gênesis project goes into the second stage (Gênesis 2) and triggers a boom of other eco-projects:[295] in 2006 AlphaVille Urbanismo develops the project 'Burle Marx', as its own eco-lifestyle brand. In the same year Rodrigues launches Tamboré 11, a lifestyle neighbourhood along the theme of the French region of the Provence (Cf. tamboré11.com.br, r16.01.2009).[296] Both Takaoka, as well as de Ulhôa seek to step into AlphaVille's shoes and establish the Gênesis and Tamboré brands at other locations in the country. On the other hand AlphaVille plans to launch a "Green AlphaVille" in 2011 in Goiás.[297] Moreover, numerous other schemes such as Ecoville or Bethaville emerge in the area.

In 2007, less than 15 years after the milestone-changes of the mid 1990s the AlphaVille-Tamborè cluster comes forth as a central location between São Paulo, Campinas and Sorocaba (a gross area that accumulates 40 percent of the region's economic product (PIB)). The new-town cluster of offices and residential enclaves has grown to 30 residential enclaves, it features 90.000 residents (including projects by other entrepreneurs), and the daytime population of the commercial downtown is estimated to amount to 150,000 people. The AlphaVille brand successfully spreads to other locations. The firm has a landbank of about 1000 hectares in the country and 48 new projects are in the pipeline.[298]

As the brand is well received all over the country, as prices increase by 60 percent from 2003 to 2006, and while interest rates are at historically low levels, major real estate groups demonstrate an increasing interest in successful local start-ups.

Box 31: List of AlphaVilles in Brazil

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[293] Images can be retrieved at: http://www.ufrgs.br/lac/consultorias/sp_wellness.htm; Cf. also below Structure: CDB.

[294] In 2006 the firm also receives one eco prize handed out by Al Gore. (Cf. www.takaoka.com.br, r24.06.2008; and below: Developers)

[295] 80 percent of the lots sell in two months after the announcement of sales. (Cf. www.takaoka.com.br, r31.12.08)

[296] Reinaldo Pestana, remains the consulting architect and planner of most of the projects. (Cf. below: Developers: Design)

[297] Cf. www.alphavilleurbanismo.com.br, r23.05.2009

[298] Between 1994 and 2007 AlphaVille Urbanismo launched 35 new projects in 16 Brazilian states, two of them in Portugal (Abrarec 2006) Among the other locations are Campinas, São José dos Campos, Ribeirão Preto, Goiania, Curitiba, Londrina, Maringá, Salvador, Fortaleza, Belo Horizonte, Natal, Gramado, Manaus, and others, as well as to Portugal (Lisbon and Sintra). Many of these developments, such as that of Campinas, are also large (1200 residences, in this case) and have an adjoining business district, with a shopping mall, a hotel, schools, etc (Abrarec 2006). The projects amount to more than 25 million square metres of urbanized space. (AV Historia; Gafisa SA; Cf. below Developer.).

Alphaville Gramado, Alphaville Gravataí, Alphaville Caxias do Sul, Alphaville Porto Alegre, Alphaville Pinheiros (Curitiba), Alphaville Graciosa (Curitiba), Alphaville Maringá, Alphaville Londrina, Alphaville Barueri e Santana de Parnaíba, Alphaville Burle Marx, Alphaville São José dos Campos, Alphaville Ribeirão Preto, Alphaville Sorocaba, Alphaville Campinas, Alphaville Conde, Alphaville Lagoa dos Ingleses, Alphaville Juiz de Fora, Alphaville Rio das Ostras, Alphaville Barra da Tijuca, Alphaville Serra, Alphaville Natal, Alphaville Genipabú, Alphaville Salvador, Alphaville Litoral Norte, Alphaville Eusébio, Alphaville Fortaleza, Alphaville Recife, Alphaville São Luis, Alphaville João Pessoa, Alphaville Campina Grande, Alphaville Patos, Alphaville Sousa, Alphaville Flamboyant, Alphaville Green Alphaville, Alphaville Cuiabá, Alphaville Campo Grande, Alphaville Manaus

Consequently it comes as no surprise when in late 2007 Gafisa SA, one of the country's largest real estate conglomerates absorbs AlphaVille SA, securing the success of the brand as well access to one of the largest land banks in the country (Cf. below: Developers). In the same year, Tamborè SA is acquired by Brascan Residential Properties, a subsidiary of the Brookfied Properties Corporation, one of the largest American real estate companies. Tamboré's landed properties and landbanks at this time amount to 500 hectares.[299]

Moreover, the availability of large sums of venture capital prior to September 2008 leads to a second stage of consolidation and densification, featuring immense superblock projects unimaginable only few years before. (Cf. below: Structure)

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[299] The project Brascan Century Plaza, a 200.000 square metre project is supposed to become a first Brascan landmark project on Tamboré land, another project will be Green Valey.
(http://www.brascanresidential.com.br/ri/pdf/eng_Edita_AGE_BRP.pdf, r12.01.2009)

Predecessors and peers

„Alphaville is unique in Brazil"[300]

Box 32: Predecessors and milestone projects

Hygíenopolis (Buchard & Nothmann*, 1890), Jardim America (Cia. City, 1913), Granja Viana (Viana, 1960s), Barra de Tijuca (Costa, 1969), Ilha do Sul (Albuquerque & Takaoka, 1972), Vila Velha (N.N., 1975), Rivera de São Lorenço (Sobloco, 1979), Aldeia da Serra (Albuquerque & Takaoka, 1980), Tamboré 1 (Tamboré, 1988), Piedra Roja (Manquehue, 1998), Vilas Alpha (Alphaville Urbanismo, 2004), Portal do Morumbi (Mathias, 1973); AlphaVille Graciosa (AlphaVille Urbanismo, 1996), Gênesis 1 (Takaoka, 1998), BethaVille (Conspar, Bethacenter and PSV, 2003), Tamboré II (2006), Burle Marx (Alphaville Urbanismo, 2007), Green Alphaville (AlphaVille Urbanismo, *fc 2011*)

*The names represent the most important author of the project - either developer or architect

Introduction

AlphaVille-Tamborè emerges as a unique phenomenon in São Paulo and beyond. No comparable settlement typology, e.g. no privately developed (and owned) mixed-use township with these dimensions and this history exists in the Brazilian context.[301] Nevertheless the project is deeply embedded in a local and international tradition of New Towns and planned cities. Various components of the scheme can be traced along several streams of predecessors. Likewise the concept has had and continues to have a tremendous impact on a large number of offspring projects all over the country.[302]

For this reason this last section of the context subchapter aims to inspect and describe various predecessors of the project. In addition it also seeks to explore some of the AlphaVille's impacts and reverberations. It will be demonstrated that AlphaVille-Tamboré is deeply embedded in a local context, as it continues a tradition of privately developed elite neighbourhoods and country-side vacation towns that is more than 100 years old. The project's linkages to the North American tradition of privately developed New Towns and Edge Cities portray the relevance of the international context. As a next step a series of parallel projects in the local, as well as a South American context will be discussed and some exemplary schemes that have been influenced by the NeoTown will be presented.

I. Predecessors

Despite the fact that AlphaVille-Tamboré emerges as a historically unique phenomenon, the project is deeply rooted in a local as well as global milieu of planned settlements and New Towns.

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[300] Flavio Vilaça is emeritus Professor and one of the key public planning figures in São Paulo in a personal interview in March 2007

[301] Indeed, the situation is different from India's national boom of Integrated Township's or the cluster of New Towns in the Jakarta Region.

[302] We will see below (discussing the developer's strategies), that the uniqueness of Alphaville SP cluster can partially be explained by the fact that the project developed as an incremental bottom-up process without a master plan behind, on the base of an impressive business strategy, the more or less legal availability of land, and pure market demand. In this context AlphaVille-Tamboré was developed along an entrepreneurial logic, but without a spatial vision.

Local Predecessors

AlphaVille-Tamboré is an integral part of a legacy of privately developed elite neighbourhoods in São Paulo. This tradition is more than 100 years old. A historical migration of the city's elite-quarters along the affluent 'vetor sudoeste' can be traced. AlphaVille-Tamboré constitutes one of the contemporary frontiers of this voyage.

19th century: Elite neighbourhoods in the São Paulo region

Privately driven urbanisation and foreign investments are familiar throughout the history of the multicultural melting pot of Brazil (Cf. above: Culture). São Paulo becomes an important international gateway at the beginning of the 20th century. The city is a highly interconnected place, mediating between the hinterlands and the international world. It comprises enormous movements of people, trade and finance and is loaded with the latest trends.[303] The incentive of private elites along with international technology and finance accomplishes the most significant milestones of São Paulo's urban expansion.

The legacy of São Paulo elite neighbourhoods dates back to the rise of the city as national economic powerhouse in the second half of the 19th century, when the coffee trade boomed and a new class of affluent citizens (of former immigrants) was emerging. The new bourgeoisie embraces an enormous demand for new-fashioned urban spaces of representation and appropriation along Western models of lifestyle and hygiene. 'Campos Elísios' (Paradise Fields) and 'Higienópolis' (City of Hygiene) become the first modern elite neighbourhoods.[304]

Campos Elísios

Campos Elísios ('Paradise Gardens'), in the central Santa Cecília district, is regarded as the first of São Paulo's elite districts. Swiss entrepreneurs develop the prime location, close to the main train terminals, as well as to a major hospital[305] by the end of the 19th century. The area is known as the town base of the state's affluent coffee trade and for housing the headquarters of State Government of São Paulo (as well as the president's villa). The international names of the streets and avenues, such as Alameda Glette, Alameda Cleveland or Rua Helvétia, point to the background of the entrepreneurs and residents (Cf. Homem 1996). In contrast to many other elite neighbourhoods of the Vetor Sudoeste, the area deteriorated with the end of the coffee boom (Cf. Homem 1996).

Higienópolis

The land of Higienópolis is acquired by Martinho Buchard and Victor Nothmann in 1890 while São Paulo is shocked by an outbreak of bubonic plague.[306] Located on a hilly and green terrain, isolated from the centre, the neighbourhood is the urban frontier and safe heaven of that time. The scheme is developed almost exclusively with materials imported from France.[307] It is the place where, from the 1940s onward the first vertical condominiums appeared: The 'Bretagne'(1959, Arch. João Artacho Jurado) and the

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[303] It was the place where Le Corbusier and Josephine Baker meet in 1929 on a cruise ship. (Campbell, Matthew 2008: Le Corbusier; In: The Sunday Times; July 6th 2008)

[304] Higienópolis remains the point of reference of elite-neighbourhoods for some time to come (Cf. Gonçalves 1998: 15: see graphic p.15)

[305] The Sorocabana, as well as to the 'Estação da Luz' train stations, and the Santa Casa de Misericórdia de São Paulo

[306] The neighbourhood maintains its status until today and is known as a predominantly Jewish neighbourhood.

[307] Maria Homen, architectural historian tracing the emergence of São Paulo's urban forms between "coffee, industry, and the private kitchen", describes how large estates and giant mansions dominated the area. Among the examples are the mansion of Veridiana Valéria Da Silva de Prado, or the Vila Penteado. While the first was a prominent meeting point of intellectuals and the Paulista elite, the second, the Vila Penteado, is an Art Noveau palace of Antonio Álvares de Almeida Penteado. The palace was constructed by a European architect, the Swedish Carlos Ekman in 1902 and decorated with European statues, carpets and marbles. Today the building serves as the postgraduate centre of the São Paulo University. (Cf. Homem 1980)

‚Louveira' (1946: Arch. Vilanova Artigas[308]) are among the most exclusive of these projects. Operating almost like hotels[309], they feature a wide range of services - from a swimming pool, private bar and large gardens to a sports and community club (Bogus and Pasternak 2005: 12, 13)[310]

20-40s: Private urban development

At the dawn of the 20th century both the infrastructure and the housing sectors are mainly driven by private internationals. At that time São Paulo Tramway Light & Power (‚Light'), a firm based in Canada and Brazil, develops the city's essential infrastructure (Cf. Anelli 2008: 17). In parallel the City of São Paulo Freehold Land Company Ltd., a conglomerate with headquarters in Paris, London and São Paulo, produces a major quantity of state-of-the-art housing.

With the advent of the tram, the automobile, the modern road and tunnel building technologies, the early 20th century is marked by garden-city-type neighbourhoods (Cf. Anelli 2008) At this time also models from the Anglo-Saxon world start to dominate (Bogus 2004: 7). Moreover, the axis of the 'vetor oeste', a spatio-temporal sequence of affluent neighbourhoods starts to develop (Cf. above: São Paulo).

The Companhia City – São Paulo's early urban venture

The relevance of private urban development in the housing sector is best represented by case of the City of São Paulo Improvements and Freehold Land Company Ltd, or Companhia, Cia. City, or 'City'. [311] While 'City' develops a series of the city's elite neighbourhoods from the second and to the third decade of the 20th century, it consolidates essential strategies that remain valid for AlphaVille and its peers. The company works as a joint venture of Brazilian landowners and international, mainly European investors.[312]

The Companhia City taps into a huge demand and experiences an extraordinary growth. Only briefly after its foundation in 1911 the venture is able to accumulate 1200 hectares of urban land, an impressive 37 percent of São Paulo's area of the time (Bogus, Pasternak 2004 : 7).[313] The main Bairros (neighbourhoods) developed are: Jardim América, Anhangabaú, Butantá, Alta da Lapa, Bela Aliança, Vila Romana, Pacembú, and Alto de Pinheiros. This is a major share of São Paulo's affluent vetor.[314] 'City' is active until today. In its 94 year history it has developed 3.150 hectares of urban land. After having established a base in São Palo the brand 'City' spreads to other locations: "The

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[308] The same architect who designed the building of São Paulo's Architecture and design faculty (FAU/USP)

[309] Services comparable to hotels offered in apartment buildings can be traced back to New York's impressive Belnord, Apthorp, or the Astor Court apartments erected in the first decade of the 20th century (Arch. Clinton & Russell, 1908).

[310] The 2008 Wallpaper guide to São Paulo describes the Bretange as 'an exuberant festival' and one of the best addresses in the world (Cf. http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/folha/turismo/noticias/ult338u465046.shtml, 21.01.2008).

[311] Cia. is the Portuguese abbreviation for companhia

[312] Bogus and Pasternak (2004 :7) describe the founding phase of the firm: "Edouard Lavelaye, a Belgian entrepreneur, specialised on the handling of basic materials from the tropics, visualised the future potential of real estate in São Paulo. In 1911 Lavelaye presented his ideas to the city hall with his colleague Bouvard, who was the former director of the public works department of Paris and consultant of various urban and rural development projects (Bouvard had projected and implemented the Avenida Paulista! (Cf. http://www.ciacity.com.br/, r19.01.2008). Victor Freire, at that time director of the public worls department, put them in contact with the owners of big land holdings, such as Cincinato Braga e Horácio Sabino. This contact resulted in the formation of a real estate corporation (sociedade imobiliária). While the Brazilian partners sold the land to the company, the Belgian partner became the finance expert. Lavayale went on a marketing trip to Europe to find investors and founded CIA City of São Paulo, with branches in London, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo (Cf. Rolnik, 1997). The administrative board of 'The City' was Lord Balfour, the president of São Paulo Railways, Bouvard, Cincinato Braga, a land owner and later federal representative of São Paulo; with more relations to 'Light and Power' and, later also Vitor Freire himself. (Translation by the Author)

[313] On March 19th 1913 a German periodical that circulates in the São Paulo capital, the "Deutsche Zeitung", advertises sales of land in Jardim América, Lapa and Pacaembú (Cf. www.ciacity.com.br, 419.01.2009).

[314] While Jardim América, Pacembú and Anhangabaú are located more centrally, the other neighbourhoods are aligned along the former southwestern frontier of city.

concept of the garden-city was implemented in regions where green has been scarce and the heat intense."[315]

→ Illustration D-8: Cia. City's projects
→ Illustration D-9: Utility lines operated by private companies in the 1920s

Two of 'City's' Bairros

Jardim America as well as Pacaembu are among the earliest and most interesting cases in our context. As these two early neighbourhoods portray the most significant of Cia.'s strategies, these will be discussed briefly in the following.

Jardim America

Jardim America is one of the initial and most important projects of the Companhia City. Construction on this large neighbourhood of 109 hectares started in 1913. The project embodies the first example of a garden city style suburb in South America. (Ibidem) Moreover it represents a shift from European models and a rising American conscience. The 'American Garden' is a bourgeois neighbourhood, based on individual land ownership, individualised transport, the detached villa typology, state of the art infrastructure and abundant greenery. Despite the fact that the project has been designed by nobody less than Barry Parker[316], the landscape of bending streets in a park resembles Olmstead's Riverside, or Sunny Side Gardens projects more than the social imaginary of Howard's garden city.[317] Parker devises large areas for public gardens and community use. After a while a large part of the areas is consumed by club facilities (E.g. the Club Athlético Paulistano), something that became a brand of the developer. While housing construction starts in 1925, the developers promote the project by initiating stone pavements (1928), installing a public illumination (1931), and providing bus services (1934). Sales are advertised in several languages (from Russian, to Hungarian, Italian, Polish, or German)[318], pointing to the foreign background of most of the prospective buyers.

As the first holistically master planned neighbourhood on the subcontinent[319], Jardim America was among the earliest that introduced comprehensive 'private design codes and guidelines' (as much as its British predecessors). Present until today these 'private' rules are more elaborate than any the public codes of the time.[320] Implemented by the developer, they ensure the integrity of the scheme and as a consequence the presentation of all assets and investments.[321]

Pacembóu

In parallel to Jardim America the neighbourhood of Pacembóu is promoted from 1912 onwards. It becomes the most elegant and 'aristocratic' bairros of City.[322] The neighbourhood is equipped with modern infrastructure such as electricity networks and sewage systems. The place distinguishes itself by the curved layout of the streets[323], as well as by an abundance of greenery. As much as in Jardim America, Pacembóu's suburban and residential character is ensured by strict land use regulations, allowing for

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[315] Cf. www.ciacity.com.br, r17.01.2008. The same website also features a complete list of all projects.

[316] Parker had co-designed Howard's Letchworth scheme, as well as London's new Hampstead Garden Suburb in 1907 with his partner Raymond Unwin.

[317] Nowadays the Neighbourhood has also experienced some Latin influence as almost all owners have erected high walls.

[318] Later projects also target Japanese populations

[319] Cf. www.ciacity.com.br, r17.01.2008

[320] Companhia's codes have been legalised by an urban law only in 1941 (Ibidem).

[321] Cf. www.ciacity.com.br: Controle de Matricula, r17.01.2008; and Bogus 2004: 7.

[322] Cf. Journal "A Capital", March 25th 1913, quoted at www.ciacity.com.br, r17.01.2008.

[323] Supposedly inspired by donkey paths based on the rough topography

maximum coverage ratios of 33 percent and a maximum building height of 10 metres). The implementation starts only the 1925 and gains momentum only later. When in the 1930s a massive construction of mansions begins the Companhia's engineers supervise every move. When half of the land is developed, the company decides to donate a major piece of land for the construction of a new sports stadium of regional relevance, São Paulo's Pacembú stadium. The generous gesture underlines the developer's philosophy of stressing lifestyle aspects by enriching its projects with sports facilities. The fact that the stadium becomes a well-known São Paulo landmark is a smart marketing mechanism. Whenever the Companhia goes to develop another site, it is expected that a small Pacaembuzinho will emerge at the centre.[324]

50s Granja Viana – Vacation Refugee New Towns

AlphaVille's list of predecessors is not only comprised of elite neighbourhoods drifting from the city's centre to the peripheries, but also of former weekend retreats in the countryside. The schemes belong to what Alexander Garvin calls 'vacation refugee New Towns' – former leisure communities that have been overrun by the urban frontier.[325] Granja Viana, in the Western periphery of São Paulo is the largest and most important of the models. Dating back to the early 60s, the site features no less than 38 residential communities today.[326] This makes is as large as AlphaVille.

→ Illustration D-10: Map of Granja Viana

The history of project dates back to the mid-1940s. A significant part of the area is part of the former Fazenda Carapocuyba, which has a history as milk farm run by Niso Viviana and his family. First land divisions start in 1945 when the area is divided among a dozen families.[327] In 1951 the land is further subdivided, while its use became increasingly intense.[328]

The first community of Vila Santo Antonio de Carapicuiba is developed at kilometre 24 of the Raposo Tavaras highway. The area becomes increasingly popular with middle class families, which start to erect weekend cottages on the terrain. Among the most important pioneer populations are members of São Paulo's Rotary club. While the connectedness of the locality increases, more and more families decide to remain in the area. The first gated condomínios appear by the beginning of the 1970s.[329]

Granja Viana (Old Farm) is located about 25 kilometres to the East of São Paulo's centre in an area that used to feature nice county side scenery with patches of the Atlantic rain forest. The main part of the 5000-hectare site belongs to the Carapicuíba district. The SP270, or the Raposo Tavaras highway provides access to the area of about 50 thousand residents in almost 40 residential enclaves. The area thrives on its proximity to São Paulo's affluent southeastern wedge. The landmark of the São Paulo Jockey Club in Morumbí is only 15 kilometres away.

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[324] http://www.ciacity.com.br/, r17.01.2009

[325] While Garvin lists places such as Mariemont (Ohio), Columbia, (Maryland); Lakewood or Irvive (California), he states that each of the projects "was established on open land, that initially was far outside city limits and then was engulfed in a rapidly suburbanizing landscape (Cf. Garvin 1997: pp 320.)

[326] Cf. www.granjaviana.co,br, r01.01.2009.

[327] A detailed account of the history of the site is presented at: www.granjaviana.com.br/second/familia_vianna.asp?cn=18, r02.02.2009.

[328] Interestingly many Japanese settled here and the area became well known for Japanese pottery and horticulture (Cf. www.granjaviana.com, r02.02.2009)

[329] Granja Velha 2 Jardim Colonial, or Jardim Primavera (Cf. www.granjaviana.com.br/second/familia_vianna.asp?cn=18, r02.02.2009)

Granja Viana is an example of a cluster of gated communities that was autonomously developed for (and by) the upper and upper-middle income classes. Featuring a wide range of state of the art services and infrastructure, including schools, restaurants, private schools, sport clubs, shopping centres, offices and beauty salons, the area presents a vibrant and postmodern suburban fabric[330]. Most of the neighbourhoods follow the pattern of a 'condominio horizontasis fechado', featuring names such as Novo Hygienópolis, São Paulo 2, Beverly- and Forest Hills, Residential Los Angeles, Paisagem Medítterâneo, or Paisagem Renoir III. As much as the new projects in AlphaVille's vicinity, most recent projects, such as the Vila Verde, Reserva Val Verde, or Green Village, are designed and branded along various eco-strategies such as 'responsible parcelling'.[331] Notably some of these are grouped in respective clusters: for example, the Bolsão da Fazendinha (Carapicuíba), which is renowned for its landscaping. The area is popular among artists and freelancers and is also known for its excellent restaurants.

Predecessors from North America

1990s: Edge City Model

> *"The hallmarks of edge cities are not the sidewalks of New York, for usually there are few sidewalks. Look, rather, for jogging trails. Nor are these new cities tied together by locomotives and subways. Instead, they are united by jet ways, freeways, and satellite dishes 10 meters across. ... you will find high, atrium-shielding trees perpetually in leaf at the cores of corporate headquarters, fitness centers, and shopping plazas... the landmark dwelling is the celebrated single-family detached home - the three-bedroom, two-bath unit with grass all around - that made America the best-housed civilization the world has ever known." (Joel Garreau, 2003)*

North America's legacy of New Towns and 'gated communities' as well as 'edge cities' provides the most significant contemporary models for AlphaVille and its local siblings. Renato Albuquerque and Yojiro Takaoka were clearly inspired by the North-American suburbs of California, as much as by Garreau's Edge City model.[332]

Both, AlphaVilles's commercial 'Edge-City'-features, as well as its residential typologies demonstrate significant parallels to North American typologies. Indeed, in housing one of the largest office and retail concentrations in São Paulo's Metro region, the commercial centre of AlphaVille resembles US American edge-city peers such as Southfield (Detroit), Tysons Corner, Reston (Baltimore-Washington), or Irvine (Los Angeles region).[333] [334]

AlphaVille's residential neighbourhoods, on the other hand, are close to their North American gated community models[335]

→ Illustration D-11: Juxtaposition of residential 12' and Irvine's Sierra Broadmoor

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[330] Cf. http://www.granjaviana.com.br/, r03.02.2009

[331] Cf. http://www.proinvest.com.br/, r03.02.2009

[332] Cf. Santos 2002, at: http://www.nomads.usp.br/site/condominio1.htm, r23.01.2009

[333] AlphaVille qualifies for all of Garreau's (1991) edge-city criteria (Cf. http://www.garreau.com/, r06.01.2009). It comprises more than 2.000 offices with several national and international headquarters (e.g. Hewlett Packard Brazil), two major regional shopping malls, plus as an enormous number of vertical, as well as horizontal residential schemes. While the total area comprises about 80.000 residents, it features more than 120.000 jobs. (Cf. below: Urban Structure)

[334] On the other hand AlphaVille will never compete with São Paulo's central office concentrations of the voguish 'vetor sudoeste' (Faria Lima, Berrini) or the Paulista Avenue district (Cf.
http://www.brazilcham.com/default.asp?id=248&c002_ui=sa&c002_id=196, r06.01.2008).

[335] Cf. Introduction Chapter: Urban Debates

1960s: Omnipresent Irvine

The North American master planned community that shares a remarkably high amount of common characteristics with Alphaville SP is Orange County's Irvine. Amounting to more than 21.000 hectares, Irvine emerged in the 1960s as the largest privately planned city in the US (probably the largest worldwide).[336] While concentrating an enormous amount of suburban office space (90.000 jobs), Irvine also features huge numbers of single-family homes (180.000 residents). As much as AlphaVille the master planned town materialises on the grounds of a former farm. It is fundamentally driven by the exceptional impetus of the private entrepreneur James Irvine, and like AlphaVille, the city is structured as a cluster of neighbourhood enclaves or 'urban villages'.[337]

II. Peers

In addition to a rich framework of predecessors that was roughly delineated in the above section, AlphaVille Tamboré emerges in an opulent environment of analogous projects (categorised as 'peers' in our context). While the category of predecessors presupposes the impact of earlier projects upon our case-study, the category of 'peers' assumes the prevalence of mutual interrelationships and processes of exchange, influence and effects. (The 'offspring'-section below will concentrate on some exemplary (and evident) effects of the AlphaVille scheme on some other projects).

The cases examined in this subsection aim to sharpen our picture of what is distinct about AlphaVille-Tamboré and what relates to more general trends. While only few of the projects qualify as fully-fledged New Towns, nonetheless they share many important aspects with it. The section will explore significant examples of privately driven urbanism in the context of São Paulo, Brazil, and South America. (A global context is provided by this thesis itself). At the end, it confirms that the selection of the scheme as well as of the main cases in this study was justified.

Local Peers

1972: Ilha do Sul

In the year 1972 Takaoka and Albuquerque develop an important reference project of the typology of the 'condominio vertical' (Cf. above: Project Milestones). The project 'Ilha do Sul' (Island of the South) is a residential retreat in the bairro of Alto de Pinheiros. In general it thrived on the expansive boom of the adjacent Avenida Paulista area in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Specifically the new zoning law of 1972 (7805/72) allowed redensifying many central residential areas (Cf. above: National Milestones). The innovation lies in the fact that the developers take the concept of the serviced apartment house, as existing in Higíenopolis (Cf. above Bretagne, Loveria), and expand it into a whole block of three hectares. Six immense apartment towers are arranged around an elevated garden with a club with exclusive access to the residents. Reinaldo Pestana prepared the design. Hence a team evolves that becomes a permanent partner in the AlphaVille project to come. (Cf. Aragão 2007: 53)

An important part of the strategy is that 'Ilha do Sul' seeks to represent "more a than a simple condominium, but a concept of live".[338] The project features a wide range of

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[336] In addition, at least according to Alexander Garvin (1996), Irvine represents the only case of a privately developed New Town that is a financial success.

[337] While the similarities between Irvine and AlphaVille are remarkable, it remains open if the coincidence emerges by the nature of the logic of both projects as bottom-up self-generating processes, or by a conscious copying. Lemos (2004: 7) and Gonçalvez (1998), discuss the similarities of AlphaVille's residential forms and some US models.

[338] Cf. „Mais que un condomínio, que un conceito de morar": Cf. http://www.ilhadosul.com.br, 20.01.2008.

services, several clubs and offers a multitude of leisure activities. Hence, with the 'Island of the South' Albuquerque and Takaoka introduce a typology than enables affluent populations to maintain a decent life in the increasingly unsafe inner city, and as much as AlphaVille, it becomes a benchmark project for the entire Brazilian real estate industry. (Cf. Bogus 2004: 13; Aragão 2007: 54)

The idea is even expanded when only one year later the Portal do Morumbi materialises on a 16-hectare lot in Morumbi. The project, developed by a group around the engineer Alfredo Mathias, portrays an entire autonomous district, featuring a large private park on 10 hectares.[339]

1990s: 'Generic' benchmarks – Av. Luiz Carlos Bernini and Morumbi

São Paulo's sections of the Avenida Carlos Bernini as well as the residential section of Morumbi represent the contemporary benchmarks for living and working in São Paulo. This makes them important points of reference for AlphaVille-Tamboré.

The spine along the Avenida Luiz Carlos Berrini stands out as a concentration of ultra-modern office and service centres at the frontier of the vetor oeste. A large amount of the region's advanced tertiary services are bundled into the area. Various subsections, marked by private real estate schemes, such as Brooklyn, Novo Bernini or Vila Olímpia emerge as miniature global-hubs. The areas attract many international clients and feature the best real estate ratings of the city (Cf. Cushman & Wakefield 2007, Cf. Abascal 2006).

When it comes to residential neighbourhoods Morumbi emerges as the largest concentrations of wealth and benchmark neighbourhood in the city today. Competing schemes such as AlphaVille have to be measured against this area to the East of the Pinheiros River. Significantly, in contrast to AlphaVille, Morumbi has a different urban grain. As a result of a piecemeal development by multiple stakeholders it is less homogeneous. In this context it features a large amount of the mansions, a mix of vertical and horizontal condominiums, clubs, schools, hospitals and also some significant favelas such as Paraísopolis. (Cf. Gonçalves 1998: 14; Cf. also above 'vetor oeste') Is this the picture of a future AlphaVille?

2004: Vila Butantã (Condomínio horizontal fechado)

The latest of the local peers that is deemed relevant and interesting in the context of AlphaVille and its peers is the typology of the condomínio horizontal fechado.[340] This low-rise condominio typology has experienced a major boom in São Paulo since the second half of the 1990s. 22 years after the Zoning law of 1972 (lei 7805/72) which had triggered the emergence of the vertical condominium complexes such as the Ilha do Sul and Portal do Morumbí projects, the city administration comes up with the Lei de Vilas (11605/94) allowing the construction of inner city residential neighbourhoods by the means of horizontal condominiums of a limited size and density.[341] The model emerges a serious alternative for many potential customers of AlphaVille and the like. (Cf. Loffredo 2006)

One award-winning example of such a re-emigration of the walled housing enclaves types back to São Paulo's central area is the 2004 project of Vila Butantã by Marcos Acayaba Arquitetos. The project is located in the Butantã neighbourhood, a former Cia. City's garden city project, and comprises 16 houses built on a terrain of 4.400 square

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[339] Cf. Aragão 2007: 64; and Nagy 1989.

[340] Since the residents do not jointly own the neighbourhoods of AlphaVille, these don't qualify as condominiums, but as closed subdivisions (Cf. below: Regulation).

[341] The small type, with a limited size of 1,5 hectares becomes known as the R3-03.

metres. The residences are arranged in duplex houses of about 150 square metres, resembling North American cluster communities.[342]

Brazilian peers

It was mentioned in the introduction of this chapter that the urban typology of AlphaVille-Tamboré represents a unique typology. Nonetheless, two other Brazilian private schemes must be mentioned: Barra da Tijuca and Rivera do São Lorenço. As both are dominated by the corporate sector, master planned, as well as of an enormous size and complexity, they make interesting references of private cities in Brazil.[343] Nonetheless the projects are very different from Alphaville SP: Barra da Tijuca is an enormous new edge city and elite-neighbourhood of Rio de Janeiro. Rivera da São Lorenço is an independent leisure city located at one of São Paulo state's beaches. The projects do not qualify as fully-fledged NeoTowns because: 'Barra' is a carioca district[344], master planned by the public hand, but now submerged by various private developers, and because the 'Rivera' is dominated by one private enterprise, it features a rather limited mix of uses and does not belong to a greater metro region.

1969: Barra da Tijuca – between city and nature, utopian modernity and private pragmatism

Barra de Tijuca is a new a large district and alternate centre in the South of Rio de Janeiro. Dating back to the early 1970s the project developed in parallel to the AlphaVille-Tamborè cluster. While the scheme is based on an ultramodern plan of Lucio Costa, nowadays the landscape became a postmodern 'real estate park'.

The project emerges in scenery of spectacular beauty, featuring lagoons, large dune formations, a beach of 18 kilometres, as well a hilly environment (that can reach up to 1050 metres) which is covered by the Atlantic rain forest. Barra, as the place is also called, follows the trajectory of Rio's elite quarters along the Atlantic to the South (Botefango, Copacabana, Ipanema).[345]

In contrast to AlphaVille-Tamboré, Barra is a result of official planning efforts. No one less than Lucio Costa, the renowned Brazilian architect who also the authored Brasilia, prepared the master plan. Costa[346] seeks nothing less than to reconcile and harmonise the two dimensions of nature and city. As he intendeds to preserve the landscape of dunes, creeks and lagoons, the landscape becomes his major theme (Cf. Costa 1969: 8, quoted in Silva 2004). The large-scale plan represents an organisational strategy. It focuses on the organisation of urban densities and traffic flows. Large preservation areas are contrasted by a dense urban centre in the form of a 'Stadtkrone'[347], linking the southern and northern parts of the city (Cf. Costa 1969 in Silva 2004). Moreover, a series of autonomous sub-centres are placed on a grid of 1000 metres. As a result, in contrast to Copacabana, or Ipanema (and also to AlphaVille), Barra is based in a visionary 'modernistic' spirit.[348]

Nonetheless, Costa's utopian approach also embodies some tragic contradictions: Composed by gigantic superblocks and wide multilane boulevards, the scheme has been based on the automobile from the beginning. After the beginning of the implementation

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[342] Pictures and Maps are presented at: www.arcoweb.com.br/arquitetura/arquitetura667.asp, r21.01.2009

[343] Brasilia, is contrast, is not suitable as a reference, because it is largely under public control.

[344] District of Rio de Janeiro

[345] Significantly New Ipanema was the name of one of the first condominium towers.

[346] Official name of the plan is: Plano Piloto para Urbanização da Barra da Tijuca, Pontal de Sernambetiba e de Jacarepaguá (Cf. Silva 2004)

[347] E.g. A dominant and dense centre

[348] Some critics call Barra an antithesis of the Copacabana (Cf. Campos 2005)

of the district in 1970, the role of the commercial real estate sector increased continually. Whereas the modern layout was largely preserved at a macro scale, private developers seized most of the superblocks, cultivating a culture of clubs and autonomous enclaves. The first phase in the early 1970s saw the implementation of the gated condominiums such as Nova Ipanema and New Leblon.[349] [350] As a result of a real estate boom, in the 1980s the area is transformed into an edge city with an increasing mix of uses. It featured large numbers of gated condominiums[351], office centres, hypermarkets, hotels, amusement parks, private schools and hospitals.[352]

The result is that Barra's landscape is increasingly abstracted and corporatised, and superseded by another market-driven logic. While its ambivalent spirit is marked by a juxtaposition of condominium towers and single-family houses (as the two dominating housing options), at the same time a major redefinition of the public-private nexus occurs.[353] While closed enclaves are cultivated in the superblocks and parks, and jogging trails are landscaped 'for residents only', to the outside the pedestrian scale is largely neglected.[354] Buildings are mainly placed in the remote areas of the lots. For that reason the visitor on foot finds it impossible to stroll around the place. The only major public asset that remains is Barra's 18-kilometre beach.[355]

Ordinary Brazilians refer to the above phenomena as the 'American way of life'[356]. And indeed this view is validated by the fact that the urban landscape is dotted by an iconography of signs and symbols representing an US-style consumer landscape. The picture culminates at a miniature copy of New York's Statue of Liberty at the entrance of the Barra Shopping centre.[357]

AlphaVille Barra da Tijuca

Given this context it also comes as no surprise that AlphaVille Urbanismo decided to buy a large chunk of the land and develop a 'carioca' version of its brand in Barra.

The product 'AlphaVille Barra da Tijuca' is among the superior luxury schemes of the AlpaVille Urbanismo.[358] The scheme lies to the North of Barra's central Avenida das Américas on a peninsula facing a lagoon (Lagoa de Jacarépaguá). The sensitive location actually violates Costa's master plan.[359]

Fernando Chacel, a famous Brazilian landscape architect designed the project[360], including a large eco-park developed along his Eco-Gênesis concept.[361] The area comprises

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[349] The names represent the desire to attract Carioca elites to the area

[350] Notably these emerge in parallel to the Albuquerque and Takaoka's 'Ilha do Sul', and the first AlphaVille residential clusters. Moreover it is memorable that Nova Ipanema is constructed by GAFISA, the firm that in 2007 acquired AlphaVille Urbanismo SA (www.novaipanema.com.br, r22.01.2009)

[351] One of the private condominiums even carries the name 'Parque Lucio Costa'. (Cf. Silva 2004)

[352] Large shopping centres arrived in the 1990s and resulted in the largest concentration of shopping malls in South America (Cf. Silva 2004). In addition the grandest convention centre of the country arrived. Several multinationals, e.g. Shell, relocated from the centre.

[353] As in many other places, the system of individual buildings immersed in a sea of an idealistic public space is replaced by a structural logic of controlled semi-private enclaves connected by a network of major traffic arteries.

[354] The boulevards have been widened and cut into the urban fabric. They are flanked by parking lots, fences and a myriad of billboards.

[355] Own transect of the area in March 2007

[356] João Carlos Lopes dos Santos, a resident and lawyer describes his memories of the place 'as he knew it' (Cf. http://www.pitoresco.com.br/consultoria/variedades/12.htm, 22.01.2008)

[357] A good documentation of Barras visual imaginary was prepared by an art class of the Pontifical University of Rio de Janeiro: http://wwwusers.rdc.puc-rio.br/ednacunhalima/2005_2_1/fotos%20barra%20web/barrasite.html, r23.01.2009).

[358] Interestingly the project is developed and marketed in close collaboration with AlphaVille's parent company Gafisa, the firm that also developed the very first condominium, the Nueva Ipanema, in the early 1970 at Barra.

[359] Apparently the location is less romantic than is pledged in the adverting brochures: Barra's formula one racetrack and the local airport are situated on the opposite side of the lagoon.

[360] Cf. http://www.alphaville.com.br/modules/index.php?id=barradatijuca, r22.01.2008

260,000 square metres, including 150,000 square metres of the park. Chacel planned a modest rectangular layout with 350 individual houses. These are arranged in 16 groups along small community parks. A small area of luxury apartment buildings is planned on the southern edge of the side. Entrances for residents and services and delivery have been entirely separated.[362] Sales started in late 2008. One square metre of serviced land costs about US $650.

1979: Riviera de São Lorenço

Riviera de São Lorenço is the second project worth mentioning when discussing the issue of private cities in Brazil.[363] The project demonstrates that Alphaville-Tamboreé cluster is not the only place featuring private sector innovations. The Riviera is known in particular for its environmental initiatives and has received an ISO 14001 environmental certification as one of the first real estate ventures worldwide.

The project on São Paulo's Atlantic coast is part of the municipality of Bertioga. Its area comprises 900 hectares. Only 20 hectares (82 percent) are urbanised, while the rest will be preserved as Atlantic rain forest (Mata Atlântica). The terrain is structured into three zones: touristic, residential, and mixed. It expects a capacity of circa 60 thousand residents. While sales started already in 1983, currently only about 50 percent has been implemented. A characteristic feature, chiefly recognisable from the air, is the curved, meandering structure of the streets. The project features infrastructure of highest standards: from basic services to shopping, health, entertainment and recreation. It is known in particular for its environmental infrastructure: from state of the art eco-sewage plants and exceptional waste collection system.

Riviera is a holiday resort for the middle-income classes. Accordingly the population fluctuates strongly. 4000 people live permanently in the area, it can triple during the weekends and rise to more than 40 thousand during holiday times.[364]

The firm Sobloco Construtora SA developed the project in 1979.[365] Uncommonly at the time, Sobloco undertook several environmental impact studies and developed a holistic concept aiming at covering a wide range of sustainability aspects: from finance to a sophisticated waste collection, environmental education to ecologically optimised land use patterns and building envelopes.

In addition, Sobloco runs an environmental control laboratory with an attached educational programme to monitor the efforts. The firm has an elaborated a strong Corporate Social Responsibility profile. Its 'Associação dos Amigos de Rivera' employs more than 500 people and undertakes various social and environmental programmes. Moreover the non-for profit organisation 'Fundaçao de 30 Agosto' offers various social projects for local residents.

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[361] Chacel is also the landscape architect of Barra's Cidade da Musica that is designed by Christian de Portzamparc. Importantly Chacel developed a concept that was dubbed Ecogênesis, a strategy that was applied in several of Takaoka's and AlphaVille's projects, i.e. Gênesis and Burle Marx. (Cf. also below: Developers: Design)

[362] The delivery entrance is located at the northern side of the area, the residential entrance towards the East.

[363] http://www.rivieradesaolourenco.com/, r21.01.2009

[364] Cf. http://www.rivieradesaolourenco.com, r21.01.2009

[365] Sobloco is Brazilian real estate entrepreneur that, as much as the developers of AlphaVille, was developed upon the base of public assignments of Brazil's early dictatorial regime. It has constructed one of the first SFH financed housing schemes in the city of São Paulo, the 'da Penha' neighbourhood in São Paulo's district Vila Císper. The firm celebrated its 50th anniversary in 2008.

Sobloco has implemented more than 100 projects, from villas to urban revitalisation schemes. Among the most important urban projects are Caminhos de San Conrado in Souzas in Campinas (5,8 million sqm, SP), the project Nova Petrópolis in São Bernardo do Campo (210 thousand sqm, SP), Rivera de São Lorenço in Bertioga (9 million sqm, SP), the Parque Faber-Castell in São Carlos (2,1 million sqm, SP), the Guarujá Central Park in Guarujá (500 thousand sqm, SP), and the most recent urban redevelopment of Espaço Cerâmica in São Caetano do Sul (310 thousand sqm, SP). (Cf. www.sobloco.com.br; www.parquefabercastell.com.br; www.guarujacentralpark.com.br; all r22.01.2009).

The results of the ecological efforts of the developers have been widely recognised and achieved various awards. Riviera de São Lourenço has been commended by international developer organisations (e.g. the International Real Estate Federation, FIABCI) as a model of sustainable development. The project is particularly notable for obtaining an ISO 14001 certification.[366] According to the developers, the project was even the first real estate venture to receive this diploma. (Cf. www.sobloco.com.br)

Box 33: 'Eternal privatisation'

"Our commitment to quality is eternal." are the sanguine words that appear on the web site of the Memorial Necrópole Ecumênica, a private cemetery that was established in Santos in Brazil in 1983.

In addition to the two examples of privately driven urbanisation discussed above some more examples exist. Among the most spectacular of these is a private cemetery venture – the Memorial Necrópole Ecumênica in the port city of Santos. The project portrays the fact that private fortified enclaves are not only prominent for the living populations, but are also gaining ground at the market for everlasting peace, transferring the dual living standards from the living world towards eternity.

Necrópole Ecumênica features the typology of a high-rise or condominium. It presently houses 14.000 burial spaces spread over 14 floors, accepting 'tenants' of all religions. A recent extension currently under construction will accommodate an additional 25.000 niches in a 108 metre-high tower.[367] Indeed, managed by a private company and equipped with a restaurant, a chapel, a lagoon with turtles and a peacock garden, the facility has become one of the most popular tourist attractions in Santos. Recently the company promotes the 'brand' by sponsoring sport events and individual athletes.[368]

The project is not unique. Nowadays its Guiness-Book-status is under threat, as more similar schemes are emerging on the subcontinent. Bogotá's Panteón Memorial Towers complex will consists of 13 towers. The locally celebrated architects Héctor Mejía Felipe Uribe de Bedout and Mauricio Gaviria have designed these in vaguely deconstructive style. While a direct access from the highway is self-evident, the developers naturally offer a project with exceptional yield, valuation and trustworthiness.[369] [370]

The architectural critic Fabricio Gallantani in article by the Italian architecture and design journal Domus writes: "Architecture appears swift to take the opportunity to address a new area where death creates a market, on the borderline between consumerism and entertainment."[371]

Latin American peers

In contrast to India and South-east Asia, the context of privately dominated New Towns in Latin American is relatively meagre. Not many projects qualify as NeoTowns. Apparently until the 1990s watershed the sub-continent's governments prevented large-scale construction of private infrastructure or new settlements.

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[366] The ISO 14001 specifies environmental quality standards. Similar to the ISO 9000 norms it focuses on the whole process of production, not just the final product. (Cf. www.din.de, r12.05.2009)

[367] For this fact the project made it also into the Guiness Book of records as the highest necropolis on earth. (Cf. http://www.grupomemorial.com.br, r06.03.2007)

[368] Here it appears on the side of other lifestyle or medical brands such as "Apoio da VO2Max, Oakley, Clínica Ortocenter, CST Pneus, Exustar, Poli Sport, Fitneshop, Pro-File e Med-Mar Emergências"; http://www.grupomemorial.com.br, r06.01.2008.

[369] Cf. http://www.panteonmemorialtowers.com, r12.05.2008

[370] Another scheme in preparation is the 'Necrópole Ecumênica Vertical' in Curitiba. (Cf. Domusweb 2007)

[371] Cf. domusweb 21.02.2007; Or http://nsystemlab.com/05_pub/05_pub_img_2007/07pub_05a.gif ; r12.05.2008

Indeed, private urbanism[372] has been thriving in Latin America for less than a decade now. Notably, most of the projects appear in emerging economies where a significant share of the population has reached middle class standards, such as in Chile, Argentina or Mexico (Cf. The Economist 2009).[373] Important examples for our context are Nordelta in Buenoas Aires, Santiago de Chile's cluster of 'Ciudadas Walladas', and the planned Valle de Las Palmas project in the Tijuana region (Mexico). While several of these projects feature a significant size (1000 hectares or more), almost all are only in the stage of being implemented. Hence most of the schemes examined do not match the complexity of a city.

The Argentinean case of Nordelta features the same size as AlphaVille SP.[374] The project represents a peak in the landscape of gated communities in its environs, e.g. the Buenos Aires' suburban municipality of Pillar. It was developed by private sector initiatives after the financial breakdown of the country in the late 1990s, and emerges as an enormous sleeping town.[375]

On the other hand several gated towns, or 'Ciudades Walladas', of an enormous size are currently emerging in Chile's Santiago-Valparaiso region. Piedra Roja, Valle Norte, or La Reserva, as three examples, are planned and implemented by the private sector. [376] Nevertheless the realisation of these private cities in Chile is fundamentally linked to major public planning efforts and a central master plan.[377]

Not least the case of Valle de Las Palmas (2007) is among Mexico's most ambitions real estate ventures of the time. It represents of a joint venture scheme between the public sector and large corporate players.[378] The project is a collaboration of Urbi Desarrollos Urbanos and several public agencies.[379] It will emerge as an enormous parallel city of Tijuana, larger than the city of Paris and twice the size of Bumi Serpong Damai (e.g. 13.400 hectares). Significantly the scheme is aiming to become the first privately built ecological model city worldwide that at the same time addresses lower income classes.[380] Conceived by renowned consultants such as the Californians William Siembieda and Michael Boswell and supported by the Canadian Government, it is intended to become 'Mexico's Dongtan'[381].

Indeed, while their implementation has barely started, the Chilean and the Mexican towns in particular emerge as highly interesting examples of a fresh generation of New Towns. While their size and complexity, as well as the dominance of the private sector justifies categorising them as NeoTowns in our context, it will be highly interesting to monitor their further development.

The lack of full-grown 'peers' in the Latin American context confirms AlphaVille's unique standing as an early example NeoTowns on the continent and may solidify the presumption that the project was predominantly based on a historically and locally

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[372] Marked by a gush of gated communities, edge cities, globalised nodes, and other mainly suburban typologies

[373] This thesis can only focus on some exemplary cases. A systematic investigation of the entire context of contemporary NeoTown projects in Latin America is still an open project.

[374] Cf. Appendix: Comparative matrix; Cf. www.nordelta.com, r20.01.2009

[375] Cf. div. publications of Michael Janoschka

[376] Remarkably some of Santiago's schemes are connected by private expressways, which are only open for the exclusive use of the residents and their guests. The expressways are enormous infrastructure projects by their own standards. (Ibidem)

[377] Such as the ZODUC, or the AUDP (Cf. Borsdorf and Hidalgo 2004, Prajoux 2007).

[378] Cf. www.oem.com.mx/elsoldetijuana/notas/n227966.htm; www.triplepundit.com/pages/sustainable-cit.php, r 15.04.2009.

[379] E.g.: The Municipality of Tijuana, The Government of Baja California, Conavi (Comisión Nacional de Vivienda), as well as the Sociedad Hypotecaria Federal.

[380] The developer is one of the forerunners in Mexico, and probably also globally, in exploring the vast market of lower middle classes (Cf. Urbi 2007, Information material for investors; at www.urbi.com, r12.04.2009)

[381] In reference to Ove Arup's renowned, but unrealised, eco-model city close to Shanghai.

unique set of circumstances. Yet, the contexts of the recent examples (and the global set of peers) demonstrate that the project in Barueri is more than a flash in the pan. In fact AlphaVille-Tamboré emerges as a paradigmatic forerunner of an increasingly popular typology.

III. AlphaVille's 'offspring'

The postulation that AlphaVille is an individual historic incident is also repudiated by the scope of the project's impacts. Since the late 1980s AlphaVille's concept, based on the three elements of security, lifestyle and self-government, has spread to the entire Brazil and beyond.[382] AlphaVille is currently present in 17 Brazilian states, 35 municipalities and two additional countries[383]

2003: Vilas Alpha – The first gated community for the poor

The planned gated community for lower income populations makes it obvious that developing countries such as Brazil are capable of producing novel urban forms unknown to Western urbanism.

While the poor face comparable risk scenarios as the rich, the question emerges whether the model could also serve the low-income sector. As a consequence of this horizon,[384] AlphaVille's developers came up with a concept of secured neighbourhoods for lower income classes in 2004.[385] The resulting brand was christened Vilas Alpha. Indeed it is the country's first gated community for the lower income sector (Cf. Davidson 2004). Renato Albuquerque, who devotes a large amount of his personal time to the project, stresses the social obligation to resolve the problems of the less affluent populations.[386]

In contrast to AlphaVille Urbanismo's other projects, Vilas Alpha is supposed to be implemented in city centres rather than in the peripheries (Oliveira 2004). Moreover, access to decent public transport is was a prerequisite (Davidson 2004). A first model project has been launched in the Municipality of Gravataí, in the metro region of Porto Alegre in 2004. While as much as in AlphaVille young starter families are among the main target groups, the US$ 7,5 million scheme is geared to households with an income of less than 15 minimum salaries, or around BRL 2400 per month (~ 800 US$). As a matter of fact these are lower middle-class households. A house will cost about BRL 40.000 (around US$ 13.800) (Cf. Fitzpatrick 2003). The families get access to federal housing credits with a runtime of 60 months. Additional schemes are planned for São José dos Campos (in the São Paulo region), as well as Goiânia in the central part of the country as well as Salvador, and the capital of Bahia at the North Eastern coast (Cf. Oliveira 2004).

The concept of Vilas Alpha, also dubbed 'threes and security' by AlphaVille's planning staff, is a stripped down version of its big brother AlphaVille. It works with the same strategic mix of security, self-governance and individual ownership. Monthly maintenance fees amount to 12 US$ a month (a tenth of the average fees in AlphaVille's

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[382] Cf. below: Developer, Strategies.

[383] In addition to the two Portuguese sites in Sintra and Lisbon, AlphaVille Urbanismo started to collaborate with the Portuguese real estate group Espírito Santo on an 80-hectare township in Angola's capital city of Luanda. The Luanda scheme is supposed to contain villas, hotels, a marina, as well as a convention centre. The site called Futungo de Belas used to house the presidential palace (Oliveira 2004, Cf. also above: "Project History: 1980s to 2000s").

[384] Moreover triggered by government assistance

[385] In the meanwhile more projects of this sort are underway, most notably under Gafisa's Bairro Novo brand (Cf. below).

[386] "Eu acho que nós temos a obrigação de resolver o problema desse pessoal" (Cf. Cruz 2003)

neighbourhoods). The amount covers the basic security services, but no lifestyle amenities, such as a club.

Notably the first project at Gravataí is an enclave based on the detached villa typology. It comprises 1500 lots with a maximum of 250 square metres (The big brother AlphaVille's features 400 to 1000 square metre lots). Up to 35 per cent of the area is reserved for public services. The developers contribute these as well as a community centre to the public (Cf. Oliveira 2004). Crèches, schools, health services and sport facilities will be developed with the local municipality.[387] Moreover, various vocational training and capacity building programmes will be part of the scheme. Here the residents will be trained, for example, as phone engineers. While the scheme will be based on residents associations and employ privately contracted security guards, an actual wall around the area is not planned.[388] (Cf. Davidson 2004)

AlphaVille-Tamboré's environs

As Barueri remains one of the most dynamically developing places in the region, the success of AlphaVille has led to a boom of similar undertakings in the area. While the municipality featured the fastest growth rates in the country, gated communities have been booming since the early 1990s. A major part of this change occurred in and around the AlphaVille-Tamborè cluster. The cluster of 18 AlphaVille's, 7 Tamboré's, and two Gênesis' was joined by one Melville, two Bethavilles, as well as 2 Valvilles (Cf. below Physical structure). In addition Conde, Green Valley, and Ecoville have been set up in the greater environs (Cf. below: Structure).[389]

Box 34: Bethaville

As a neighbour of AlphaVille and a national benchmark scheme, why not name your project Bethaville? No sooner said than done – a group of four developers launched a project with this name. Conspar, Bethacenter, PSV and Coelho da Fonseca plan a new integrated office and residential park on the Southern site of the Castello Branco.[390] [391] The project features 100,000 square metres and will be implemented in two phases.[392] While it is supposed to become a new downtown area with all kinds of urban amenities and services, it will actually serve as the commercial counterpart of Barueri's new administrative centre. Soon Bethaville is supposed to feature large hotels, a furniture mall, and offices – including the highest building in SP as well a residential community called Art Ville
The developers have made an investment of 8 million BRL or 2,6 million Euro.[393] Engineering and landscaping services are provided by the consultancy of Kunio Sato.[394]

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[387] This practice corresponds to Companhia City's strategy in São Paulo (Cf. above: Butantá) or the strategies of the Levitt's in the post-war-II US of the 1940s and 50s (Cf. Gans 1967).

[388] Mara Paludo prepared VilaAlpha's urban design. The architect employs a concept of defensible design that is supposed to promote the control of open spaces by the residents of the area. E.g. the houses are placed on a square facing each other. (Cf. Davidson 2004)

[389] Cf. Most of these projects have been formalised as 'official' neighbourhoods only in 2006. For a list published by the municipality see: http://www.baruerinet.com.br/noticia76.htm, 12.01.2009.

[390] Conspar Emredimentos e Paticipaçoes, Bethacenter Empreendimentos e Participações, PSV as well as Fonseca are real estate developer and investors (Cf. www.conspar.com; http://www.coelhodafonseca.com.br/empresa.aspx; Cf. www.bethaville.com.br, r10.03.2009).

[391] In addition, the firm Imovel CIA Lançamentos Imobiliários is coordinating the marketing and sales of the real estate products (Cf. www.imovel.cia.com.br).

[392] Bethaville-I will feature 83 lots with an area of 68.172.83 square metres and Bethaville-II, 50 lots with an area of 35.931.16 square metres. The lots vary between 250 and 3000 square metres and the developers will provide the complete infrastructure.

[393] Cf. http://www.eira.com.br/wow/3,1,37,2984.htm, r12.03.2009.

Box 35: Ecovile

Ecoville is one of the projects capitalising on the boom of new Eco-Projects by Marcello Takaoka and his peers. The project is located at the 46th kilometre of Castello Branco Highway to the East of Takaoka's Aldeia de Serra, in the municipal area of Araçari-quama (SP). It is a mountainous, yet rapidly urbanising area. The scheme features 70 houses, with individual lots starting at 2400 square metres. It is developed by Patricia Faux and the Faux Group. Designed by a consortium of Brazilian and US American Urban Designers, the undertaking compares itself to US American projects such as Oxon Creek (Washington DC), Oxford Mews (Annapolis, Maryland) and Evergreen Mills (Loundoun County, Virgínia). The villa neighbourhood in the green also promotes itself an Edge City, completely disregarding Gareau's classification (Cf. www.ecoville.com.br, r20.01.2008; Cf. above: International Peers).

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[394] Cf. www.takaoka.org.br/website/text.asp?txtCode=%7B8E1E357E-8975-4F52-BD66-A39D625E7A71%7D, r12.03.2009.

Summary

This section presented the greater socioeconomic and historic context of AlphaVille-Tamboré. In this context firstly the demographic, social, economic and cultural profiles and trends of Brazil and the São Paulo region were examined. Thereafter, a historical background was elaborated upon, delineating chronological milestones from a national as well as a project perspective. Last but not least, the project was contextualised in a substantial tradition of predecessors, peers and 'offspring'.

Brazil

AlphaVille-Tamboré is located in Brazil, the fourth largest democracy worldwide. Nonetheless, the project was initiated during one autocratic period. In the early 1970s Brazil reaches a first important threshold towards industrialisation. At the same time the era is marked by a paternalistic military regime and also by violent resistance movements. Globally the Cold War is underway.

Formally Brazil's democracy dates back to 1889. It is characterised by tolerance, as well as its scope for freedom and self-fulfilment, but also by a tradition of elite regimes and the persistence of gross social and economic inequalities. A large and costly bureaucratic apparatus dominates the country's governmental system. Central planning plays a significant role with more than half of the municipalities relying on redistribution transfers from the federal and state governments.

AlphaVille emerges in a country of immigrants and entrepreneurs. Brazil has always been a market-oriented place, with all of the country's regimes, populist, autocratic, or democratic, representing different shades of market-based systems. In this context the nation has undergone some crises and waves of liberalisation and reforms (most notably by the end of the 1960s and at the beginning of the 1990s). Yet the high status of market-based entrepreneurialism does not mean that free markets always meet an optimal milieu. Stark contrasts are the norm in Brazil. A relatively high life expectancy and a good technological standing are contrasted by problematic education, knotty political conditions and an immense economic polarisation.

Urbanisation

Brazil is among the most urbanised countries in the planet. While the country's economy is progressively diversified and specialised, 83 percent of the population are living in urban areas. Indeed, the beginning of the 1970s, which was the time of AlphaVille's development, represented a watershed of urbanisation and mass migration. By then more than half of the country's population had become urban citizens, and migration to the large industrialising areas was reaching a peak.

The growth of Brazilian cities since the 1950 was mainly based on a mass migration of the poor from the Northeast to the industrial centres of the South. From the 1990 onwards the migration from North to South has ebbed up. The metropolises were increasingly marked by an ongoing sprawl and diversification, leading to vast multiplex urban regions.

Economy

In 2002 Brazil's GDP was in the same range as India's – this amounting to 25 percent of Germany's national product. The country is among the most important emerging economies globally. In 2001 the investment bank Goldman Sachs grouped the country, along with Russia, India and China, as one of the four "BRICs" that would share the

dominance of the world economy by 2050. It has a huge amount of resources of global interest.

Maturation, Consolidation

Brazil shows many signs of a post-industrial economy, yet in combination with major characteristics of a developing country. Indeed, the growth rates today (demographic and economic) are relatively moderate, at least when compared to the start-up phase of the 1960s and 70s. This maturation is reflected by the dominance of the service sector and the country's advanced levels urbanisation. Likewise, population growth rates and household sizes are on the decrease. Further decline is projected. Hence, in many aspects Brazil looks more advanced than contemporary India or Indonesia. (Urbanisation rates are two to three times as high, average income per person is 4 to 6 times bigger, child mortality rates are significantly lower, and the amount of persons earning less than 2 dollars per day is smaller by factors of 2-3). The early 1970s were marked by the most rapid economic transformation and mass industrialisation (cf. below Milestones). This 'taking-off' period featured two digit growth rates. It was comparable to some contemporaneous numbers in South East Asia.

Yet, among the characteristics of a developing country are a huge and inefficient public as well as an informal sector that is constantly on the rise. Whole regions, mainly in the country's periphery, continue to rely on the value added by the public sector. In the metropolitan areas, shadow economies and informal cities are thriving.

Informal 'scapes'

An integral part of Brazil's austerity is also the country's 'shadow economy'. It remains a major characteristic of the country's urban landscapes. By the turn of the 21st Century two-fifths of the country's population lived in favelas, the Brazilian version of the slum. The same amount worked in the informal sector. The nationwide number of urban slums continues to grow, while it is today deeply embedded in increasingly diversified and globalised processes of production and exchange.

Middle classes, consumer lifestyles

Despite the large informal sector significant middle class populations exist. The 1970s economic boom that was underlying the foundations of AlphaVille, has spurred a significant rise in the mainstream middle class population. Since then the country's average incomes have increased to middle income levels. The share of households with disposable income has consistently increased, and lifestyles have become increasingly based upon consumption. Accordingly the country's rates of car ownership, computers, cell phones and energy consumption all come close to western standards. (About 12 percent of all Brazilians, 20 times more than in India, own a car).

Inequality, disparity

One of the most significant features of Brazil is its extreme social, economic, and spatial inequality. While the South and Southeast feature Western development levels, all of the country's economic centres are located in the Southeast, the conditions in the northern regions are comparable to Africa. The statistical figures on a national level are often skewed by these stark contrasts.

Among the most persistent of Brazil's problems is income inequality. This is one of the preconditions of understanding the country. Critics speak not only of inequality, but also of deliberate social exclusion. Brazil is among the top five most unequal countries in the world. The wealthiest 10 percent capture 46 percent of total income, whereas the poorest 10 percent get only 1 percent.

The phenomenon of inequality reverberates at different sectors and along many spatial scales: class and ethnicity, North and South, rural and urban, and also locally. Moreover, Brazil's economic wealth is highly concentrated in only a few metropolitan regions, most of which are in the South. In 2006, five municipalities accounted for 25 percent of the national wealth. Furthermore, for 40 years now all major indicies of inequality have been on the rise, notwithstanding constantly growing average incomes.

AlphaVille's emergence in the early 1970s marks an important watershed characterised by an increasing concentration of incomes and a growing articulation in regional disparities. These days the Municipalities, Santana do Parnaíba and Barueri, home to AlphaVille-Tamboré, are topping the lists of the richest, and at the same time the most unequal places in the country.

Economy & foreign capital

Foreign capital and transnational corporations are regarded as the key features of the Brazilian industrialisation process from its initial stages. They have a long history in the development of the country's urban infrastructure (São Paulo's streets and electricity systems were developed by a British-Canadian undertaking). The country is characterised by two large waves of liberalisation and large foreign capital inflows: the first is linked to the model of a techno-authoritarian development of the 1960 and 1970s, and the second as part of the 1990s democratic turnaround.

The military regime of 1964 to 1986 represented a marriage of central planning with liberal development models and worked together with international finance and expertise to develop significant urban infrastructure. AlphaVille thrived on the resulting economic boom (Hewlett Packard, for example was among the firm's first major clients). It was the epoch of enormous infrastructure investments, such as the power dam of Itaipú, the largest hydroelectric facility in the world.

The democratic governments since the late 1980s implemented a second important wave of economic liberalisation. The governments of Itamar Franco and Collor implemented the 'Plano Real' in 1994. In the context of the National Privatisation Programme (PND) a significant number of state enterprises were privatised and many public monopolies (e.g. the health and infrastructure sector) were opened up for private entrepreneurship.

The 1990s have also seen a rise in international trade and massive inflows of foreign money. Brazil became the largest recipient of FDI in Latin America and one of the largest developing FDI recipients worldwide. The largest share of the international money (28 percent) originated in the USA. While sceptics complain that during the recent waves of foreign investment significant parts of the national economy passed into international hands, optimists underline that international firms play a major role in connecting the country globally.

The expanding presence of internationals, as well as the massive influx of international money and technology had deep effects on the structure of national enterprises. For example, the recent merger of AlphaVille Urbanismo (the developer of AlphaVille) with Gafisa, and of Tamboré S.A. with Brascan, demonstrates a trend of economic consolidation under conditions of increased international competition.

Liberalisation of housing and real estate

Brazil's housing sector as well has undergone a fundamental shift towards deregulation and privatisation since the late 1980s (Rojas 2004). The national housing strategy shifted from supply-driven towards a demand-driven paradigm. The government embarked on an 'enabling approach' towards housing markets along the principles of the Washington

Consensus. This strategy sought to unleash the potential of individuals, communities, developers, investors and entrepreneurs. It rested on two main pillars: 1) A direct, demand-driven system of household subsidies, as well as 2) the supply of the houses by private sector enterprises.

With major housing and infrastructure programmes underway and the availability of cheap credit, the property and construction sectors were among the biggest benefiters of the liberalisation and privatisation programmes. International firms and investors were also attracted. The metropolises saw the development of significant markets for prime real estate and it became one of the most important segments on the Novo Mercado. AlphaVille-Tamboré became part of this prime real estate. When the area matured and consolidated, it developed into a 'true' peripheral centre and edge city, attracting an ever larger and more international selection of investors and clients.

Culture – A colourful balance between integration and segregation

Brazil represents one of the most colourful, multicultural and multiethnic societies on the planet. Its hybrid culture must be seen in the light of a multitude of individual impacts: Indian traditions, Portuguese rules, African mores, Oriental trade, Italian food, Asian entrepreneurialism, etc. Portuguese language, religion (Brazil features the largest catholic community worldwide) and law have served as important means to integrate a multitude of populations and accordingly most Brazilians see themselves more as Brazilian in 'race', leading to a distinct status of the country in South America.

This multiethnic context transformed Brazil into one of most equal and tolerant countries on the globe, by constitution as well as by culture. Still, at the same a strong culture of segregation exists: Ethnicities vary within the various parts of the country; Dark-skinned populations are much more likely to be undereducated and poor; Most societal groups prefer to reside in homogeneous enclaves. These trends are revealed by the fragmented spaces that mark Brazil's urban landscapes.

Other dark sides of Brazil's legal and cultural idealism are the 'messier' version of daily survival politics, which are dominated by the elites. While Brazil's culture contains a relatively high amount of personal freedom, feudalistic traditions continue to play a significant role. Powerful minorities in particular know how to lobby politicians. They tend to resist political change, explore legal loopholes, and slow down the redistribution of political and economic power. Elites tend to cluster in certain sectors of the city, attracting a disproportionally high amount of public investments. Many prefer an exclusive life style in closed condominiums and guarded enclaves.

Two significant cultural factors that play an important role in daily politics and survival strategies of groups are 'jeitos' and clientilism. While 'jeitos' comprises the know-how of cutting through the red tape of bureaucracy and whom to hire to achieve the desired end, clientelism circumscribes the fact that politicians are produced and maintained by personal networks and patrons. The clientelist cultures, feudalism, the 'messy' struggles of Brazilian power groups, and the abuse of authority are well perceived by Brazilian society and result in a high corruption score.

Risks and disasters

Risks, real and perceived, have a deep impact on the specific arrangement and patterning of human environments. In a country like Brazil the explicit context of risks and needs, such as struggles over land access, resources, clean air, water, a safe environment and mobility, leads to the formation of particular urban geographies. The powerful usually select the most central and secure locations, while the poor are often left with compro-

mises. In many cases the poor must compromise security for access to jobs (Paraisópolis, one of the larger favelas of São Paulo, is constructed with an average inclination of 43 percent.)

The character of Brazil's risk framework helps to explain why an increasing amount of the population seek to maximise security and exclude risks by choosing to reside in controlled enclaves. In this context AlphaVille-Tamboré is a place that represents the dream of combining all the amenities of urban and rural life in a harmonious and risk free environment.

Brazil represents an environmental problem scenario that is a common characteristics of many developing countries: Only a minority have direct and free access to fresh drinking water; almost all of the urban rivers are polluted; waste is rarely treated; exploding rates of motorised transport combined with ancient modes of production cause extreme levels of urban air pollution.

Vicious circles develop as sprawling settlements pose an increasing threat to essential natural resources, such as the fresh water reservoirs. While recent global and local climate change scenarios have many uncertain outcomes, it is highly evident that they are very likely to aggregate existing problems and epitomise present struggles for resources. Therefore they pose not only a physical but also a political threat to the country.

A problem that deserves a specific consideration in the Brazilian context is crime and the 'spectre of violence'. Indeed the experience of physical insecurity has a tremendous impact of the quality of life in the larger metropolitan areas. The murder rate in greater São Paulo, for example, is more than seven times that of New York. Certain neighbourhoods are beyond public control and become no-go areas, prisons are filled beyond capacity and additionally police corruption is commonplace.

The media add to the trouble by creating an atmosphere of mass concern, angst and paranoia. In 2007 the issue of violence was ranked as the top concerns of all Brazilians, higher than unemployment. And many observations speak for the fact this 'fear of crime' has a major impact of the way spaces are produced and how people construct their houses. Crime and angst thus can be seen as one of the most important factors leading to a rising prominence of walling, private security services, high rise 'condomínios' and guarded enclaves.

It is an irony of fate that efficiency of 'exit' strategies is limited. Because crime follows the path of people and money, violence levels in the suburbs are on the rise, and many of the 'pacified' neighbourhoods see rising levels of 'internal' youth and household violence.

São Paulo

AlphaVille-Tamboré is located in the context of the greater region of São Paulo, the largest and most affluent region of the country. The city is South America's number one global city region and one of the largest metropolises worldwide. In 2006 more than 10 percent of all Brazilians lived in this Macrometrópole. São Paulo was always a precursor of the most recent social, political and spatial trends.

AlphaVille evolves as part of the largest Brazilian metropolis as a child of the automobile era and as part of the most dynamic economic and societal change. In the 1950s under president Kubitschek, São Paulo becomes the cradle of the country's automobile industry. The city is bursting at its seams. The state of São Paulo attracts 75 percent of Brazils domestic industrial product. The early 1990s mark an important watershed with negative rates of population growth of the central city. AlphaVille's development on an urbanisation corridor to the West of the centre is among the most rapidly urbanising areas in the metropolitan region.

São Paulo is Brazil's global city. It is the most important nexus linking the national to the global economy. In the late 1990s the city was home to 70 percent of all large national and 90 percent of all international banking headquarters. The city concentrates an enormous amount of advanced business services, financial institutions and all significant infrastructures from international airports to South America's most important stock exchange.

Among the most important spatial trends is regionalisation (or peripherisation) as well as a dynamically growing informal sector ('favelisation') (which can be seen as the results of major shifts from an industrial society towards a consumer society).

São Paulo's urban structure

The vast urban structure of São Paulo's urban region is progressively conceptualised along the terminology of a landscape. The notion does not seek to romanticise the matter; in contrast it points to operative postmodern scenery. In the 20th century the city has undergone a process of transformation, from a centrally oriented metropolis towards a multiplex urban region. Many observations and anecdotes confirm that the development of the city was predominantly driven by economic dynamics. In this context São Paulo was associated with a 'diversified' industrial park, which evolved mainly along the needs and structural dynamics of the market.

Practice of 'walling'

While São Paulo's metropolitan region spreads out it also becomes increasingly diverse and fragmented. Pictures of a rich centre and a poor periphery, for example, become difficult to maintain.

This homogenised context, in which every part of the city becomes an object of exchange, engenders a renaissance of a 'culture of walls'. The trend is largely aggregated by an environment dominated by violence and a movement of middle class households to poor suburbs. This leads to an urban structure that is fragmented at an ever smaller scale. In some districts rich and poor live side by side, but are more distanced socially than ever before.

Three types of walled enclaves are of specific importance in this post-industrial landscape: 1) the vertical estate ('condomínios verticais'), 2) the horizontal estate ('condomínios horizontais') and 3) the horizontal land subdivision ('loteamentos horizontais').[395]

Gated enclaves

Beginning with the industrialisation of the 1970s, a rise of the middle classes and their increasing migration to the suburbs caused various forms of closed enclaves to become prominent in the peripheral regions of São Paulo. The emergence of this dwelling typology was related to an immense contrast between the existing (poor) residents and the new middle class settlers, who had a need to mark out their own secure and discrete space. Most of these early gated enclaves emerged in Western municipalities of Barueri, Santana do Parnaíba and Cotia. Later on, an increasing spread towards the whole region of São Paulo, the RMSP, was observed. In São Paulo City gated horizontal enclaves were not prominent, either legally or economically, until 1994. Only by then a new regulation

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[395] Scholars, such as Teresa Caldeira, date the emergence of these forms back to the 1970's – a time of mass industrialisation, new middle classes, and of an enormous urban expansion towards the suburbs.

– the 'Lei de Vilas' – facilitated the installation of horizontal 'condomínios'. As a consequence of this, the compact type of horizontal enclaves became a very prominent dwelling form in all inner city residential zones of the city.

Periferia

The 'periferia' represents an interesting and widely used model in the context of Brazilian development. The term has acquired a spatial as well as a political meaning. It marks an important frontier in many aspects: mediating between city and nature, rich and poor, order and chaos. It thus challenges traditional concepts and ideologies and brings to the fore new lifestyles, urban models and sometimes even new societies.

While most of Brazilian cities have doubled or even tripled in size in the last 30 years, the suburbs developed from places of chaos and disorder into cradles of modern democracy and civilisation. All urban districts have undergone a radical reconfiguration as the duality of centre and periphery has given way to the complexity of a heterogeneous urban region. The 'periferia' became an integral part of the fragmented city of walls – not defined by its distance from the geometrical city centre but by a new set of parameters of access and centrality.

This fringe portrays new spatial order and can have a high physical presence, for example in the form of walls, gates, fortress buildings, and large infrastructures, or in a form hidden from most senses – an order represented by electronics, electromagnetic waves and also socio-cultural codes.

'Setor sudoeste'

While many common models portray São Paulo as a highly homogenised but profoundly fragmented 'city of walls' the reality on the ground needs a significant correction. While in the recent 20 years São Paulo's urban structure has been increasingly fragmented, and rich and poor neighbourhoods have been more and more dispersed throughout the region, an affluent wedge has continued to develop from the centre towards the Southwest. Despite the fact that it is penetrated by favelas, this 'setor sudoeste' contains some 80 percent of São Paulo's urban wealth, the best infrastructure and the most of the significant enterprises. The location is regarded as one of the most important new tertiary centres of Latin America. The development was supported by massive government interventions.

AlphaVille-Tamboré can be seen as an extended part of that sector. In the 1980s Santana do Parnaíba and Barueri were among the municipalities with the highest migration rates in the whole metropolitan region. The region developed levels of wealth previously common only to some of the central districts of Sao Paulo [396]. And AlphaVille served as a major magnet driving the growth of the area. "Together with the neighbouring developments of Aldeia da Serra, Tamboré, and in the municipalities of Barueri and Santana do Parnaíba, the whole region has been aggressively marketed in Brazil as true 'edge city'."[397]

Slums

Illegal land subdivisions have to be regarded as a central characteristic of São Paulo's urban growth in the last 30 years. The city represents an ambivalent approach towards its low-income populations. In the 1970s the city's economic development attracted huge masses of migrants from the North. Yet the city has never been able to cope with the

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[396] Cf. Caldeira, 2000: 231-234
[397] Cf. Caldeira 2000: 253

housing problem. The public hand was always overburdened by the increasing demand, and the private real estate sector was not able to provide housing for the masses at profitable margins. As a consequence, large informal land markets developed, with entrepreneurs subdividing and selling land without the proper titles. In this context a large majority (about 70 percent) of the São Paulo's poor ended up in illegal subdivisions ('clandestinos') while another 13 percent found themselves in 'real' slums.

That's why the share of real slums (squatted areas without any prior subdivision or development) is rather low, at least if compared with say African or Indian conditions. Yet, it is of concern that the number of slum dwellers has been constantly on the rise (it seems independent of political regimes). Forty years ago the typology was practically unknown in the city. Another element of concern is the fact, that favelas are increasingly transformed to their own type of enclave, holding significant amounts of the non-white population, and becoming excluded no-go areas.

National milestones

Chain of events

Brazil stands between developing countries and the West. The country has undergone important social, economic and spatial transformations and shifts at a much earlier stage than other developing countries. In particular the decade between the 1960s to the mid 1970s, which is also the cradle of AlphaVille, can be regarded as an important threshold of development.

The decade was marked by one of the most repressive military regimes. The right wing developmentalist government undertook major efforts to boost the economy. Immense sums of money were pumped towards the industrial sector as well as the development of the infrastructure it needed. As a result the country experienced a major boost of large-scale industrialisation resulting in (world-) record levels of economic growth. This process of industrialisation has triggered a mass migration to the cities of unprecedented proportions. The movement occurred mainly from the underdeveloped rural areas of the North to the cities in the industrial South. The consequence was that by the end of the 1960s half of the country's population become citizens – a threshold that was reached at the global level only in 2007.

Yet the new populations did not concentrate in the urban centres. A large mass of internal migrants was redirected to the urban hinterlands, resulting in an enormous wave of suburbanisation. As the public, in particular the outer municipalities, were not prepared to handle such a scale of change, a major part of the urbanisation process was self-organised.

Notwithstanding the incapacity of the public hand to solve the urbanisation problem in a positivist way, the time has seen the implementation of a multitude of projects with an emphasis on transport infrastructure. The urban structure was drastically remodelled along the requirements of the motor age. The government appointed several renowned and highly competent figures, mainly engineers and economists, to serve the city in a techno- bureaucratic manner.

The decade between 1965 and 1975 portrayed the largest economic and urban growth and expansion of the century. Notably the growth also induced a momentous rise of middle class populations, triggering a new consumer orientated market, ranging from household appliances to lifestyle homes.

Yet what the immense growth of the late 60s and early 70s was not able to resolve was the county's huge polarisation and inequality. In contrast many observations speak

for the fact that existing boundaries and divisions have been reinforced or even widened, and that a large amount of the benefits (profits and subsidies) ended up in the pockets of rather a few elites. Indeed the fact that the government required development money to be spent in formalised neighbourhoods has benefited many elite districts in particular. São Paulo's affluent 'vetor sudoeste', for example has seen enormous upgrading and extension.

AlphaVille's scenario / How does AlphaVille fit into this framework?
AlphaVille's emergence is clearly connected to the reforms of the military regime and the economic boom of the time. Its developers Yorshiro Takaoka and Renato Albuquerque share the same set of values as São Paulo's leading technocrats of the time – Takaoka and Albuquerque are civil engineers raised at the Polytechnic Scholl of the University of São Paulo. They are of the same generation and share the same educational background. The conservative-liberal government is seeking such partners and nurtures the firm (cf. below: Project milestones).

The success of AlphaVille as a place is closely interrelated with the construction of a new important highway. Notably this 'autobahn' is carrying the name of the first president of the autocratic regime: Rodovia Castello Branco. The new express road reduces travel times to important central destinations to less than half an hour. It also establishes a direct connection with the 'vetor', the most modern part of the city. In the context of the exorbitant growth rates of the industrial sector, by the end of the 1960s it seems quite self-evident that the developers would seek to jump on this train. However, what was visionary and innovative was that they aimed to develop a new kind of light industrial and commerce park at this strategic location between city and periphery. Significantly, one of the triggers of the process is the American computer firm Hewlett Packard, a firm that is concentrating on the novel and highly promising sector of information technologies and data processing (cf. below Milestones).

However the plans for the commercial park prove to be short-lived. When the aftermath of the oil crisis hits the country's economy in 1974, economic growth rates are halved. The developers react by shifting AlphaVille's emphasis to a residential and office zone. In doing this they choose to address the increasing market of middle class populations, which at the peak of the military regime, long for safe and protected heavens in which to rear their children, and to realise the old dream of living in a garden city close to nature.

Summary national milestones

1930 to 1964 'Prehistory'
The period prior to AlphaVille's implementation is demarcated by the advent of the industrial society and enormous parallel socio-political shifts. This epoch from the 1930s to the 1960s is characterised by increasing antagonism between rural and urban, agricultural and industrial, communist and fascist, or bourgeois and proletarian. The state (e.g. politicians) seeks to reconcile the aforementioned confrontations by fostering nationalism, a policy of strength and a centrally guided modernisation.[398] Politically the period is referred to as the populist epoch, as policies are geared to the opinion of the masses, rather than being driven by idealist principles. This orientation towards mass attitudes remains a constant variable, while volatile shifts between self-proclaimed authoritarian regimes and elected governments occur.

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[398] Reflecting the situation in Europe in-between the first and second world wars

The populist era is characterised by a liberal but strong state that promotes economic nationalism, state-guided modernisation and import substitution trade policies. The state establishes monopolies in raw materials, basic industries and infrastructure. In this context, São Paulo emerges a national economic powerhouse with a majority of industries installed in its periphery. The motto 'São Paulo não pode parar' (São Paulo cannot stop) characterises the spirit of the time. (Cf. Koll-Schretzenmayr 2001)

The Paulista capital, as well as the other large metropolises, emerge as dual cities. These are composed of a modern centre versus an underdeveloped periphery. Notably the time sees initial efforts towards an orchestrated spatial development. In the 1930s, the period of the Estado Novo, personalities such as Donat-Alfred Agache or Francisco Prestes Maia prepare guiding plans for the country's large metropolises. Among the milestone plans and regulations in São Paulo are the Working code of Arthur Sabóia (1929), Francisco Prestes Maia's Plano de Avenidas (1930), the 1957 Law of highrises and SAGMAC's integrated study 'Estrutura Urbana da Aglomeração Paulistana' (1958). [399]

1964 to 1986 immediate context

The era from 1964 to 1986, AlphaVille's immediate development context, is marked by the country's third military dictatorship. In late 1964 a serious economic crisis, in combination with the spectre of communism, results in a *coup d'etat*. The military scraps the opposition with the support of traditional elite and puts the centrally driven development model to its extremes. In contrast to dictatorships the power of leadership is passed to a series of appointed general-presidents. In this context the autocratic period is marked by various stages: a relatively moderate beginning (1964-1967), followed by an ultra suppressive period (1967 – 1974) and thereafter the advent of a slow democratisation process (1974 – 1989).

The strong-hand military regime devotes itself to reviving the economy. It seeks to achieve this goal by running the country (and its cities) along a developmentalist and technobureaucratic approach (like a gigantic machine). In this context strategies of import substitution are maintained, while partnerships with the industry, local and international, gain a pivotal role. The government borrows immense sums at international money markets and invests these in the country's industrial and urban infrastructure. As a result a remarkable and quick economic fix is achieved, and Brazil is transformed to one of the fastest growing economies in the world.

New dimensions of migration from Brazil's Northeast the South and Southwest parallel the economic boom of the late 1960 and early 1970s. The country's industrial centres grow at unprecedented rates and more than half of Brazilians become urban citizens.

Despite the fact that the complex problems of this unprecedented urban growth cannot be resolved by planning, São Paulo sees immense infrastructure investments. These fundamentally transform the urban landscape of the city. In this situation, several technocratic mayors, appointed by the military regime, steer the implementation of large infrastructure projects (most visibly in the transport sector).[400]

The major landmark plans and legislations of the autocratic era are: The federal Housing Finance System (SFH/BNH, 1964), obliging all large municipalities to draw up spatial development plans; The Plano Urbanístico Básico (PUB, 1968), developing scenarios of a polynuclear metropolis; The resulting 'Plano Diretor de Desenvolvimento Inte-

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[399] The SAGMACS study (1958) is particularly notable for its holistic and integrated planning approach addressing the whole region.

[400] Among the most notable of these projects are: The peripheral expressways of the Marginais Tietê and Pinheiros, the Metro, some major elevated highways, bridges, and tunnels (e.g. the Minhocão and the Çebolão) international airport terminals and regional highways as well as important regional train connections.

grado' (PDDI, 1971), São Paulo's first legally binding master plan; The Zoning Code (Lei 7.805/72), consolidating existing patterns of spatial concentration and segregation.

Once the gush of money runs dry with the oil crisis of the early 1970s, the developmentalist technocratic course of action proves unsustainable. While a major debt crisis hits the country, rising unemployment spurs a growing dissatisfaction of the working classes, and large populations are pushed towards informality. It becomes apparent that the regime is not capable of inducing a long-term modernisation process from below and that another system is needed.

1986 and onward

The late 1980s mark an era of a gradually increasing democratic culture, but also a changing *modus operandi* of economic development. In this situation deep socio-political reforms are paralleled by an intense neo-liberal restructuring of the economy. The first democratic presidents Collor (1990-1992), Itamar Franco 1992-1995 and Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-2002) 1995-2003 are preoccupied with economic reforms (Plano Collor, Plano Real). The new economic programme is marked by a massive denationalisation, privatisation and internationalisation along neo-liberal lines. The year 2002 sees the election of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, who adds a social (and environmental) dimension to the reforms.

The new democratic period is characterised by a decline of the industrial and the rise of the service sector, as well as ongoing division of labour. Brazil loses almost one quarter of its industrial jobs between 1989 and 1997. The geometry of centre and periphery is changed again. The country experiences an increasing trend towards political and economic decentralisation, but at the same time particular service centres, such as São Paulo are strengthened as nodes of as innovation, command and control.

The general processes of economic and political restructuring and decentralisation have major impacts on the ground. Trends of industrial deconcentration and political decentralisation are reinforced as Brazil's municipalities compete against each other. At the same time Brazil's major urban centres mature into multiplex urban regions.

In this situation the former dominance of the state gives way to an increasing relevance of the civil, but also to the corporate sectors, reconfiguring the stage of political, economic, social, cultural and spatial struggles, and leads to both innovations and contradictions. While, for example, the Brazilian constitution takes account of a social 'right to the city', individual municipalities are experimenting with market based planning and developing strategies based on public-private partnerships (e.g. 'paid authorisation' or 'urban operations').

Recently, some of the most important regulatory milestones of the new democratic epoch in the context of São Paulo are: the 1993 'Lei de Vilas', enabling the construction of closed horizontal condomínio of a limited size in São Paulo's inner city areas; the 'Estatuto da Cidade' (2001), stressing social as well as environmental functions of cities and requiring municipalities to draw up spatial development plans; São Paulo's 2002 Plano Diretor Estratégico (Municipal law 13.430), institutionalising socio-ecologic principles, as well as market oriented development mechanisms; and the programme 'Cidade Legal', aiming to legalise most of the informal properties in the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo.

Project milestones

Prehistory, land

AlphaVille-Tamboré develops on the lands of a former farm, the Fazenda Tamboré. The land originally belonged to native Indians. It becomes a part of Union territories in the 16th century and is then leased to an important landholding clan, the Penteado family by the first half of the 18th century. With industrialisation underway, in 1935 the terrain is divided among the successors into six pieces and thus fragmented (it is highly probable, that the developers of AlphaVille were able to acquire land at that time). Large parts of the land are then cultivated by settlers from Japan, yet with the arrival of the military regime the Penteado family regains control of the land and starts to commercialise the area.

Pioneering phase

By the beginning of the 1950s – while São Paulo is experiencing a major modernisation and investment boom – two civil engineers Renato Albuquerque and Yoshiro Takaoka establish the firm Construtora Albuquerque Takaoka Ltda. The firm thrives on a mass of civil works projects, from road construction to housing, and soon rises to the top ten engineering consultancies in the country. The venture thrives in particular during the military regime, as the government chooses to entrust the corporate sector with the implementation of the development and modernisation programmes.

As a consequence, by the end of the 1960s, Renato Albuquerque and Yoshiro Takaoka have assembled an enormous set of skills and the necessary financial basis, seemingly only waiting for the right combination of circumstances to realise their full potential. This right moment for AlphaVille's developers comes at the beginning of the 1970s and is a jigsaw of five pieces[401]: 1) The reappropriation of the large tract of land by the Penteado family in 1966; 2) The completion of the Castello Branco Highway in 1968; 3) Strategic recommendations of the 1969 development plan (PUB) to develop areas along the Tietê River; 4) The consequences of the 1971 planning and zoning regulation (PDDI), pushing out industries and middle class populations from central areas and verifying the progress of elite neighbourhoods towards the Southwest; 5) The establishment of the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo (RMSP) in 1973, which among other things strengthened the long term confidence of investors.

1970s unfolding

By the beginning of the 1970s the venture of Albuquerque and Takaoka finds itself in a position to cater for the city's growing middle classes (this time based on the services sector). While opportunities emerge both in the inner city, as well as in the periphery, it seems only consequent that the developers come up with two parallel projects (which are also bound to become landmark typologies). In this context an ensemble of serviced high-rise 'condomínio' named 'Ilha do Sul' is launched in 1972 in a residential inner city neighbourhood of São Paulo. Notably, only one year later Albuquerque and Takaoka decide to develop the 500-hectare site in the suburban municipality of Barueri, which would become AlphaVille.

While, at the beginning, it seems more profitable to develop a commercial and light industrial park, only three years later, with the oil crisis underway, the potential of a novel 'garden city for the automobile elites' is realised. In this context the vertical strat-

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[401] In addition to the general demographic and economic boom of the time

egy of 'Ilha do Sul' is (more or less consciously) transferred from São Paulo's dense urban centre to the horizontal plane of the spacious periphery to emerge as a new type of gated community. In a quest to conceive the 'first' and 'optimal' *Alpha*-city, the architects José Almeida Pinto, a partner of Reinaldo Pestana elaborate of the urban design of the scheme and coin the name AlphaVille.

As a result, in 1975, the first 'prototype' of a residential cluster (Residencial) is developed. The neighbourhood consists of nearly 900 lots for single-family houses, and a common club and sports facility. Notably, the scheme is developed along the motto 'quality, security, governance' - a concept that has been foreign to the peripheries before. At the same time its name Residencial[402] points to the fact that the developers aimed to replicate the success.

1980s maturation and consolidation

The 1980s mark a watershed of AlphaVille becoming a truly urban place. The era sees a process of maturation and consolidation at various levels: By the early 1980s a dozen new 'residencials' are added and the commercial centre takes off. As a consequence AlphaVille doubles in size, attracting many secondary service facilities (such as private schools and shopping malls). A hybrid mix of edge and garden city emerges, featuring the (functional) qualities of a fully-fledged town.

The success starts to attract an increasing number of similar ventures to the environs. The most important of the new enterprises is Tamboré S.A. The firm is launched to develop several hundred hectares that have remained with the largest land-owning family of the area, the Penteado family. Indeed, the quality and magnitude of the Tamboré project change the underlying rationale of the New Town typology. It therefore seemed more fitting for our context to establish the name AlphaVille-Tamboré for the entire NeoTown scheme.

The mid 1990s brings major generational changes resulting in a fundamental restructuring of the chief corporate stakeholders: When Yoshiro Takaoka dies in 1994, Albuquerque and his son in law Nuno Lopes incorporate AlphaVille as a new 'Sociedade Anônima'. The former Albuquerque and Takaoka Empreendimentos is inherited by Yoshiro Takaoka's son Marcelo and becomes Marcelo Takaoka Empreendimentos S.A. (MTA). In addition, Arthur de Ulhôa transfers the control of Tamboré S.A. to his son Fábio.

Significantly, the demand for enclosed neighbourhoods reaches unprecedented levels. In this context the typology of the gated neighbourhood not only rapidly spreads from São Paulo to other regions, it is also adapted to inner-city conditions (in a smaller format), and in addition becomes increasingly prominent among lower income segments.

AlphaVille Graciosa (Curitiba) becomes known as an important landmark project and a precedent for a new generation of ecological AlphaVille's. At 'home', the image of AlphaVille's downtown area is polished when large patches of its 'central public space' are modernised and redesigned with an emphasis on pedestrian walks and pocket parks.

When by the late 1990s a private four-lane expressway connects to the area, AlphaVille-Tamboré reaches the first point of saturation. In this situation the developers concentrate more on the refinement and commercialisation of the distinctive product-brand than on the development of new land. In consequence AlphaVille emerges as an experimental playground for novel strategies and typologies, such as new marketing

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[402] By the end of the 1970s the developers inaugurate two external schemes, the beach resort of Toque Toque and the country resort of Aldeia da Serra. However, most of the construction activities occur at the Barueri site.

strategies and lifestyle approaches. In addition the developers start to introducing the brand into other regions.

Marcelo Takaoka in particular emerges as a significant entrepreneurial innovator. His two Gênesis projects valorise AlphaVille's 'residencial' typology, by introducing a new combination of an 'eco-sustainabile' approach and life-style marketing. Furthermore Marcelo Takaoka explores the promising wellness and health market along the introduction of the Asian-style superblock scheme (São Paulo Wellness).

21st century

In the first decade of the 21st century, brings exceptionally high profits, rapid growth and appreciation for all developers. While older trends are continuing, state-of-the-art management methods, as well as marketing and sales techniques become ever more important.

Being accountable not only to the buyers of the end products, but also increasingly towards the group of shareholders, almost all of the developers implement quality management,and environmental standards (e.g. ISO 9001, and 14.001). In addition, new marketing tools and media strategies, partly based on Corporate Social Responsibility concepts (CSR) are being explored.

Tamboré S.A.'s lifestyle neighbourhoods with turnkey houses along Mediterranean themes and AlphaVille's first Eco-quarter (e.g. Burle Marx) represent new levels of product refinement and diversification. Moreover, AlphaVille's success attracts numerous additional schemes such as Ecoville or Bethaville.

By 2007, less than 15 years after the milestone-changes of the mid 1990s, AlphaVille-Tamboré emerges as sub-centre of a gross area between São Paulo, Campinas and Sorocaba, that accumulates two-fifths of the region's economic product. The new-town cluster of offices and residential enclaves has grown to 39 residential enclaves. It features 90.000 residents (including projects by other entrepreneurs) and the daytime population of the commercial downtown is estimated at 150.000 people. In addition, AlphaVille has successfully spread to other locations. The firm has a land bank of more than 1000 hectares in the country and 48 new projects are in the pipeline.

As the brand is well received all over the country and revenues are booming, major real estate groups demonstrate an increasing interest in the successful businesses. It therefore comes as no surprise when in late 2007 Gafisa S.A., one of the country's largest real estate conglomerates, absorbs AlphaVille S.A., and notably in the same year Tamboré S.A. is secured by the real estate heavyweight Brascan Residential Properties.

Shortly before the financial crisis of September 2008, AlphaVille-Tamboré experiences a second stage of major consolidation and densification. Uninterrupted demand, as well as the availability of large sums of venture capital, engenders several immense superblock projects that seemed unimaginable only few years ago.

Predecessors and peers

Despite the fact that AlphaVille-Tamboré emerges as a unique phenomenon in the local context, the venture is deeply rooted in a local as well as global milieu of predecessors and peers. The scheme is an integral part of a legacy of privately developed elite neighbourhoods and county club resorts in São Paulo. Moreover, significant parallels to North American Edge City, New Town, and gated community typologies become evident. Likewise, various contemporary privately developed settlements in São Paulo, Brazil and Latin America emerge in parallel. Today many important facets of the AlphaVille brand reverberate as role models across the whole country.

Historical predecessors

AlphaVille-Tamboré is an integral part of a legacy of privately developed elite neighbourhoods in São Paulo. Indeed, at the time of its conception, the project was the most recent result of the migration of São Paulo's affluent neighbourhoods along a southwestern wedge of wealth. The tradition emerged, more than 100 years ago, when São Paulo became an important international gateway and cosmopolitan centre (on the base of the coffee trade) at the time when a new middle class of self-made entrepreneurs was emerging. When this new bourgeoisie triggered an enormous demand for new-fashioned urban spaces of representation, a new brand of international businessman responded by importing Western technologies and models of lifestyle and hygiene. Importantly international corporations largely drove both the development of the city's infrastructure and that of the housing sectors. In this context 'Campos Elísios' (Paradise Fields) and 'Higienópolis' (City of Hygiene) emerged as first examples of modern elite neighbourhoods.[403]

Jardins

Garden city type neighbourhoods (bairros jardim) emerged in the second decade of 20th century – in parallel to the arrival of the tram, the automobile and modern road systems. In this situation, the firm 'City of São Paulo Improvements and Freehold Land Company Ltda.' (commonly known as 'Cia. City' or Companhia City) became the leading private entrepreneur in this sector, and in a little while this joint venture of Brazilian landowners and international investors controlled nearly 40 percent of all territories in the city. Mainly catering to successful migrants from Europe, the Middle East and Asia, Companhia City developed a series of renowned neighbourhoods. Among the most important of these 'Bairros City' were the Jardim América, Pacaembú, or Alto de Pinheiros. Quite a few important typologies and strategies deployed in these elite-quarters remain valid for AlphaVille and its peers to date.

In particular Jardim América (the American Garden), started in 1913, exemplifies many of these tactics. The scheme is regarded as the first Garden City type neighbourhood in Latin America. Companhia City commissioned the British star architect Barry Parker, co-designer of Ebenezer Howard's Letchworth garden city, to design the plan. Parker conceived a landscape of bending streets in a park. This resembled Law Olmstead's bourgeois North American schemes more than the socialist Garden City models from Britain.

Importantly Jardim América represents one of the first holistically master planned neighbourhoods on the continent that was planned along its own set of 'private' design codes and standards. The result was a bourgeois neighbourhood, based on individual land ownership, mortised transport, the detached villa typology and state of the art technology (such as stone pavements and street lighting). The remarkable system of greenery and the common club and sports facilities became a distinctive characteristic of all of Companhia City's Bairros.

Granja Viana

AlphaVille's list of Predecessors is not only comprised of elite neighbourhoods drifting from the city's centre to the peripheries but also former weekend retreats in the countryside that have undergone a successive transformation into fully-fledged middle class neighbourhoods (Alexander Garvin dubs this typology 'Vacation Refugee New Towns').

Granja Viana, in the Western periphery of São Paulo is the largest and most important of these models. Granja Viana can be seen as AlphaVille's predecessor and peer (e.g. 'di-

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[403] The latter became the place where in the 1940s the first vertical condomínio appeared.

rect contestant') at the same time. Their histories overlap. The area dates back to the early 1960s and emerged when a highway connecting São Paulo with the suburban municipality of Cotia provided direct access to São Paulo's South Western centres. Today the 'organically' grown structure results in a landscape of 40 middle class neighbourhoods, dotted with infrastructure and services. Indeed, this pattern can be seen as a benchmark of what could have happened to AlphaVille without a 'big' developer behind it.

North American predecessors

While the concept of the Garden City reaches AlphaVille indirectly through the legacy of Companhia City's Bairro's, its most significant international models are represented by the North American typologies of privately built New Towns, 'gated communities' and 'edge cities'. AlphaVille's developers were clearly inspired by some North-American New Town schemes, as well as by the Edge City concept of the US American planner Joel Garreau. [404] The neighbourhood typologies of the area also closely resemble US American gated community typologies. Orange County's New Town of Irvine must be regarded as the most significant international predecessor. Indeed, AlphaVille shares a remarkably high amount of common characteristics this scheme of clustered neighbourhood enclaves (urban villages) and commercial centres developed by James Irvine.

Local Peers

In addition to a rich framework of predecessors that was touched upon in the above section, AlphaVille-Tamboré emerges in an opulent context of parallel projects.

The 'Ilha do Sul' scheme is an important 'peer' project. It was a brainchild of AlphaVille's developers Renato Albuquerque and Yoshiro Takaoka. Developed in 1972 in the central residential neighbourhood of Alto de Pinheiros, it was the first superblock ensemble of vertical condomínio in São Paulo. The concept was the model and benchmark for a new boom of condomínio to come (e.g. Portal do Morumbi). The method resulted in an alternative option for middle and upper class residents to remain in the in the city. While the project looks very different from the horizontally spreading settlements of AlphaVille, and while it is far from being a New Town, it shares many analogous features and strategies with its suburban peer. The scheme is highly secured, provides a wide range of services for the residents, and is autonomously governed by a resident association. Moreover, as much as AlphaVille, it claims to represent a whole concept of life rather than just a physical stage for it.

São Paulo's new commercial centre of the Avenida Luiz Carlos Berrini and the residential area of Morumbi constitute a different set of AlphaVille's contemporary peers. These places, which are part of the Vetor Sudoeste, embody São Paulo's benchmark localities of middle and upper class life and work. They are the locations against which AlphaVille-Tamboré has to compete. While they comprise more heterogeneous land uses (including informal settlements), the dual landscape of commercial superblocks versus low-rise residential areas parallels that of AlphaVille.

A last small but continually growing local typology of peers and contestants of AlphaVille is represented by the closed horizontal condominium (condomínio horizontal fechado, or R3-03). The typology is a low-rise, miniature version of a closed residential enclave featuring 15 to 50 housing units. While it is a result of the 1994 Lei de Vilas, the R3-03 demonstrates the increasing spread and success of gated enclaves in São Paulo's inner city neighbourhoods. It represents an alternative option to the suburban enclaves.

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[404] Indeed, today AlphaVille Tamboré qualifies for all of Garreau's criteria of an Edge City.

The project Vila Butantã by Marcos Acayaba Arquitetos serves as one prominent example of this horizontal condominium typology.

Brazilian peers

The context of AlphaVille-Tamboré's project peers on a national scale reveals two significant reference settlements that are dominated by the private sector. These projects are Barra da Tijuca and Riviera do São Lorenço.

Barra da Tijuca is an enormous new edge city and elite district of Rio de Janeiro. In contrast to AlphaVille it was initiated by the state and drawn up as a modernistic neighbourhood by the important architect Lucio Costa. While nowadays the place has been taken over by the private sector, it has undergone a transformation from a visionary scheme of the 1960s into a postmodern 'real estate park'. In this situation, modernistic superblock schemes were transformed into closed condomínios complexes and large boulevards became highways. The range of urban typologies was reduced to two: the high rise condominium and the detached villa as part of a gated community, and Public places, other than the 18 kilometre beach, have been largely eliminated. In contrast, the contemporary urban landscape is dotted with an iconography of generic signs and symbols representing a consumer landscape. Significantly, AlphaVille is also planning a Barra da Tijuca appearance. Its premium eco-neighbourhood, laid out by the star landscape designer Fernando Chacel, emerges on the site of land from reclaimed from a lagoon, between airport, shopping mall and subtropical rainforest.

When discussing the issue of private cities in Brazil, Riviera do São Lorenço is the second project worth mentioning. The project in the São Paulo state municipality of Bertioga is considered to be the largest and most successful private real estate venture on Brazil's coast. The independent beach resort city was developed by the firm Sobloco Construtora and is located 130 kilometres to the North West of São Paulo. Developed by the end of the 1970s, the 900-hectare plan is supposed to house up to 60 thousand residents (depending on the season). Riviera do São Lorenço is known in particular for its ecologically sensitive planning approach. The project's eco-friendly infrastructure ranges from state of the art eco-sewage plants to an innovative waste collection system. Even an own environmental control laboratory exists. According to the developer, the project is supposed to be the first real estate venture in the world to receive an ISO 14001 certification (This is an environmental management guideline modelled along the ISO 9000 quality management principles).

It remains open whether any of the two examples Barra da Tijuca, or Riviera do São Lorenço represent a future scenario for AlphaVille, or whether the São Paulo NeoTown will emerge as its own typology.

South American peers

AlphaVille does not to have any historical peers on the subcontinent that would qualify as fully-fledged New Towns developed by the private sector. It appears that until the 1990s most South American governments have pursued 'European' style urbanisation policies dominated by the public hand. Only very recently could a renaissance of privately driven New Towns be observed. This is mainly concentrated in the metropolises of the richer economies: Mainly in Argentina, Chile, and Mexico, where middle class populations have reached a significant size. The trend is represented by cases such as Nordelta in Buenos Aires, several 'Ciudades Walladas' in Santiago de Chile, or the plan for Valle de Las Palmas in the metropolitan region of Tijuana (Mexico).

Nordelta is a privately driven project in the North of the Argentinean metropolis Buenos Aires. The project has the same dimension as AlphaVille. However, while the project represents an impressive peak in the landscape of gated communities characterising the

environs it does not reach the complexity of a town. The cases of Santiago de Chile's 'Ciudades Walladas' such as Piedra Roja, Valle Norte, or La Reserva are examples of currently emerging enormous satellite cities for the middle classes. These are driven by a public master plan towards concentrated dispersal, which relies on the enforcement by large corporate players. Not least the Mexican case of Valle de Las Palmas represents an example of a joint venture of the public and a large private real estate undertaking. The scheme was geared towards lower income populations and ecological design. With a size significantly larger than the city of Paris, it will emerge as an enormous 'parallel city' of Tijuana.

Indeed, while building has barely started, the Chilean as well as the Mexican models in particular have to be kept in mind as the latest interesting examples of this 'species' of Latin American NeoTowns.

Offspring

The argument that AlphaVille-Tamboré was not a single historical event is underlined by the scope of its impact. Since the late 1980s the model, based on security, autonomous management and lifestyle, not only succeeded to spread and diversify to most of the large metropolitan areas in the country and beyond, it also managed to (re)colonise some inner city areas and become the preferred option among lower income classes.[405]

AlphaVille's original brand is currently present in 17 Brazilian states, 35 municipalities and two additional countries. It became a quasi-standard in the real estate industry, spurred the desires of customers and served as a role model for a whole generation of new projects.

The most visible impacts occurred in the direct environs of the Barueri and Santana do Parnaíba site. The area remains among the most dynamically developing places in the country since the late 1980s. It has seen the emergence of many similar 'AlphaVille' style neighbourhoods. In addition to 18 AlphaVilles, 7 Tamborés, and two Gênesises, the area also features a Melville, two Bethavilles, as well as two Valvilles. In addition, neighbourhoods carrying names such as Conde, Green Valley, and Ecoville have been set up in the greater environs.

Crucially AlphaVille's triumph was not just limited to its geography - its diffusion had also socio-cultural dimensions. In 2004 the brand's developers came up with a concept of secured neighbourhoods for lower income populations in a joint venture with the government. They invented a stripped down version of AlphaVille, which was christened Vilas Alpha – the country's first gated community for the poor. Four model projects have been implemented so far.

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[405] Cf. The discussion of the closed horizontal condominium, or R3-03 in other parts of this chapter

Structure –
A bunch of grapes

Introduction

The following subchapter intends to provide a basis for the understanding of AlphaVille as a form. Urban form is one fundamental element in the relational and dialectic ('Lefebvrian') model of space that inspired this thesis. Therefore the following section portrays the AlphaVille-Tamboré NeoTown cluster and its subsidiary spaces.

AlphaVille-Tamboré will be described along the multiscalar approach, which is part of the methodological framework of this work (Cf. Chapter: Introduction). The initial part investigates the relationship of the project to the greater region. The subsequent section delineates the project's 'interior' morphology, aiming to uncover its structural logic. This second part will unfold the spatial logic of AlphaVille-Tamboré as an entire city, of its respective neighbourhoods, as well as of its blocks and building structures. Not least, a series of paradigmatic elements will be marked out.

Regional context

> *"Along this highway, just a few kilometres away from the tangential road, something developed in 1973 that a few years later would be called 'Edge City' Cf. Garreau 1991, a car friendly, suburban and commercial agglomeration. After the completion of the initial phase of the Castello Branco Tollroad, a series of initial enterprises had been erected on the grounds of the former farm."* (From Fiedler 2001, translation by the author)

Table 32: Key indicators of AlphaVille-Tamboré's regional context

Share of metro population	*0,04 percent*
Share of metro area	0,2 percent
Number of Regional Malls (existing, planned)	2 (2)
Major interregional road arteries	1
Percentage of project area owned by the developer	95 percent
Distance to centre	25 km
Commute to centre	30-90 minutes
People living and working in the area	30 percent
Major mode of internal mobility	Car
Chief mode of external mobility	Car

Basic data

Location: topography, climate, elevation, fauna

AlphaVille emerges on a terrain of rolling hills originally covered by plantations and the Atlantic rain forest (Mata Atlántica), the bulk of which was originally part of a farm, the Fazenda Tamboré (Cf. above: Project Milestones). The terrain stretches between the Tietê River at the Western side and hills at the Northeastern side. A highway, the Castello

Branco, marks the Southern boundary, and the municipality of Santana de Parnaíba the Northern frontier. The existing landscape has been heavily remodelled (Cf. Gonçalvez 1998: 165).

Physical character of the close environs: nature; agriculture, villages, towns
AlphaVille's contemporary surrounding is a 'messy', fragmented, diversified, and sprawling 'post-industrial' landscape. The scene is marked by a mix of power lines, favelas (unorganised informal settlements), loteamentos and clandestinos (organised informal settlements), the colonial town centre of Santata de Parnaíba, Barueri's downtown, shopping centres, suburban highways, immense power lines (transecting AlphaVille's area), acres, garages, public parks, commercial areas and forest patches. (Cf. the São Paulo section above)

→ Illustration D-12: Site and surroundings
→ Illustration D-13: Images from the vicinity

Political boundaries
AlphaVille-Tamboré positions itself on the terrain of two suburban municipalities. It spans from Barueri, where it began in the South, to Santana de Parnaíba in the North. Yet the centres of both of the municipalities, the city of Barueri and the town of Parnaíba have no physical relation to the NeoTown (Cf. Fiedler 2001).

Size in relation to the centre
On a regional scale AlphaVille comprises a rather insignificant share of people and land. The picture changes when looking the economic weight of this edge city. AlphaVille's population of 90.000 amounts to less than 0,1 percent of the regional populace; its 3600 hectares represent a mere 0,4 percent of the regional terrain.[406] [407] In spite of that, AlphaVille-Tamboré's economy is among the most dynamic of the entire country. The area contains an extraordinary concentration of upper-class residences as well as office and commerce complexes. Santana de Parnaíba is the municipality with the highest average income of the whole metropolitan region. It features levels of wealth previously common to Sao Paulo's central districts.[408] The whole region has been aggressively marketed in Brazil as a true 'Edge City'.[409]

Presence of other Neotowns
The AlphaVille-Tamboré cluster is a unique phenomenon in the São Paulo metro region and in Brazil. No other metropolitan region contains a privately planned city of this size and mixture.[410]

Since the 1980s, the neo town thrives on a symbiotic relationship of two enormous schemes: AlphaVille and Tamborè. In addition, several additional, but smaller real estate ventures cross with the project area. As a matter of fact the AlphaVille project alone could be (and was) solely addressed as a private Neo Town (Cf. for example Fiedler 2001). It consists of 18 neighbourhoods, multiple service facilities, industrial and commercial areas (Cf. below). On the other hand Tamborè cannot be neglected as it contrib-

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[406] BSD share of land is 4,5 times higher, Navi Mumbai's is 4 times larger.

[407] At the same time the private New Town amounts to a fifth of the combined Barueri and Santana de Parnaíba populations and to 0.64 percent of São Paulo's urban population. According the 2006 census, Barueri has about 252.000 residents, and São Paulo has 10.800.000. (Cf. Embraesp 2006)

[408] Cf. Caldeira, 2000: 231-234, quoting Embraesp data.

[409] Cf. Caldeira, 2000: 253; and above: North American predecessors and peers.

[410] So, the Neo Town's role in the regional context is notably different from Jakarta, where numerous New Towns take up a significant proportion of the urban region, and from Mumbai, where one parallel city is dominating a large part of the Eastern suburbs. (Cf. Predecessors, Peers)

utes a significant amount of residents (8 neighbourhoods), infrastructure and services (e.g. the largest shopping mall).

Presence of gated communities
While the AlphaVille-Tamboré cluster constitutes a matchless urban typology in São Paulo (and Brazil), smaller residential enclaves become a prominent dwelling type in the region as well as in the country.[411] [412] Indeed, it can be observed that more and more gated residential enclaves are attracted to the services available in AlphaVille.[413] A rising number of these undertakings in the environs are geared to lower middle-income classes,[414] featuring tiny lots starting at 125 square metres.[415]

Percentage of land owned by the developers
AlphaVille-Tamboré was in the hands of a few private developers from the beginning of the project. Among the major landholders are the Penteado family, Albuquerque and Takaoka, and Jubran. (Cf. above: Prehistory of the site). Despite the fact that Japanese migrant farmers subside on some parts of the area, the land has been cleared and re-consolidated in 1966 (Cf. above Project Milestones). Consequently no onsite villages, and hence no relocation problems existed, at least officially.[416]

Accessibility

Distance to the centre, other centralities
The AlphaVille-Tamboré cluster is well connected to all major regional centres.
The distance to São Paulo's point zero at Sé is 23 kilometres. All-important centres in the region, the city centre and the elite quarters along the Marginal Pinheiros can be reached by travelling 18 to 30 kilometres. The national Airport of Congonhas is 35 kilometres away, the international Airport at Garulhos 55 kilometres by highway. The travel times to all central locations are between 20 and 90 minutes, depending on the traffic conditions.[417]

The excellent accessibility of the project is based on the direct access to a major radial traffic artery, the Castello Branco Highway (Cf. above: Milestones). The highway leads in 11 kilometres to the major traffic junction of the Complexo Viário Heróis de 1932 (or Cebolão), which provides access to the two major peripheral highways of the city – Marginal Pinheiros and the Marginal Tietê.[418]

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[411] More and more people in the region, including the lower middle classes, choose to locate to secured compounds that offer an exclusive range of services. (Cf. above: São Paulo: Type of newly planned neighbourhoods)

[412] Theresa Caldeira (2000) points to the fact that the main type for newly suburbanising middle classes is the fortified enclave. (Caldeira, 2000: 231-234; and above) The total number of units in conominios horizontais (gated communities) in the Greater São Paulo Region (RMSP) rose from 168 in 1992, to 2535 in 2001, in the same time the number of projects rose from 4 to 70. (Embraesp data presented at http://www.nomads.usp.br/site/condominio3.htm, r6.02.2009)

[413] Cf. above: Offspring

[414] An exemplary search at a prominent real estate web site of Barueri brings to the fore ventures such as Graziela, Pq Esmeralda, São Fernando, Nova Paulista, or New Ville, Jd Reginalice, Aldeia de Barueri, Parque Esmeralda, Cond Tarumã, or the Jd São Paulo-SP, City Viana, or Ribeiro de Lima. (Cf. http://www.barueriimoveis.blogspot.com/; r.03.02.3009). A comprehensive list of new projects is also provided in the article "Panorama do mercado imobiliário da nossa região" at http://www.takaoka.org.br/website/text.asp?txtCode=%7B8E1E357E-8975-4F52-BD66-A39D625E7A71%7D, r10.03.2009

[415] Cf. for example to: www.conspar.com, r08.03.2009

[416] In contrast to Navi Mumbai, and Bumi Serpong Damai

[417] AlphaVille has an own television channel which reports on the traffic conditions.

[418] The Cebolão (Onion) is a combined flyover and cloverleaf highway connection elevated above the point of intersection of the Pinheiros and Tietê rivers. Significantly the place serves as the point zero for the kilometre numbering of the peripheral highways that start here. (Cf. Souza, Bárbara 2003: Complexo Viário Heróis de 32. Para os íntimos, Cebolão; In: Jornal da Tarde; Newsclipping at:
http://www.sptrans.com.br/clipping_anteriores/2003/julho2003/clipping09e100703/pagina1.htm#lgeral; r23.01.2009)

AlphaVille can also be accessed by public transport. Bus lines depart from Santana de Parnaíba and via Baruerì, and a rail connection exists to the South of the Castelo Branco Highway (with the Carapicuiba and Santa Terezinha stations). Nevertheless, making the connection is quite cumbersome and involved. A commute includes several transfers and may take more than one and a half hours to complete. As a consequence the residents of the area use practically no public transport. (Cf. Fiedler 2001)

External infrastructure

AlphaVille-Tamboré is well connected to a wide range of urban infrastructure and services, private as well as public. Basic services such as water and electricity are part of public networks (Cf. Davidson 2004).[419] Despite the presence of public facilities, private infrastructure systems such as toll roads and private schools are playing an increasing role. When the Castello Branco became ever more congested in the 1990s, an alternative toll road section opened in 2001. The private consortium Viaoeste implemented the project. AlphaVille received an exclusive access point at kilometre 11. Interestingly, private security forces of the new town patrol parts of the highway as a service for the residents.

When, as a consequence of the toll-road, AlphaVille's access to the public section of the road was removed, AlphaVille's residents started a remarkable and ongoing wave of protest.[420] Since then many people opt for a complicated 3-kilometre detour to reach the next public access point in Barueri (Cf. Fitzpatrick 2003).[421]

→ Illustration D-14: AlphaVille's access by public road

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[419] Public recreational facilities exist as well, for example in the public Parque Ecologico Tiete Tamborè. Yet these are accessible only by a small dirt road and surrounded by the high perimeter walls of the gated communities. The park is used exclusively by external populations and neglected by AlphaVille's residents. (Cf. Gonçalvez 1998)

[420] The tolled route costs at least BRL 4.30 (U$1,50)

[421] The umbrella organisation of AlphaVille's homeowner associations SIA provides a map of the detour as a service. (Cf. www.sia.org.br, r23.01.2008)

Local context

Introduction

The description of the form of the AlphaVille-Tamboré private cluster city lies at the heart of this case study. While the last section provided an overview of the relationship of the project and the region, the next part seeks to delineate the interior structure and dynamics of the project. This will be done along a multi-scalar perspective, exploring the entire scheme, the respective neighbourhoods, as well as the blocks and building typologies.

Table 33: Key indicators of AlphaVille-Tamboré's local context

Size	*3600**
Permanent population (residential)	90.000*
Floating Population (employees)	160.000*
Start date	1973
Houses	~ 20.000
Neighbourhoods	~ 40
Average population per enclave	2000
Average size of a residential enclave	50 hectares
Average density per enclave	50 people per hectare
Typical lot size	400-600 square metres
Cost per square metre of built-up space	~ US$ 750 – $ 1500
Milestone examples of guarded enclaves	Residencial 1 (1974); Residencial 11 (1984); Cidade Tamboré (1988); Projeto Gênesis (1998); Burle Marx (2007); São Paulo Wellness (superblock scheme, planned)

* The numbers were estimated by the author on the base of satellite maps of the area. The number of residents results from a multiplication of 40 neighbourhoods by 2250 residents. The number of employees takes into account official numbers of office jobs plus estimated numbers of low-key services.

Town level

→ Illustration D-15: Map of AlphaVille-Tamboré

Basics

Our spatial exploration of AlphaVille-Tamboré starts by describing the entire scheme's structural features, its land use composition, and the infrastructure and services it provides.

The entire complex reaches a size of roughly 3600 hectares. The place accommodates some 90.000 residents and supplying some 150.000 jobs. While the section of AlphaVille comprises about 1400 hectares, Tamboré accounts for 1200 hectares, and additional third party projects are estimated to embrace another 1000 hectares.[422] The territory, roughly 12 kilometers by 3 kilometers in size, makes up 60 percent of the 6000 (planned)

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[422] The longitudinal urban structure of AlphaVille makes up the dominant part of the area.

hectares of Bumi Serpong Damai and less than 20 percent of Navi Mumbai. When it comes to the areas, which have already been developed, however, AlphaVille-Tamboré presents the double amount of BSD and more than 40 percent of Navi Mumbai. In a wider context, the size of the project surpasses the size of peers such as Levittown (Long Island), Nordelta (Buenos Aires), Piedra Roja (Santiago de Chile), or DLF City (Delhi).[423] After all it would accommodate nine of Howard's Town Magnets.

Planned Gross Floor Area (GFA)

AlphaVille Urbanismo estimates that it has realised a gross floor area of 20 million square metres.[424] This amounts to half of the total area that the firm develops at other locations in the country. (Ibidem)

Status

Although the project has reached a relatively mature state, its character defies any definition of completion. The scheme does not have any specific predefined end, as it was developed without a master plan or any other set vision of the outcome. As it is driven by entrepreneurial spirit that is open to various scenarios, the condition of the place is a snapshot of a specific time. Along this rationale AlphaVille starts off as light industrial park in 1973, maturing into a New Town and Edge City in the late 1980s. Nowadays the limits of available land and developable areas become visible on the ground. The increasing land cost, the density of new schemes, the maturity of the products, as well as the sophistication of marketing and PR concepts reflect this. (Cf. below: Developers, Strategies)

Structure

The AlphaVille-Tamboré cluster is in essence a heterogeneous conglomerate of controlled neighbourhoods, which altogether result in a structure of a higher urban complexity. The aggregation of residential, commercial, service and light-industrial enclaves is mainly accessible by modes of personal transport.

The area develops in a pocket that is formed by the Tietê River to the West, the Castello Branco Highway to the South and the SP-021 highway to the East. A major interregional power line bisects the territory on the Northern part of the site. (Cf. also to the regional context)

AlphaVille, the largest part of the agglomeration, is also the most homogeneous of the ventures. Located in the East of the terrain, it stretches over an area of about 1 by 4 kilometres, edging the Northeastern shore of the Tietê. The Tamboré cluster borders SP-021 highway in the Western part of the land. The light industrial and commercial area of Jubran comprised a central part of 600 hectares.[425] Nevertheless, while the urban fabric is composed of urban modules, the respective undertakings blend and intersect with each other along 'soft borders'.

Parasite enclaves

While the AlphaVille residential landscape currently comprises 18 neighbourhoods, it is interesting to observe that more than a dozen additional enterprises were able to gain a foothold in the area. In addition to Tamboré, which developed in the 1990s and became a crucial part of the scheme, Gênesis, Melville and Valville have all gained ground at various locations, and make up a significant 33 percent of the residential fabric.

[423] Cf. Comparative Matrix in the appendix.
[424] Personal interview with AlphaVille staff in March 2007.
[425] Cf. http://www.jubran.com.br/int/imoveis.asp, r20.03.2009

While these competing schemes have explored different variations of the AlphaVille concept, the presence of this bunch of 'parasite' undertakings has resulted in a reinforcement of the attractivity of the location by increasing the availability of options on this market. Tamboré SA, for example focuses on upper income classes, offering large lots in Tamborè 1 and 2, as well as on turn-key villas as an entirely new product on the Brazilian market in Tamboré 3. At the same time Gênesis explores eco-lifestyle themes (Cf. below: Examples; and Strategies).

A bunch of grapes

A central traffic artery running from the Southeast to the Northwest of the terrain and connecting the majority of the neighbourhoods is among the major linear features of the locality's interior structure.[426] While the quarters are all formed as enclaves, the schematic result of this arrangement resembles a bunch of grapes that is serviced by a central trunk.

Indeed, the structure is radically different from the open systems as represented by modernist urban fabrics. The first seem to represent an evolutionary and organic process, the second portrays a fixed geometric approach.[427]

→ Illustration D-16: Bunch of grapes vs. the Manhattan grid

Growth pattern and phases of development

Indeed AlphaVille-Tamboré represents an interesting combination of bottom-up spontaneous development and top-down planning. While the present form of the city has evolved incrementally, without a master plan, on the other hand the particular neighbourhoods, whether commercial or residential, are extremely structured and controlled. The various phases of the 35-year-old scheme remain discernible and can be traced back to various historical milestones. In this context four principal stages can be identified: a first era dating back to Alburuquerke's and Takaoka's initial days, a second phase representing the emergence of the first group of residential communities; a third period characterised by the rise of AlphaVille Urbanismo SA, and finally a recent phase, represented by new marketing concepts and the consolidation of the firm by the big market player GAFISA (Cf. above: Project milestones).

A trajectory of the project's history

AlphaVille's chief artery developed through time and in several phases. The form of this axis reflects the fact that the entire project it is based on principles rather than a formal order. Hence its trajectory represents a historical timeline of the project. The axis is not straight but meandering, much like the main trunk of a tree. Built along the needs of a specific time and location, it changes its character multiple times.[428]

Starting at the highway exit, the spine runs through AlphaVille's central business district. At this point it is named Alameda Rio Negro and has the form of a grand representative urban boulevard. The boulevard ends at the entrance plaza of AlphaVille's first residential neighbourhood. However the spine does not terminate here, it rather leaves the central business district after two additional turns emerging into a suburban scenery

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[426] This central artery is at the same time the main road to the town of Santana de Parnaíba.

[427] The radically different spatio-structural logic can be exemplified by the urban space systems of Paris, Berlin, or Manhattan.

[428] This fact is affirmed by the frequent changes of the names of the segments: Accordingly the street changes its name from Alameda Rio Negro (business district), to Alameda Mamoré (left turn, business dstrict), to Avenida AlphaVille (first phase of the project), to Avenido Yoshiro Takaoka (second phase of the project, after Takaokas death), to Avenida Alfanorte (recent phase of the project).

of gated single-family homes. Fortunately the hilly landscape facilitates a visual experience of the interiors, otherwise the street view would move through a channelled labyrinth of walls and gates. Having reached this new landscape, the street transforms from an urban boulevard into a suburban traffic corridor. Flanked by 4 metre walls of the enclaves, the passageway barely allows for pedestrian circulation. Only cross-sections and the intensively landscaped entrance points of the enclaves mark widening. Occasional local service centres are dotted along the central spine. These feature small offices, health clinics, hair salons and drug stores. In addition various schools and office buildings spread around the place.[429]

After winding through the neighbourhoods that emerged in the 1980s and 1990s, the artery joins the wide corridor of an immense power line where it is temporally flanked by the green lawns of irreclaimable zones. Shortly before the power line descends to a hydroelectric plant at the river, the street reaches the latest projects and construction sites. The view from the sales offices of the 2007 project of Burle Marx reveals a retrospective of the whole panorama. Thereafter the road winds and descends towards the historic town of Santana de Parnaíba.

→ Illustration D-17: Dual landscape of villas and high-rises

Land Use

General land use pattern
AlphaVille has no mixed-use neighbourhoods that could be comparable to inner-city locations. While the entire locale features a distinct variety of neighbourhoods, these respective modules are highly homogeneous. (Cf. below)

A commercial and a residential section dominates the land use pattern and creates a dual urban landscape. The commercial and light industrial uses comprise less than a third of the terrain and are concentrated in the southern part of the area. The part is topographically flat and features the best access. In contrast, the residential neighbourhoods gradually disperse into a green and hilly landscape, covered by forests to the North.

The residential areas make up the largest part of the terrain (2100 hectares), commercial areas amount to 600 hectares, and offices encompass an estimated 300 hectares. AlphaVille Urbanismo developed land comprising 1000 hectares of residential areas, 80 hectares of offices and 250 hectares of commerce areas. [430]

Public space
The town is highly controlled and secured. This fact is also true for open space. Most of the land is private. A smaller amount is semi-private[431], and only a tiny amount of open space is public. While the use of open space requires no direct fees, the access to the residential neighbourhoods is restricted. The maintenance of the places lies in the hands of the resident associations, who charge a monthly fee for this service. Our own estimates are that about 70 percent of the areas are private, while about 25 percent are circulation spaces, and only a remaining amount of less than 5 percent are communal[432]. Traditional pedestrian spaces are reduced to major boulevards as well as few pocket parks in the downtown area.[433]

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[429] E.g. the Colégio Objetivo e Universidade Integrada Paulista, or UNIP, or the campus of São Paulo's renowned McKenzie University.

[430] Own calculations

[431] E.g. the enclosed open spaces in the enclaves or the circulation areas of the malls

[432] Cf. also the land use composition of the residential areas below.

[433] Interestingly some of AlphaVille's hilly streets have been discovered by youth of the area for their skate boarding qualities. YouTube features various videos of this local sport. (Cf. below: Polpulation)

Downtown area

In contrast to the vast scenery of the 'residencial' (Gated Communities) AlphaVille's southern area is primarily comprised of commerce and services. The floating population of this area amounts to 150.000 people per day, hence exceeding the residential population by almost 200 percent. The downtown contains an 80-hectare CBD, as well a vast commercial and light industrial district, six times as large. The terrain involves two large regional malls, more than 360 companies, as well as 600 commercial and service facilities. 11 schools and universities and some of the services are also dispersed across the residential part. (Cf. Lemos 2004: 6)

CBD

With more than 120.000 office jobs in 2500 businesses, AlphaVille's central business district, or 'centro empresarial', represents one of the oldest and most significant office agglomerations in the region. It is known as one of the first and most significant Brazilian Edge Cities. (Cf. above: predecessors) The area continues to consolidate rapidly. The 147-metre West Side tower, one of the highest buildings of the entire region, was finished four years ago (2005).[434] The 80 hectares of the downtown area imply that it is only 30 percent of an average residential enclave. Yet, the footprint is more than offset by the amount of vertical space, containing more than 2000 offices with headquarters of various international corporations, such as Hewlett Packard, Nike or Dupont, and various local TV stations.[435] Emporis.com, one of the largest Internet-based building databases, currently lists 95 high-rise buildings of twelve or more stories in the area.[436] More than 44 vertical apartment towers (with 5500 apartments and 15.000 inhabitants) and 8 hotels add to the vibrant mix.[437]

Centro de Apoio – an urbanistic experiment

AlphaVille downtown is not only marked by the typical edge city typologies of office high-rises, restaurants, fuel stations and malls. It also features an early urbanist experiment: the Centro de Apoio.[438] More than 30 years ago in the southern part of the CBD a dense low-rise neighbourhood was erected. This remarkable and unique quarter was entirely built at pedestrian scale. It features a low-rise urban fabric, marked by a network of small alleys and a structure of pocket parks and plazas. Three story walk-up buildings arranged in perimeter blocks feature various styles from Ibapuelo to Meditteranean to Modernist. Small entrepreneurs providing a wide range of services dominate the place. One can find a small café, as well as a dentist or a travel agent.

While the Centro de Apoio[439] impersonates the entrepreneurial spirit of AlphaVille's early residents, many of whom had been freelancers and small entrepreneurs, it unfortunately remains an isolated experiment that is struggling to survive. While the area requires the daytime user to walk, and while it features no housing, the monofunctional use transforms it into a ghost town at night.

New boom of megaprojects

As AlphaVille-Tamboré's downtown area continues to mature, several new megaprojects are planned or underway. Named iTower, the AlphaSquare, Brascan Plaza, Castello

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[434] Cf. http://www.emporis.com/en/wm/ci/bu/?id=103922, r23.02.2009

[435] The Brazilian Bank Banespa is running a data processing centre, the Journal Folha de São Paulo its printing plant. In addition two television stations are headquartered in the area (Cf. Fiedler 2001).

[436] A thread at skyscrapercity.com illustrates most of the new important projects in the area. www.emporis.com/en/wm/zo/?id=100284; www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=769430, 12.02.2009

[437] Cf. Website of 'Area', the association of residents and enterprises in the cbd at http://www.area-alphaville.org.br/conteudo.asp?id=30&conteudo=513, r04.02.2009.

[438] This means as much as service centre.

[439] Meanwhile also known as the Centro Commercial

Branco Office Park, São Paulo Wellness or Tiner-Videolar projects, the superblock schemes reach 'Asian' dimensions that even surpass the magnitude typical for the inner city.

The 32 million square metre iTower projects will include a 26-storey office tower as well as a large new shopping mall, the Shopping Iguatemi. Located at the highway entrance of AlphaVille to the Castello Branco artery, it is a joint venture of Odebrecht Empreendimentos and Iquatemi.[440] It will be inaugurated by 2010. The Odebrecht also launched the AlphaSquare project in 2008. This will comprise six high-rise towers (two commercial towers, four residential), a boutique mall of 5300 square metres, a large spa, as well as a park of 15 million square metres.[441]

The Brascan Century Plaza-Green Valley complex will be a distinct integrated multi-use project with completion scheduled for 2011. Significantly this project will leave AlphaVille's CBD and surface in the predominantly low-rise landscape of AlphaVille hinterlands. It will be part of the Green Valley office park at Avenida Andrômeda, close to the AlphaVille Conde I and II neighbourhoods in the proximity of the Tiête River. Notably the BRL 460 million mixed-use projects are offspring of a landmark Century Plaza São Paulo project with the same name in São Paulo's inner-city district of Itaim Bibi. [442]

→ Illustration D-18: AlphaVille's latest superblock schemes

The Century Plaza-Green Valley contains two large residential as well as commercial high-rise complexes, and shopping malls with almost 600 shops. The linear buildings in the form of circular segments are arranged around a lake and a park. The project was developed by Brascan residential Properties, the firm that acquired Tamborè SA in 2007. The inner city precedent inspired the design of the renowned architect Josè Lucena.

A fourth new spectacular mixed-use undertaking is Castello Branco Office Park. The complex was developed by Tishman & Speyer and a range of Brazilian peers and was designed by KOM arquitectura. The project totalling more than half a million square metres comprises six towers with offices and a hotel space. These are grouped around a semi-private plaza/park and connected to a gigantic mall/ parking structure. (Cf. www.komarquitetura.com.br, r23.02.2009)

Marcello Takaoka's São Paulo Wellness is a fourth example of the ambitious mixed-use super block generation. This project is geared to the wants and needs of newly emerging middle classes and an increasingly aging population. SP Wellness features a constructed area of 200 thousand square metres and has a value of BRL 300 million. The project's four residential towers nearly reach the 100-metre mark. They are placed on an 8-storey base with a health and wellness theme (e.g. with an integrated medical centre), while the obligatory shopping mall, a 372-room hotel/ conference centre (Marriott Group) and a parking garage for 3300 vehicles add to the mix. The Unitas group acted

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[440] Odebrecht is one of the largest Brazilian real estate developers, Iquatemi one of the most sucessful shopping mall ventures in the country.

[441] Cf. www.oei.com.br/site/portal_oei/pt/imprensa/releases/releases_detalhes_9290.aspx;
www.iguatemialphaville.com.br/page/ficha_tecnica.asp; r12.02.2009

[442] The Century Plaza SP was drafted by the renowned office of Königsberger Vanucci Architects. Implemented at the turn of the millennium it became one of the new landmarks of a new generation of mixed-use projects in Brazil. The scheme has received the FIABCI *Prix d'Excellence* award for multi-use projects in 2005. It is an integrated superblock of two large towers as well as semi-public plaza/ park in-between. It features offices, multiplex cinemas, a hotel and shops. (Cf. http://www.vitruvius.com.br/institucional/inst91/inst91.asp;
http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m0EIN/is_2005_August_3/ai_n14843994;
http://www.arcoweb.com.br/arquitetura/arquitetura438.asp; r12.02.2009).

as a financial consultant as well as an investment vehicle to the project, providing a sum of BRL 401 million.[443]

The most spectacular (and speculative) planned project in the area is the Tiner-Videolar scheme. The BRL 1 billion proposal of gigantic dimensions was drafted by the Miami based architectural consultancy Arquitectonica.[444] It consists of six residential towers, three commercial high-rises, one hotel, a shopping mall, a large supermarket, as well as one hospital. The tower structures amount to 50 floors, and a total of 250 million square metres of usable space. The similarity with Indian Integrated Township types as described in the Navi Mumbai chapter of this thesis is striking.[445]

Infrastructure and services

In addition to the variety of its residential and commercial 'products', AlphaVille-Tamboré distinguishes itself from other contestants by its exceptional infrastructure and services. Among the facilities are five hospitals, several 24-hour clinics, 16 banks, eight hotels, a cinema centre, three major shopping centres and eight large supermarkets.[446]

AlphaVille's infrastructure and services, such as schools, local shops or small services, as well as most of the sport clubs, are typically located outside the residential communities and hence openly accessible. On the other hand, most of the facilities demand a membership. Furthermore, in many instances access is only possible by the means of a private car.

The area has principally no central cultural or recreational facilities for the general public. While one communal park, the public Parque Ecologico do Tietê, exists on the banks of the Tietê river, it is neglected by the project's residents (Cf. above: regional infrastructure).

→ Illustration D-19: Isolation of the Parque Ecologico do Tietê

The utilities in the area are basically connected to the public grid. The availability of electricity and fresh water is principally much better than in India or Indonesia, and in contrast to the general state of affairs, AlphaVille-Tamboré even has potable water. Moreover, the major utilities (such as gas, water and sewage) are generally laid underground. The area also features several private sewage plants. Recent projects, such as the Burle Marx enclave, operate with decentralised sewage facilities. Rubbish collection is well-organised and modern separation concepts and waste facilities are becoming more and more the norm (Cf. alphaville.com.br, r12.11.2008).

Transport

AlphaVille and its environs represent an urban system based on individual transport. The quality of the area's streets and circulation systems is exceptional and represents Western standards.[447] The private developers have built most of the roads in the area. Public roads have been upgraded. The streets and pocket parks are extremely well maintained and landscaped (a Brazilian tradition). The interior roads in the enclaves are a part of these and thus maintained by the respective resident or business associations. Bus transport is available on the main artery route to Santana de Parnaíba. Yet, on the whole only service

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[443] Cf. http://www.icone.jor.br/bodytaka.htm; http://www.unitas.com.br/go/homesite/site_en.asp?pag=56, r12.02.2009

[444] Cf. http://www.skyscrapercity.com/archive/index.php/t-655062.html, r12.02.2009

[445] Cf for example to the project www.lancohills.com

[446] Shopping Tamboré is the first mall with an open concept in São Paulo. It features natural lighting, 10 anchor stores and 200 chain stores. (Cf. SIA 2007; Stevens 2007, Davidson 2004)

[447] The streets for example are constructed in various layers using the best pavement on the market (Cf. AlphaVille.com.br, r12.12.2008)

personnel use it. The next railway station lies outside the area, 1 kilometre to the South (Cf. above: Regional infrastructure).

Security infrastructure

Given the context of violence and fear of crime in the region, AlphaVille's security concept is eminently important. Indeed security infrastructure and self-management ('auto-management') are among the major strategic pillars of the undertaking. While every community is managing and maintaining its own security systems, the larger operations are organised and controlled by an umbrella group. (Cf. below: Residents, Governance) Here the majority of residents associations, independent of the developer, collaborate on an integrated security strategy. This includes physical barriers, technical surveillance systems, private security forces and the public police. Private, as well as public security forces operate a joint security base close to AlphaVille's 10th and 11th enclaves, between the two municipalities.[448] The fact that security makes up for the by far highest post of the operational budget of the residents associations underlines the relevance of the issue.[449]

Schools, Hospitals

Of exceptional quantity and quality is also the range of schools and hospitals. AlphaVille features more than 14 schools as well as multiple training centres and language institutes.[450] It is important to note that the presence of this rich framework of services was not programmed by conscious planning in advance. In contrast, the area lacked many essential facilities for a long time (Cf. Nagy 1989).[451] A post office opened only in the second half of the 1990s, the public police even more recently (Cf. Davidson). Third party entrepreneurs provided most of the demand – from schools to clinics.

Shopping

Nowadays the area features a wide range of options for shopping and services. Local facilities can be found in several service centres (Cento de Apoio) along the main road in-between the residential enclaves. The CDB area then features several large Shopping and Commercial facilities of regional relevance. Shopping Tamboré was the first mall typology with an open concept in the São Paulo region, featuring natural lightning, 10 anchor stores and 200 chain stores. Currently a new 120.000 square metre Iguatemi AlphaVille shopping mall emerges as part of the iTower project by MVT, JAG, and other renowned Brazilian real estate ventures. This will be the first Brazilian LEED certified mall.[452]

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[448] The umbrella organisation of the residents and business associations Sociedade Alphaville Tamboré (SIA) has invited the municipal administration of Santana de Parnaíba to open up a base for communal police on the front of AlphaVille's Residencial 11 and 12. The base is a central part of the integrated security concept of the area. It operates as service point for the public (local as well as the military) police (Cf. www.sia.org.br; r12.07.2007)

[449] According to the local statistics an average security vehicle travels 200 to 400 km each day (SIA 2003; www.sia.org.br r12.07.2007). An exemplary camera surveilance system for one neighbourhood can amount to BRL 170.000 (Ibidem).

[450] Among these are the Colégio Pueri Domus, Colégio Universitário, Colégio Pentágono, Escola Morumbi, Escola Fernão Gaivota, Escola Internacional de AlphaVille, FIEB, Mackenzie, UNIP, ESPM, Cursinhos Anglo, Objetivo (Universitário e Meta). Among the listed language institutes are for example: Yazigi, Cel-Lep, Berlitz, CNA, Skill, Wall Street, Wizard, Redbaloon, Futurekids, Anglo American. (Cf. www.tambore10.com.br, 02.07.2008)

[451] Research at the Univerisity of São Paulo found that back in the 1980s AlphaVille's residents missed parks and cultural facilities, as much as they complained about the quality of the public services in the area, e.g. telephone lines, sewage systems and retail facilities. In contrast the schools, security services and business services were highly approved. (Nagy 2989, Vol.2, pp88).

[452] Cf. Gazeta Mercantil: Iguatemi e Brascan entram na onda verde; from 16 Sept 2008;
http://indexet.gazetamercantil.com.br/arquivo/2008/09/16/19/Iguatemi-e-Brascan-entram-na-onda-verde.html,
r12.02.2009). (LEED = Leadership in Energy Efficient Design is a prominent US American environmental standard in the real estate sector.)

Neighbourhoods/ Clusters

As a modular system of highly controlled enclaves is a fundamental attribute of the project, the subsequent section aims to delineate the structural features of these building stones.

The AlphaVille-Tamboré cluster city is currently composed of 39 residential clusters (or 'residencials'). Each of the neighbourhoods represents an individual project. AlphaVille Urbanismo developed 18453, Tamboé SA 8454 and other companies the 13 projects other schemes[455], [456]

In addition to this basic set-up, today the AlphaVille-Tamboré area is becoming ever more consolidated and diverse. This occurs in a three-fold sense: a) more and more products are developed by third party developers (diversification of ownership), b) an increasing amount of schools, shops, medical clinics, etc. is added to the area (functional diversification), and c) the urban fabric undergoes a densification and verticalisation, for example through an increasing share of high-rises.[457]

Profile of Neighbourhoods

AlphaVille-Tamboré's average 'residencial' amounts to 50 hectares in size.[458] While smaller neighbourhoods such as Melville amount to 20 hectares, larger enclaves such as AlphaVille's Residencial 13 can grow up to a size of 80 hectares (Cf. SIA 2003, SAR13). The average enclave leaves place for two to three thousand residents, while upper income enclaves (e.g. Melville) feature an exclusive crowd of 800 to 1000 inhabitants. The respective lot numbers per community range from 70 in Uptown to 250 in Melville and 912 in AlpaVille 11 (cf. SIA 03). These numbers lead to average population densities of up to 50 persons per hectare – twice as much as many suburbs in the West.

Structure of Neighbourhoods

The typical AlphaVille 'residencial' is a gated enclave. Its morphology and physiognomy are based on the logic of the automobile. Indeed, local statistics count as many car movements per cluster as residents (Cf. SAI 2004). When walking occurs, it is usually only practised within the cluster. Enormous perimeter walls of 4 to 5 metres in height bound the neighbourhoods[459] and the access to the neighbourhoods is restricted to one point. These gates, however, are of the highest functional and symbolic importance. Indeed its features rather resemble the door of a private house that an urban entrance.[460]

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[453] The clusters of Alphaville Urbanismo SA comprise: Alphaville 1, Alphaville 2, Alphaville 3, Alphaville 4, Alphaville 5, Alphaville 6, Alphaville 8, Alphaville 9, Alphaville 10, Alphaville 11, Alphaville 12, Alphaville ZERO, AlphaVille Condé 1, AlphaVille Condé 2, Alpha Plus (Towers), Alphaville 18 do Forte, AlphaVille Burle Marx

[454] Tamboré SA has constructed and/or plans the following 8 neighbourhoods: Tamboré 1, Tamboré 2, Tamboré 3, Tamboré 4 (Villagio), Tamboré 5, Tamboré 6, Tamboré 10 – Terras Altas, Tamboré 11 – Terra de Provence

[455] Among the condomínios of other enterprises are: Melville 1, Melville 2, Bethaville 1, Bethaville 2, Valville 1, Valville 2, Gênesis 1, Gênesis 2, Vila Solaia, AlphaSítio, Vila Velha, Tarumã, Uptown House

[456] Cf. The list was generated along an own evaluation of real estate websites, i.q. Vivenda Imóveis at: vivendaalpha.com.r; http://www.hbcnconsultoria.com/pesquisa.asp; www.alphaimoveis.com/; www.alphahouse.com.br; www.alphavilleimoveis.com/; http://brasil.trovit.com/imoveis/; http://imoveis.imovelweb.com.br/; www.vilavelha.com.br/; www.valville.com.br/; r.15.05.2007)

[457] Several vertical projects have entered pre-implementation stage in 2009: Maxhaus, Ekilibrio, and Notting Hill (Cf. Trino, Simone: "Três empreendimentos são lançados na região"; In. Folhe de AlphaVille online; 16.01.2009, http://folhadealphaville.uol.com.br/artigo/?id=5654, r04.02.2009). AlphaVille Conde and 18 do Forte also comprise vertical apartment towers.

[458] The numbers correspond to estimates by EMBRAESP, 2003

[459] Only very recently transparent fences have been introduced at some less sensitive locations (e.g. at the Burle Marx project).

[460] The walls, in contrast, present themselves in homogeneous and repulsive prison-wall-aesthetics.

→ Illustration D-20: Example of a 'portaria criteriosa'

The gate accounts for the place where the respective neighbourhoods most distinguish themselves from each other publicly. More than a mere barrier, the entrances comprise ensembles with a gate, large plazas (to the exterior, as well as to the interior), as well as a display of the community's emblem. The design is geared to a driver's perspective. Most of AlphaVille's gates feature an unpretentious modern architectural language[461]. Nonetheless a particular local characteristic is the presence of separate entrances for residents, guests, as well as service personnel. The addition of three entry and three exit points results in impressive dimensions. Yet we have to remember that at most of the points several thousand cars have to be funnelled through each day and that the crush during the rush hours can be enormous.[462]

While the entry plaza, including the place behind the gate, for the most part remains the principal open space of the enclave, the interior is characterised by a dense mass of private lots and buildings.[463] A characteristic feature of AlphaVille's brand is that internal land use is exclusively reserved for housing and all communal facilities such as clubs, shops and other services are placed to the outside of the wall. (Cf. above).

The green space on the interior of the neighbourhoods is limited, with the exemption of small playgrounds for infants and individual vacant lots. It is primarily represented by private front gardens of the individual buildings as well as by trees along the streets. The neighbourhood AlphaVille 12, for example, features 27 percent open spaces. Of these 3 percent are used by recreational facilities while the remaining 24 percent belong to streets. Sidewalks exist here and there, but not as a continuous network. (Cf. Lemos 2004: 13).[464]

By and large the share of vacant lots is very low. Of course places under construction are the exception. The developers take great care to market every piece of the land for the best price possible, thus avoiding wasteland that may limit the representational value of the whole. As a consequence the neighbourhood schemes are usually developed piece by piece. A new neighbourhood is only started after the previous one has been fully developed.[465]

Parcelling

The 'residencials' with their packed interior structures, are usually ordered along a mix of rectangular and bent street patterns allowing for an easy circulation of vehicles. While the bended patterns are prominent at affluent neighbourhoods, the grid characterises enclaves with smaller allotments. *Cul-de-sac* arrangements are rather avoided. In contrast to the ever-increasing variety of the entire area, the interior structure and land use of the residential enclaves remains highly 'pacified' and homogeneous. The lot sizes within the 'residencials' are extremely consistent (cf. SIA 04). Most of the undertakings cater to only one specific customer group, be it rich academics, newly rich entrepreneurs, freelancers or lower middle class families.

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[461] These appear modest when compared to their thematic peers from Bumi Serpong Damai.

[462] Along a system that is referred to as a 'portaria criteriosa' the residents are allowed to drive in and out after a brief visual check, while the visitors are asked to identify themselves, to declare their destinations and have to wait for a confirming call (cf. Fiedler 2001).

[463] This is indeed a stark contrast to gated communities, as we know them from the US American context.

[464] Many walkways have been appropriated by the respective owners or never realised (own observations).

[465] Indeed this is a contrasting picture to the situation in BSD. (Cf. the first case sudy)

In any case both land development models have been implemented in a tabula rasa manner without taking care of the existing topographical and natural features and thus have extensively remodelled the existing landscape (including the flora).[466] [467]

Variation of housing type and size per cluster

The same homogeneous pattern is true for the building structures. All neighbourhoods are based on only two typologies, either the individual single-family villa in the 'loteamento horizontais', or the apartment tower: the 'condomínio verticais'. Cluster type communities as well as walk-up residential apartments are on the rise only recently. This can be seen as part of a new trend towards diversification.

Design codes

A central feature of all enclaves is the existence of private urban design codes. While few public regulations exist this leads to the development of highly controlled spaces of exceptional standards. The agreement on the codes and standards is a central part of the quality control strategy and an integral part of the purchase agreement. The code imposes the pattern of single family villas and provides the respective projects with an specific building envelope, including detailed guidelines for materials, maximum floor spaces, setbacks, maximum heights, roof forms, facade openings, planting standards, parking spaces and many other features. (Cf. below: Buildings)

In this manner the private design codes conserve the physical form of the neighbourhoods, making sure their final appearance remains stable for many years to come. This leads also to a stabilisation and securitisation of investments – a factor that is often overlooked. Yet while the elaborate local design codes lead to a highly harmonious and integral residential landscape of the 'residencials', a certain freedom is left to the individual lot owners. [468]

→ Illustration D-21: Examples from AlphaVille guideline brochure

Blocks and buildings

A third important physical dimension is the scale of blocks and buildings. This level is highly significant in particular from the perspective of the everyday life of the households. These focus their attention on the appearance of their front garden, the status of their neighbours and the quality of nearby schooling. [469]

Basic data

AlphaVille-Tamboré's residential landscape is characterised by the module of vast mansions featuring garages for two to three cars. The 90,000 residents inhabit more than 20,000 single-family structures. Typical block sizes normally range from 15 to 25, and sometimes up to 50 lots. The intricate circulation system of Burle Marx leads to linear blocks of 50 lots and more.

→ Illustration D-22: Examples of block structures
→ Illustration D-23: Characteristic urban fabric

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[466] This tabula rasa approach was mainly prevalent in the 1980s and 1990s when most of the neighbourhoods had been implemented. (Cf. Lemos 2004: 3, Cf. below. Developer, strategy)

[467] While Brazilian scholars such as Lemos (2004: 5) tend to draw parallels of the landscaping and monofunctional parcelling to North American models of the 1950s, European observers such as Fiedler (2001) emphasise indigenous Roman characteristics, or example a more dense and 'privatised' urban fabric with smaller lots and individual perimeter walls.

[468] Cf. Gonçalvez 1998: 167; Cf. below: Designers

[469] As Herbert Gans affirmed in 1969

The main block pattern facilitates the formation of rectangular plots. These typically feature sizes from 350 to 1000 square metres with longitudinal proportions of 1:3 to 1:4 – hence maximising the effectiveness of access and services. Almost all of the enclaves are densely packed and contain plots of a smaller size.[470] The general AlphaVille model comprises lots of 500 square metres with an estimated land coverage of 0,5 and a floor area ratio (FAR) of 1,0. (Cf. Gonçalvez 1998: 167)

The 11th 'residencial', for example, features compact lot sizes of 400 square metres and less. While small perimeter walls bound the lots on three sides, all buildings have an open garden-front that is 6 metres deep. This often contains the sidewalk, which has to be maintained by the residents. The fact that the lateral distances of the buildings on the lots are minimal leads the street frontage to appear almost closed. Only the free forms of the roofs, as well the individual designs of the front gardens muddle the picture. This leads to a the street view which is very different from São Paulo's inner city residential locations, such as Jardim Americas, or Alto de Pinheiros, where the individual lots are bounded by walls and fences. (Cf. Lemos 2004: 12)

The arrangement leaves only a private space of about 4 metres in the rear, an area that is typically reserved for the traditional barbecues (churrasquerias) that are permanently installed. Moreover, when the size allows, swimming pools are very prominent. Indeed the aerial views of Alphaville's neighbourhoods are dominated by the red colour of the roofs, the green of the gardens and the blue water of the pools.

→ Illustration D-24: Housing typologies

Housing style – cinematographic landscape roman style
While AlphaVille's residential enclaves are highly controlled, scope for local adaptation and appropriation remains a vital element of the scheme. The basic building envelope is fixed, but the individual owners are free to achieve the highest possible degree of personalisation. As a consequence AlphaVille's residential landscape features a remarkable variety of housing styles and fashions, whether modern, historicist, postmodern, colonial or vernacular.[471] The result is quite different from gated community standards in other locations and only pacified by the abundance of greenery. Combining two important observations of a Brazilian journalist and an Austrian urbanist, the result can be dubbed 'cinematographic mansions roman style'.[472]

Floor plans
AlphaVille's main housing typologies, the single-family villa and the high rise condominium, are renowned in Brazil for their particularly large floor plans. Consequently most of the houses feature an abundant amount of space. While the constructed areas amount to 50 to 100 percent of the lot, floor areas may reach 300 or even 800 square metres. Moreover Condominiums between 200 and 300 square metres are not unusual. Typical floor plans provide 3, 4 or even 5 dormitories, study rooms, a couple of kitchens, an extra TV room, a bath rooms for every dormitory, extra rooms for servants, and above all

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[470] Only Tamboré 1 and 2 feature lots of 1200 square metres catering to upper income classes. Of AlphaVille's neighbourhoods the 3rd residential stands out with lots above 1000 square metres, while the 8th enclave (and also Melville) have medium sized lots of 800-900 square metres. (Cf. SIA 2004)

[471] For a list of several ambitious architectural project cf. to the designer's section of this chapter

[472] Christian Carvalho Cruz dubbed the result cinematographic mansions ('mansões cinematográficas')[472] In addition the Austrian scholar Johannes Fielder (2001) stresses local the Roman character of the housing landscape: "The exceptional aggregation of singly family villas, the atrium-character of the back gardens, the paved surfaces, the solid construction, the neo-feudal floor plans are of a thoroughly of Roman origin. ... The house behind the wall is something natural in roman culture. (Cf. Fiedler 2001, translation by the author)

a swimming pool area. Apartment units usually have 90 and 180 square meters of private area, three or four bedrooms and two to three underground parking spaces.

Examples of neighbourhoods

In the following the Tamborè as well as the Genêsis projects will be discussed to illustrate the characteristics of AlphaVille Tamboré's residential neighbourhood ventures. Both of these projects are dwelling on the basic components of success provided by the model of AlphaVille. Yet while they are realised by other developers, they portray an array of distinct innovations.

1988: Tamboré – Cidade do Terceiro Milênio

In addition to AlphaVille, Tamboré is the second largest town-enterprise in the area. Located at the Western edge of the site, the undertaking was started in 1988. (Cf. above: Milestones) With eight neighbourhoods and various infrastructure and service amenities the project quickly developed into one essential component of the entire conglomerate. The venture was founded under the directorship of Arthur Castilho de Ulhôa Rodrigues, a member of the Penteado family. Rodrigues sought to explore new markets geared to the luxury as well as lower income segments. He was pioneering, for example the development of turnkey houses – a new concept for the Brazilian market. (Cf. Nagy 1989: 148)

Tamborè's visionary concept

Tamboré's first master plan comprised 1400 hectares and targeted a final population of 60,000 people. In contrast to AlphaVille, the entire scheme was carefully master planned. As the developers aimed to create an alternative to suburban sprawl, the Cidade Tamborè was labelled „Cidade do Terceiro Milênio", or "Cidade de Futuro". (Cf. Nagy 1989) Urban design has played a significant role in valorising the scheme. The basic concept was developed by the consultancy Placedesign[473] and no one less than Jamie Lerner, the famous mayor of the eco-city Curitiba, acted as a consultant.[474]

The numerous solutions to reconstruct the spatial coherence and orientation in the otherwise fragmented suburban context included a central boulevard as a main business axis, residential zones mixed with convenience and service areas, and a large park with preserved woodlands. The central axis was conceived not only as a trunk road, but also as a new longitudinal centre, aimed at bundling together a greater network of public spaces. In view of that, it was designed as representative grand boulevard along a Mediterranean theme and marked by a sequence of dense urban spaces ('praça'), dotted by public facilities, and lined by a large linear parks and walking zones – a place designed for a better orientation and sensual experience.[475] Accordingly, more than US$ 40m were invested towards state of the art infrastructure at the start of the project (Cf. Nagy 1989: 148ff). Additional measures integrated the scheme into the greater urban fabric via public transport. This was to be realised not only by conventional bus transport, but also via a futuristic hovercraft route on the Tietê River. (Cf. Nagy 1989)

→ Illustration D-25: Maps and illustrations of Tamboré

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[473] Placedesign is headed by José Moralez who graduated from Berkeley

[474] Cf. http://www.placedesign.com.br/condomínios/tambore.swf., r28.01.2009; (Cf. also below: Developers: Strategies)

[475] The conceptual thinking largely corresponds to Kevin Lynch's proposals to restore spatial coherence in the sprawling city. (Cf. Lynch 1969)

Unfortunately Tamboré's contemporary reality on the ground displays a stark contrast to the visionary ideas of the first hour. The plan has lost much of its visionary momentum. The artery lacks a vital integration with other major interregional infrastructural systems as the project can be accessed from a secondary place along AlphaVille's Avenida Yojiro Takaoka via a futuristic gate. On the interior only fragments of the central axis have been realised. Public transport has not even been part of the demand, let alone the visionary hovercraft concept.

Box 36: Tamboré 11 – Terras de Provence

The Tamboré 11 – Terras de Provence is a neighbourhood scheme that is capitalising on a combination of eco and thematic strategies. The enterprise at the Avenida Honório Álvares Penteado, possesses an area of about 55 hectares. 40 percent of the spaces have been reserved for nature and leisure. The 411 lots vary between 420 and 850 and square metres in size. Tamboré SA has invested BRL 30 million in the landscaping of a modern road network, state of the art underground sewage and electrical systems, as well as 4 metre high walls – along the well-established AlphaVille methodology. Renato Bianconi and the landscaping consultancy DW/Santana acted as the primary designers.[476] (Cf. also to → D-20)

1998: 'Projeto Gênesis' – An eco-sustainable gated community

The unique context of AlphaVille-Tamboré has produced a series of startling innovations[477] of local and global relevance. One of the most remarkable of these innovations is the Projeto Gênesis as one of the first 'green' gated communities worldwide.

Projeto Gênesis was developed by the Marcello Takaoka Empreendimentos (MVT) at the end of the 1990s. The time was marked by rising global environmental awareness and by a rising saturation of the environs with residential enclaves (Cf. above: Project milestones). The two-stage project has an aggregate size of about 350 hectares.[478] Though this makes it one of the smaller undertakings in the environs, the project is significant for having merged AlphaVille's concept of the 'residencial' with an eco-sustainable approach.

Gênesis I and II are located in a remote hilly section of the AlphaVille Tamboré cluster at an elevation of 800 metres above sea level, looking down upon the city. Notably the project reverses the common land use pattern of 75 percent built-up and 25 percent open space. As a result, only 16 percent of the total land will be urbanised and 75 percent remain green, and in addition the existing forest areas will be increased by 25 percent. 1064 residential lots[479] averaging a respective size of 500 square meters have been arranged on a site that was previously used as farmland[480]. The rest of the area will become a green preservation zone. (Cf. Amato 2004) The project will lavish a green area of around 600 square metres per resident (Ibidem).[481]

The undertaking does not intend (nor pretend) to provide a general solution for the problems of the greater region, but to optimise the urban typology of 'condomínios horizontais fechados' (e.g. gated communities). This prerequisite implies that to be sustain-

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[476] Cf. Press release of Tamboré S/A, at www.tambore.com.br.

[477] Mainly in combining the typology of enclave neighbourhoods with self-governance and state-of-the-art security tactics.

[478] 150 hectares for Gênesis I and 200 hectares for Gênesis II

[479] Gênesis I: 466; Gênesis II: 598

[480] Originally Atlantic rain forest dominated the landscape

[481] The developers highlight the fact that The World Health Organization (WHO) recommends a minimum of 12 m2 green areas per inhabitant and that the 250-hectare forest area will maintain an inventory of approximately 100,000 tons of CO2. (Cf. Takaoka 2004, 2006)

able it has to be geared to the better-educated and affluent populations. Hence, it lies in the nature of the matter that Gênesis is a costly endeavour. Conceivably, one of the most important achievements of the developer was to discover that the time for sustainability was ripe and that a critical mass of potential customers for this 'product' existed in São Paulo. In this context an extensive market analysis played an essential role. [482] Before starting the design, the developer surveyed 333 households in the region in order to identify their needs and desires.[483] The survey led to the development of a green-life-style scheme featuring a comprehensive leisure structure: from wood trekking, a sports and health club (with a 25-meter long heated pool), as well as a convenience store and business offices for the residents – many of whom are freelancers able to work from home. (Cf. Takaoka 2004) Whereas Takaoka also applies the successful practice of residents associations – one of AlphaVille's main pillars of success – the codes include duties for the sustainable preservation of the environment. (Ibidem) The broad strategy was confirmed when, after the project launch in 2004 the majority of the lots were sold in only three weeks.

Gênesis is based on a highly professional and experienced team that was assembled by the developer. Among the main business partners is the firm JAG Participação e Desenvolvimento Ltda.[484] The marketing can be traced back to the part of Victor Rebouças, head of Zen Communications Ltd., a large local marketing and media company.[485] Furthermore no one less than Reinaldo Pestana provided the planning and urban design services.[486] An interesting observation is that Gafisa, the very firm that in late 2006 bought the majority of AlphaVille Urbanismo's shares and that is today developing several new projects in the area, is part of the team of Gênesis II. (Cf. below: Developers)

While other real estate projects in the same area serve as a benchmark, Gênesis is guided by the quest to increase the quality of life for the residents, to become a profitable undertaking and at the same time to provide an added value for the environment. Consequently the strategy is divided into three main dimensions, an environmental, a social, as well as an economic one. The developers are convinced that increased investments lead to augmented returns.[487] At the same time their self-image is one of an enlightened entrepreneur.[488]

The environmental objective of Gênesis is to produce a result that features an improved not worsened environmental quality in comparison to the initial conditions. The scheme seeks to prevent the negative environmental impacts represented by a 'tabula rasa urbanism', which is a common standard in Brazil.[489] As a consequence various zones be-

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[482] Seeking to promote the project in the scientific community Takaoka and his colleagues write: "The quest for sustainability can only materialize through the realization that there exists a consumer market concerned about the future of the planet, able (and willing) to pay for the additional costs resulting from the attributes of quality incorporated into the development, to preserve and restore the environment. ..." (Amato, Takaoka, et al 2004)

[483] The survey conducted in 1998 by Datafolha, a renown-polling institute, "indicated that 84% of the inhabitants of the region consider it important to have forest reserves, and about 70% of them considered the existence of leisure and sport facilities important." (Takaoka 2004)

[484] JAG, is a joint venture of different companies under the directorship of John George De Carle Gottheiner. It appears that this firm provided the venture capital to the Gênesis project. Other joint ventures of JAG and Takaoka are the São Paolo Wellness Ltd. and the recent iTower projects.

[485] Zen is also the in-house agency of Takaoka's firm and of Tamboré Shopping.

[486] Pestana's office worked for all major developers in the AlphaVille-Tamboré area. (Cf. below: Developers: Design)

[487] "Green solutions cost money to implement, but this is not stopping many of the enlightened developers who believe the benefits of green far outweigh the costs." (Kellenberg, 2004 quoted in Amato 2004)

[488] This spirit is also underlined by the fact that Marcello Takaoka runs a 400 square kilometre ecological farm 280 kilometres from São Paulo, where he aims to develop concepts of ecological farming (http://www.takaoka.agr.br/website/nossaFazenda/, r12.01.2009).

[489] Takaoka (2004) lists the removal of vegetation, soil permeability, heat islands, contamination of surface and underground water, removal of natural water, air pollution caused by air and land transportation systems, visual pollution from urbanization and noise pollution as the negative aspects of this approach.

tween nature and culture, from a preserve to a park are created and only a fraction less than a fifth of the area is urbanised. The plan also seeks to increase the local biodiversity[490], to optimise the use of local resources[491] and to enhance C02 storage capacities[492].

The undertaking's social dimension comprises the creation of new jobs programs[493], the inclusion of various stakeholder groups[494], as well as the dissemination and discussion of the results in a wider public through the dissemination of results and good practices (Cf. Takaoka 2004).[495] Importantly, the residents and owners associations will be responsible for maintaining the project and implementing the codes.[496]

When it comes to the economic level, the Gênesis venture aims to produce profits comparable to the benchmark projects in the environs. Return rates are expected to reach 25 percent and primary investments are supposed to pay off in less than 3.5 years.[497] As a matter of fact the scheme outperformed all expectations resulting in such as a high demand. Most of the lots were sold before implementation started. Prices exceeded comparable benchmarks at 10 percent and the value of the land experienced an appreciation of another 50 percent. (Cf. Amato 2004)

Indeed, Gênesis accomplishes the goal of becoming an important national benchmark of eco-sustainable residential enclaves, while still increasing overall profits (Cf. Campos 2007). This success was achieved by sensing the right moment, the formation of the right team, and the application of the right set of strategies. The interdisciplinary team that developed the project pioneers "...the development of an innovative paradigm-setting product in the Brazilian realtors' market" (Amato 2004) and promotes eco-friendly and sustainable life styles among Brazilian elites. Transfer of knowledge is also important, as many state-of-the-art solutions and best practices are imported from other countries (e.g. US and Europe). The achievement is confirmed as other developers start to duplicate the scheme, most notably AlphaVille Urbanismo in its Burle Marx project. Not least the exceptional quality of the project is approved by various recognitions and awards – from the Latin American Development Bank, the Bavarian TÜV and the Forest Stewardship Council.[498] (Cf. → D-33)

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[490] The "project of enrichment planting of tree species was developed with an expected number of at least 120 tree species per hectare... Special crossings were built for animals to move through the forests, and along these "corridors of biodiversity..." (Takaoka 2004)

[491] "The project's water resources are managed in order to meet the estimated water demand of 1328 cubic metres per day. Of this total, 426 cubic metres per day come from underground aquifers, and 902 cubic metres per day from a reservoir that is recharged by the spring runoff." (Takaoka 2004)

[492] "In the forested areas (Atlantic rainforest), CO2 fixing is around 26-37 tons per hectare per year during the period of plant growth. Considering the entire area to be reforested and preserved of around 250 hectare, an inventory of approximately 100.000 tons of CO2 will be maintained in the long term..." (Takaoka 2004)

[493] The developers write in a scientific article: The works to implement the Gênesis I Project generated nearly 200 direct jobs in average, for a 24-month period. Considering that each direct job generated four other indirect ones, there were more than 1000 new jobs per month over the 24-month work period for each residential condominium. That is higher than a normal urban land development by 10%... the environmental processes that began at an early stage of the project will be generating jobs for many years more... (Takaoka 2004)

[494] From Universities, to NGO's, to future residents, to employees

[495] The developers also stress the fact that the project would bring increased wealth to the region. (Ibidem)

[496] "The development takes special care of the security and preservation of the environment through: (i) planned occupation of the region: (ii) steady watch of the project areas to avoid squatters (including hunters), and uncontrolled vegetal extractivism, and (iii) environmental education programs" (Amato 2004).

[497] In this context the developers list the following quality indicators for Gênesis I: "1) 25,2 percent domestic return rate; 2) 25,8 percent result on the sales volume; 3) 41-month primary payback; 4) 12 million investment in "Reais", or 13,8 percent VGV, which is considered low because the land was bought by the developer." (Amato 2004)

[498] Among the most important of these are: Tear: the programme "Tecendo Redes Sustentáveis" (weaving sustainable nets) by the Latin American Development Bank rewards small and medium sized businesses for their social and environmental efforts; the NBR ISO 14001/ BRTÜVA certificate confirming the neutralisation of 10.390 tons of C02 and was issued by the German TÜV (Technical Controlling Agency). ETHOS, a reward for the achievements in International Social Responsibility (ISO 26000); as well as the renowned FSC Certificate SW-COC-1805 for smart wood certified forestry by the Forest Stewardship Council. In addition, both Gênesis I and II are certified by the Selo AELO the Association of São Paulo's realtors (Associação das Empresas de Loteamento e Desenvolvimento Urbano do Estado de São Paulo).

Critical remarks

While the achievements of Gênesis as an innovative product in the real estate field are unquestionable, this section cannot be concluded without pointing out some contradictions which cast a shadow on their otherwise unstained and triumphant picture.[499]

In the final analysis from a regional perspective it is questionable whether a project in an ecologically sensitive area of this quality should have been approved in the first instance, no matter how careful and sensitive it proceeds. It is also questionable whether homogeneous low-density schemes of eco-friendly villas, which are by nature highly dependent on the use of individual transport, can ever really be eco-friendly and sustainable. Yet probably the regulatory void of the local governance framework has to take more of the blame than the 'ignorant' developers acting along their own motives and operational logic.

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[499] Indeed, the fact that some of these contradictions and dilemmas have been omitted in the publications of the developer's team, points to a rhetorical approach. It thus reduces the scientific value of the work. What has been also 'overlooked' is the relationship to the ecogênesis approach of the Brazilian landscape designer Fernando Chacel (2001).

Summary

Regional context

AlphaVille-Tamboré emerges on an urban frontier on a landscape of rolling hills that used to be covered by farmland, as well as by the Atlantic forest (Mata Atlântica). The project spans the area between a large highway (Castello Branco), a major River (Tietê), and the natural Hills and negotiates the environment of a shambolic 'post-industrial' urban landscape.

The AlphaVille-Tamboré cluster is a unique phenomenon in the São Paulo metro region and beyond. No other metropolitan region of the country contains a privately planned city of this size and variety. The project's site is situated on the terrain of two of São Paulo's suburban municipalities: Barueri, as well as Santana do Parnaíba. While AlphaVille-Tamboré's size is rather small on a regional scale – the projects amounts to less than 1/200 of the regional population – the location is among the most important economic centres of the country. It is aggressively marketed as a Brazilian Edge City. The levels of wealth represented by the scheme were previously common only in some of the São Paulo's central districts. One of the results of AlphaVille's success is that today a growing number of similar typologies cluster at the site and its environs. Moreover a significant amount of these undertakings are geared to the lower income sector.

AlphaVille-Tamboré is well connected to all major regional centres. The distance to São Paulo's geographical point zero at the Praça da Sé totals 23 kilometres. Other important centres of the region can be reached by a trip of 18 to 30 kilometres. The main means of access to the location, as well as the initial trigger of its development is the Castello Branco expressway. The area is well connected to public transport networks (bus and train). However, 'only' the supporting populations are using these (e.g. maids, workers). Despite the fact that the vicinity offers an abundant array of natural amenities (e.g. the river, the forest, as well as an ecological park) the project generally turns its back on these.

Basic services such as water and electricity come from public networks, while in the domains of transport, security, communications, health care and education, parallel private as well as public alternatives are available. The trend points to a boom of private systems. Nevertheless, AlphaVille's residents are also very sensitive about the elimination of public networks. When access from the public expressway was blocked in favour of a new toll road, the population reacted with resistance and protest.

Local context

AlphaVille-Tamboré engrosses an area of roughly 12 by 3 kilometres (or 3600 hectares). The project of AlphaVille comprises the majority of this (1400 hectares), while Tamboré amounts to 1000 hectares. Several additional third-party developments make up the remaining area. Despite the fact that these days the project has reached a fairly mature and advanced stage, any distinct end is excluded by the very concept of the scheme. Only the neighbourhood modules are permanently fixed once completed, other parts of the scheme are subject to a process of permanent modification, upgrade and change.

Indeed, the structure of the scheme is best understood as the result of a basic set of rules, rather than of a geometric master plan. From this perspective the scheme is in essence a heterogeneous conglomerate of standardised modules (e.g. residential and commercial enclaves), resulting in a structure of a higher urban complexity. Whereas com-

mercial land uses dominate the well-connected areas to the South, residential zones are prevailing in the North.

AlphaVille-Tamboré's structure is fundamentally based on the underlying logic of individual transport. The abstract structural form of the project resembles of a bunch of grapes that is serviced by central trunks. This system is most visible in the AlphaVille scheme, where a central traffic spine runs through the whole terrain and taps the neighbourhood enclaves. The artery is not a result of a central plan; its bending and twisting form rather developed through time, representing some general rules, rather than a geometric order. As the road changes from an urban boulevard to a passageway moving through a labyrinth of walls and gates to an open country road, its trajectory delineates a historical timeline of the project. A passage through the residential areas is not only marked by the defence-elements of the neighbourhoods, it is also characterised by an increasing amount of service facilities.

The typological alphabet of AlphaVille-Tamboré is essentially based on three typologies: high-rise structures, detached villas and low-rise commercial structures. The fact that these typologies are never mixed, leads to a pattern of homogeneous patches. As a result AlphaVille-Tamboré's downtown area with its high-rise buildings stands in a stark contrast to the low-rise residential zones, while both of these differ significantly from the commercial and industrial area. This third typology includes two large regional malls as well as several hundred other commercial facilities, which cluster mainly to the East of the downtown area.

AlphaVille's central business district is known as one of the first and most significant Brazilian Edge Cities. It represents one of the oldest and most significant office agglomerations in São Paulo's region. The area is organised by an open rectangular circulation system. It encompasses about 100 skyscrapers, 120.000 office jobs, half a thousand businesses and several hundred apartments. Among the illustrious tenants are various international corporations, such as Hewlett Packard, Nike, or Dupont and a number of local TV stations. Remarkably, one part of the central area was fashioned as a low-rise fabric comprising a pedestrianised service centre for small businesses (Centro de Apoio). However, the tiny returns of this early experiment are less prominent among the developers today. In contrast, the valorisation process of the district keeps going and is reaching a new momentum. Several mega superblock schemes of Asian dimensions, with names such as iTower, Brascan Plaza, AlphaSquare, or Tiner-Videolar, are presently in the pipeline.

AlphaVille-Tamboré distinguishes itself from its surroundings by the exceptional infrastructure and the wide range of services it offers. Indeed, the locale features all essential infrastructure and services that characterise a fully-fledged city. Its roads, utilities, as well the numerous service facilities (hospitals, schools, shopping centres, hotels etc) feature state-of-the-art standards equal to most Western countries. AlphaVille's streets, for example are composed of several layers, the utilities are laid underground, some neighbourhoods feature decentralised sewage facilities, renowned schools have branches in the area, and new shopping malls are certified along western energy and design standards (LEED). Of particular importance is also the integrated security concept (composed of physical barriers, technical surveillance systems and private security forces). On the other hand the developers did not anticipate many of the facilities, with a large number of extra schools, shops, clinics and offices gradually migrating to the area.

It is also worth mentioning that public facilities such as libraries, museums, theatres or communal swimming pools are absent. Some representative public spaces and small

lunchtime parks exist in the downtown area. An ecological preserve provided by the public has been systematically insulated and neglected.

Neighbourhoods

As AlphaVille is based on a system of urban modules, neighbourhoods are the fundamental elements of the scheme. Currently 39 residential clusters exist; AlphaVille Urbanismo completed half of these, Tamboré S.A. realised 8, and other enterprises 13 projects.[500]

An average horizontal residential enclave (Residencial - singular) comprises about 50 hectares (The range is between 20 and 80 hectares). In this context, the lot numbers per neighbourhood may fluctuate from 80 to 1000, in relation to the proportions of the neighbourhood and the size of the respective lots. As a result resident numbers per enclave amount to an average of 1500 people (while the crowd of service staff may add up to another 500 individuals). Notably this leads to relatively high average densities of 50 people per hectare – a total that equals some Western inner city locations and is three to four times as much as suburban neighbourhoods in the West.

Gates

A standard AlphaVille style Residencial is a gated enclave geared to automobiles. The movement of cars per day leaving and entering the neighbourhoods roughly equals the total amount of the residents. A Residencial is surrounded by the significant structure of a 4-5 metre high perimeter wall. Its access is generally restricted to only one point. In contrast to the appearance of the wall, this entry point is of highest functional and symbolic importance. The opening marks a stark transition between the public and private spheres, as much as the classical door of a traditional city house. As a result the access points are formed as ensembles, composed of the gate itself, representative entry plazas with lush landscaping (both to the interior and to the exterior of the gate), as well an array of signs and images geared to the perception of the motorist.

The gates are mostly designed in a modern architectural style. The majority are formal and rather unpretentious, at least the ones built from the 1970s to the 1990s. In spite of this, their very distinct feature is functional, as they comprise various entrances for residents, visitors, as well as service staff ('portaria criteriosa'), a characteristic that is leading to remarkable dimensions at particular locations.

Neighbourhoods

While the entry plaza principally remains the largest open space of the neighbourhood, the interior of the 'usual' quarter is characterised by an unexpectedly dense mass of private lots and buildings. These generally make up for two thirds of the land use. Street spaces comprise another quarter. The entry plaza as well as some scattered playgrounds makes up a tiny remainder of 9 percent. The high amount of green is secured by the mandatory private front gardens. In addition collective facilities are a must for each of the neighbourhood ventures. Yet, importantly, these are always placed to the outside of the walls, making up an important principle of the AlphaVille brand. In addition, small centres along the main road provide local services.

The neighbourhoods of AlphaVille-Tamboré are highly monofunctional and uniform. Despite an increasing variety of urban typologies in the greater area, homogeneity is a distinct and persistent feature at the neighbourhood level. As most of the enclaves cater for specific customer groups, almost no variation exists among the land uses, lot sizes,

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[500] Indeed, these days a memorable trend towards a diversification of stakeholders, functions, and typologies can be observed – albeit the fact that the tendency remains confined to a limited 'toolbox' of typologies (e.g. villas or high-rises) and only if looking at a scale of several associated modules.

housing typologies, or their cost. While the neighbourhood's street patterns and the parcelling types range from a curved layout to a raster design, depending on the socioeconomic status of the target population, by no means are they ever mixed within one and the same cluster. A greater blend of lot sizes, building styles (but not land uses) exists only in some of the luxury neighbourhoods.

In spite of this, the scale of the individual buildings once more provides a high degree of diversity. As most of the individual buildings are individually designed, a great variation of the forms and appearances of the particular villas can be observed. This situation is changing at the moment, as an increasing quantity of homes are being constructed as turn key projects 'cut from the same cloth'.

Indeed, the existence and implementation of local 'private' design regulations is among the major pillars of AlphaVille's exceptional success and a central feature behind the superior formal integrity of the neighbourhoods. Whereas design codes are a central part of the purchase contract, they secure homogeneity and high standards by providing a specific building envelope, including detailed guidelines for materials, maximum floor spaces, setbacks, maximum heights, roof forms, facade openings, planting standards, parking spaces and many other features.

Examples

The Tamboré as well as the Genêsis projects illustrate some major characteristics of AlphaVille-Tamboré's residential neighbourhood ventures. While both of these projects dwell on the basic components of success provided by the model of AlphaVille, they also portray an interesting array of additional innovations.

Tamboré

Tamboré is the second largest real estate undertaking in the area. Started in 1988, it presently features eight residential enclaves, as well as several important infrastructure and service facilities. The scheme is notable for having developed new products geared to the luxury as well as lower income segments. In this context several luxury neighbourhoods with gigantic lots and extensive landscaping, as well as some clusters with small lots and turnkey houses have been developed.

Members of the Penteado family, the clan that was controlling the entire environs in the past, developed the project. Tamboré was planned along a master plan right from the beginning – a huge contrast to AlphaVille, which developed without a holistic plan. This plan comprised 1400 hectares, and targeted a final population of 60,000 people.

Indeed, far from being a technical manual, Tamboré's plan was a visionary document. It was co-developed by no less than Curitiba's former mayor and architect Jaime Lerner. The strategy intended to address some of the major contradictions, which are usually produced by private urban development. Accordingly Lerner's tactics sought to devise various ways of injecting a strong urban spirit to this 'Cidade do Futuro', or 'Cidade do Terceiro Milênio'. Among the core elements of the idea was a new linear centre. This consisted of a main urban boulevard, flanked by office blocks and structured by a rhythm of open squares, monuments and public buildings. Lerner also sought to reconnect the new district to São Paulo's public transportation networks. The gesture materialised as a large public bus terminal at the eastern end of the boulevard. Furthermore, he proposed a new futuristic hovercraft service to São Paulo's centre along the Tietê River, epitomising the opposite of the ordinary rational pragmatism of real estate developers.

Sadly, but not unexpectedly, few of Lerner's visionary ideas have been implemented. At present the usual fabric of residential enclaves dominates the place, and only fragments of the central boulevard exist. A noteworthy example of a recent neighbourhood

representing a 'genuine' demand is Tamboré 11. The gated luxury enclave dubbed 'Terras de Provence' is capitalising on the eco-movement as well on a French lifestyle theme.

Projeto Gênesis

At present Marcello Takaoka's 'Projeto Gênesis' is among the far-reaching projects in the area. The two-stage project of about 350 hectares was initiated by the end of the 1990s. It combines AlphaVille's concept of the Residencial with an eco-sustainable strategy and operates along a holistic development concept, state-of-the-art eco technologies, and sophisticated life style marketing. The result is one of the first green, gated communities worldwide.

The project basically inverts AlphaVille's regular land use pattern by featuring 75 percent open spaces and only 25 percent urbanised land. Notably the strategy seeks to save and reforest significant amounts of the former forest, to provide an abundant amount of outdoor infrastructure inside the walls, and even to train the new residents to protect the area. The success of the scheme was not only confirmed by high media attention and a number of awards, it was also verified by the fact that the first phase (with 466 lots) was sold out within three weeks.

Undeniably, the Gênesis project can be seen as a benchmark model for new peripheral settlements in the environs and beyond. It became an important precursor of paradigm change for the entire real estate sector, as it was reflected by AlphaVille's neighbourhood of 'Burle Marx' and others. In spite of this, some critical contradictions remain. These demonstrate the limitations of the private sector: The project consumes an ecologically unique area, by a density that is rather rural than urban; Its residents belong to an highly educated ecologically minded minority; In addition it is hard to reach and depends on cars. Consequently it can be questioned whether this scheme can contribute to resolve problems of society at a larger scale. Hence to the observer of a larger context, Gênesis reveals, that in contrast to the exaggerated claims of the developer, the ideals of ecology, economy, and social justice may remain irreconcilable. Indeed, from this perspective the whole venture surfaces as an exceptionally successful marketing operation. Yet, it also becomes evident that most probably the deficient framework of public regulations and their missing enforcement has to be blamed most for the dilemma.

Blocks and buildings

The ultimate motive for people coming to AphaVille-Tamboré is a life in a private suburban home. As a result 85 percent of the nearly 100,000 residents reside in single-family villas (and only a relative minority in the high rise condominiums). That is also why detached mansions dominate a large part of the landscape, the green of their private gardens, as well as the garages and parking spaces. At the same time as open circulation systems (rectangular or bended) are the preferred mode of circulation in the residential schemes, the properties are mostly grouped in blocks between 12 and 50 entities. Following principles of efficiency, the lots are typically longitudinal in shape with the shorter side facing the street, and their size may vary between 350 to 1400 square metres. In spite of that, lots of less than 600 square metres with a maximum land coverage of 50 percent and a floor area ratio of 1,0 account for the norm.

For this reason, most of AlphaVille's blocks are densely packed. This results in a fairly coherent street frontage, and a stark division of the properties in a representative front and a private rear garden. While the frontage is dominated by representative landscaping and abundant parking lots, the rear contains a 'churrasqueira' and whenever possible also the obligatory swimming pool. Nonetheless, the absence of walls in the front leads to a picture that is drastically different from other residential neighbourhoods.

AlphaVille's urban landscape features a remarkable amount of all imaginable housing styles and fashions. The respective design codes leave a relatively high degree of freedom in regard to the final appearance of the house. However, while the basic typology (e.g. the suburban one family mansion) remains homogeneous, the resulting category can be circumscribed as the 'vila cinematográfica', albeit with a Roman (as opposed to an Anglo-Saxon) inclination. At the same time as representational aspects constitute the major motives of design, many local details, such as plants, walls or the churrasqueira remain. Typical are also the exceptionally large floor plans of the mansions (as well as high rise condominiums), which may reach 300 square metres and more (a common norm for Brazilian upper middle classes).

Population –
Middle class 'parentela'

After having gained a good understanding of AlpaVille-Tamboré's spatial and temporal context, the national and regional setting, the sequence of historic milestones, its predecessors, and the major aspects of the town's morphology, the next chapter turns to the reality of the resident and user.

Introducing the German edition of Hernert Gans' famous investigation of the Levittowners (1967) Lucius Burghardt, a Swiss-German urban sociologist, writes that it is not primarily the house, or the garden, or the neighbours house of a prospective buyer that drives the buyer's view. He claims that it is rather the imagination of the socio-economic potentials of the side, such as the neighbour's family, the main denomination of the surrounding, his daily route to work, the school system etc. that drives the process of settling in one area or another. (Cf. Gans 1969)

What remains valid in any case is that a good understanding of the resident, who is at the same time the consumer and also the producer of his place, is among the most central elements of a holistic analysis, as it is represented by this endeavour. Consequently the subsequent section firstly aims to present a profile of AlphaVille's residents, secondly, to discuss their motives and aspirations, and thirdly to illuminate some important strategies of social organisation. In this context it is of particular importance to bring to the fore the qualities and practices of AlphaVille's residents that make them different from other comparable populations.

Population profile

Table 34: Key indicators of AlphaVille-Tamboré's population

Population (resident, 2008)	90.000 persons
Day time population	150.000 persons (mainly in the downtown area)
Capacity	No final target was set
Share of greater São Paulo's population	0,5 percent
Domestic staff	~ 25.000
Main target groups	Upper Middle and Upper Income Groups, Starter Families
Share of middle and higher income groups	100 (with the exemption of service personnel)
Share of 'unplanned population'	Zero
Share of formal jobs	100 percent (60 percent in Brazil)
HDI of local Municipality	0.83 (compared to 0,6 in North Brazil)
Predominant occupation	Entrepreneurship, white collar jobs, ('colarinho e gravata')
Estimated household income	> 20 minimum salaries/ month (~ 3600 US$), 14 percent of Brazilians *

Ethnicity	Predominantly white
Share of population living and working in the place	~ 30 percent
Homeownership rates	~ 95 percent
Main motivation	1) Security, 2) comfort, 3) financial safety
Gini Index of Santana de Parnaíba (São Paulo)	0,73 (0,59)
Mode of local self-management	Neighbourhood Associations as non-for profit organs with mandatory membership
Voting rights in the associations	Depending on quantity of properties owned

*1 MS ~ 160 US$ p.m.

Planned population

AlphaVille-Tamboré has emerged without a final master plan in mind, neither by the developer, nor by the relevant authority. The final population of the project is limited only to the maximum carrying capacity of the site. Assuming that 3600 hectares can be urbanised with an average density of 50 persons per hectare[501] the capacity of the area amount to 180.000 residents.

Preexisting population

In contrast to Bumi Serpong Damai or Navi Mumbai the site had no significant preexisting population that would play an important role. Starting with the colonial era, existing populations have always been 'efficiently' removed. As a consequence no rehabilitation or resettlement schemes have been necessary. Prior to the development of the site, the area was used mainly as a farm, the Fazenda Tamborè. While it is reported that a population of Japanese migrants lived on the land, these had to leave the site when the Penteado family re-appropriated the land several years before development began in 1966. (Cf. above: Milestones; Cf. Revista Isto É, SP, 2005)

Average income

The residents of AlphaVille-Tamboré belong to an elite-segment of the upper-middle class as well as the upper class. They earn in excess of 20 times the minimal salary, belonging to the upper income quintile of the Brazilians.[502] Interviewed by the Brazilian Association of Corporate Client Relations (Associacao Brasileira Das Relacoes Empresa Cliente) Marcelo Puntel, AlphaVille's marketing directors, as well as Fábio Kuchkarian public relations officer of the firm, reassure that the brand of AlphaVille is geared at São Paulo's higher income populations, and is now one of the most successful providers of exclusive housing projects in Brazil. (Cf. Abrarec 2006)

Education profile

AlphaVille-Tamboré is not only among the richest but also the most developed places in Brazil. Barueri's and Santana de Parnaíba range among the top 5 percent Brazilian Municipalities with a Human Development Index well above 0,83, with exceptionally high marks for educational levels.[503]

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[501] Barueri has 36, New Delhi has 75, Shenzhen 58, and Irvine 12 persons per hectare

[502] It was estimated above that pricing of the properties require average income well above 20 times an average Brazilian salary. Davidson (2004), or Stevens (2007) who estimate an average monthly income of 3.000 to 5000 US Dollars confirmed this amount.

[503] Cf. http://www.pnud.org.br/atlas/, r.02.02.2009). In contrast, some municipalities in the Northern part of the country feature HDI's of less than 0,6. (Cf. above: Context, Brazil, inequality)

Variation per neighbourhood

The variation of incomes of the residents within the residential enclaves is rather low. The homogeneous 'product' of the 'residencial' implies that each community represents people of analogous income. This trend is further strengthened by the fact that the enclaves are developed as distinct projects at a certain time.

Occupation

AlphaVille-Tamboré's population belongs to an elite of highly educated knowledge workers[504], freelancers, artists and entrepreneurs. Some stars and celebrities (actors, singers, TV personalities) are also among the residents. (Cf. Davidson 2004)[505][506]

Ratio of residential population, working population

The large daytime population of 140.000 people, mostly office workers, exceeds 80.000 permanent residents by 175 percent.[507] This combined intelligentsia contributes a share of more than 65 percent of the municipal revenues[508] and triggered a boom in the municipalities of Barueri as well as Santana de Parnaíba. These became the fastest growing and most lucrative boroughs in the country. Barueri features steep economic growth rates with a specific emphasis on the informational economy, trade and financial mediation.[509] Significantly in 2005 Barueri's annual GDP per person was 16 times that of the neighbouring municipality of Carapicuíba.[510]

Main age segment of buyers

As in many other examples worldwide, AlphaVille-Tamboré's residential ventures are mainly targeting young starter families with kids, who long for a harmonious environment, secure outdoor space and stable investments. (Davidson 2004, Nagy 1989)

Homeownership

Brazilians are a society of homeowners. AlphaVilleTamboré is no exception and is also based on this premise. Whether favela or gated community, home ownership rates exceed the 80 percent mark in most urban areas. In the previous framework of slavery, migration and feudalism only few were privileged enough to possess own land. Yet, as a result of rising urbanisation, the home ownership rates in the 20th century have seen a steep increase. In São Paulo, for example, the amount of residents in possession of their own house rose from 19 percent in 1920 to 69 percent in 2000. And indeed, some researchers describe this as an important element in the emancipation and social development of the country.[511]

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[504] According to Kato (2006: 10) 90 to 95 percent of the affluent residents of São Paulo's southwestern sector, of which AlphaVille-Tamboré is an extended part, have a higher education, speak at least on foreign language and are employed in knowledge intensive industries.

[505] Among the star residents with a residence in AlphaVille are: Eliana, Chitãozinho & Chororó, Milton Neves, Cafú, Celso Portiolli, Luciana Gimenez (Cf. http://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alphaville_(condom%C3%Adnio, r06.04.2009)

[506] The journalist Colin Brayton (2007) claims in his blog that the Colombian drug lord Abadia was living (and hiding) in one of the gated communities.

[507] The enormous numbers of 'invisible' services personnel, such as maids, security guards, gardeners do not appear in the official statistics.

[508] Cf. Cruz 2003 quoting Renato Albuqerke

[509] The city is the 9th richest place on Brazil in 2005, surpassing many other state capitals and large metropolises and contributing to a national share in GDP of 1 percent. Other cities with several million residents such as Porto Allegre, or Salvador contributed a roughly equal amount to the national GDP. The 50 times more populous Metropolitain Region of São Paulo contributed 12,5 percent of the national GDP (Cf.
http://www.ibge.gov.br/english/presidencia/noticias/noticia_visualiza.php?id_noticia=1061&id_pagina=, r04.02.2009)

[510] While Barueri's share amounted to BRL 87.338, the share of a resident of Santana de Parnaíba amounted to BRL 22.107. In contrast the neighbouring working class suburb ob Carapicuíba contributed with an average sum of BRL 5.004 (Cf. IBGEI 2005, at http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/estatistica/economia/pibmunicipios/2005/tab01.pdf, r02.02.2009)

[511] Holston and Caldeira 2008 stress the fact that the process of 'autoconstruction' transformed the Brazilian working poor into homeowners in only one generation. (Cf. above: Context)

Ethnic composition

While no official data on the ethnic composition area was found, it can be safely presumed that AlphaVille represents a high share of white residents, as it is an enclave of rich residents.[512] This picture presumably changes when the low-key service workers; invisible legions of maids, guards and gardeners are taken into regard.

Consumption patterns

AlphaVille's Bourgeois residents seek to fulfil their potentials for reproduction, representation and above all also for consumption. Accordingly the Jortnal Istoé Dinheiro estimated that the area carried an annual consumption potential of BRL 1,4 billion per year. (Cf. Cruz 2003) The area's typical resident belongs to the upper and middle classes, one with 'colarinho e gravata', i.e. he is wearing a tie while he has a while collar job. His daily life is based on a car and the commute between work, home, the club, the children's school, etc. Moreover being middle class in Brazil also means that most of the households put a great emphasis on large amounts of living space with multiple dormitories. They are also far more likely than their European and American counterparts to employ domestic servants.[513]

Indeed, AlphaVille's residents live a suburban life based on the car. Despite the fact that the area features twice as many jobs as residents, the day-by-day traffic jams illustrate that many people commute to other places, while others come into AlphaVille's Centro Empreserial – a pattern characteristic for many regions worldwide. Children, on the other hand find enough educational options and remain in the area.

Motives, values and political orientation of the target groups

Upper-middle class populations are the main clients buying a residence in AlphaVille-Tamboré. Among the motives to relocate to a guarded condominium, three main ones stand out: physical security, comfort, and financial security.[514]

Violence and Angst

Many observers agree that in the Brazilian context angst, insecurity and crime have to be regarded as the major drivers of a renaissance of gated enclaves. Unsurprisingly security services may amount to 80 percent of the maintenance cost of a neighbourhood (Cf. SIA 2006). Some trace this phenomenon to medieval feudalistic traditions (Cf. Fiedler 2001), others relate it to a state paralyzed by the dynamics of neoliberal-globalisation.[515] In any case AlphaVille can be regarded as an early bottom-up model that addresses middle-class insecurity (Cf. Caldeira 2000, Fitzpatrick 2003, Stephens 2007, et al).

The fear of crime forms a significant aspect of daily life of São Paulo's residents. [516] AlphaVille-Tamboré employs one security guard for every 30 to 50 residents, resulting to a permanent number of 400 and 500 security guards in the area (occasionally amounting

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[512] This claim is substantiated by personal observations and interviews, as well as backed up by the general data on the ethnic composition of various income classes. (Cf. above: Context: Culture: Ethnicity: the average whites' incomes are 250 percent greater than nonwhites).

[513] According to 'Countries and their Cultures', in Brazil people who work with their hands are, by definition, not middle class. It is inappropriate for a middle-class housewife to get down on her knees to scrub the floor (Cf. http://www.everyculture.com/Bo-Co/Brazil.html, r.04.01.2008.)

[514] The order of the relevance of these motives was confirmed by secondary literature and by the author's interviews and observations.

[515] Cf. www.ignacioparis.org/?tag=violencia, r6.02.2009

[516] Davidson (2004) reminds us that "The violence is real, and it is not just bourgeois classes who want these things." (Davidson 2004 quoting Pasternak; Cf. also above: Context, São Paulo, Risk framework)

to a staff of more than 50 persons per neighbourhood)[517]. 4.5 metre walls, sophisticated surveillance systems, a large fleet of vehicles and close collaborations with the public police result in greatly lowered crime rates (at least in regard to the non-domestic sphere). Yet the presence of the extensive security apparatus and the extremely high presence of the crime reports in the everyday media[518] point to the fact that the levels of angst are a serious organising force of daily life.

Yet, while the area seems to be well protected against crimes committed by foreign intruders, the myriads of security forces remain helpless when it comes to violence and crime generated from within. AlphaVille-Tamboré's neighbourhoods are riddle by high rates of household violence as well as drug-criminality, and petty crimes persist in accordance with the habits of newly rich and bourgeois middle class populations.

The urban fabric turns out to be a hostile environment to youngsters in particular. Gonçalves (1997) remarks "the same walls that protect the residents from the urban violence don't protect them from their own children."[519] Informal meeting points are frequently dissolved as soon as they emerge and the social homogeneity, total control, and the lack of spaces for appropriation lead to the fact that an increasing amount of teenagers break out to the inner city. (Cf. Fieldler 2001 quoting Caldeira 2000)

Moreover, a false sense of security triggers high levels of traffic accidents, as it leads to inattention and carelessness. Theresa Caldeira (1992) reports about 91.646 registered car accidents with 925 injured and 6 dead only between 1989 and 1991, 80 percent of which occurred within the boundaries of the 'residencial'.

High levels of interior crime are certainly related to a 'regulated' atmosphere of the interior dominated by 'contractual solitarity'[520] and very different from the ideals of (social or religious) community building. Caldeira (2000), for example points out that there is no positive reference to the idea of community in Brazilian closed condominiums, an aspect that she regards as very popular in American gated communities (Although also here a stark contrast exist in the communitarian tradition of condominiums and the contractual culture of gated communities). She observes that Brazilian condominiums are never advertised as 'communities' or as a type of development that could enhance the sense of doing things together, and that the inhabitants are often struggling with internal conflicts. (Ibidem in Landman 2002: 28)[521]

→ Illustration D-26: Skating youth

Box 37: AlphaVille's skating culture

An exemption and successful example of appropriation of space by AlphaVille's youth is the vibrant skating culture in the area. The suitability of the area's asphalted hills has become known in the whole country and beyond and even started to attract many

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[517] Some sources report that the environs are controlled by armed guards, carrying 12 calibre taurus guns with the theoretical permission to shoot intruders. (Cf. http://www.ignacioparis.org/?tag=violencia, r5.02.2009)

[518] Not least also the advertising brochures of AlphaVille and its peers

[519] „Os muros que „protegem" os moradores da violência da cidade acbam não protegado os moradores deles ou seus filhos." (Gonçalvez 1997: 167)

[520] Cf. the discussion of this concept by Marc Augé, in the first chapter.

[521] A satiric wiki-site portrays the characteristics, complexes, neuroses and obsessions of AlphaVille's residents: (http://desciclo.pedia.ws/wiki/Alphaville, r12.02.2009.

> middle class youth from outside. Since then several significant competitions have been held. The topic is prominent on the YouTube website.[522]

Lifestyle

The search for a higher quality of life and a distinct lifestyle are certainly other important drivers of AlphaVille-Tamboré and other Brazilian condomínios fechados.[523] The longing for the freedom to open a window at night, as well as to have a safe place to play for the kids is regularly confirmed and became one of the major PR motives of the advertising media.[524]

As a matter of fact the lifestyle aspect is composed of a combination of several factors such as the quest for environments that ease the transfer of (cultural, family) values from one generation to another, the longing for peaceful and green surroundings, and also the search for a milieu that facilitates the appropriation and representation of a certain social identity.[525] All of these factors are well represented in the freely available PR materials and brochures, as well as on project websites. They also include the built-in option to calm down a remorseful conscience by sponsoring some Corporate Social Responsibility initiatives, or by becoming a member of the social clubs or environmental projects. (Cf. below: Developer, Strategies) Accordingly, in addition to the 4,5 metre high walls, we find an abundance of private and green-space, various club facilities, representative gates, multiform options for leisure and consumption, as well as the option for each buyer to present their individual style through the individual design of their house.

Financial security

The regime of control characteristic for residential enclaves does not remain just physical – it also extends to the world of finances. In addition to physical security and a comfortable lifestyle, the people's quest to safeguard their investments represents a third and widely understated motive. Even for upper middle class households, the purchase of a property in AlphaVille is still a very significant amount of money. The (conservative) question of preserving, stabilising, maximising and inheriting this capital becomes a major concern; this is the case in particular in high-risk mega city environments such as São Paulo.[526] (Cf. also to the Finance chapter below)

Values of target groups

AlphaVille's population is on a quest for nothing less than a 'third alternative', combining all the advantages of vibrant urban life with the beauty and enjoyment of the country (Cf. Howard 1946 (1898): 46) [527] The fact that most of the families move to the area to raise children leads to the popularity of certain ethics. Guarded enclaves represent paci-

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[522] An article on the role of Skating is also available at: http://www.alphanews.com.br/materias.asp?id=802

[523] The 1990s political and economical stabilisation enabled many people to join the middle class and to spend more and more money on leisure and consumption.

[524] Fitzpatrick 2003 states "The people who live there are usually middle-class Brazilians and expatriate businessmen. These places are generally spacious and families can live in houses instead of apartments and their children can walk and play in the streets with relative security from traffic and thieves".

[525] AlphaVille-Tamboré features a wide choice of private schools. This guarantees that children can grow up among a relatively homogeneous group of peers.

[526] According to data presented by residents associations in Morumbi, the biggest concern of the inhabitants is the fear that the quarter may undergo a process of disinvestment, decline and deterioration (Cf. Santos, 2003 at http://www.nomads.usp.br/site/condominio3.htm, r06.02.2009).

[527] Naturally this is the case for many suburban communities worldwide.

fied spheres of safety, stability and harmony in this context, providing an environment that facilitates the realisation as well as the tradition (in a global sense) of bourgeois cultures. The general composition of the population, with upper incomes, families or retirees, as well as many entrepreneurs leads to the presumption of a political landscape halfway between conservatism and liberalism.[528]

Resident groups and associations

Indeed, the achievement of AlphaVille-Tamboré seems to be based on the fact that the place represents a good balance between top-down planning and bottom-up self-organisation. The fact that all neighbourhoods ('residencial') are run by residents associations once they are completed, emerges as one of the major pillars of the success of this urban typology.[529] While for example the developers of Bumi Serpong Damai are stuggling with the rising cost of upkeep in their neighbourhoods (Cf. Chapter on BSD), AlphaVille-Tamboré's neighbourhoods, whether residential or commercial, are self-organised and run by bottom-up resident committees.

AlphaVille's resident organisations are non-for profit corporations that are administered by elected representatives and run by professional employees. The maintenance of the respective communal territories is among the major tasks of the consortia. More specific duties include the landscaping of the common areas, cleaning the streets, the organisation of waste collection services, communal events, social programmes, public relations and of course the important issue of security.[530] [531] The extra services are funded by additional fees. These usually amount to BRL 300 per month (140 US$). The amount is largely spent on security services as well as the joint club (Cf. Personal Interview with staff of AlphaVille Urbanismo in March 2006).

In addition public relations play an important role. The programmes modelled along Corporate Social Responsibility strategies range from environmental initiatives to training programmes for the residents in nearby slums (Cf. below: Developer: Strategy). Yet, from a down-to-earth perspective these programmes seek to increase the quality of life by protecting the invasion of low-income intruders and industrial entrepreneurs while at the same time comforting a guilty conscience.

SIA

Interestingly, the presence of about two-dozen resident associations has led to the emergence of the Sociedade AlphaVille Tamboré, or SIA. This is an umbrella organisation which embraces most of the resident and business associations as well as many individual corporate members[532] It was founded in 1993 with the major aim of closing a security gap in regard to the whole area and to represent the interests of the individual member

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[528] The fact that no official data on the political orientation AlphaVile-Tamboré's residents is available points to a need for more empirical studies.

[529] Notably the 'father' of the Garden City movement, Ebenezer Howard, aimed his Town-City Magnet to be governed by resident associations (Howard 1946 (1898): 92).

[530] Cf. SIA at www.sia.org.br, r09.02.2009

[531] The question whether the organisational strategy of resident associations meets a fruitful setting in the local cultural context is debated. While for example Fielder (2001) describes the organisation of residents in Brazil as a compulsory exercise (mainly in contrast to the US American buzz of the 'community' as a concept and catchword), the author regards the Brazilian cultural practices of 'clubbing', as well as the political culture of 'lobbying' (Cf. above) as important basic elements for the communal organisation at hand.

[532] Such as the village of dogs, TV Alphaville, the Collegio Perntagono, or the Dolce Vita Buffet (www.sia.org.br, r09.02.2009)

associations *vis-à-vis* public institutions (such as the Barueri Municipal Administration).[533]

A large fraction of the security services which SIA provides is concealed in the vague area of traffic-security. This domain ranges from special traffic signals, the patrolling of major public streets (including the Castello Branco Highway)[534] to the coordination of an integrated security programme with the public police and the security forces of the respective member organisations.[535] Other mostly PR-friendly activities in environment, health, social life and communication add to the portfolio of the organisation. These include recycling, tree planting, anti-mosquito programmes and the organisation of festivities and social events.[536]

Box 38: Selected by-laws of AlphaVille No2[537]

- A characteristic resident association is a civic body with non-for profit status
- It is based on the article 53 of the federal law 10.406/02
- The [major] objectives of the residents association comprise: a) The implementation of internal codes and regulations; b) the provision of common services (landscaping etc); c) the approval of construction plans; d) the organisation of social and cultural activities; e) the collection of fees and taxes; f) the organisation of the reception and security services (also by subcontracting)
- All property owners are automatically members of the association
- The share of votes is calculated on the basis of the quantity of land as well as the building mass that belongs to the respective member. (Land is calculated in fraction of 500 square metres, the constructed area counts by shares of 150 square metres)
- A general assembly, an advisory council, the executive director and the fiscal council comprise the governance structure of the society.
- All the positions within the advisory council, of the executive board, as well as the statutory audit committee and the working commission work on an honorary basis.
- The advisory council meets two times a year.
- The general assembly elects the representatives (of the advisory council and the executive board), and approves the budget.
- The advisory council takes more detailed tasks (e.g. finances and jobs) and organises a bi-annual election.
- The executive board consist of five elected members: President, Administrative Director, Financial Manager, Technical Director and the Director of Security.
- The managing president has the task of representing the association.

Summary

A good understanding of the resident, who is at the same time the consumer and also the producer of his place, is among the most central elements of a holistic analysis.

Profile
AlphaVille-Tamboré is currently home to a population of about 90.000 residents. Most of the residents belong to an educated, white collar, affluent, white and family-oriented

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[533] The organisation, for example has successfully lobbied against the installation of eight industrial areas (zonas de uso predominantemente industrial, or ZUPI) by the state in AlphaVille's vicinity in 1995. The project thought to attract new low-income people to the area (Cf. www.sia.org, r09.02.2009).

[534] Among the patrolled areas are the Avenidas Dr. Yojiro Takaoka, Alpha Norte, Altos de AlphaVille e Pacífico Sul, from Melville to Alpha 12

[535] SIA has also persuaded the Municipality of Santana de Parnaíba to run a joint communal police base from a location close to the 11th and 12th 'residencial'. (Ibidem)

[536] Cf. www.sia.org.br/paghistorico1.html, 11.06.08

[537] Cf. Excerpts from the by-laws of the AlphaVille No2 resident association (2004): Approved Draft 25/10/2004, r12.06.2008)

bourgeoisie. While, prior to the development of the site, the land was under control of affluent land barons, e.g. the Penteado family, the project is a tabula rasa scheme with no prior settlers remaining on the ground. As a result all residents moved to the site since the 1970s.

The bulk of the new residents belong to São Paulo's upper middle class elites. These command incomes of 20 minimum salaries and more and belong to the top 20 percent of earners in the population. In contrast to the aristocratic elites of the 16th century, AlphaVille-Tamboré's residents are part of an educated elite of academics and entrepreneurs with a significant emphasis on the white-collar service sector (colarinho e gravata) and with a high proportion of self-employed. In combination with the enormous daytime population of 140.000 predominantly office workers, AlphaVille-Tamboré's intelligentsia accounts for the lion's share of a recent economic boom in the area. These propel the two municipalities that embrace the scheme to the top group of the fastest growing municipalities in the whole country. Moreover, the high incomes and good educational levels of the population result in a Human Development Index of Western levels (0,83), marking AlphaVille-Tamboré's hosting municipalities as the most developed places in Brazil. (Brazil's HDI is at 0,8, the figure for the Northern part ranges at 0,76)

AlphaVille-Tamboré's residential undertakings are mainly targeting the young starter families with kids, who long for a harmonious environment, secure outdoor space and stable investments. Consequently, home ownership is among the central motives of the target groups, who seek a life centred on their own house and a family. Whereas for 35 years now the scheme has served as the cradle of more than two new generations, at present an all-inclusive range of households, from starters to seniors make up the resident demographic. The distribution of distinct age groups in the clusters, however, appears fairly homogeneous, reflecting the fact that the neighbourhoods were completed as distinct projects at particular periods.

The households portray a typical stratum of consumer society, represented by exuberant amount of dwelling space, multiple cars per household, a wide range of modern household gadgets, and domestic servants as a standard. Whilst the area is well served by schools, most of the work places remain elsewhere. In consequence the daily life of the residents is based on regular commutes between the office, the mall, the club and the school.

Motives

Among the major reasons of the decision of the buyers to relocate to a guarded condominium three major motives stand out. These are: 1) security, 2) comfort, and 3) financial security.

Concerns of security and perceived angst are among the most important motives of relocating to AlphaVille-Tamboré. The fact that São Paulo is among the most violent cities in the world is the primary reason for affluent families to embrace the project as an alternative secure haven. Indeed, AlphaVille can be regarded as an early bottom-up model addressing middle-class insecurity in Brazil. The developers focused on this drive, developing an integrated security concept which combined high tech surveillance systems, walls and fences and armies of private security guards. The buyers in turn seem to be willing to spend drastically higher maintenance costs for this protection without batting an eyelid.

Nevertheless, in spite of the armament, the pacified environment also appears to stimulate certain crimes. At least fact the remarkable rates of household violence and

youth delinquency (drug-criminality and petty crimes), as well as the extraordinary high rates of traffic accidents (particularly within the enclaves) point to this assumption.

Quality-of-life and lifestyle issues certainly share the list of the most important drivers behind the prominence of Brazilian gated enclaves in the green. The households undeniably long for peaceful and green surroundings – a milieu that facilitates the appropriation and representation of their social identity – and for environments that facilitate the tradition of cultural values from one generation to another.

The factor of financial substantiality accounts for the third often underestimated motive of the individuals who decide to buy properties in the area. Of course, middle class households are seeking an efficient means to secure and pass on their riches to the next generation – in addition to the transfer of ideal values. AlphaVille-Tamboré's controlled neighbourhoods appear as an almost ideal answer to this need.

In conclusion it can be said that, the above context of motives, most notably the function of the new home as a base for reproduction (social, cultural, financial), produces a predominance of conservative values such as stability, harmony, solidity and safety. Essentially the resulting political landscape, halfway between conservatism and liberalism, sheds a new light on the popularity of gated enclaves as a 'third alternative' between the dangerous city and the backward countryside.

Management, Organisation

In addition to the security and lifestyle concepts, the practice of self-government (or 'automanagement') of AlphaVille's neighbourhoods by the owners is surely among the three major pillars of the brand's success. The fact that resident associations represent the residents provides a balance between top-down planning and bottom-up control. The owner associations function as non- profit-making bodies which are administered by elected representatives and run by professional employees. Significantly, all property owners are obliged to become part of the association. The membership is an integral part of the purchase contract. What is remarkable is that the amount of votes depends on the quantity of properties owned by a member. Whereas additional fees supply the necessary financial support, most of the budget is spent on security services as well as the maintenance of the joint facilities. Likewise, social and environmental programmes play a vital role. Another remarkable fact is that the joint efforts of the member groups are coordinated by an umbrella organisation – the Sociedade AlphaVille Tamboré or SIA.

Developers and Designers–
From garage venture to industrial conglomerate

"In the last days of the 20th century, there was a profession of people who, ironically enough, called themselves "planners." Even at that time, their numbers were dwindling." (Joel Gareau, 2003)

While the examination of urban forms and their users is essential to the understanding of any spatial environment, when looking at New Towns the question of authorship becomes particularly important. Moreover in the case of privately developed projects the corporate sector emerges as the chief motor of development. Accordingly the following section aims to generate a comprehensive understanding of AlphaVille-Tamboré's authors, including their ideologies, strategies and motives. While the examination of the profile of the developers will be of particular importance, we will also devote a serious amount of attention to architecture, planning and design and their integration into a new privately driven stakeholder context, as the classical disciplines conceiving space.

Table 35: AlphaVille-Tambore's developers & designers

Development	
Name of developer	AlphaVille Urbanismo SA, Tamboré SA, MVT Ltda. Engineering
Name of company	Gafisa SA, Brascan SA (among the largest real estate firms in Brazil)
Origins	'Garage' start-up venture, Albuquerke and Takaoka Empreendimentos SA
Type of firm	Sociedade Anónima (corporation)
Purpose	For-profit
Major product	AlphaVille guarded condominiums (a robust and high-quality product with brand-status)
Slogan	"Um Mundo Melhor para você" (A better world for you)
Mantra of the firm; Major 'ingredients of success'	'Business-oriented evolution model', professionalism, institutional credibility and value orientation, perfectionism, quality-control, active and flexible managing style
Implementation strategy	Security, quality, careful phasing, automanagement
Strategies of the new mother company	Professional management and corporate governance, worldwide integration, growth and diversification
Structure	4 major branches, (planning, technology, marketing, management)
Staff at Barueri location	~ 40
Structure of mother company	Range of 5 brands towards a broad market spectrum
Quality management standards	Quality-Control Manual, ISO 9.000, Customer Relationship Management (CRM), SAP-Tools, SOX certificate
Social and environmental policies, Rehabilitation and Re-	Large CSR package, AlphaVille & Tamboré foundations, (no R&R)

settlement packages	
Product trends	Mixed superblocks, turn-key projects, low income schemes (BairroNovo, VillasAlpha), financial market products, ecological gated communities
Design	
Planners, Designers, Architects	Focus on in-house product innovation, limited range of trusted partners
Planning and urban design strategy	Technological perfection dominates over artistic expression; principles are more momentous than forms; codes and quality standards are preferred to spatial planning, tabula rasa is more important than context
Important designers and consultants	Reinaldo Pestana, Alfred Willer, Fernando Chacel, Jamie Lerner, Arquitectonica
Trends in design	'Abstract localisation' techniques, eco-branding, lifestyle theming
Trends in open space	(Re)-introduction of new spatial hierarchies by the closure of the neighbourhoods
Marketing	
Marketing instruments	Newsletters, showrooms, websites, soap operas, parties & events
Tactics in marketing	'Dual transparency' and focus on customer relations; employment of multiple brands; combined lifestyle branding and eco-strategies; active construction of product-images (Imagineering)
Trends in marketing	Images are more important than realities, role of CSR strategies institutionalised by non-profit foundations, 'redundant marketing' and outsourcing

Profile

Name and background of developers

The firms AlphaVille Urbanismo SA, Tamboré SA, as well as the MVT Ltda. Engineering are among the three major developers of the AlphaVille-Tamboré cluster city. AlphaVille Urbanismo has developed about 18 residential enclaves, the central business district, several commercial centres and a large industrial area. On Tamboré's project list are five gated communities, one major shopping centre, a light industrial park, two enterprise centres and seven residential towers (cf. www.tambore.com.br). In contrast, MVT's impact is rather qualitative. It has developed the first green gated community named Gênesis and plans the first mixed lifestyle superblock scheme named São Paulo Wellness.

All three companies are based on creative individual entrepreneurs. They represent the dynamics of a middle-sized business sector with an 'achievers' spirit, as is characteristic in Brazil's post-migratory context[538]: AlphaVille was founded by the engineers Renato Albuquerque and Yoshiro Takaoka and later controlled by Albuquerque and his son in law Nuno Luis de Carvalho Alves. Tamboré is directed by the lawyer Fábio Penteado de

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[538] The website of Takaoka names "Entrepreneurial sensitivity, boldness and pionerism, the foundations of our history." (Cf. www.takaoka.com.br, r12.01.2009)

Ulhôa Rodrigues who married into the Penteado family (the long-established owners of the land). MVT Inc is controlled by the son of Yoshiro Takaoka Marcello Vesponti Takaoka. (Cf. above: Milestones)

The largest section of AlphaVille-Tamboré – more than half of the area – was developed by the firm AlphaVille Urbanismo SA. The history of the firm can be traced back to a partnership of two young engineering graduates Yorshiro Takaoka and Renato Albuquerque in the early 1950s. By mid 1990s the firm became the largest developer of guarded horizontal condominiums in Brazil (Cf. Business Net, 2007). Indeed the family enterprises of AlphaVille Urbanismo as well as Tamboré SA were dominating the area for more than four decades.

The major authors of the AlphaVille-Tamboré cluster started as associates and limited companies. Today as part of a consolidation process in the Brazilian market the trend goes to large incorporated, publicly listed and highly diversified consortia. AlphaVille-Tamboré's history demonstrates that the area is attracting more and more large corporate stakeholders. [539] Hence it was no surprise when in 2006 both of the enterprises were taken over by two of Brazil's largest corporate real estate developers – Gafisa SA[540] has absorbed AlphaVille, while Brascan Residential properties has bought Tamboré SA.

Gafisa estimates the potential value of the land bank it owns with AlphaVille at BRL 4.1 billion in potential sales (Cf. Business Net, 2007). The merger is supposed to lead to important synergies combining AlphaVille's main expertise in developing lots and Gafisa's experience of developing turnkey apartments (www.gafisa.com.br, r12.07.2008).

Despite the recent boom in takeovers, the pioneering businesses such as AlphaVille Urbanismo, Tamboré SA or MVT remain major partners in several new schemes currently underway in the area. As a matter of fact, for the time being AlphaVille will operate as a subsidiary of Gafisa, as it were an independent Company and will keep its offices and team in Barueri.[541]

Among these projects is, for example, a new iTower project developed by Brascan or MVT's São Paulo Wellness superblock scheme. (Cf. above: Structure: CBD)

Box 39: Gafisa

Gafisa SA, is the new owner of AlphaVille Urbanismo since 2006. Along with Cyrela and Rossi Residential SA it is one of Brazil's largest developers. The firm operates as a homebuilder, engaging in the development of residential buildings, land subdivisions including electric, water and sewage systems, paved streets and common recreational areas, guarded horizontal condominiums, shopping centres, schools, and entry-level housing. The company also provides construction services to third parties (for example at the Genêsis project cf. above).

Gafisa's history demonstrates a trend of increasing growth, standardisation and internationalisation. The firm emerged from the enterprises Gomes de Almeida Fernandes Ltda., or "GAF," which was established in 1954 in Rio de Janeiro. Only in late 1997, GP Investimentos SA and its affiliates, or "GP," entered into a partnership with the shareholders of GAF to create Gafisa SA. In 2004 GP became dominant, and in 2005 an affiliate of Equity International Management LLC or "Equity International" bought ap-

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[539] Some other real estate magnates that recently became active in the area are: CIA Lançamentos Imobiliários; SPQ; Odebrecht Enpreedimentos Imobiliários (oei.com.br); or Iguatemi etc.

[540] Cf. http://www.bloomberg.com/apps/news?pid=20601086&sid=axj8kMQdhk8A&refer=latin_america, r03.05.2009.

[541] Mr. Nuno Luis de Carvalho Alves and Mr. Renato Albuquerque will keep 40 percent of AlphaVille throughout the next five years. Mr Nuno Luis de Carvalho Alves will remain the Chief Executive Officer of AlphaVille. On the other hand Gafisa will man three out of the five members of AlphaVille's consultative administration board (Cf. Press note by Gafisa, 2006: 7; at www.gafisa.com.br, r12.07.2008).

proximately 32 percent of Gafisa. In February 2006, the firm concluded its initial public offering in Brazil, floating 47 percent of its shares.[542]

As of December 31, 2007 more than 954 developments and constructed over 40 million square meters of housing under various brands had been completed. The corporation operated in local 49 markets, including Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Salvador, Fortaleza, Natal, Curitiba, Belo Horizonte, Manaus, Porto Alegre and Belem, across 17 states.[543]

Box 40: Brascan

Brascan SA (Brascan), the holder of Tamboré SA, is a Canadian firm that has been operating in Brazil for over a century in the sectors of finance, real estate, energy, mining, agriculture, and business services. Brascan Residential Properties SA (Brascan) is a Brazil-based company engaged in real estate sector. The company was ranked as the best of 12 top Brazilian construction and real estate firms by business magazine Carta Capital. Jacky Delmar is the 54-year-old CEO of the company.

Brascan operations include land acquisition, planning, construction, sales, financing, customer service, design, development and management of real estate. Its holdings include several of Brazil's largest shopping malls and a growing number of hotels and residential projects. Half of its revenues in 2008 came from residential projects, the other half from the hotel and mall branch. The projects range from the 189-room Hotel Inter-Continental São Paulo to the 400-store Riosul shopping mall, or the US$ 80 million Waterways residential complex in Rio's glitzy Barra de Tijuca. The firm operates with strategic joint ventures with the Inter-Continental brand and related products, such as Holiday Inn, or Crowne Plaza or Staybridge.

The projects are mainly targeted at luxury homebuyers, but also more and more at the rising middle class markets. Most recently national and international joint ventures have been playing an increasing role. The mother company Brascan Brazil Holding LLC, headquartered in Rio de Janeiro, is the subsidiary of the Canadian conglomerate Brookfield Asset Management.[544]

Institutional geography of developers

AlphaVille Urbanismo's structure

The corporate structure of AlphaVille Urbanismo SA reflects an equal focus on planning and implementation as on marketing and managerial aspects. Its national operations are headquartered in the central business district of AlphaVille-Tamboré. The firm operates here with a staff of about 30 to 40 in a building constructed by MVT (Marcelo Vesponti Takaoka SA). The undertaking is divided into four major departments: the projects office (diretoria de projetos), the technical department (diretoria técnica), a marketing division (diretoria de marketing), and managerial and financial division (diretoria administrativo-financeira).[545] The project department is responsible for the conception of the projects, the technical office coordinates their implementation, the marketing section organises the advertising campaigns and supervises the sales, and the finance-management office deals with human resources, accounting and administrates the treasury.[546]

AlphaVille-Tamboré's companies are thriving along a 'business oriented evolution model'. The distinct entrepreneurs flourish in networks of other successful partners,

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[542] Cf. http://sec.edgar-online.com/gafisa-sa/20-f-annual-and-transition-report-foreign-private-issuer/2008/06/18/Section6.aspx, r12.03.2009.

[543] Cf. http://www.reuters.com/finance/stocks/companyProfile?symbol=GFA.N&rpc=66 ,r13.01.2009

[544] Cf. http://finance.google.com; and http://www.brascanresidential.com.br, www.luxner.com/cgi-bin/view_article.cgi?articleID=31; r16.01.2008

[545] Cf. Visita Especial: Alphaville Urbanismo, http://www.abrarec.com.br/06_visitas_especiais_191006.asp; r14.07.2008

[546] Personal interview with project staff in March 2006; Cf. Abrarec 2006

whether that be the design, finance or the construction sector. These are characterised by highly flexible and open organisational set ups.[547]

Business-oriented evolution model
The companies themselves are characterised by a large base of professional and interdisciplinary know-how, be it in economics, marketing or politics. Keeping a broad view on things, most of the entrepreneurs maintain close contacts to local NGO's and institutions of higher education. This combination of intellectualism, professionalism and curious openness results in a strategy referred to as a 'business-oriented evolution model'[548]

Important parts of the 'game' are progressive management principles. These imply an emphasis on the whole process of production instead just on the bare product. This factor requires frequent adjustments of the set-up of the enterprise in order to make it able to address the rapidly changing needs of particular periods. AlphaVille portrays this trend as it started as a two-man partnership, continued as a limited corporation, before it became incorporated and finally taken over by a large corporation.

Gafisa's shopping tour
Both takeovers, the one of AlphaVille by Gafisa, and also Tamboré by Brascan, are representative of an important trend of maturation and consolidation of the Brazilian real estate sector.[549] With AlphaVille on board, Gafisa will be able to cover a wider spectrum of the market from luxury condominiums to prefabricated housing models for lower middle classes. To improve the efficiency of supplying the respective markets, the firm operates with five major subsidiaries/brands: Gafisa, AlphaVille, FIT, Bairro Novo and Cipesa[550]. In addition Gafisa Vendas[551] was established for the purpose of marketing and selling the products. While Gafisa continues to target the luxury slice of the pie, AlphaVille will cater to the middle-income classes, FIT residential (Tenda) and Bairro Novo will provide housing to the 'entry-level' lower income market segments (Cf. IBGE).[552]

Box 41: Bairro Novo – Another brand of gated communities for the lower income sector[553]

Bairro Novo is a particularly interesting subsidiary of Gafisa. The firm specialises in developing large scale standardized and fully integrated communities in the environs of

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[547] Marcelo Takaoka's MVT for example collaborated in several schemes with John George De Carle Gottheiner (financial expert), Victor Rebouças (Mesidia Expert), and Reinaldo Pestana (Architect, Urban Designer) (Cf. above: Projeto Gênesis). Tamboré SA collaborated with Rodobens Real estate Businesses and the MPD-KC Real estate Enterprises in its five residential schemes (Cf. Tamboré Website).

[548] AlphaVille.com.br, Historia, r12.06.2008.

[549] Notably this maturation is paralleled by a growing availability of household credit for Brazilian people (Cf. below: Finance, Affordability).

[550] Cipesa is a 70/30 percent joint venture among Gafisa with Tércio Wanderley, an important Brazilian conglomerate with a focus on agricultural products and technologies, such as producer of sugarcane and ethanol, yet also with a broad experience in civil construction. The firm is based in Maceló (state Alagoas) and operates mainly in the North Eastern region of Brazil. It is mainly orientated towards the middle and upper income market segments, building vertical as well as horizontal condomínios. Significantly, the firm advertises a new project in the seaside neighbourhood of Jatiúca (Trade residence) as a big opportunity to dwell in a first world complex ("A grande opportunidade de viver á beira-mar de Jatiúca. Em um complexa de primeiro mundo"). Yet, FIT appartments are also on sale. (www.cipesa.com.br/; http://www.cipesagafisa.com.br, r12.02.2009).

[551] Gafisa Vendas was founded in in September of 2006 in São Paulo and is planned to widen its operations gradually to the whole country (www.gafisa.com,br, r12.01.2008).

[552] FIT residencial (Tenda) was established in March of 2007 to focus at the market of units in a price range between BRL 50,000 to BRL 150,000 (US$ 20.000 to 60.000) Gafisa.com.br, r12.02.2009). The firm was merged with Construdora Tenda SA in November 2008, which is also under majority control of Gafisa (Cf. http://www.bloomberg.com/apps/news?pid=20601086&sid=axFaawz2lZe4&refer=latin_america, r15.02.2009).

[553] The following paragraph contains selected Qoutes from Gafisa's information sheet on Bairro Novo, 2007

large metropolitan areas[554] Its objective is to develop a new concept of lifestyle real estate products for the affordable low entry level ("AEL") housing market in Brazil (Gafisa.com.br, r12.02.2009).

The firm is a 50/50 joint venture of Gafisa and the construction firm Odebrecht empreendimentos, a further 120-year-old Brazilian developer. As much as Albuquerque's product VilasAlpha, Bairro Novo is focused on developing large scale standardised and fully integrated communities close to metropolitan areas. In order to achieve economies of scale, Bairro Novo has designed three standard units that can be adapted to any project: two- and three-bedroom houses and two-bedroom apartments ranging in size from 43 to 68 square meters. The projects will be standardised, ranging from 1000 to 10.000 units per development, and may be either vertical or horizontal. The neighbourhoods are divided into smaller sections of approximately 500 units, which will be part of an association responsible for preserving the common areas and standards of each development. The venture is working with both Caixa Econômica Federal and commercial banks to develop mortgage solutions.

First model projects are under development in Camaçari (Bahia), Porto Velho (Rondônia) and Cotia (São Paulo). Bairro Novo Cotia will serve as an important test pilot. It is being developed on a roughly 110-acre land parcel in the city of Cotia, located 45 minutes from the centre of São Paulo. The floor plan sizes of the row house and apartment typologies range from about 30 to 60 square metres. The project will comprise 2.386 units, will have a potential sales value (PSV) of around R$170 million, and will be developed in five phases. A first phase with 464 units was launched in December 8th 2007 and produced R$ 32 million of pre-sales while 2.000 potential clients have registered. The units are supposed to be delivered within one year.

Noteworthy elements of Bairro Novo Cotia's business model are the financing options that Bairro Novo has developed in partnership with ABN AMRO. Families targeted for this product typically have a monthly income between 3 and 10 times the minimum wage. This target customer has historically been underserved in terms of mortgage and financing options for homebuyers. (www.bairronovo.com.br; r08.02.2009)

Development strategy

> *"Entrepreneurial, Opportunistic, Intrepid, Forward, Institutional, Strategic, Leading"[555]*

Yojiro Takaoka's and Renato Albuquerque's type of guarded condominium became a benchmark product in the entire Brazilian market. AlphaVille Urbanismo, in the possession of one of Brazil's largest land banks[556], planned to launch 46 new projects between 2006 and 2010 only. This success can be traced back to a combination of several 'right-place-at-the-right-time' and intuition factors: The developers purchased the land before the highway (Castello Branco) was implemented, blending crucial strategies, which existed before into a new product.[557]

An additional facet of AlphaVille's success is represented by the firm's intrinsic ability to find the right blend between robustness and flexibility. At the core of the enterprise

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[554] A comparable model, the Vilas Alpha was developed by AlphaVille's boss Renato Albuquerque. (Cf. above: Context, Predecessors and Peers)

[555] Prophetic self description by Equity International, the firm that owns about 20 percent of Gafisa (AlphaVille's mother company) and which facilitated the IPO on the New York Stock Exchange, NYSE. (Cf.: www.equitynternational.com, r12.03.2009)

[556] Amounting to 900 hectares, with a worth of BRL 2 billion (840 million US$) and space for 15.000 units

[557] These are represented by the legacy of São Paulo's elite neighbourhoods, the context of local leisure communities, as well as the novel the North American typologies of the Edge Cities, gated communities, and the practices of lifestyle marketing and self-governance by resident associations.

stands a 'serious and honest management model' based on an open business concept and good quality management, resulting in a robust yet also flexible product. While the professionalism accounts for the robustness of the undertaking, the firm and its products have always been open for adaptation and change. Renato Albuquerque describes accordingly: "With the time, we were improving our concept, improving our contracts, and created our model of self management philosophy that guides the AlphaVille enterprises."[558] The firm's self description writes in addition: "The capability of renewing itself bringing new experiences, technologies and environmental care to each project, as well as the capability of adapting to each market's characteristics, has made the brand AlphaVille synonymous with superior lifestyle all across Brazil." (Cf. AlphaVille.com.br, 23.08.2008)

A further key element of success is certainly the right balance between outsourcing and autonomy. And while the Albuquerque and Takaoka worked in the right networks of partners, all fundamental keystones of the core business process have remained with the core company. AlphaVille carries out all steps, from the parcelling of the land, the approval and licensing together with the public sectors, to the implementation of the project: from the establishment of community master plans to the construction of state-of-the-art infrastructure and the delivery of the complex.[559] As the AlphaVille model spreads to the whole country and beyond, the schemes are developed either in partnership with individual land proprietors, or after the 100 percent acquisition of the land.[560]

The brand of the AlphaVille 'residencial'

The physical concept of an AlphaVille 'residencial' can be compared to a floor plan of a private house that was zoomed up to the scale of a neighbourhood. At the core of the concept of AlphaVille's 'loteamento fechado horizontais' are seven elements:

1. A large perimeter wall that demarcates a new internal semi-private space;
2. A representative entrance organising and controlling access;
3. An interior marked by a highly standardised homogeneous pattern of singly family dwellings;
4. Service facilities and infrastructure of highest standards (Centro do Apoio) which are kept on the outside;[561] [562]
5. Maybe most crucially: The whole form and its function being harmonised by legal contracts and self-managed by residents associations;
6. The developer being allowed to withdraw after completion of one neighbourhood module; (Cf. below 'automanagement')
7. At the end, the handling of each of the 'residencials' as its own enterprise.

Indeed the model thrives on the fact that that practice of gating and walling is particularly valuable and applicable when suburban farmland is under development pressure.

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[558] "Com o tempo, fomos aprimorando o nosso conceito, melhorando nossos contratos, e criamos o nosso modelo de autogestão, filosofia que norteia os empreendimentos AlphaVille." Albuquerque, In : AV Historia at www.alphaville.com.br, r20.02.2009.

[559] Cf. www.alphaville.com.br, r20.02.2009; and also Fiedler 2001

[560] Cf. Gafisa 2007: 5; also: www.alphaville.com.br, r12.01.2009.

[561] The same is true for the 'AlphaVille Clube', which is a very important element found in every project.

[562] When a new residential condominium is developed, the company does all the basic civil works for supporting the construction on the lots, such as electrical, telephone and data communications cabling, hydraulic (water and sewer) mains and treatment facilities, landscaping and gardening, lighting and paving of internal avenues and streets, perimeter walling and security fencing, supporting buildings for security, services, etc. In most of the developments, a social and sports club for the residents is also built, with soccer, golf and tennis fields, jogging and bicycle treks, sauna, swimming pools, ballrooms, restaurants and bars, etc. (Wikipedia's account on Alphaville at www.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alphaville,_S%C3%A3o_Paulo, r12.12.2008)

Studies have confirmed that people are willing to spend significantly more for the amenities and benefits of common open space with smaller individual lots in clustered communities as opposed to larger plots in open land subdivisions.[563]

A certain amount of delineated sovereignty is guaranteed as everyone can hire their own individual architect, while at the same time the main land uses as well as the building envelopes are strictly regulated. This then results in an ideal, ethereal 'deep-freezing' of the quarter's image. As we have seen above[564]: Perimeter walls are allowed on the backsides only, it is not permitted to merge lots, the building height is restricted to 1,5 stories, buildable floor space amounts to a ratio of 1 etc.

Indeed, AlphaVille's quest for perfection resulted in a drive to become the golden-child in the real estate business. The company was the first Brazilian company to introduce environmental impact guidelines without any pressure from the public hand. The company's planners even provided capacity building and training services to public officials in this respect. This, along with the elaborate codes, underlines the argument that a private sector company is not only interested in short term profits, but, under certain circumstances, is also capable of developing high quality environments while the public sector is left behind. (Cf. Fiedler 2001)

Gafisa's corporate strategy –Growth, Diversification and Standardisation

In contrast to AlphaVille's set of strategies, which originate in one locality and are mainly geared to one brand (the AlphaVille 'residencial') the corporate strategy of Gafisa reflects the rationales of large corporate businesses. The firm's concept rests on six pillars: 1) "Leadership and strong brand recognition", 2) "Professional management and established organisation"; 3) "World-class shareholders and high standards of corporate governance"; 4) "Efficient business models and strategic land banks"; 5) "Geographic diversification"; and 6) "Robust growth in housing"[565]

1. Gafisa seeks to be a market leader of real estate business in Brazil with products of the best possible reputation and a solid standing among all partners and clients such as property buyers, agents, financers and landowners.

2. To reach these goals it has acquired a range of companies and created as set of strong and well defined brands, such as Gafisa, AlphaVille, Fit, or Bairro Novo representing a diversified basket of products for specific customer groups.

3. On the other hand the financial diversification of the firm's financial input as represented by the IPOs at the national and US markets, has also resulted in the introduction of new transparent governance structures, as well as new codes, techniques and management standards.[566] Significantly most of these standards go beyond local requirements.

4. Gafisa employs a strategy of economies of scale in building up of an enormous strategic land bank (currently totalling 7,3 million square metres). In addition the tactic of outsourcing of risks is applied in a strategy of land swapping. Here partnerships with local landholders are established. These make land available for the developer and obtain a certain share of the finished product in exchange.

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[563] Amato and Takaoka 2004 are quoting a study by Jeff Lacy about the Centre for Rural Massachusetts

[564] Cf. above: Structure: Blocks and Buildings

[565] Cf. Gafisa Fact Scheet 3Q08 at: www.gafisa.com, r12.02.2009.

[566] Such as the introduction of SAP, the application of the United States Generally Accepted Accounting Principles (GAAP), and the full compliance with the Sarbanes-Oxley Act

5. The tactics of geographic diversification represents dynamics of scope. Here Gafisa seeks to shift its efforts from the classical centres towards rapidly developing 'young' urban centres in the whole nation. It currently operates in 66 cities covering all states.[567]

6. Above all Gafisa's 54 year success is based on the consistent growth of the demand for housing related to the demographic and socio-economic trend of a constantly growing and increasingly affluent population seeking to fulfil the dream of owning a house.

→ Illustration D-27: Gafisa's subsidiaries
→ Illustration D-28: Gafisa's regional diversification

Implementation strategy – Careful phasing and 'automanagement'

AlphaVille Urbanismo's firmly standardised and phased production process is an essential element of its extraordinary accomplishment. Each project consists of six major phases and as well as a consecutive 'automanagement' level. These are: 1) Strategic Analysis, 2) Acquisition, 3) Master planning, 4) Marketing and Sale, 5) Construction, and 6) Occupation.

The analytical phase contains the selection of the site, the elaboration of the legal framework, the definition of a project team and the development of a preliminary concept for the project. The next level comprises the purchase of the site as well as the closing of contracts with partners and owners, and in turn the master plan is elaborated and brought forward for official approval[568]. When the project is formally approved the marketing and sales phase begins[569] then implementation starts. The product is formally handed over to the residents via the respective associations which embark on elaborate legal contracts. (Cf. Gafisa 2007: 5)

This transfer of the project marks the start of what the developer calls the 'automanagement' phase. This means that from now the project is run by the new residents along a detailed set of codes and regulations (Cf. above): "...the Automanagement system transforms each residential complex into an autonomous community, as the owners undertake the task of assuring safety, leisure, comfort, environmental considerations, management and maintenance"... "Every AlphaVille complex has a collection of rules regarding construction and habitation which aims to preserve its urban quality and to increase the value of both the residents' as well as the investor's assets". (Cf. alphaville.com.br, r.12.01.2009)

→ Illustration D-29: Gafisa's 'competitive strenghts'
→ Illustration D-30: Private security

A new buyer of a property in AlphaVille receives a buyer's folder with all the details of the residential complex, such as registration data, distinctiveness of each territory, description and regulations. This material is an integral part of the purchase contract and contains: 1) The purchase contract (Promessa de compra e venda); 2) the statutes of the residents association in charge (Estatuto da Associação); 3) the building regulations

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[567] "This gives the company added flexibility in developing properties in areas that will generate the highest returns at different points in time." (Cf. Gafisa Fact Scheet 3Q08 at: www.gafisa.com, r12.02.2009)

[568] This phase may take as long as 3 years and include lobbying and negotiations with governments at local, state and even federal levels

[569] In their first residential venture, the 'residencial' 1, Albuquerque Takaoka induced demand and created momentum by building the first 30 houses and providing subsidised constrution material for all buyers. (Gonçalvez: 164)

(Regulamento do loteamento); 4) a technical documentation of the present lot infrastructure (Memorial das obras do loteamento); 5) a description of the leisure areas in the neighbourhood (Memorial das obras da área de lazer); 6) a master plan document of the entire neighbourhood; 7) a detailed plan of the individual property (e.g. the respective lot); and 8) a registration document (Matrícula), which documents the public approval of the undertaking.

Quality standards

The developers in the AlphaVille-Tamboré area are an example for the rising weight of quality standards stemming from the industrial business world in the real estate markets. Indeed, it can be observed that these standards and codes, mostly represented by ISO norms and certifications, become strategic instruments of real estate firms operating under circumstances of augmented competition and consolidating markets.

Significantly Gafisa, the firm that has acquired AlphaVille in 2007 had implemented ISO 9000 standards[570] for quality management as early as 2002.[571] [572] Today more and more ventures choose to implement the ISO 9001, but also increasingly for environmental standards such as the ISO 14001 series. Moreover, as a side effect of Gafisa's IPO in Brazil 2006 and at the NYSE in 2007 (Cf. below: Financial framework) was that the firm had to demonstrate a higher rate of accountability and reliability. As a consequence the firm started to implement SAP instruments[573] as well as the SOX certification standards[574] in 2008.

While a notable forerunner in introducing the environmental ISO 14000 set of norms[575] to the Brazilian real estate market was the private developer Sobloco[576], some of the local firms in the AlphaVille-Tamboré area are also spearheading this trend. Marcello Takaoka's MVT Ltda., for example, has received the ISO 14001 certificate by the BRTUV, the ISO 26.000,[577] as well as being the first real estate company in the country to receive the green certificate of the FSC (Forest Stewardship Council) as[578].

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[570] The ISO 9000 series stresses the satisfaction of the end customers, focusing on the quality of the entire chain of production instead on evaluating the final product only (no matter at what price it may have been achieved).

[571] Gafisa describes itself as one of the leading incorporators and leader constructors in the Brazilian market with reference of quality, innovation, efficiency and professionalism, currently controlling more than 10 percent of the national real estate market. It is claims that success was predominantly possible through the adaptation of professional business, financial, quality management and environmental standards. (Cf. website of Gafisa)

[572] Additional enterprises using these standards are Gafisa's subsidiary Tenda, or Fal2 a real estate developer and a project management company closely associated with AlphaVille Urbanismo.

[573] SAP is a business standard and a widely used software package which helps to integrate (and standardise) business processes from Enterprise Resource Planning, Customer Relationship Management, to Customer Relationship Management (Cf. www.sap.com)

[574] The Sarbanes-Oxley Act (SOX), also known as the Public Company Accounting Reform and Investor Protection Act of 2002is a set of accounting standards that was introduced by the US Government after a series of large corporate scandals, such as the Enron scandal, in the year of 2002.

[575] ISO 14000 is the international specification for an environmental management system (EMS). It specifies requirements for establishing an environmental policy, determining environmental aspects and impacts of products/activities/services, planning environmental objectives and measurable targets, implementation and operation of programs to meet objectives and targets, checking and corrective action, and management review. This series of norms introduced important environmental standards within industrial processes and is increasingly being applied by service industries and other businesses. (Cf. www.iso.org)

[576] Cf. above: Context, Predecessors, Rivera do São Lorenço

[577] The ISO 26000 standard, also referred to as the ethics norm, stresses aspects of corporate social responsibility and are often part of the firms CSR packages. While the ISO 26000 has to be seen in relation to the 9000 and 14000 norms it is more a set of guidelines than a certification. In contrast to the Certificates such as the only by the FSC are distinctions for achievements in forest preservation (cf to www.iso.org).

[578] Cf. www.takaoka.com.br, r24.06.2008; Cf. above Project Timeline; Genênesis

The various prices and awards AlphaVille received for its product management in recent years confirm the success of its quality management approach.[579] In the context of voluntary obligations AlphaVille Urbanismo has signed the 'pacto global' in 2008. This "Global Contract" was designed by the United Nations and is geared towards internationally operating businesses addressing various issues of corporate social and environmental responsibility issues such as anti-corruption, responsible investment, peace, womens' rights, etc.[580]

The above examples demonstrate that while the Brazilian real estate industry grows and consolidates, undoubtedly a process of standardisation in the real estate sector is underway. The new norms and quality management techniques have a profound impact on the way customers are handled and on the form of the emerging urban typologies and spaces. Among the important effects is the increasing focus towards the whole process of product development, from finance to the planning and implementation stage, to the final satisfaction of the customer. Significantly Gafisa describes their customer oriented service approach as follows: "In our industry, customer satisfaction is based in large part on our ability to respond promptly and courteously to buyers before, during and after the sale of our properties."[581]

The renewed focus on customers includes several innovative and personalised customer service techniques. Owner's guides contain all documentations of the unit delivered. Developers pamper their customers with breakfasts at construction sites, monthly photos of the progress of the project. In addition pre-delivery inspections are undertaken. Regular contact is also maintained by sending magazines such as "Revista Living News," "Revista Vero Alphaville" to potential customers. Clients receive a monthly status report on the construction of their unit and regular satisfaction surveys serve as a base for monitoring and self-evaluation of the firms various departments (customer services, construction and title services). (Ibidem)

Goals and deliverables of the developers

> "If you want to build a ship, don't drum up the men to gather wood, divide the work and give orders. Instead, teach them to yearn for the vast and endless sea."[582]

Saint Exupery's quote above points to the fact that the visions as well as the goals of the main stakeholders are among the most critical elements of a project's success. AlphaVille displays a set of visions and general principles, which constitute the major basis of the elasticity, resilience and flexibility of the project. In this context the developers aim to produce nothing less than "A better world for you".[583] The undertaking seeks to represent an alternative environment that is radically different from the norm. While the developers aim to retain a Brazilian identity, they intend to create a city without slums, chaos, or crime – different from other elite quarters such as Morumbi (Cf. Gonçalves 1998).

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[579] For example the "Prêmio Destaque no Marketing 2008" by the Brazilian Association of Marketing and Negotiations (ABMN). (From http://www.folhavitoria.com.br/site/?target=coluna&cid=32&pagina=1&post=8605, r12.03.2009)

[580] Cf. www.alphaville.com.br/pages.php?recid=206; www.unglobalcompact.org/, r12.02.2009.

[581] This data stems from statement that Gafisa released on the occasion of its US American public offering in late 2007 (Cf. http://sec.edgar-online.com/gafisa-sa/20-f-annual-and-transition-report-foreign-private-issuer/2008/06/18/Section6.aspx, r12.03.2009).

[582] Antoine de Saint-Exupery 1948: The Wisdom of the Sands (La Citadelle); Paris; [free translation by the author].

[583] "Um Mundo Melhor para você" (Slogan of AlphaVille Urbanismo SA. (Cf. www.alphaville.com.br, r22.02.2009)

Consequently AlphaVille's benchmark products seek to provide house buyers with the means to fulfil their dreams of a secure life in an environment that facilitates the reproduction of their status quo (Cf. above: Population). Going beyond the scope of the average, the project is supposed to become a benchmark city – in regard to its urban forms as well the lifestyles it makes possible.[584] Accordingly: "The freedom of walking in the streets and the sense of tranquillity in the home characterize and typify each AlphaVille model. Safety has always been one of the priority areas, since the first AlphaVille was launched, in the early 70's."[585]

In the awareness that to achieve ideals of this calibre it needs more than simply a technical strategy, the developers have placed values as well as a corporate ethos at the centre of the company's strategy: "The "AlphaVille concept" is, in fact, a philosophy that has as its main values honesty, reliability, objectivity, safety and respect."[586] [587]

This underlying business ethos is supposed to underlie the enterprise's quality-control policy and the interaction of all stakeholders – from employees, collaborators, house owners to investors. The company is aware that value has to be added beyond the capital in various ways, such as institutional credibility, delivery of best practices, commitment to the highest corporate standards, a unique operating perspective and active and flexible managing style. This ethos is supposed to penetrate the final products, reverberating in the role of conduct in the communities or the trustworthiness of the firm's shares. A paper by the Brazilian Association of Enterprise-Client Relationships (Abrarec) states: "The mission of the AlphaVille Urbanismo is to develop and to implant urban enterprises of great quality, achieving a simultaneous, economic, social and environmental sustainability as well as a permanent satisfaction of all stakeholders." [588]

Design-process and communication

Actuality

While real estate developers are certainly among the major stakeholders in the generation of Neo Towns, another 'species' remains central to the process. These are the people conceiving the physical design of the schemes. The practice of design remains important, despite new economic regimes and altered hierarchies and command structures. Thus the subsequent section seeks to elucidate the role of planners, architects, engineers and designers in a context that is largely dominated by private developers and the placeless dynamics of project management standards. Moreover it seeks to describe their functions, strategies and self-images in the complex process of conceiving the 'products' at hand whilst also exploring the major differences to earlier times.

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[584] Cf. Davidson 2004 referring to AlphaVille's chief architect Marcello Willer.

[585] Cf. AlphaVille Urbanismo at www.alphaville.com.br

[586] Ibidem

[587] This underlying business ethics can be traced back to Anglo-Saxon business and management models. The reader is invited to trace this hypothesis back to Max Weber's "Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism" (1921), or to the global spread of the ethnics and principles as portrayed by the Project's Management Institute's annual Handbook – with annually 2 million copies sold it is the global manager's bible (Cf. www.pmi.org, 423.03.2009). A more detailed elaboration transcends the scope of this work.

[588] "A missão da AlphaVille Urbanismo é desenvolver e implantar empreendimentos urbanísticos de grande qualidade, alcançando, simultaneamente, sua sustentabilidade econômica, social e ambiental e a permanente satisfação de todos com os quais se relaciona." (Abrarec 2006)

Who are the designers?

Role of own planning and design departments
While the finances and management aspects make up more than 50 percent of the AlphaVille Urbanismo, planning and implementation departments make up the remainder. Indeed this demonstrates an immense relevance of the discipline. Accordingly Jacky Delmar, the 'big boss' of Brascan, confirmed in an Interview in 2000 that "Today, you have to have certain levels of quality and aesthetics". While external consultants and architects, among them many star designers, are regularly consulted for the input of fresh ideas and for polishing the public image of a project, engineering and design aspects play an enormous role in the interior of the firms.

In this context AlphaVille Urbanismo runs a small but forceful team of its own planners, architects, and engineers. This setup allows the sustaining of close contact to the final product, the maintenance of an efficient communication structure, the enhancement of synergies among the departments (marketing, finance, planning, implementation) and the development and testing of innovative ideas related to AlphaVille's residential brand. However, larger processes are outsourced, mostly to well-known small and medium sized enterprises and consultants with a long tradition of collaboration with the company.

The firm's state-of-the-art planning and design team is a powerful force. The troop is also known for its professional seminars on sustainable real estate development. On the 19th and 30th of September 2005, for example, a professional seminar on Environmental Licensing for Urban Real Estate Developers was arranged. Among the partners of this workshop were the Brazilian Environmental Ministry, the Brazilian Network of State Environmental Agencies (Associação Brasileira do Ministério Público de Meio Ambiente, ABRAMPA), the Network of Regional Governments for Sustainable Development (Associação Brasileira de Entidades Estaduais de Meio Ambiente /ABEMA).[589]

Consultants
While the attention of the developers is increasingly geared towards a holistic development process (cf. to our discussion of ISO Norms) as opposed to the mere product, the processes become increasingly more complex. In this context the role of external specialists and consultants becomes important. The result is that Tamboré SA, AlphaVille Urbanismo and Takaoka's MVT work with various partners from the consulting business, research, governmental and non-governmental institutions as well as academia.

Marcello Takaoka appears to be a forerunner in this respect (cf above: Project Milestones and also Developers, Strategies). The Gênesis project, for example, embarks on synergies with NGO's, research institutions and academia. Among these are the Institute for Sustainability (IPSUS), the Brazilian Foundation for Sustainable Development (FBDS) São Paulo, the Polytechnic School at the University of SP and the Paulista Forum on Global Climate and Biodiversity or the Institute for Sustainability (IPSUS). (Cf. Takaoka et al 2004: 6) An additional benefit of the approach is the improved public image of the project.

Paisagismo
Brazil is famous for a successful regional contribution to the modern architecture movement. Architects such as Lucio Costa, Oscar Niemeyer, Lina Bo Bardi, or Paulo Mendes da Rocha, to name only the first league, are well known globally. Moreover, in the coun-

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[589] For a complete outline see: http://www.alphaville.com.br/modules/index.php?id=seminario, r23.05.2008.

try whose climate ranges from sub-tropical to tropical conditions, landscape design in particular enjoys a special status. In this context the Brazilian modern architectural movement has produced one of the most famous Landscape Architects in the world – Roberto Burle Marx (*1909, †1994).

To the same extent as AlphaVille and its peers seek to be associated with state-of-the-art design, they like to be allied with renowned landscape architecture. The discipline is essential, as it is able to integrate the trend towards green and eco-friendly projects within design culture. AlphaVille's 2006 project carrying the label of Burle Marx 2006 is a good example of this approach. While Reinaldo Pestana prepared the master plan and Königsberger Vanuchhi designed the clubhouse, the landscaping was prepared by the office of the famous landscaping icon. As a consequence the project successfully achieved all target lines as set by the marketing.[590] Nonetheless not many features on the ground point to the true genius of the founder.

The project obviously dwells on strategies of the Genêsis project by Marcello Takakoa (cf. above), including its own interpretation of the "EcoGênesis" concepts developed by the renowned Brazilian landscape designer Fernando Chacel.[591] Indeed AlphaVille Urbanismo even hired this famous landscape architect for its Barra project in Rio de Janeiro (Cf. above).

Actual landscaping strategy

In contrast to the promotion of some projects by the means of star designers, for a long time the mainstream approach of landscaping followed a more problematic path. Indeed, for many years the practice of tabula rasa clearing of the site was a common practice. As this practice resulted in the levelling of much of the topography and the removal of the entire original vegetation, the method was anything but environmentally sound (cf. Lemos 2004: 7). Clearly this reflects a desire to create an empty space on which a new and (better) world, the AlphaVille, might be erected from scratch. Consequently the existing vegetation was regarded as just weeds and the land as wasteland, which then the heroic developers transformed into a civilised landscape.[592]

As a matter of fact the new generation of eco-condominiums, such as the Genêsis or Burle Marx projects, are proceeding along the same rationale, yet only on a small fraction of the site, while the rest is preserved. (Cf. above: Structure)

Master planning void

AlphaVille does not have any visionary master planner, at least in a traditional sense. The structure developed in a bottom-up manner. The chapter on the project's structure above described how AlphaVille is a cluster of planned and highly controlled modules, which result in a higher degree of (urban) complexity. The entire complex does not have the legal status of a city and neither the developer, nor any of the municipal governments in charge have developed a guiding master plan. (Cf. below: Control) [593] In contrast it

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[590] A Google search for 'Burle Marx' results in AlphaVille's project taking the top ranks. (Cf. Google search performed at 12.02.2009)

[591] "EcoGênesis attempts to compensate for damage to natural habitats caused by human activities such as the development of buildings and roads, mining, and logging. This process primarily consists of reintroducing native flora and plant communities, reestablishing natural habitats and extirpated plant communities, restoring their biological associations through ecological succession, and helping protect remnants of local fauna."
(http://archives.asla.org/lamag/lam06/march/feature2.html, r23.02.2009)

[592] Cf. Takaoka quoted by Cruz 2003: No começo era só mato. Cinco milhões de metros quadrados, ou 600 Macaranãs, de mato – que por obra de Albuquerque e Takaoka deu lugar a alamedas arborizadas, mansões cinematográficas, jardins sem muros, duas mil empresas e um potencial de consumo de R$ 1,4 bilhão ao ano.

[593] As a matter of fact the developers never had any authority to develop a master plan.

seems to be the entrepreneurial spirit of the founders such as Yoshiro Takaoka, Renato Albuquerque as well as their heirs that makes up the genuine organisational force of the scheme. AlphaVille appears to be driven by the structural logic of business ventures, as well the dynamics of what is commonly referred to as 'the invisible hand of the market'.

Urban design matters

The situation is different as far as urban design is concerned. Now AlphaVille can serve as a model rejection of the hypothesis that the private sector always leads to chaotic development incapable of generating higher quality urban spaces. Indeed, AlphaVille-Tamboré demonstrates that 'design', including urban design, emerges as an important factor when markets become tight and competitive. This fact that design does matter was underlined when in the mid 1990s developers and property holders decided to redesign a majority representative spaces of AlphaVille's downtown. The endeavour also underlines the capability of the private sector to act on behalf of itself.[594]

Nonetheless, despite the fact that renowned landscape architects and urban designers have been invited to co-author several of the clusters, the developers of AlphaVille-Tamboré rarely prefer to market their products as oeuvres of international star designers. The concept of the 'residencial' is rather handled as much as a commercial innovation, based on the combination of technical (engineering) and entrepreneurial (business) innovation. In this context, the product-brand of the AlphaVille 'residencial' has undergone constant optimisation and improvement, as much as any electronic device or a car would. The process was largely executed in secret by their own staff and a few trusted consultancies. In contrast Star designers were rather significant at the level of the singular architectural object.[595]

Among the few confidential partners with exclusive contracts are the offices of São Paulo architect and urban designer Reinaldo Pestana and recently also the Curitiba office of Alfred Willer. While the former is a key figure behind the scenes of AlphaVille's history in the São Paulo location, the latter emerges as a crucial stakeholder in AlphaVille's national (as well as international) success.

Reinaldo Pestana: The grey eminence behind the scenes

In accordance with the attitude of close collaboration with a few trusted partners and the downgrading of planning and urban design to service disciplines, AlphaVille has an urban design star who prefers to work silently from behind the scenes and without much publicity. Without a doubt Reinaldo Pestana is the grey eminence and unseen innovator of AlphaVille. A close entrusted friend of Renato Albuquerque and Yoshiro Takaoka from the beginning, his office, in different constellations, has authored by far the most schemes in the environs of AlphaVille-Tamboré and Aldeia da Serra. Today the architect is working on several of the projects across the entire nation. Even the name 'AlphaVille' originated at Pestana's office.[596] AlphaVille's saga says that it was suggested by his partner José Almeida Pinto in the 1970s.[597]

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[594] In the year 1996 the public and green spaces along the main Avenida Rio Negro have been entirely revamped and more than 30000 square metres of new pedestrian walks and pocket parks were installed. (Cf. Gonçalvez 1998, p 170, fig 107; Cf. Above: Context, Project Milestones)

[595] A notable exemption, which was never repeated however, was the involvement of Jamie Lerner in the first scheme for Tamboré. (Cf. above: Structure, Examples)

[596] Reinaldo Pestana has collaborated with his partner José de Almeida Pinto since the formation in the Architecture and Urbanism faculty at the University of São Paulo (FAU-USP) in 1959. As partners they ran the firm Proplanco-Projetos, Planejamento e Consultoria S/C LTDA between 1972 and 1999. In September 1999 Pestana they founded a new enterprise, the Reinaldo Pestana Architecture and Urbanism (RPAU) with Kátia Bomfim Pestana as a partner. (Cf. www.smarthouse.arq.br/associados3.asp, r29.01.2009)

[597] Cf. History of AlphaVille at: www.alphaville.co.br, r16.03.2008.

WAA and AlphaVille-Graciosa – a testing ground for and the eco-sustainable ap-proach

When AlphaVille Urbanismo was starting to disseminate its products throughout the county by the mid 1990s, the implementation of a project in the environs of the sustainable model city of Curitiba was regarded as particular challenge. As a matter of fact, AlphaVille Graciosa, as the project in the suburban municipality of Pinhais was called, became one of the landmark projects and a precursor of a new generation of AlphaVille's brand. While, the developers preferred to collaborate with several local partners with profound experience of local conditions and requirements, the local urban design firm Willer Arquitectos Associados (AWW) played a particular role. Its owner Alfred Willer is a renowned local architect of the same generation as Albuquerque and Takaoka.[598] He drafted the AlphaVille Graciosa project in partnership with his son Marcello in 1997 and 1998.[599]

AlphaVille Graciosa is notable for having set new regional standards in environmental design. The project was implemented in 2002. It was the first of its kind that integrated various environmental planning strategies[600] in addition to the usual master planning process. The strategies of the project are summarised in the project statutes of the residents association:[601] every building structure set up in the area has to comply with certain environmental standards, at least 50 percent of the lots have to remain unsealed, the flora has to encompass local species, and finally an independent organisation, the Instituto Ambienal do Parana is supposed to monitor the process (Ibidem). As a consequence more than 1 million of Graciosa's total 2,5 million square metres remain green. (Cf. www.alphaville.com.br, r12.02.2009). The area features one of the largest preservations of local pine forests (Araucaria Angustifolia) in the country, amounting to 300 thousand square metres.[602] Leisure and recreation play a central role. An old system of agricultural paths was restored to serve as internal walking, jogging and biking tracks. In addition, the project's lifestyle approach is being promoted in their own "Recista Estilo Alpha" Magazine.[603] Graciosa's innovations have been widely acknowledged, for instance when the project received prestigious award by the Brazilian Chamber of the International Federation of Real Estate Developers (FIABCI) in 2002.[604]

Due to this success Willer became one of AlphaVille Urbanismo's exclusive architects and the office was commissioned to develop plans for AlphaVille Gramado (2001), AlphaVille Londrina (2000); AlphaVille Manaus (2004), AlphaVille Maringá (2001), the landscaping for AlphaVille Lagoa dos Ingleses, as well the Condominio Vile Sol in the Angolan capital Luanda (2005).[605] The other far-reaching consequence was that Marcelo Willer became the head of the national planning operations of AlphaVille Urbanismo.

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[598] Willer became famous for having planned and implemented the COBAH (Brazilian public housing Scheme) project of Vila Nossa Senhora da Luz in Curitiba in the 1960s and has designed a range of other significant projects in Curitiba, some of them with Jamie Lerner. The firm has received awards for the Capela of the Alphaville Graciosa and also for the Alphaville Flamboyant Club, in Goiânia. Other prizes went to the residence of José Buffo Filho and the headquarters of the Sembrae Company in Curitiba (Cf. http://www.arcoweb.com.br/arquitetura/arquitetura331.asp, r12.02.2009).

[599] In addition the office has collaborated with the architects Maria Regina Paludo on the master plan and Bóris Cunha on some of the particular projects such as the Alphaville Flamboyant Clube and several commercial buildings. (Ibidem)

[600] Including the Brazilian version of environmental impact statements: "Relatório de impacto ambiental" (RIA)

[601] Cf. Associação AlphaVille Graciosa Residencial, 2007: Regulamento de Projetos; at http://www.alphapr.com.br/, r12.03.2009.

[602] The area is also supposed to feature 42 other tree species as well as also several rare animals. (www.alphapr.com.br/, r12.03.2009)

[603] Which is downloadable from the project website: www.alphapr.com.br/, r12.03.2009

[604] Cf. Federação Internacional das Profissões Imobiliárias: http://www.fiabcibrasil.com.br/premioMaster2002/venc_alphaville_graciosa.asp; Cf. http://awiller.com.br/, r22.02.2009-02-24.

[605] Cf. http://awiller.com.br/, r22.02.2009-02-24.

Architects

With an emphasis on real estate and engineering and the absence of a holistic design approach, AlphaVille does not rely on renowned star designers and planners, neither of an international nor a local calibre. In contrast it thrives on a large pool of local expertise that is selected according to the specific needs of a particular time. Moreover, with many excellent consultancies at hand and a healthy scepticism towards the North American part of the continent, international architects and designers are largely absent. Consequently the result could be rather dubbed a contemporary form of anonymous construction, rather than a holistic design.[606]

Box 42: Background of Architects, Planners (local/ international)

The majority of the architects, planners and engineers that played a part in AlphaVille-Tamboré have a local educational background. The country has a well established system of higher education up to advanced postgraduate levels and São Paulo is among the places with the best architectural and engineering faculties in the country, such as the University of São Paulo's Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism (FAU-USP) or the Architectural Faculty at the Presbyterian University of McKenzie. Indeed the country features a well established local architectural and planning culture, represented by architects and designers such as Lucio Costa, Oscar Niemeyer, Burle Marx, or the so called Paulista School (Cf. ArchPlus 190). This local culture serves as a reference for most of the architectural and design offspring. Therefore there is also no legacy of re-importing knowledge and design cultures via students graduating at elite-universities abroad (such as is largely the case in other countries, from Indonesia to China to Chile).

Client Architecture

While we have seen that Architecture and Urban Design play only a subordinate role as AlphaVille's developers disregarded the importance of a holistic design, scope for architectural design exists at the level of the individual object, and many renowned local names have authored remarkable projects. (Cf. chart below) AlphaVille has served as an important thriving ground for local architectural designers in the last four decades.[607]

Four important factors supporting this trend are: 1) In the last three decades turn-key solutions have not been *en vogue* in the Brazilian context; 2) The middle classes sought the freedom to design and implement their own house; 3) The local market was full of architects willing and capable of providing the necessary services; And 4) the developers were determined to integrate this desire as an integral part of the neighbourhood codes and regulations while being open to support other freelancers and small to medium enterprises. While today ever more new people join the ranks of the middle classes, also in remote parts of the country, AlphaVille's developers remain eager to preserve the high quality of design standards which help set its brand apart. In Cuiabá, for example, a course for buyers has been offered with the aim of sensitising them to quality issues in the construction of their own house.[608]

Indeed, as Alphaville-Tamboré accommodates affluent populations, it is a well-established turf for renowned architecture offices and their offspring. And despite an enormous number of kitsch, the area features a variety of projects of high architectural

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[606] Cf. Rainer 1977, Rainer contrasts the concepts of "anonymous building" and "contemporary architecture" in his introductory essay of his 1977 book on anonymous construction in Iran.

[607] Some observers claim that a significant amount of local faculty members and many young architects have been employed by the myriads of opportunities to design a house as presented by AlphaVille Barueri. (Cf. Personal interviews with local stakeholdes in São Paulo in March 2006)

[608] "Construindo Sua Residência em AlphaVille" 02/05/2005, http://www.alphaville.com.br/modules/content.php?recid=556, r24.02.2009

quality: The São Paulo site features masterpieces of residential architecture by: Marcos Acayaba (1981) Marcello Accioly Fragelli (1989), George Mills (1991), SPBR Arquitetos, MMBB Arquitetos (2001) and Gustovo Penna has recently designed a residence in the AlphaVille Nova Lima in the Belo Horizonte region. In addition Carlos Bratke has designed the extravagant Bingo Club in 2005, and Bacco Arquitectos came up with an award winning school in the environs. Moreover, landmarks in the commercial sector have been designed by Lélio Machado Reiner e Juan Francisco Camps Andreu (1985), Paulus Magnus (1995) and Königsberger Vannucchi Arquitetos Associados (1999).

A recent trend represents several commercial superblock projects in the planning stage. Resembling small compact towns, these projects impress more by their size than by their architectural qualities. They clearly point to the fact that certain locations of AlphaVille sites are bursting at the seams. The designers here are Botti Rubin Arquitetos Associados (iTower project by planned for 2010), the KOMarquitectura (Castello Branco Office Park), José Lucena[609] (Brascan Century Plaza – Green Valley), Reinaldo Pestana (São Paulo Wellness), and not least the Miami based superstar office of Arquitectonica (Tiner-Videolar Complex). The table below gives an impression of notable architectural landmarks in the area.

Table 36: Choice of architectural projects in AlphaVille and environs[610]

Architect	Project	Year	Link
Luiz Roberto Carvalho Franco	Centro Administrativo Comind	1976	http://www.vitruvius.com.br/arquitextos/arq011/arq011_00.asp
Marcos Acayaba	Residência FM	1981	http://www.marcosacayaba.arq.br/lista.projeto.chain?id=10
Lélio Machado Reiner e Juan Francisco Camps Andreu	Centro Administrativo BCN	1985	http://www.arcoweb.com.br/memoria/ha-quinze-anos-o-bcn-questionava-o-modernismo-13-08-2001.html
Marcello Accioly Fragelli	Residência Geraldo Aguiar	1989	http://www.vitruvius.com.br/arquitextos/arq057/arq057_03.asp
George Mills	Residencia FM	1992	http://www.arcoweb.com.br/arquitetura/george-mills-17-02-2008.html
Paulus Magnus	Centro gráfico da Folha de São Paulo	1995	http://www.educatorium.com/projetos/projetos_int.php?id_projetos=157 ; http://brasembottawa.org/cd/1arq_3.34.folha_sp.htm
Königsberger Vannucchi Arquitetos Associados	Metrópolis Flat and Office	1998	http://www.kvarch.com/, ; www.arcoweb.com.br
Königsberger Vannucchi Ar-	"Stadium"(Hotel, Offices and Flats)	1999	http://www.kvarch.com/, ; www.arcoweb.com.br

[609] It seems that José Lucena, an architecture consultancy based in AlphaVille, became of the local matadors responsible for a large number of commercial projects in the area, the most important being Brascan Century Plaza – Green Valley by Al Xingú (proposal), LaReference, Monte Maggiore, Rio Negro, and the Applause (proposal) (Cf. www.joselucena.com.br www.emporis.com/en/wm/zo/?id=100284, r12.02.2009)

[610] If not noted otherwise the projects are in the Barueri/ Santana de Parnaíba location. The websites were visited on March 10th 2009.

quitetos Asso-ciados			
SPBR Arquitetos and MMBB Ar-quitetos	Residência Barueri, Aldeia da Serra	2001	http://www.mmbb.com.br/, http://www.spbr.arq.br/
Reinach Men-donça Arquitetos Associados	Residência, Barueri-SP	2001	http://www.rmaa.com.br/br/index.htm
George Mills	Residência em Barueri	2001	http://www.arcoweb.com.br/;
Márcio Mazza	Residência Barueri	2002	http://www.arcoweb.com.br/; http://marciomazzahp.sites.uol.com.br/
Ricardo Julião Arquitetura e Ur-banismo	Centro Administra-tivo Rio Negro	2002	http://www.arcoweb.com.br/; http://www.rjuliao.com.br/projetos.htm; http://produto.imovelweb.com.br/rio negro/
Francisco Spado-ni e Lauresto Esher	Plano Diretor do Campus Tamboré (In-stituto Presbiteriano Mackenzie)	2002	http://www.vitruvius.com.br/instituc ional/inst60/inst60.asp
Eduardo Crafig, Fernanda Neiva e Rita Martinussi	Edifício DVR Al-phaville	2002	http://www.arcoweb.com.br/; http://www.architecture.blogger.com .br/2004_06_01_archive.html
Paula Zasnicoff Cardoso	Residência Andréa e Rodrigo Scalon	2003	http://www.vitruvius.com.br/instituc ional/inst88/inst88_01_04.asp
Studio Arthur Casas	Residência	2004	http://www.arcoweb.com.br/; http://arthurcasas.com/en/
Estúdio 6 Ar-quitetos	Residência Yamada, Aldeia da Serra	2004	http://www.vitruvius.com.br/instituc ional/inst88/inst88_01_03.asp, www.estudio6.net, www.mdc.arq.br
Carlos Bratke	Bingo Circus Club	2005	http://www.arcoweb.com.br/; http://www.bratke.com.br/
Marcelo Barbosa e Jupira Corbucci (Bacco)	Escola CEL-LEP	n.n.	http://www.bacco.com.br/, http://rvzein.googlepages.com/semin ariodedoctorado,unr
Gustavo Penna Arquitetos Asso-ciados	AlphaVille Residence in Nova Lima (MG)	2007	http://www.arcoweb.com.br/; www.gustavopenna.com.br/
Botti Rubin Ar-quitetos Associa-dos S/C Ltda.	iTower AlphaVille	2010	http://www.emporis.com/ge/wm/bu/? id=itower-barueri-brazil
José Lucena	Brascan Century Plaza - Green Valley	Plan	http://www.joselucena.com.br, http://www.emporis.com/en/wm/bu/ ?id=brascancenturyplazatorreoffices-barueri-brazil; http://www.brascanresidential.com.b r/sp/century_plaza/empreendimento_ century.htm,

			http://www.omelhordedoismundos.com.br/
KOMarquitectura	Castello Branco Office Park	Plan	http://www.komarquitetura.com.br/castelobranco.html
Arquitectonica (Miami)	Tiner-Videolar Complex	Prop.	http://www.emporis.com/ge/wm/cx/?id=123067; www.arcuitectonica.com
Reinaldo Pestana	São Paulo Wellness	Plan	http://www.icone.jor.br/bodytaka.htm
N.N.	Green Valley Office Park	Plan	http://www.brascanresidential.com.br/sp/GV/index.htm

On the ground: a dual rupture with art and nature

Our examination of the rationales behind AlphaVille reveals that in contrast to other New Towns the undertaking does not seek to represent itself as a holistic work of art. Furthermore it does not attempt to integrate harmoniously with nature. While the venture is open to architectural highlights, it does not intend to be an environment that is coherently designed across all scales – from the doorknob to the urban layout – as was the case with many planned cities of previous eras.[611] The architecture of the planned scheme is instead based on popular bourgeois taste and on the aesthetic fulfilment of the individual household (of course within strict boundaries). In this situation it is the city's state-of-the-art infrastructure that, while it remains largely invisible, gives it its competitive edge. The engineers equipped the new settlement with underground power lines, water and sewage pipes, and paved AlphaVille's streets with high quality Western coatings, while also bringing with them the know-how for moving immense masses of soil.[612]

The project also thrives on its contradictory (and problematic) relationship with nature. Here AlphaVille represents a process of destruction, abstraction and artificial reconstruction of the natural environment. Like other suburbs before it[613], the project is based on the idea of being positioned between city and nature, amidst the original landscape of the Atlantic Rainforest with its untamed hills and limitless fresh air. Yet curiously the city venture is actually neglecting the natural environment. Nature was neglected when most of the grounds were levelled, hills moved, and the surroundings fenced off by 4.5 metre tall perimeter walls. Indeed, one might say that nature was colonised, abstracted and transformed into a pacified version of the same – a second artificial type of nature. The dream of a life in the middle of natural scenery was transformed to set of abstract representations and ideals. Engineering (and landscaping) serve as the major instruments in the actual realisation of this new 'pacified' environment. Moreover we will see below

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[611] Most planned cities of previous generations were characterised by a coherent and multiscalar design approach: E.g. From the absolutist city foundations in the Middle Rhine Valley such as Karlsruhe, traditionalist Garden cities such as Letchworth, or modernist examples such as the Plan Voisin by Le Corbusier.

[612] Indeed the scheme thrives on a combination of entrepreneurial (real estate) spirit and engineering innovation. Both founders of AlphaVille, Yojiro Takaoka as well as Renato Albuquerque, are construction engineers by training. In addition both seem to have the right pragmatic sense for business (Cf. above: Context, Project Milestones). Also the fact that they have implemented several public works projects before commencing AlphaVille was competitive advance for this venture. (Cf.: Context, Milestones)

[613] Here we find a significant difference to modernist schemes such as Barra de Tijuca or Brasilia, as these schemes sought to define and design their relationship with nature: „No caso de AlphaVille e Tamboré, ao contrário do plano da Barra, há uma indesejabilidade do meio ao redor, daí destruir o relevo e a vegetação existentes e recriar esta mesma paisagem." (Campos: 6)

that Imagineering and marketing largely facilitate the idealistic generation of this 'second type of nature'.[614]

Design strategy, concept

Techniques of industrial prefabrication, customised design or 'gold-plating'[615], have not been a part of the mainstream strategies of AlphaVille-Tamboré's developers so far. One major reason is that there is, and always was, a good supply of qualified local architects. In contrast to Jakarta or Mumbai, São Paulo is one of the most developed regions of Brazil, featuring a large base of qualified design and construction firms. Nevertheless today's novel strategies of prefabrication and turnkey construction are on the rise, paralleled by a shift in popular taste[616] as well as the arrival of new markets for lower middle-income groups.

Western models and their impact

While AlphaVille-Tamboré relies on a large poll of local architects, the area is not safe from an invasion of international building typologies originating from the Western centres of advanced economies. Indeed the NeoTown project is an excellent showcase of the proliferation of Western urban models and their consequences. Many of our observations in this chapter underline the assumption that the operational logic of a global new economy, of which real estate is an increasing part, is essentially contributing to an abstraction of landscapes and to what is referred to as the 'loss of place'.[617]

In this context the general trend goes towards expanded efficiency, accountability and predictability while increasing control and minimising risks.[618] While planning and innovation are centralised, the respective steps of production tend to become more and more specialised and modularised. At the same time potential risks are outsourced. In this context the risk-free universal typologies that have been tested and applied hundreds of times at many places worldwide tend to be preferred over locally tailored, uncertain solutions.

As the real estate sector gets integrated into the global economic sphere, cities reflect their operational logic, resulting amongst other things in a reduced range of standardised typologies and the negligence of place. Centrally generated types, such as offices, toll-roads, malls, hotels, supermarkets, gated communities, drive-in restaurants and high-rise apartments[619] are more efficient, controllable, and accountable than remote local solutions of unpredictable dimensions. The local context tends to be stripped away, because it is risky and incalculable. On the ground the reduced urban vocabulary results in a 'Sim-City' type landscape.[620]

The NeoTown AlphaVille portrays the trends described above, e.g. the neglect of the local context (and nature), as well as the popularity of standardised typologies, in an exemplary manner. Its fabric is characterised by shopping malls, office towers, super and

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[614] As a matter of fact the new eco-sensitive projects such as Genêsis or Burle Marx are generally not changing this approach. While these projects are tackling a series of relative improvements and introduce several significant innovations, such as environmental management standards, corporate social responsibility packages, and an increased amount of greenery, most of the underlying principles and contradictions remain valid. The ventures represent highly secured and enclosed micro-utopias fencing out both the contradictions and complications of nature as well as 'dangerous' and complex urban culture.

[615] I.e. the final enhancement and valorisation of a base product (Cf. Sennett 2006)

[616] It seems that in the informational age people tend to identify increasingly with other status symbols such as cars and mobile phones, rather than their houses.

[617] Cf. Marc Augé's 1992 concept of the 'Non-Lieux', or Zygmunt Baumann's (2000) Liquid Modernity (See: Introduction Chapter)

[618] Cf. the discussion of advanced rationalisation referring to Max Weber and George Ritzer in the introduction chapter.

[619] E.g.: Not coincidently the same typologies that Augé (1992) associates with his concept of the 'non-lieu'.

[620] A strategy that the author formerly discussed as a 'global real estate toolbox' (Cf. Gotsch 1991)

hypermarkets, gated communities, toll-roads and drive-in restaurants. The housing sector in particular is reduced to two chief typologies: the single family mansion and the universal apartment tower with nothing in-between. Indeed, the pattern of highly controlled and homogeneous enclaves greatly enhances the control, accountability and predictability of the 'product', thus maximising added value. The resulting urbanisation is significantly different from common types of planned cities – but also from common types of sprawl.

Only the larger topography, the climate, the local flora and fauna and some customs such as the churrasqueira reflect the persistence of some specific local features.

Marketing

> *"A healthy life... in unity with nature... with new concepts... for the best moments... in a reference project... with guaranteed quality... and valorised property..."*[621]

The case of AlphaVille demonstrates that marketing and sales attain an ever more significant role in the production of contemporary urban spaces and Neo Towns in particular. As the relevance of the private sector in the production of urban space is constantly rising – produced along the logic of modern economic transactions – urban forms are being handled more and more as commercial products. Paralleling this, the identity of contemporary societies is increasingly being formed by a combination of direct peer relationships and remote 'non-face-to-face' modes such as mass-media television channels, newspapers and the Internet.[622]

We can observe today the rising impact of middle class lifestyles, new media, and consumer-oriented modes in everyday life on many emerging economies, including that of Brazil. This general context helps to explain the relevance of marketing and sales as one of the crucial aspects behind AlphaVille's achievement. Indeed, it was largely marketing that transformed the scheme from being restricted to a specific location into an idealistic concept and brand synonymous of an alternative and distinguished lifestyle. The Brazilian Association of Enterprise-Client Relationships agrees that AlphaVille's triumph lies in the fact that the brand managed to become a general synonym for a different style of 'modern' life in Brazil and beyond. (Cf. Abrarec 2006)

To be successful in the contemporary market a product needs strong brand recognition. In Brazil AlphaVille was among the pioneers of this approach in the real estate sector. The developers state that "For 30 years, the AlphaVille concept has sustained its ideal, which is to create urban projects emphasizing quality of life".[623]

While the name evokes the "first among cities" concept, the reputation of the brand is based on its state-of-the-art infrastructure, its strict quality standards, the excellence in after-sale service, and its ability to sustain satisfaction (Cf. Ibidem). Notably, this particular status allows AlphaVille to sell its products for higher prices compared to other competitors. As a result the average square metre of land in an AlphaVille community fetches 30 to 50 percent more than land on projects in the environs. (Cf. above)

Marketing strategies and novel tactics towards added value

The marketing of AlphaVille, Gafisa and their peers exemplify a series of strategies trickling down from the world of consumer products. This context includes the formula of 'dual' transparency, the engagement of multiple brands and the combination of lifestyle branding and eco-strategies (cf. below). All of these are applied to enhance the level of recognition and popularity of the products.

Firstly comes the policy of dual transparency: the transparent consumer, as well as the transparent firm. In this consumer-driven world, where customised mass products are in heavy demand and ever more detailed up-to-date information on the wants and needs of clients is crucial, the marketing departments are having to transform themselves into in-

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[621] From AlphaVille's in-house magazine: Viver a vida AlphaVille; March 2005

[622] It was Herbert Gans (1967) who developed the notion that new middle classes were thinking and acting very differently from the 'peer-directed' working-class communities in which most of them had grown up.

[623] AlphaVille Urbanismo at www.alphaville.com.br/, r12.02.2009

telligence units. Yet, in addition to this quest for the 'transparent customer', the 'smart' real estate firm also seek to increase their own transparency, as they want to establish close and intimate relations with their client groups and a life-long loyalty towards their brands. In addition to this close enterprise-client relationship large firms such as Gafisa promote a diversified basket of brands geared at the taste of various customer groups. Novel product images are constructed on the basis of 'lifestyle branding cum socio-ecological awareness' strategies, which emphasise corporate social and ecological responsibility (cf. below).[624] In addition, various combinations of the above strategies, such as eco-theming, are now of ever greater importance.

Customer relations

The fresh sales and marketing strategies embrace an atmosphere where clients are increasingly treated as partners as opposed to 'targets'. In this context the sales, marketing and customer relations departments act as the 'sense organs' of an enterprise. These explore the needs and requirements of the environment in order to gather information about how to adjust and refine the products accordingly. In addition they also work on the task of establishing customer communities with long-term brand loyalty. The developers of AlphaVille state correspondingly: "AlphaVille Urbanismo understands that credibility is an essential factor and is the foundation on which any commercial relationship should be built on, particularly in the real estate market.[625] Consequently, it adopts a strict administrative model, where honesty with clients, partners and suppliers, as well as efficiency in the working process, are permanent commitments emphasized within the company's practices".[626]

Labelling, or a 'basket of brands'

Gafisa, the company that took over AlphaVille in 2007, follows a strategy of product diversification. Yet, the developer has decided to pursue this goal not by throwing a vast range of projects onto the market, but by defining a set of reputable brands. These labels then are geared towards various market segments, in pretty much the same way as large car manufacturers offer their various models.[627]

Combination of lifestyle branding with socio-ecological awareness

Compared with Bumi Serpong Damai and Navi Mumba, AlphaVille stands out for its concepts of ecological lifestyle theming and branding and the role of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). Branded theming approaches are among the most important (and stylish) product development and marketing strategies. While the AlphaVille brand has traditionally addressed the educated bourgeois, it has embarked on a subtle marketing of lifestyles[628] instead of a pure thematic branding. Yet direct forms of theming and branding have appeared in the last 10 years and are constantly on the rise (although their presence is rather modest when compared to some projects in Jakarta). Some examples of a

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[624] A concept that is also known as Corporate Social Responsibility, or CSR

[625] The marketing people emphasise a highly transparent sales approach, in contrast to "traditional high-pressure sales techniques … in order to build customer loyalty and to develop a sense of trust between customers and us: "Gafisa's marketing team "is also responsible for gathering information on the needs and preferences of potential customers to provide guidance on our land acquisition and project design activities." (Gafisa quoted at http://sec.edgar-online.com/gafisa-sa/20-f-annual-and-transition-report-foreign-private-issuer/2008/06/18/Section6.aspx, r13.03.2009)

[626] Cf. www.alphaville.com.br, r11.11.2008

[627] A public minute on the merger of Gafisa and AlphaVille represents this philosophy in noting: "By combining two of the most respected and well-known brands in the Brazilian residential sector, Gafisa and AlphaVille will benefit from a more competitive national platform, well-defined and complementary brand identities, and a wider range of products. This combination offers attainable synergies, and we expect it to be accretive to earnings over the next years." (Cf. bnet 2006)

[628] For example in its own Magazines (Cf. below)

historicist theming approach are Gafisa's Notting Hill apartment towers and the Provence motif of Tamboré 11.

It is interesting to observe that quality of life and the promotion of a different lifestyle plays a major role in the marketing efforts, while security plays only a minor role. While high security is seen as a natural standard, albeit with some negative connotations, it is the lifestyle market that is open for more innovations and additional added value.

A very prominent trend among AlphaVille's elite populations is the ecological theming approach, which is often combined with lifestyle branding. Among the neighbourhoods representing this strategy are Takaoka's Genêsis I and II projects as well as AlphaVille's Burle Marx. While these neighbourhoods claim to preserve large amounts of nature and educate their populations as rangers (Cf. Above: Example Genêsis), they also feature stylish labels. The Burle Marx club, for example is marketed as a Reebok fitness centre.

Indeed, the key words appearing in AlphaVille's own life style journal 'Viver a Vida AlphaVille' portray the set of lifestyle values that are important for the target population. The marketing department promises no more or less than: "a healthy life"... "in unity with nature and with our spirit" ... in "the ecological paradise of AlphaVille" ... that is "an international phenomenon" ... and "an exclusive project"... "with technologies" ... "for new concepts of life" ... "for the best moments of life"... and "a reference project of the market"... with "guaranteed quality"... "a valorised property" ... "valorised investments" and access to "education and work".[629]

Eco branding, theming, and CSR
In a quest to develop an optimal reputation and a good public image real estate developers (as much as other industries), put an increasing emphasis on Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR).

Environmental and social awareness increases the reputation of an enterprise, not only with potential clients, but also with all other potential key-persons, such as government officials, venture capitalists, banks, public sector officials, academics and the media.

Significantly AlphaVille Urbanismo was one of the first Brazilian developers to build up its own environmental impact guidelines. This was done before any public regulations came into effect.[630] As part of this strategy the company communicated its experiences to various, governmental, non-governmental, private and academic stakeholders. In 2005, for example, AlphaVille's staff was co-organising a seminar on environmental regulations and urban development at Takaoka's Millennium Convention Centre. The event was co-organised with the Brazilian Environmental Ministry. Public servants, developers, NGO's and students were among the target audiences.[631]

An important instrument of executing the enterprise's CSR strategy is the AlphaVille Foundation. This non-profit entity engages AlphaVille-Tamboré's residents and their

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[629] ... "uma vida mais saudável, em comunhão com a naturaleza e com nosso espirito ... Um Paraiso Ecologicco em AlphaVille ... um fenomeno international ... um projeto exclusivo ... com technologia para ... novos conceitos de viver ... os melhores momentos de sua vida ... uma referencia de mercado ... garantem a qualidade ... valorizar seu patrimonio ... valorizaçau do seu investimento ... educaçau e trabalho" (Special Edition of the Journal "Viver a vida AlphaVille"; March 2005)

[630] Notably the approach was tested and developed at neighbourhoods such as Aldeia de Serra, or Genêsis (which can be regarded the genuine innovators in this respect and was among the first to import international standards such as the ISO14001 into real estate products (Cf. above: Structure, Examples; also: Developers, Strategies; Cf. also: Designers: WAA and AlphaVille-Graciosa as a testing ground for and the eco-sustainable approach)

[631] The description of the seminar reads: "Visando fomentar o debate entre sociedade civil, empreendedores e poder público, o seminário tem por objetivo gerar subsídios e identificar alternativas mais eficazes de gestão ambiental e contribuir para a sustentabilidade ambiental de projetos urbanísticos, públicos e privados. ... O seminário é dirigido a universidades, entidades de pesquisas, empresas e profissionais do setor imobiliário e de urbanismo, além de profissionais de órgãos governamentais, de entidades não-governamentais e empresas privadas que atuam na questão ambiental, e demais interessados." (http://www.ecolnews.com.br/eventos/realizados.htm)

neighbours and carries out social as well as environmental projects in the area. For example, the charity has undertaken several projects in 'Vila Zumbi', an adjacent slum area with one of the highest crime rates in the region.

The Alphaville foundation was also the main organiser of an environmental week at the University of São Paulo titled "O Nosso Ambiente". The event from 11 to 16 September 2005 was free of charge and attracted 15,000 people. It was a mix of lectures, workshops, cultural events and a fair.[632] A specific focus was laid on the relation of environmental matters and indigenous populations.[633] Representatives of some tribes, for example the Xavante and Krahô, as well as important lobbyists of the matter, such as the actor Marcos Palmeira were invited to attend.[634]

AlphaVille Urbanismo is not the only developer in the area that runs its own foundation. Tamborè S.A runs an own environmental institute named the Instituto Tamboré. While this institute's primary goal is the environmental preservation of the natural assets of the area, it carries out environmental education, social development and ecological research, and cooperates with the mayor of Santana de Parnaíba. (Cf. www.institutotamborè.org.br, r12.03.2009)

Organisation of marketing department

The organisational set-up of AlphaVille-Tamboré's marketing departments reflects their relevance. Gafisa's strategy is particularly notable. Here various internal and external teams compete for the best sales performance.[635] While an internal team of 15 professionals represents Gafisa's marketing efforts, 24 external independent brokerage companies are also contracted, making a combined sales force of more than 5,000 representatives. In addition the firm has founded its own subsidiary Gafisa Vendas, which operates in parallel to the other brands of the firm and also offers services to their competitors on the market. Gafisa Vendas consists of 154 sales consultants and 8 sales managers.[636] [637]

Marketing instruments

To increase the number of sales the developers in the area employ a wide set of traditional and innovative new marketing instruments. Marketing is done through sales offices, word-of-mouth advertising, newspaper ads, direct mail advertising, leaflets, and increasingly also through telemarketing and websites. In addition, several of the developers publish their own journals.

Marketing efforts are usually initiated with the first launch of a project. Normally a showroom is installed which is close to the construction site. This includes a model of the site and various information materials. Gafisa sometimes even provides a model apartment unit with appliances and furniture. It summarises the approach it has in the following way: "We leverage on our reputation for quality, consistency, on-time delivery and

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[632] It was organised by AlphaVille Urbanismo the University of São Paulo (USP), and realised by the AlphaVille Foundation, the commission for environmental problems at USP (Cepa), the Associacion Xavante Warã and the USP campus administration.

[633] This is notable in particular, as the land of the Fazenda Tamboré once belonged to local indigenous tribes (Cf. above: Project milestones).

[634] Cf. www.cepa.usp.br; http://www.ecolnews.com.br/eventos/realizados.htm; r03.12.2008

[635] One is reminded of Sennett's (2006) portrayal of competing teams developing software at Microsoft.

[636] Cf. http://sec.edgar-online.com/gafisa-sa/20-f-annual-and-transition-report-foreign-private-issuer/2008/06/18/Section6.aspx, r23.09.2008

[637] The attitude of the firm is best portrayed in the following statement: "The creation of Gafisa Vendas was intended to establish a strategic channel for us to access our clients and to reduce our dependence on outside brokers for marketing. ... We will continue to utilize independent real estate brokerage firms as we believe the creation of Gafisa Vendas has created a healthy competition between our internal sales force and outside brokers." (Ibidem)

professionalism to increase sales velocity." (www.gafisa.org.br/; r07.12.2008) The fact that most of the apartments usually go before construction starts proves the success of the strategy.

Accordingly Gafisa claims to sell 70 percent of the apartments in the forefront during the construction phase. In AlphaVille's project in Natal, all lots had been sold in only 16 hours; in Manaus, all of the AlphaVille lots were sold in one day; and in Salvador, all of the AlphaVille lots available were sold in 48 hours, before the launch of the sales activities even commenced.[638]

Today the World Wide Web accounts for one of the most important marketing instruments. All of the developers examined here maintain professional Internet appearances, addressing various groups of stakeholders. These contemporary business cards combine the potentials of conventional advertisements, with the ability to flexibly update and communicate seamlessly. Here all crucial information can be obtained on current projects, the firm's financial performance, its profile, awards and the social activities it supports. Several sites are enhanced by sophisticated flash animations demonstrating the firms' technical ability.[639] Also the association of the residential associations run their own website, radio and television channels, mainly to keep the residents informed on the latest weather, security and traffic conditions.

In addition to the Internet, Gafisa as well as AlphaVille bet on a wide range of advertising and communicational media. The developers publish their own in-house lifestyle magazines named "Revista Living News" and "Revista Vero Alphaville". Distributed to all customers, they offer a mix of self-promotion, new products, as well as various lifestyle and health issues. In the own world of the developer "Vero AlphaVille is a bimonthly publication which discusses topics related to the clients' lifestyle: behaviour, architecture, decoration, fashion, special articles, among other topics, as well as information about our endeavours".[640]

The AlphaVille brand is also successful in making several appearances on various TV and broadcasting channels. AlphaVille Urbanismo has sponsored some episodes of a Brazilian soap opera. The leading character and his partner visit Alphaville, where the characters experience the safety, freedom and aesthetics of the place, comparing it to the neighbourhoods featured in US films. (Cf. Dark 2006) Not least, AlphaVille's downtown area features its own radio and television station. While this is not directly related to the developer it surely helps to promote the brand.

→ Illustration D-31: PR: The built logo
→ Illustration D-32: Webpage of the Projeto Gênesis
→ Illustration D-33: Lifestyle journal as PR medium

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[638] Cf. www.gafisa.org.br/; r07.12.2008
[639] Among the most important examples from the AlphaVille-Tamboré area are: www.alphaville.co.br; www.tambore.com.br/, www.protetogenesis.com.br, www.gafisa.com.br, www.takaoka.org.br, www.takaoka.com.br, r17.03.2009.
[640] www.alphaville.com.br, r23.01.2009

Maintenance

One of the secrets behind a successfully planned city is how and by whom it is managed and maintained. When the completion of the project takes too long and/or the implementing parties, whether developers or governments, do not withdraw in time, it's as if money is being poured into a bottomless pit. AlphaVille's management and maintenance of the project is divided in two parts.

Thriving in a rich framework of historical precedents and best practices of private elite neighbourhoods in São Paulo (Cf. above: Predecessors) AlphaVille's developers seems to have concluded the right strategies from the beginning. Firstly they decided to build up the area neighbourhood by neighbourhood. Secondly, the governance and maintenance of each of the projects was transferred to the local residents, represented by resident associations, as soon as a neighbourhood module was finished. In this way the developers avoid unexpected hidden costs. And indeed, this is a significant contrast to some experiences made by their peers in Jakarta.

Quality management" strategies

We have seen above that the high standards of AlphaVille are based on a holistic quality management model. The developers refer to this model as an ethos, rather than a set of rules: „The 'AlphaVille concept' is, in fact, a philosophy that has as its main values honesty, reliability, objectivity, safety and respect. These values guide a strict quality-control policy, in which AlphaVille Urbanismo's employees, collaborators and suppliers must adhere to." [641]

The total quality control philosophy bears a resemblance of a 'religion'. The products, ergo the neighbourhoods, are supposed to represent this philosophy made concrete, thus also leading to a new elevated lifestyle. The developer's Quality-Control Manual resembles a bible. The guide is used to communicate the general concepts and to assure correct performance. In establishing quality standards for materials as well as procedures, it is aiming to transmit AlphaVille's approach not only within the enterprise, but also to all external project partners. These must contractually comply with all the standards throughout the whole collaboration. (Ibidem)

Evaluation and project monitoring are an integral part of the firm's quality management. All (infra)-structures put into practice are the subject of frequent check-ups and evaluations. This is supposed to lead to the best possible quality and to a higher level of customer satisfaction and loyalty.[642] (Ibidem)

After the completion of the scheme the evaluation and monitoring is outsourced to the hands of the individual residents. The approach is formalised in comprehensive regulatory frameworks and codes of the neighbourhoods. (Cf. Population: Resident groups) Developer

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[641] AlphaVille Urbanismo Website at www.alphaville.com.br, r26.11.2008

[642] The developer claims that his infrastructure technology was so advanced that its environmental standards became part the local municipal codes in retrospect (Cf. www.alphaville.com.br, r23.11.2008).

Summary – Development and Design

General

The three major developers of AlphaVille-Tamboré are the firms AlphaVille Urbanismo S.A., Tamboré S.A, and the MVT Ltda. Engineering AlphaVille Urbanismo developed the majority of the enclaves, the business district as well as a light industrial park. Tamboré (S.A.) developed an individual town scheme with half a dozen enclaves as well a significant shopping mall. MVT has developed the first green gated community (Gênesis) and plans to come up with the first mixed lifestyle superblock scheme (São Paulo Wellness).

Visionary middle-class businesspersons, representing a dynamic entrepreneurial spirit as it characterises Brazil's migratory milieu, founded all three companies. AlphaVille was the first start up in the area. Yorshiro Takaoka and Renato Albuquerque, two civil engineers founded the firm in the early 1970s.

After AlphaVille Urbanismo as well as Tamboré S.A. had been successfully developing the Barueri and Santana do Parnaíba site for more than 4 decades, both enterprises were taken over by two of Brazil's largest corporate real estate developers in 2006. In this context the firm Gafisa S.A. absorbed AlphaVille Urbanismo, while the enterprise Brascan Residential properties has bought Tamboré S.A. But even as the original ventures became subsidiaries of these larger conglomerates, they remain major stakeholders in the original area and beyond.

Organisational structure

AlphaVille Urbanismo S.A.'s headquarters are composed of 4 major divisions. Its structure reflects an equal focus on planning, implementation, marketing and managerial aspects. The developers of AlphaVille-Tamboré have been thriving along the spirit of a 'business oriented evolution model'. In this context, the visionary bosses of the main ventures (if Albuquerque, Takaoka, or de Ulhôa) are embedded in a club of like-minded peers. In addition they distinguish themselves by their intellectualism, professionalism, curiosity and openness, combining economic and political talent. According to the developers it was this 'determination' that, combined with the impact of modern management principles, has produced openness towards necessary adjustments in respect to the demands of specific times. And indeed, Takaoka's and Albuquerque's major achievement is primarily their ability to devise a new product through merging a set of previously existing ingredients with the right place and at the right time – as is the case with nearly all innovations.

These days AlphaVille-Tamboré attracts increasingly large corporate stakeholders. The takeovers of AlphaVille by Gafisa, and of Tamboré by Brascan, represent a trend of maturation and consolidation of the entire Brazilian real estate sector. In this context the big players tend control the markets, as well as to diversify their products and financial risks. As AlphaVille became one of four subsidiaries of Gafisa, it empowers the mother company to cover a wide spectrum of the market, ranging from luxury condominiums for the rich (covered by AlphaVille) to prefabricated housing models for the lower middle classes (covered by other subsidiaries).[643]

Strategy

Before AlphaVille was taken over by Gafisa, its residential products had acquired a national benchmark status. In addition, the firm was planning for a major national expan-

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[643] Another particularly interesting subsidiary is Bairro Novo: It develops standardised, large scale and fully integrated communities in the vicinity of large metropolitan areas along a model parallel to VilasAlpha.

sion with 46 new projects in the pipeline. This accomplishment can be traced back to a combination of several 'ingredients of success'.[644]

The fact that the firm's 'business oriented development model', as described above, was based on open principles rather than fixed dogmatism is among most important reasons for this triumph. This general context gave the firm the ability to balance solutions between tradition and progress, robustness and flexibility, and outsourcing and autonomy. At the same time as a great attention was laid on a 'serious and honest management model' based on business ethics, trust and firm principles, the firm's structure as well its outputs remained open for a process of continual learning, improvement and transformation. Moreover the right balance between outsourcing and autonomy was achieved, as Albuquerque and Takaoka have worked with the right networks of trusted partners, yet at the same time all crucial steps of the business process (research, prototyping, testing etc) have remained with the core company.

Without doubt AlphaVille's main product innovation is represented by development of the 'loteamento fechado horizontal', the controlled low-rise residential enclave. Notably, the model is based on a highly controlled environment, a perfected security strategy, a set of elaborate codes and regulations, and the concept of automanagement (self-government) through resident associations. Furthermore, the invention is physically defined by a perimeter wall with only one opening that demarcates a semi-private interior of the highest standards, composed of individual properties (garages, single family villas, and swimming pools), while club and service facilities have been placed on the outside – a form that apparently achieves the highest added value possible in suburban contexts. Moreover, each of the neighbourhood enclaves (Residencial) is handled as its own enterprise.

AlphaVille Urbanismo also became also known as the first Brazilian company to introduce environmental impact guidelines without any pressure from the public hand – a framework of increased competition and consolidating land markets spurred the drive.

Whereas AlphaVille's strategies were geared towards the constant improvement of one product, Gafisa, the new owner of the firm, has embarked on a corporate strategy of growth, diversification, and standardisation: The quest for growth has resulted in the acquisition of a set of successful market players, (e.g. AlphaVille) and in the agglomeration of one of Brazil's largest land reserves; The strategy of spatial diversification has resulted in a country-wide spread of ventures; The search for financial diversification (e.g. its Initial Public Offering in 2007) has led to the introduction of new transparent governance structures, based on new technologies, codes and management standards; And last but not least, the quest for standardisation has resulted in a limited and highly typified range of products, geared towards diverse income groups.

Implementation
An integral part of AlphaVille's achievement is also the strictly standardised and phased development process. Each project consists of six major phases: 1) Strategic Analysis, 2) Acquisition, 3) Master planning, 4) Marketing and Sale, 5) Construction, and 6) Occupation. In spite of that, the posterior 'automanagement' level, which implies that the residents run the project along an elaborated set of codes and regulations, is of utmost importance.

Indeed, the developers in the AlphaVille-Tamboré area are an example of the rising importance of international business quality standards for real estate markets in the Brazilian context. The case of AlphaVille-Tamboré demonstrates that the adaptation of pro-

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[644] To adopt Garvin's (1996) phrase

fessional business, financial, quality management and environmental codes from the international corporate world has had tremendous effect on business cultures, production processes, the shape of the final products, and – since we are talking about the real estate sector – also on the shape of urban environments.

The ISO 9001 and ISO 14001 guidelines account for the most important of these standards. While the former is a quality management norm calling attention to the entire process of production, the latter introduces guidelines for the environmental management of an enterprise. In this context, Gafisa, the firm that acquired AlphaVille in 2007, had been fully ISO 9000 certified in 2002. (When the firm went public on the NYSE in late 2007, it also decided to implement SAP instruments as well as the SOX certification standards.) In addition, Marcello Takaoka's MVT was among the first real estate companies in the country to receive the ISO 14001 certificate.

Among the important effects of the application of quality management standards is an ever-growing focus towards the whole process of product development – from finance, the planning and implementation stage, to the final satisfaction of the customer. AlphaVille's core enterprises greatly reflect this approach to quality management. The various prizes and awards the undertakings have received in the recent years confirm its success.

Indeed, the prevalent norms and codes significantly intervene in the production of urban space. Eventually the consolidation and 'industrialisation' of the real estate sector leads, among other things, to changing power hierarchies, modified roles of customers, an emphasis on short term profits, an increased relevance of representation and marketing, and the standardisation of typologies. At the same time as the customer becomes 'king' and various developers compete for his brand loyalty. Sales departments distribute customised newsletters and organise breakfasts at construction sites. The profiling of customers emerges as a standard occupation of marketing and sales departments, and demand-inducing sales techniques become a norm.

Ideology

In addition to the more pragmatic world of goals and strategies, AlphaVille, as many other New Towns, also has an ideological side to it. The new town demonstrates a set of visions and principles, which constitute its identity, and at the same time add to the elasticity, resilience and flexibility of the project. In this context the undertaking seeks to represent an alternative environment that is radically different from a 'normal' Brazilian city. This is best represented by the developer's slogan claiming to produce nothing less than "A better world for you". One of the results of this approach is that a strong corporate ethos is placed at the centre of the company's strategy. In this context values such as *honesty, reliability, objectivity, safety and respect* are supposed to be infused in the final products, to resound in the communities conduct, and to echo in the credibility of the firms' shares.

Design

Despite the fact that real estate entrepreneurs are the central figures driving the development of contemporary Neo Towns, and their context is now increasingly dominated by the placeless dynamics of project management standards, the role of Civil Engineers, Architects, Urban Designers as well as Planners in designing new urban spaces remains central.

The fact that planning and technical departments make up half of AlphaVille Urbanismo and reside at the core of the firm demonstrates a methodical weight of engineering and design disciplines. AlphaVille Urbanismo employs a small but forceful team of plan-

ners, architects and engineers. This group is supposed to sustain a close contact to the final product, maintain an efficient communicational structure, enhance synergies among the departments (marketing, finance, planning, implementation), and privately develop and test new innovative ideas up to maturity.

In addition, almost all developers, whether Tamboré, AlphaVille or Takaoka, work with external partners from the consulting business, research, governmental and non-governmental institutions. Likewise, external design consultants are regularly commissioned for their input of new ideas and to enhance the public image of a project. Some cases, such as Marcello Takaoka's Gênesis project, have even seen the involvement of representatives from NGO's, research institutions and academia.

Landscape architecture

Landscape architecture plays a particularly important role. This is the case as it facilitates the integration of an abstracted design culture and the local implementation of the projects. The high standing of the discipline is generated by the green and eco-friendly requirements along with the advanced design ethos. Significantly, in 2006 AlphaVille Urbanismo has come up a new project carrying the label of Burle Marx (an internationally renown icon of Brazilian landscape architecture). In addition the locally renowned Fernando Chacel, author of the EcoGênesis concept, was hired to produce AlphaVille's Rio de Janeiro scheme.

In the past high cultures of landscaping and design had remained an exception rather than the rule. AlphaVille's developers, for the most part of the project history, have utilised a more pragmatic and radical 'tabula rasa' approach, which involved the destruction of large parts of the topography and the clearance of almost the entire original vegetation. As a matter of fact, the strategy reflects, the (more or less conscious) desire to create a blank canvas on which to create a new and better world from scratch.

Planning

One of the most interesting aspects about AlphaVille is the fact the project does not have a master planner. Neither the municipal government nor the developers have drafted a spatial development strategy for the scheme. Consequently the urban fabric has emerged as a result of the self-organised combination of individual neighbourhood modules, which have each been thoroughly planned. Whether it is the result of the complex dynamics of self-organisation or of the invisible hand of the market remains open for debate.

Design strategy

Indeed, as AlphaVille appears far from chaotic and unorganised, the scheme, can serve as a model case for rejecting the hypothesis that the dynamics of the unregulated private sector must invariably lead to a disordered development without aesthetic qualities. In contrast, the case demonstrates that urban design emerges as an important factor in expanding the area's economic, social and cultural assets. Whereas the interior appearance of the neighbourhoods has played a crucial role from the very beginning, a particular paradigm shift can be observed to have occurred in mid 1990s, when most of the streetscapes and pocket parks of the downtown were redesigned with high aesthetic standards and spectacular landscaping at the pedestrian scale.

Despite a high emphasis on design and representation, the developers of AlphaVille-Tamboré have rarely preferred to market their products as oeuvres of internationally renowned urban designers. In this context, the main product – the Residencial – has always been handled more as a commercial innovation (technically and commercially), than a piece of art. Indeed, the AlphaVille neighbourhood was rather seen as a product

that, as much as a Porsche car or a Nokia mobile phone, had to remain open to be optimised and improved by the in-house team in close collaboration with a few trusted companies. Today, novel strategies towards prefabrication and turnkey buildings are on the rise, as popular tastes change and new (lower-middle income) customers arrive.[645]

Urban designers

As far as urban design is concerned, the offices of Reinaldo Pestana and Alfred Willer represent two of these few trusted partners with exclusive contracts. While Pestana is a central figure behind the AlphaVille-Tamboré scheme, Willer became a crucial stakeholder in the context of the brand's national diversification. Pestana was a close friend of Renato Albuquerque and Yoshiro Takaoka from the beginning. His office has authored the majority of the projects at the Barueri/Santana do Parnaíba site (AlphaVille SP, Tamboré, Genêsis and Aldeia da Serra). It also invented the term AlphaVille.

Alfred Willer is a renowned architect from Curitiba. He was invited to design AlphaVille Graciosa, AlphaVille's local scheme in this ecological model city. The project was destined to evolve into a landmark model of environmental design and marketing in the context of AlphaVille's national diversification and as a consequence Willer's office was commissioned with several national schemes. His son Marcello, co-designer of the Graciosa scheme, became the head of AlphaVille Urbanismo's national planning operations.

Architects

In contrast to its disregard of grand artistic schemes and its neglect of urban planning and city design in the last 35 years, AlphaVille emerges as a fertile ground for architectural designers. Indeed, the popularity of architecture is less a result of a fascination by the developers than a noteworthy effect of the scheme's philosophy and regulatory framework.

Because AlphaVille attracted such a critical mass of projects and high value individuals, the area has also become a well-established turf for renowned architectural offices. As a result, landmark projects by Marcos Acayaba (1981), Marcello Accioly Fragelli (1989), George Mills (1991), and MMBB Arquitetos (2001), Carlos Bratke (2005), or Gustavo Penna dot the residential neighbourhoods. Likewise, several commercial projects operate with renowned designers, such as the São Paulo office of Königsberger Vannucchi or the Miami based Arquitectonica.

Twofold rupture

AlphaVille seems to dwell on a twofold rupture – one with aesthetics and one with nature. Despite its openness towards architectural highlights, the project neither aims to be a holistic work of art nor does it intend to integrate itself into nature. In contrast to many other 'classical' New Towns, this NeoTown's architecture is rather based on a popular, bourgeois taste and on the aesthetic fulfilment of the individual household. The city's exceptional quality is based on the neighbourhood codes, as well as the outstanding infrastructure. In this context the rationales of engineering, novel management techniques and local statutes – which by no coincidence happen to be the core competencies of the developers – clearly dominate over architecture, design and planning ideals.

A second notable fracture occurs with nature. At the same time as AlphaVille colonises, abstracts and transforms nature into a pacified substitute of itself; it generates an eternal form of the same, which is indifferent to transformations on the other side of the

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[645] The techniques of industrial prefabrication, customised design, or Goldplating, have remained relatively insignificant so far.

fence. Forms of thematic design ('imagineering') and marketing largely facilitate the idealistic creation of of a synthetic nature. Engineering and landscaping serve as the major instruments in the actual realisation of this new 'pacified' environment.

Critique

Many of our observations in this chapter underline the assumption that the operational logic of a global new economy (efficiency, accountability, predictability, control and minimised risks), of which the real estate sector is an increasing part, is essentially contributing to an abstraction of landscapes and to a phenomenon to that many authors refer to as the increasing 'loss of place'. AlphaVille largely portrays the neglect of the local context (and nature), as well as the popularity of standardised typologies along these universal lines.

Indeed, while AlphaVille does not rely on internationally renowned star designers and planners, either of an international or a local calibre, thriving instead on a large pool of local expertise, the result can be dubbed a contemporary form of anonymous construction, rather than an holistic architectural masterpiece (in spite of the few architectural highlights). In this context the pattern of AlphaVille's highly controlled and homogeneous enclaves can be understood as the reverberation of a novel market logic in a local context. The resulting urbanisation pattern is significantly different from traditionally planned cities, as much as it is different from common types of sprawl.

Marketing

AlphaVille-Tamboré is a showcase of the rising importance of marketing tactics in urban development and design. Consumer oriented lifestyles are more and more penetrating into emerging economies (including Brazil) and establishing a fertile ground for the rising significance of modern advertising and sales techniques. The fact that AlphaVille was among the first real estate ventures in Brazil that embarked on modern commercialisation techniques plays a major role in the transformation of the local project into a universally recognised brand, and for the astonishing valorisation of its real estate products. In this context, techniques like 'transparent' enterprise, labelling, lifestyle branding and eco-theming are among the most fashionable strategies. The tactic of the 'transparent consumer' as well as the 'transparent enterprise' aim to enhance client/business relationships and establish a life-long brand loyalty. Clients are increasingly thought of as partners as opposed to business targets. Moreover, large firms such as Gafisa refine this concept by serving the tastes of various customer groups through a diversified basket of brands. Novel product images are constructed via holistic strategies of 'lifestyle branding cum socio ecological awareness', and not least combinations of the individual strategies above, such as eco-theming, are becoming progressively more important.

The rising importance of commercialisation is reflected by the momentous role that marketing and sales departments play in the corporate structures of AlphaVille-Tamboré's developers, Accordingly these may amount to 20 percent of the enterprise's activities. Gafisa employs a particularly striking sales strategy – here internal and external teams compete for the best sales performance.

The marketing specialists employ a wide set of traditional and new innovative instruments: sales outlets, showrooms, real-estate fairs, word-of-mouth advertising, newspaper ads, direct mail advertising, leaflets, telemarketing, newsletters, websites, and also a spectrum of their own journals. AlphaVille Urbanismo has even sponsored some episodes of a Brazilian soap opera.

In this new context, where the 'client is king', the marketing and customer relations departments act as 'sense organs' of the enterprise. Notably, their main mission is the

exploration of the needs and requirements of the environment, in order to gather information of how to adjust and refine the outputs. Commercialisation was the major driving force behind Gafisa's strategy of diversification, when the company decided to create a set of reputable labels, the so-called 'basket of brands', instead of flooding the markets with a vast range of products.

Geared to elite populations, AlphaVille has traditionally emphasised rather subtle forms of marketing. Branded theming approaches and the instrument of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) emerge as important (and stylish) commercialisation techniques from the last decade. Gafisa's Notting Hill apartment towers and Tamboré 11 exemplify a historic/geographic theming approach.[646]

At the moment, the ecological theming approach, in combination with lifestyle branding, represents a prominent trend among AlphaVille's educated elites. New neighbourhoods such as the Gênesis I and II projects as well as AlphaVille's Burle Marx represent this tendency, portraying a vast amount of green initiatives in combination with modern brands. Moreover AlphaVille's own lifestyle magazine praises the concept as: "a healthy life... in unity with nature… with new concepts... for the best moments...in a reference project... with guaranteed quality... and valorised property..."

The developers of AlphaVille-Tamboré are also among the first stakeholders in the Brazilian real estate sector to employ the concept of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). This is intended to increase the general reputation of their enterprise. AlphaVille was one of the first Brazilian developers to build up its own environmental impact guidelines, before any public regulations came into effect. These and other social and environmental programmes became bundled under the umbrella of CSR. While not-for-profit institutions such as the AlphaVille Foundation as well as the Instituto Tamboré undertake the programmes, the spread of the brand's name is a welcome side-effect in this context.

Maintenance

The management and maintenance of AlphaVille is divided into two parts. While the developers run and maintain the place during the construction phase, resident associations take over all significant jobs after the completion. It seems that the rich framework of historical precedents and best practices of privately elite neighbourhoods in São Paulo stimulated this set up. Security in particular accounts for the largest share of the maintenance cost, amounting to 80 percent of the extra fees.

The standards of AlphaVille's are based on a holistic quality management model. In this context AlphaVille Urbanismo's employees, collaborators and suppliers are asked to comply with a basic set of values such as honesty, reliability, objectivity, safety and respect. Accordingly an enormous Quality-Control Manual (or 'Bible') is employed to communicate the concepts and to assure correct performance. As AlphaVille's neighbourhoods are supposed to represent a tangible result of this philosophy and aimed to stimulate new-elevated lifestyles. Regular evaluation and project monitoring are integral elements of the firm's approach to quality management and in this context all (infra)- structures are subject of frequent checks.

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[646] Interestingly lifetyle issues are among the most popular topics of advertising strategies while the aspect of security, with its negative connotations, plays only a minor role.

Finance – Concentrated diversification

Table 37: Selected financial indicators of AlphaVille-Tamboré

Supply side finance	
Profit strategies	Growth, diversification, increased efficiency, joint ventures, own credit and mortgage schemes
Impact of FDI	Indirect, through urban infrastructure funds and international financial markets
Subsidies	no direct subsidies
Profits	Increasing relevance of joint ventures (local land holders, or important brands), diversification, e.g. towards the lower middle income segment
Planned annual return rates	30 percent
Products	Whole spectrum - from housing to land development to modern financial products (ordered by increasing relevance)
Financial products	Shares in Brazil and in the US
Average increase of real estate values in AL-phaVille from 2001 to 2005	60 percent
Total investment volume of AlphaVille Urbanismo in 2007	> 500 million US$
Gafisa's assets in 2008 (AlphaVille's mother company	~2,7 billion US$
Gafisa's revenues in 2008	740 million US$
Value of projects launched by Gafisa in 2008	350 million US$
Annual return on average equity	~ 20 percent
Number of land banks controlled by Gafisa in 2008	247 different sites in more than 70 cities and 21 states (75 percent part of joint ventures)
Value of land banks controlled by Gafisa in 2008	~ 8 billion US$
Amount of reinvestments	30-40 percent
Demand side finance	
Required amount of prefinancing when buying a property	~ 30 percent
Monthly maintenance fees	~ 120 US$ (80 percent for security)
Price of undeveloped hacienda land	10 BRL/ m2 (US$ 5)
Price of serviced land (AlphaVille)	400 BRL/ m2 (US$ 200)
Price of serviced land (Barueri. 'Outside the walls')	200 BRL/ m2 (US$ 100)

Price of serviced land (São Paulo)	800 BRL/ m2 (US$ 400)
Price of upscale apartment in AlphaVille	> US$ 200,000
Price of a lower middle class apartment outside	US$ 25,000
Estimated household income	> 20 minimum salaries/ month (~US$ 3600)
Nominal Incomes (BRL)*	Santana de Parnaíba = 1800; São Paulo State = 1200; Carapicuiba = 624

All Financial data quoted by google-finance, http://www.google.com/finance?q=NYSE:GFA, r12.05.2009
*Cf. IBGE 2007

Introduction

> *"The housing market in Brazil operates in a way which is beyond the wildest dreams of US homebuilders. The sector has very little leverage. A number of government programs help people obtain mortgages. The number of homes being sold is increasing by about two million a year." (24/7 Wall Street on May 21, 2008; at: www.247wallst.com, r13.03.2009)*

Finance is one of the most fascinating yet often neglected aspects of planned cities. The question of whether New Towns are financially sustainable is the deciding factor in whether these typologies can be regarded as a success. This is valid in particular for private sector schemes. The issue is even more interesting because planned cities that have managed to breach the threshold of profitability seem to be extremely rare – at least if we follow the findings of Alexander Garvin (1996). Garvin names Irvine as the only example on the North American subcontinent matching profitability criteria. He claims that all other planned cities failed, mostly because the private sector was overburdened by long-term risks such as major recessions or financial crises. (Radburn, for example, was completed only to 50 percent.) In this context the question arises: Are 21st century NeoTowns truly examples of a superior more sustainable approach?

Therefore the following subchapter aims present an overview of the financial profile of AlphaVilleTamboré.[647] We will concentrate in particular on its economic profile and the financial strategies of AlphaVille Urbanismo as well as its new owner Gafisa.

Demand side

Housing cost

> *"Despite the fact that the high quality of the projects in AlphaVille has its price, AlphaVille remains cheaper than living in an upscale São Paulo apartment" (Davidson 2004)*

The financial success of the privately developed New Town AlphaVille-Tamboré is mainly founded on the principle that its products were exclusively geared to prosperous

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[647] Due to the comprehensive character of this work as well as the background of the author, the examination at hand can only provide a general idea of the financial aspects. In other words it can only prepare the ground for detailed studies to come.

middle and upper income clients.[648] This is in stark contrast to the social goals of many traditional New Town projects.

AlphaVille's precious lots cost 40 times more than undeveloped agricultural land in São Paulo's hinterlands[649] and at least twice as much as those in its environs. [650] A 503 square metre lot in the hilly eco-neighbourhood Genêsis II, for example, sells for BRL 306.830 or BRL 610 per square metre (~ US $280). In contrast developed lots in Barueri are available at around BRL 200 per square metre.[651]

Condominium style apartments in the AlphaVille Tamboré area range from BRL 200.000 to 500.000, or BRL 3000 to 6000 per square metre. Individual mansions are available from BRL 300.000 to 800.000 at square metre prices of BRL 6000 and above.[652]

In contrast a lower middle class apartment with three bedrooms developed by Tenda in Garulhos the Periphery of São Paulo start at BRL 50,000 (or US $22.000).[653]

Table 38: Property prices in AlphaVille-Tamboré and São Paulo compared

Type	m2 price in BRL (US$)
Farmland in the Hinterlands	10 (4,3)
Lot in Barueri	200 (86)
Lot in AlphaVille	400 (174)
FIT Apartment in Garulhos	625 (271)
Gafisa Condominium in AlphaVille	3000 (1304)
Apartment in Hygienópolis	5500 (2609)
House in AlphaVille	6000 (2609)

Own research based on real estate data

Availability of mortgages

One of the most significant aspects of consumer side finance is the availability of financial means. The availability of secured credit plays an important role in the development of a formal housing market for the mainstream population. Its non-availability explains the success of schemes such as AlphaVille-Tamboré. Facing this gap the developers, e.g. Gafisa, try to augment their sales by offering their own lending schemes to prospective customers via the bank of their choice. Each of the developments has custom tailored programmes. Gafisa's customers can choose from two alternatives: Firstly a "short-term plan," in which financing is extended up to the end of construction; and secondly, a

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[648] A prime property in Brazil costs about 28 times the average annual per capita GDP (Cf. http://www.globalpropertyguide.com/Latin-America/Brazil/, r.28.12.2008.) in other words it is out of reach for the average household. The average square metre prices of prime residential properties in the premier urban centres range at US$ 1891 (Ibidem). This is the highest amount after Argentina's US$ 2293. An entire home of 120 square metres ranges at US$ 226.000. Rents for a prime 120-metre apartment range at US$ 1240.

[649] Farmland in SP state costs about BRL 10 per square metre (www.imoveisvirtuais.com.br/fazendassp.htm, r12.03.2009)

[650] For example 85.000 for a square 450 lot in the closed condominium of Tarumã, or BRL 26,000 for a 140 square metre lot in Berueri's Jardim Graziela (Cf. http://comprar-terreno.vivastreet.com.br/vender-terreno-sitios-fazendas+barueri/terreno-em-condominio-fechado-santana-do-Parnaíba/12167946; or at www.adoosbrasil.com; r12.03.2009)

[651] Cf.:www.achaja.com.br/imoveis/?page=classificados_anuncio&id=9146&tit=sao.paulo.sp.terreno.para.venda.em.alphaville.condominio.genesis.2.quadra.14.lote.01., r12.03.2009

[652] Cf. www.carlosfernandes.com.br/, r12.02.2009

[653] Cf. http://brasil.trovit.com/imoveis/casa-alphaville, http://brasil.trovit.com/imoveis/apartamento-3-dormitorios-alphaville, r12.03.2009

"long-term plan," in which the developer provides a loan for up to 120 months after the end of the construction.[654]

Box 43: Brazils mortgage market

Brazil's market does not have a fully developed a housing mortgage tradition like for example the US with its Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation (Freddie Mac) and the Federal National Mortgage Association (Fannie Mae). New programmes are just underway. [655] Even today the mortgage market is smaller than 2 percent of the national GDP.[656] Prior to the reforms, most construction was financed by developer-financed instalment loans[657]: 85 percent of all Brazilian homes were financed by the real estate sector. The high cost and high taxes of this procedure made it impossible for lower income segments to participate in this process, as the developers wanted to be paid for the increased risk (Ibidem).
Mortgage schemes for lower middle-income groups only start in the late 20th century.[658] In 1999 the benchmark interest rates were successively reduced from 42 percent to about 12 percent in 2007. Notably this enables a whole spectrum of middle income Brazilians earning between 1 and 15 minimum salaries per month[659] to get a 20-year lending rate of about 8 to 12 percent, for a house of BRL 100,000 (US$ 50.000). The government-backed Caixa Economica Federal supplied the funding. New home mortgages surged an average of 49 percent a year in 2005 and 2006 after president da Silva announced a plan to subsidise materials and increase government- backed mortgage loans. The programme allowed workers to automatically deduct mortgage payments from their pay cheques, raising demand for housing in 2006 and 2007. As a consequence property sales in São Paulo rose by percent in 2006 to a record 28,324 units. (Cf. Ragir 2007)

Supply side

Value of the undertakings

In contrast to the situation that was described in India as well as Indonesia, where grand corporate- or state institutions have controlled the development of BSD and Navi Mumbai[660], both Alphaville as well as Tamboré began as small 'garage ventures' gradually developing into prosperous middle class enterprises. Indeed, it seems that here in the suburbs of São Paulo, our self-made private-sector entrepreneurs, Renato Albuquerque, Nuno Alves, Yoshiro and Marcelo Takaoka, Arthur Rodrigues, Fábio Ulhôa and others (Cf. above: Developers) have tapped into a gold mine leading to irreversible exploration of the housing and lifestyle needs of the rising middle classes. In 2007 the total invest-

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[654] The "short-term plan" consists of a down payment of 20-30 percent and financing of the balance on monthly instalments up to the delivery of the unit. The "long-term plan" for finished units requires a down payment of 30 percent and financing of the remaining balance in up to 120 monthly instalments. The "long-term plan" for units under construction requires a down payment of 10 percent and provides financing of 20-30 percent in up to 30 monthly instalments until delivery of the unit and financing of the remaining 60-70 percent in up to 120 additional monthly instalments. (Cf. sec.edgar-online.com/gafisa-sa/20-f-annual-and-transition-report-foreign-private-issuer/2008/06/18/Section6.aspx, r12.01.2009)

[655] This fact is credited to be one of the major factors behind the country's housing shortage of about 9 million units by the turn of the century.

[656] Financial Analysts confirm that before the Plano Real in 1994, mortgage lending was not possible. This was mainly due to the context of hyperinflation and exorbitant interest rates (Cf. Dubitsky 1998:1).

[657] E.g. it was common that the private sector real estate developers and builders financed construction with pre-payments (Cf. Dubitsky 1998:2, Cf. above: Developers).

[658] The reforms are largely based on the passage of the law 9514 in November 1997: "Law 9514 established a comprehensive legal framework for changing the face of the Brazilian mortgage industry, principally through the introduction of a new securitization vehicle that will improve liquidity in the mortgage market." (Cf. Dubitsky 1998:1)

[659] E.g. BRL 350 (US$ 181) and BRL 4.900 (US$ 2.500)

[660] Sinar Mas in the case of BSD and the state of Maharashtra the case of Navi Mumbai

ment volume of AlphaVille had broken the billion BRL mark.[661] It was in the same year that both of the firms, as we know, fell prey to an increasingly maturing and consolidating national (and global) real estate market. This was not coincidently the same time, when Brazil became a real and self-proclaimed middle class country.[662] Huge publicly listed real estate conglomerates have acquired both AlphaVille and Tamboré. [663] Gafisa, the buyer of AlphaVille Urbanismo, was 7 times larger than the Barueri firm it acquired in late 2007.[664]

The value of the projects launched by Gafisa in the third quarter of 2008 amounted to BRL 762 million (~ US$ 350 million). This number represented a 70 percent rise compared to the same period of the previous year. The fact can be explained by the acquisition of AlphaVille, the formation of FIT, as well of course by Gafisa's arrival on the US American stock market (cf. below). While almost two thirds of Gafisa's products are usually pre-sold before construction starts, the two metropolitan regions of Rio and São Paulo made amounted to more than half (56 percent) of the total market.[665]

Thriving on the process of consolidation and growth of the recent years Gafisa was able to assemble one of the greatest urban land banks of Brazil.[666] By October 2008 the land in the company's hands was valued at BRL 17.8 billion (US$ 7,8 billion). It consisted of 247 different sites in more than 70 cities and 21 states. The capacity of the land had an equivalent of 115.000 housing units.[667]

Revenues

Gafisa became one of the largest real estate conglomerates in Brazil due to its ability to raise substantial funds on stock markets as well as its capability to diversify.[668] In 2008, after having acquired the brands of AlphaVille and Tenda, Gafisa recorded net operating revenues amounting to BRL 1.7 billion (US $740 million).[669] As a result the firm's net income increased by 20 percent to BRL 110 million. At the same time, new project launches amounted to BRL 4,2 billion.[670] While the Gafisa and Tenda brands comprised 46 percent of the new schemes respectively, AlphaVille made up the remaining 8 percent.[671] Pre-sales amounting to BRL 2,4 billion created a relative independence from credit markets. Not least, the 2008 full year EBITDA (Earnings Before Interest, Taxes, Depreciation and Amortization) reached BRL 221 million at a 12.7 percent margin) and with a 61 percent increase compared to 2007.

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[661] In the year 2005 alone AlphaVille Urbanismo SA increased its investment volume by 46 percent from BRL 750 Millions to BRL 1,1 Billions (Cf. Oliveira 2004).

[662] In this year 52 percent of the country's population earned between BRL1064 and BRL 4561 a year. (Cf. The Economist 2009: Bourgeoing bourgeoise; quoting the Brazilian Getulio Vargas Foundation; p 11)

[663] In addition Gafisa's and Brascan's shopping tour of 2007 was largely enabled by favourable framework of sinking interest rates. In 2005 alone, the official lending fell from 19 percent to 11.75 percent, while rates had been comparatively high for many years before.

[664] In 2007 AlphaVille was worth close to BRL 400 Million (US$ 147 Million). GAFISA's Firm Value (FV) in 2006 was BRL 2,8 Billion (US$ 1 Billion). Gafisa acquired 60 percent of AlphaVille's shares at a discounted rate for BRL 201,7 million (88 Million US$). (Cf. GAFISA 2007: 6)

[665] Cf. Gafisa Fact Sheet 3Q08 at: www.gafisa.com.br/ir, r12.02.2009

[666] This represented an increase by almost 50 percent as compared to year before and was a direct result of the acquisition of AlphaVille Urbanismo. (Cf. Gafisa Fact Scheet 3Q08 at: www.gafisa.com, r12.02.2009)

[667] In contrast to the immense value represented by the land owned by the firm, Gafisa's cash equivalents totalled only a tiny fraction. The enterprises cash reserves amounted to INR 790 million, while the value of completed units was estimated at BRL $250 million (Cf. Gafisa Fact Scheet 3Q08 at: www.gafisa.com.br/ir, r12.02.2009).

[668] We have seen that this diversification occurs vertically in regard to the structure of the firm, horizontally in regard to the range of products offered, and geographically.

[669] This number was an increase by 45 percent as compared to the previous year.

[670] Increasing by 82 percent compared to 2007.

[671] This again is pointing to the rising importance of the lower income sector.

Eventually the revenues were mainly driven by the performance of the AlphaVille as well as the Tenda brands.[672] AlphaVille remains one of the most profitable parts of the firm. The brand operated with profit margins at twice the rates that are typical for the real estate market. A typical AlphaVille neighbourhood has an EBITDA[673] profit margin of 25 to 30 percent. The same number for the mother company amounted to 13 percent.[674]

Trends

AlphaVille, its peers and the parent companies are thriving on the growth of Brazil's middle classes – e.g. on the particular desire of these classes to appropriate private property. AlphaVille earns most of its profits by selling one specific product. This 'product' is a 'modern and enlightened' lifestyle concept. It is represented by an innovative product brand, the AlphaVille 'residencial'. This specific type of gated horizontal condominium is based on a set of principles such as autonomous governance by the residents, local codes with strict rules for zoning and behaviour, infrastructure of the highest international standards, availability of nearby service and infrastructure facilities, a large perimeter fence and a high quantity of private security personnel. The main output is the single-family building unit with a garage for up to three cars. (Cf. Gonçalvez 1997: 168).

With most of the available land developed by the end of the 1990s, the AlphaVille-Tamboré area had reached a certain degree of saturation and consolidation. Yet at the same time the pressure for urbanisation remained high. Consequently the early 2000s have witnessed an extraordinary boom in real estate prices. In the five years between 2001 and 2006 the value of an average real estate object in the AlphaVille area has increased by 60 percent (Ramiro 2006). This recent valorisation leads to a new generation of projects. In the segment of guarded horizontal condominiums, for example, special products for niche markets such as Genêsis I and II, Burle Marx and Tamboré 11 become possible.[675] In addition, AlphaVille's downtown areas have experienced an increasing densification, paralleled by a recent boom of mixed superblock schemes (Cf. above).

In the end the recent trend towards growth and consolidation as well as the desire to reduce risks has resulted in a whole basket of diversified products. Turnkey houses, vertical condominiums, serviced land, and office and retail products increase the variety in the property market. In addition, a growing range of financial commodities obtainable on the financial markets augments the product range.

Strategies

The generation of major profits of AlphaVille across Brazil is based on the added value generated by the conversion of agricultural land into serviced urban land in well-connected peripheral locations. Since AlphaVille's site at Barueri in the meantime has reached a certain level of saturation, today the main profits are based on ongoing growth, densification and diversification of the products.

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[672] The deal to acquire the majority Construtora Tenda SA was signed only in October 2008. It turned Gafisa suddenly into one of the market leaders in the dynamic lower middle class market for private properties. (All Cf. Gafisa's financial report for 4Q08; March9th 2009, Rio de Janeiro; abailable at the company's Website: www.gafisa.com.br/ir, r12.03.3009)

[673] E.g. Earnings before interests, taxes, depreciation and amortisation

[674] Cf. Gafisa's financial report for 4Q08 at www.gafisa.com.br/ir

[675] Tamboré 11, a BRL 30 million investment, with the theme of the French region Provence, was referred to as one of the most modern and luxurious enterprises of its kind on the market. A property in the neighbourhood fetches BRL 10 million.

A factor that has greatly contributed to the profitability of the ventures is an environment of low leverage – a fact that is highly envied by peers in Western countries. Usually, a developer does not begin a project until 70 percent of the properties are under contract. A typical buyer puts down 25 percent to 30 percent of the total purchase price in cash.

New dimensions of maximising returns and minimising risks

AlphaVille's and Gafisa's strategies to maximise returns and minimize risks not only comprise a concentration on the improvement of the quality of the real estate products, they also comprise financial strategies towards growth and diversification at various levels. This strategy of 'economies of scale' is represented by a pursuit to raise as much money as possible, to acquire enormous land banks, and to absorb up important competitors – along the principle of 'the winner that takes it all'. Furthermore, the drive towards diversification comprises strategies to offer a diversified basket of products represented by a bunch of subsidiaries (some of them listed as independent corporations).

An important part of the diversification strategy is the geographic spread of risks through investment across multiple locations. In this context Gafisa invests in promising future markets: 43 percent of all its land reserves are located outside of the classical centres of São Paulo and Rio. Most of the land is located in urban peripheries outside these traditional centres. Yet, as a matter of fact the developer owns only a quarter of the land it controls. The majority of 75 percent is comprised by land-swapping deals with local landowners. These then receive a certain amount of the finished product after the completion of the project.[676]

Financial products

The products brought to the market by AlphaVille, Tamboré, Gafisa and Brascan are not limited to the physical world, such as a single family home or an apartment, and are not bounded to limited group of clients. Today essentially everyone can buy a piece of AlphaVille and Tamboré, as the assets of Gafisa and Brascan are traded on national and international stock markets. Indeed, this is one of the advantages of 'scale' of large real estate conglomerates, which are intrinsically attached to a wide network of global operations.

Gafisa is listed under GFSA at the Novo Mercado of São Paulo's Stock Exchange BOVESPA since 2006.[677] Only one year later the firm became the first Brazilian home-builder to be listed at the New York Stock Exchange, NYSE (under the name 'GFA').[678] Construtora Tenda SA, the firm catering for the lower middle classes that is also controlled by Gafisa is separately listed at the Novo Mercado segment of the BOVESPA under TEND3.

Box 44: Gafisa's IPO

When it offered its shares globally in 2007, Gafisa raised BRL 1,03 billion (US$ 493 million). The company sold its shares in Brazil and also in the U.S. in the form of American Depositary Shares, or ADS. The investment Bank Merrill Lynch was the lead coordinator

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[676] (Cf. Gafisa Fact Sheet 3Q08 at: www.gafisa.com, r12.02.2009).

[677] Brascan Residential Properties SA, the new owner of Tamboré SA, is listed as BISA3 at São Paulo's stock exchange.

[678] Gafisa concluded its initial public offering of common shares in the United States by March 17, 2007 resulting in a public float of approximately 78.6 percent of our total share capital at the conclusion of the offering. The firms Equity International and GP beneficially remained the largest shareholders owning 14.2 percent and 7.3 percent of the company's total capital stock. Gafisa's stock at NYSE was offered for US $25, it peaked to almost US $50 in May 2008. By mid March 2009 it was selling for US$ 7.50.

of the operation. The Banks UBS, Pactual, Itau BBA, HSBC and Citigroup were among the main investors.[679]

As a matter of fact, in 2006 and 2007 there was a wave of share offerings among Brazilian real estate companies. This boom was strongly correlated with a decline in Brazil's benchmark Selic reference interest rate. From mid-2005 to earlier in 2007, more than 20 real estate companies debuted on the capital market, among them Cyrela, Rossi Residencial SA (RSID3.BR), Company SA (CPNY3.BR), Abyara (ABYA3.BR), Brascan Residential Properties SA (BISA3.BR) and Klabin Segall (KSSA.BR). Significantly, in this period alone these developers have raised US$ 7.84 billion in initial and secondary Brazilian stock offerings. Cyrela and Gafisa are the two largest Brazilian developers.[680]

→ Illustration D-34: Stock Quote GFA

Lending bodies, investors, banks

The fact that Gafisa's products are handled by various subsidiaries has the effect of facilitating the exploitation of financial means from various sources. While the lower income project range of Tenda (formerly Fit) and Bairro Novo thrive on direct and indirect government subsidies, the presence at international money markets eases the inflow of global investments. Tenda has agreements with Caixa Econômica Federal and with private banks.[681]

One of the result of Gafisa's international public offering in New York was, for example, that the Chicago based firm Equity International (EI) acquired a stake of about 18 percent of the firm.[682] Equity International was the firm that had organised Gafisa's appearance on the international scene[683] EI's subsidiary Equity Residential is the largest apartment owner in the United States, Equity Office properties the largest office owner in the country.[684] [685]

Summary – *Finance*

The examination of the financial aspects of NeoTowns is of particular interest, because it bears with it the question of whether a privately planned city of the 21st century can be more profitable than its 20th century equivalent. While AlphaVille is geared to prosperous elites and passes the profitability test with furore, it remains open how far this success is transferable to other locations and domains.

The fact that in contrast to most other planned cities, the developers of the area began as small 'garage ventures' and then gradually developed into prosperous middle class enterprises can be regarded as one of the fundamentals of the project's financial success. Evidently it was the tapping of the rapidly growing market of rising middle classes that led to self-propelling snowballing effects. The result was that the total investment volume of AlphaVille broke the billion BRL mark in 2007, and that both of the ventures, AlphaVille Urbanismo and Tamboré S.A. were absorbed by two real estate conglomerates

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[679] Cf. www.wallstreet-online.de/diskussion/1119230-1-10/gafisa-gibt-sein-boerrsendebut-in-den-usa, 09.02.2009.

[680] Cf. http://www.bloomberg.com/apps/news?pid=20601086&sid=axj8kMQdhk8A&refer=latin_america, r03.05.2009

[681] Cf. www.tenda.com/en/history.aspx, r12.03.2009

[682] Cf. Gafisa Fact Sheet 3Q08 at: www.gafisa.com, r12.02.2009

[683] Cf. www.equityinternational.com

[684] The firm is chaired by Sam Zell, a Chicago billionaire and real estate entrepreneur who also owns the publishing company of the Chicago Tribune and the Los Angeles Times as well as Chicago Clubs. Zell is also one of the founders and supporters of Wharton's renowned real estate school (Cf. en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sam_Zell, r12.03.2009).

[685] In addition to Gafisa, EI has also substantial stakes in BR Malls, Brazil's largest retail property owner and operator (BZ:BRML3), Xinyuan (XIN), a fast-growing regional homebuilder in China, as well as Homex (HXM), Mexico's leading homebuilder (This and more of Mr Zell's whereabouts is listed at his profile at: http://www.equityinternational.com/team/team_zell.aspx, r12.03.2009)

of a multiple size, in the context of a consolidation of the entire national real estate market. The purchaser of AlphaVille Urbanismo, Gafisa, for example, was seven times larger when it acquired the Barueri firm in late 2007. Gafisa had just extended its leading position on the Brazilian market by going public and went on a shopping tour for smaller but powerful peers in order to inflate and diversify. The process was mainly facilitated by interest rates of unusually low levels since 2005.

The character of the products created also reflects the shifting role of finances. AlphaVille's basic product was a large single-family building unit with a garage for up to three cars. Gafisa, in contrast, has embarked a whole basket of diversified products as a reaction to recent trends of growth and consolidation, as well as the desire to reduce risks. Notably these new products range from the real markets of turnkey houses and Asian-style superblocks to an increasing array of 'virtual' merchandise, from mortgages to stocks, available on monetary exchanges.

The financial success of the privately developed New Town AlphaVille-Tamboré is essentially founded on the wealth of prosperous middle and upper income clients. The case AlphaVille demonstrates that a private developer can afford to concentrate on profitable customers – in contrast to the social goals of most public New Town ventures. In this manner AlphaVille's developers were able to make the most of the appreciation of land values. A developed lot in AlphaVille sells for 40 times as much as agricultural land, and housing in the area fetches 5 to 10 times more than starter homes for the lower middle classes.

Another notable advantage is that prosperous clients are relatively independent from credit markets. AlphaVille (and Gafisa), as much as their Brazilian peers, sell a high proportion of their products for cash in advance and accept high down payments in cash – a fact that is highly envied by peers from developed countries. Furthermore, as Brazil's market has not yet developed a housing mortgage tradition like for example the US, AlphaVille-Tamboré's developers explore new customer financing instruments in order to reach new customer groups. In this context Gafisa came up with several own mortgage schemes in collaboration with the private banking sector.

At the same time as the area of AlphaVille-Tamboré is gradually consolidating, more trends such as growth, consolidation, diversification, and increased instability are coming to the fore. The early 2000s have seen an extraordinary boom in real estate prices. In just the five years between 2001 and 2006, the value of an average real estate object in AlphaVille has increased by 60 percent. Whereas the wave of consolidation and valorisation has led to a new generation of projects, ranging from luxury eco-life style villa enclaves to the formerly mentioned mixed use superblock schemes, the future of many projects remains highly uncertain, facing the 2009 financial crisis.

While the complete market (whether real estate or automobile) undergoes a dual trend of growth and diversification, developers have entered an arms race. Accordingly, along the motto 'the winner takes all' they seek to raise the highest amount of money in the shortest time possible, to acquire the largest land banks, and to absorb the most important competitors. In addition, risks are minimised and markets expanded by a diversified, but specific range of product types, and by the quest for geographical diversification. The strategies are refined even further, for instance by practices such as land swapping deals.

In this manner Gafisa, AlphaVille's new owner, was able to assemble one of the greatest urban land banks of Brazil, with about 250 landed assets in more than 70 cities and

21 states, and an aggregated values of 8 billion USD. The firm emerged as one the big players, with net operating revenues amounting to USD 750 million.[686]

While AlphaVille's mansions were exclusively devoted to the affluent classes, Gafisa's strategy of products and brand diversification facilitates the employment of financial means from various sources. While, for example, its low-income schemes (Tenda and Bairro Novo) thrive on direct and indirect government subsidies, the firms presence at international money markets eases the inflow of global investments.

As a result fiscal products became an essential ingredient of the product range and practically everybody can buy a piece of AlphaVille or Tamboré. Indeed, with Gafisa's (GFA) and Brascan's (BIS) shares and bonds traded on national and international stock markets, AlphaVille became intimately connected to (and dependent on) the complex and enigmatic networks of global economic flows. Gafisa's global IPO in 2007 resulted in about USD 500 million of fresh capital.

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[686] In spite of that, AlphaVille has remained one of its most profitable parts. It operates with profit margins of 20 to 30 percent in 2007, at twice the rates that were characteristic for the real estate market.

Control –
AlphaVille as Brazil's richest squatter settlement

Table 39: Overview on Navi Mumbai's stakeholders and regulatory framework

Stakeholders	
Underlying power relations	'Informal elite-regimes', pragmatic 'nullum ius sine actione' approach
Relevance of international lending institutions' guidelines	NO (Only indirect through urban infrastructure funds)
PPPs, Joint ventures	YES (Increasing relevance of joint ventures on the private-private, as well as the private-civil nexus)
Public-private nexus	Emergence of parallel systems in the public and private spheres (example: schools)
Regulations	
Government approach during start of the project	Strong hand, technocratic, liberal (laissez-faire approach to urban development)
Important regulations at federal level	Housing finance system (FSH) of the late 1960s, law of subdivisions (Lei 6766/1979), Edilício condominium (Law 4.591/ 1964), Lei da Responsabilidade Territorial Urbana (PL 3057/2000) Estatuto da Cidade (City Statues, 2001)
Significant regulations at regional level	1993: Lei de Vilas (11605/94), Plano Diretor Estrategico PDE (Municipal law 13.430), Cidade Legal (2009),
Major change of economic paradigm	1991 and 2006 (Plano Collor and Real; Lula's socially oriented policy)
Social goals	NO (only in the CSR strategy)
Own town status	NO (AV-T is part of the municipalities of Barueri and Santana de Parnaíba)
Regional planning framework	1973 RMSP and Gegran as a regional planning institution, Graphohab as controlling body for housing projects since 1991
Master plan at start	YES (1971 PDDI, yet the project was not a part of the plan)
Allowable heights and densities (FAR)	estimated FAR of 0,5 for the residential areas (privately set)
Local master plan	NO (Not even the developer has a master plan)
Legal conflicts	18.000 residents are residing on illegally subdivided lands; the typology of the 'residencial' (loteamento fechado) is not foreseen by federal laws

Introduction

The regulatory framework is the sixth and last of the key perspectives employed in the context of our investigation. AlphaVille-Tamboré seems to represent the ideal liberal model, as it develops without any direct government subsidies, based on entrepreneurialism and the 'pure' quest for profit.

So far, AlphaVille's spatial context was examined in the framework of the project's 'Predecessors and Peers' (Cf. Context) as well as along multiple scales. The subchapter on the project's population implicitly examined the framework of stakeholders, and the private (corporate) sector was part of the investigation on the developers. Yet what is still missing is an understanding of the impact of the public sector. Consequently this subchapter will be devoted to this matter.

Indeed, it was one of the main initial points of this thesis that in addition to the civic and the corporate sector, the public sphere plays a decisive role in the process of production of space and thereby also the generation of contemporary cities.[687] In addition to some fundamentals examined in the context section[688] this part aims to delineate the particular relationship (or non-relationship) of the AlphaVille-Tamboré venture to the public sphere. In this context the specific role of public institutions as well as of important regulations will be elucidated. The inquiry will proceed along various scales (national, regional, local) and subjects (land use regulations, spatial development plans, subsidies and programmes, public-private ventures). A specific emphasis will be put on the legal standing of AlphaVille-Tamborè's residential enclaves, as this topic is at the core of some of the central contradictions of the scheme.

The examination of AlphaVille-Tamboré's legal status and its regulatory framework brings to the fore many remarkable contradictions and ambiguities. The private town undertaking appears as a new terrain in penetrating various traditional definitions of the 'city' and traditional concepts of the urban (civilisation) versus the peripheral (wilderness), formal versus informal and public versus private.

Stakeholders

National

Role of the state

The 'Milestones' section of this chapter demonstrated that AlphaVille developed in a context of a strong state, but with a low impact on spatial planning. The regulatory planning void can be linked to the overall status of a developing country (economical, social, demographic). Yet, in addition there is a strong linkage to a liberal, e.g. business friendly, disposition of the dictatorial regime of the period, with its minimal regulatory intervention. While the efforts of the autocratic government sought to revitalise the national economy along a liberal techno-bureaucratic method, the same liberal approach has resulted in a laissez-faire approach to public intervention, at least as far as planning and urban management are concerned. The introduction of the housing finance system (FSH) and the reformation of the national housing bank emerged as the most important milestones in this regard.

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[687] This understanding is fundamentally orientated along models developed by Henri Lefebvre (1979). (Cf. the Introductory Chapter)

[688] Cf. above: Context, São Paulo Stakeholders and driving forces in regional development and planning

In this context it can be supposed that the liberally minded regime supported the developer's strategies of consolidating and developing the site, disregarding any legal ambiguities and former occupants.[689]

Regional

Regional planning institutions had little impact on the AlphaVille scheme. When São Paulo's administration started to recognise the necessity of organising growth at a regional scale it initiated planning institutions on a regional level. Yet while these inspired colleagues and decision makers, they largely lacked the necessary legal power.

Crucially, on June 8th in 1973 the Região Metropolitana de São Paulo (RMSP) was created by the first regional planning institution named Gegran – as the city was busting out of all seams (Cf. Bogus 2004: 10).[690] The resulting 'Macrometrópole' combined 39 municipalities and created an important setting for the economic and demographic growth to come. Yet, since the RMSP has never managed to a set up a Development Council, it was incapable of orchestrating the development process of the region (Cf. Rolim 2006: 6).[691] The city's regional development became increasingly driven by individual sectoral initiatives.[692]

It is highly symptomatic that the formalisation of urban planning became possible in Brazil only at the beginning of the 1990s, when most of the region became urbanised (and also AlphaVille-Tamboré was largely completed) and when the time was ripe for a new process of democratisation.[693]

Graprohab

The tabula rasa situation in the periphery changed only after 1991 when GRAPROHAB, the Grupo de Análise e Aprovação de Projetos Habitacionais was founded. This is São Paulo State's council of approvals for residential projects. Since then any developer planning to realise a new residential subdivision has to consult this agency.[694] Graprohap's manual is standard literature for real estate developers and planners (Cf. Governo Do Estado De São Paulo 2007). This institution makes sure that land subdivisions comply with the general rules and regulations – for example: whether 35 percent of the area was reserved for circulation and infrastructure; whether lots have a minimum size (of 125

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[689] While the developers gradually sought to acquire more pieces of the land, major leaseholder farmers occupied pieces of the Fazenda Tamboré. According to Albuquerque and Takaoka long negotiations were necessary, particularly in regard to the area, which was supposed to become AlphaVille's downtown. Central parts of the land were acquired only by the 1980s (Cf. Story of the Project at: www.alphaville.co.br, r16.03.2008).

[690] The federal government institutionalised nine metropolitan regions in 1973. (Cf. Rolim: 2006, 1)

[691] Csaba Déak (2001) professor and critic at University of São Paulo's architecture school, describes that the half-institutionalised Metropolitan Authority – the Gegran – never became an elected body, such as the Greater London Council for example and it was renamed Emplasa and became a half-forgotten body within the administrative structure of São Paulo State. Rolim (2006) writes that a bill to the Legislative Assembly regarding the reorganisation of the RMSP in accordance with the new legislation in force was only submitted in 2006.

[692] The chief of São Paulo's Empresa Paulista de Planejamento Metropolitano, Eloisa Rolim (2006) states that public policies are still strongly dependent on individual approaches. Sectoral plans are implemented in isolation from each other and most frequently in only a part of the agglomeration. The jurisdictions of administrative structures, such as municipal boundaries (Map 5), and the regionally structured bodies like the water and sewage (Sabesp), power supply (Eletropaulo) and telecommunications authorities (Telesp), overlap and none correspond to the effective urban area (Cf. Déak 2001).

[693] The federal constitution of 1988, and the state constitutions of 1989 created a legal framework for urban management (cf. Rolim); In 1992 the federal law of City Statutes required cities of more than 20.000 inhabitants (40 percent of all Brazilian municipalities) to rewrite their master plans according to new directives; São Paulo came up with the Lei de Vilas in 1994 (A law that among other things allowed for a further densification of inner city areas); 2001: Estatuto da Cidade (City Statues) institutionalised civil society participation at the basis of master plans – to name but a few milestones (Cf. above: Context: São Paulo; Milestones).

[694] Graprohab was institutionalised with the Decreto Estadual N° 33.499, of the 10th of July 1991; https://lamp.habitacao.sp.gov.br/graprohab/index.php, r18.03.2009).

square metres); or whether the scheme complies with the necessary environmental standards, etc.

Local government

Our investigation in the first section of this chapter demonstrates[695] that São Paulo's growth during the peak time of industrialisation occurred largely in a spontaneous and uncontrolled manner.[696] In this context São Paulo's government and in particular the adjacent municipalities were unprepared to master the city's growth beyond the boundaries of the municipality. They lacked the necessary planning power, the manpower, as well as the expertise.[697]

The antagonism of democracy and planning

Entrepreneurs of all colours and magnitudes, and not the local Governments, emerged as the main stakeholders and drivers of regional development, providing for the subdivision of the land, as well as the installation of local infrastructure. All of these were unified by the quest for secure housing and the common interest of a positive development in real estate values. Up until the late 1980s São Paulo's peripheral growth had occurred in a legal void. The 'periferia' was synonymous with a non-serviced, non-civilised space, outside of the urban sphere, to be occupied, appropriated and colonised. The majority of new settlements, independent of income emerged in a bottom-up manner, mostly along the practice of illegal subdivisions as loteamentos, clandestinos, subúrbios, ocupações, and favelas.[698]

Indeed we find in this framework an antagonism of planning and democracy, as in the context of Brazil urban development and formal planning processes tend to represent power instruments of elites, and the emergence of democracy is associated with the gradual bottom-up emancipation in the peripheries.[699] Indeed, statements that "zoning has nothing to offer for the majority of residents" must be understood from this perspective.[700] Accordingly, for a long time, the city's development controls, zoning regulations and master plans predominantly served the rich and powerful.[701] [702] Indeed, the fact that the residents manage AlphaVille's neighbourhoods by the instrument of neighbourhood-associations completely complies with this tradition.

Local

AlphaVilleTamboré does not have its own municipal administration. It belongs to two distinct local Municipalities. While the southern two-thirds of the project belong to the municipality of Barueri, the Northern third of the territory is a part of Santana de Parnaíba.

It can be assumed that while the developers benefitted from this situation of having alternative administrative partners to negotiate with, the two municipalities profited from

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[695] Cf. for example to Context: São Paulo

[696] Cf. in particular the discussion of the 'Peripeheria' in the São Paulo section

[697] Cf. personal Interview with Pablo Villaça in March 2006

[698] Interestingly the general mindset tends to prefer to sooner classify poor neighbourhoods as illegal than some richer types (Cf. above: Context: São Paulo)

[699] Cf. our discussion of Holston's and Caldeira's arguments above

[700] Personal Interview with Flavio Villaça in March 2009

[701] He states that for example only the upper classes had enough power to enforce regulations such as the Z1 zoning laws of the early 1970s. (Ibidem)

[702] The year of 2009 seems to bring a small revolution. During the writing of this thesis, in March 2009 the State government of São Paulo confirmed ‚Cidate Legal'. This programme between the Ministry of Housing and 47 municipalities is supposed lead to the legalisation of more than 830,000 illegal properties in the Greater Region of São Paulo.

new jobs and taxes. Indeed, while AlphaVille-Tamboré's affluent settlers and entrepreneurs elevated Barueri as well as Santana de Parnaíba into the top league of rich municipalities of the country, the public hand tended to employ a *laissez-faire* approach. In this context it has absorbed the legal ambiguities represented by the closures and the semi-private use of public spaces in granting concessions to the neighbourhood associations of AlphaVille-Tamboré. Apparently it was of minor relevance whether a new neighbourhood for the rich provided the necessary amount of public facilities. Mutual growth and monetary flows pacified the frontier between the new settlers and local heirs.[703] [704] Yet, a real dialogue with representatives of the local government was missing and the municipal governments were physically almost absent from the project's area. Only several police posts represented the local power.

However the traditional *laissez-faire* context of politics at a local level does not imply a lack of a regulatory framework; it only points to an overburdened system as well towards a selective, instrumental and often also politically motivated enforcement of the law.

While nowadays the typology of closed subdivisions becomes an increasingly popular practice of developing habitable land, an increasing number of stakeholders and regulations is triggering a remarkable dynamic of growth and consolidation. While more and more stakeholders join and more rules are implicated, the exercise becomes a risky endeavour for a developer. As a consequence a tendency towards growing size and agglomeration emerges. This is triggered by the need to endure an approval process that goes through all government levels (federal, state, municipal) and that can sometimes take more than three years. Of course large and diversified corporations with huge assets are better prepared to face this situation than smaller 'garage ventures'. The consequence is that the entry barriers for developers in the market segment of 'loteamentos fechados' is constantly increasing – "Developers need a certain size, as well good lawyers." (Cf. www.gafisa.com.br, 2007)

Hybrid forms of collaboration between the public, private and the civil sectors
While this work is examining the roles of the public, private and the civil sectors, it is not just important to delineate the specific part of each of these dimensions. It is also necessary to examine these new hybrid forms, their overlap and interrelations.

Notably joint ventures of the private and the civil sector, also known as Public Private Partnerships (PPPs) are virtually irrelevant for the project of AlphaVille.[705] In Alphaville's context, as much as in the Brazilian context, processes tend to be entirely privatised. The result then is the existence of parallel public and private systems. It can be observed that in addition to a huge amount of private schools, new toll roads or private cemeteries, all significant public options prevail.[706]

Yet, in contrast to the lack of PPPs, various forms of collaborations among the private entrepreneurs and the civil sector exist. These emerge as a result of the initiative of the private sector – for example when the developers set-up the resident associations as non-

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[703] It can be supposed that many public officials personally benefitted from bribes and informal payments, as was demonstrated in the context of the struggles on the land disputes with the Union above.

[704] The rationales (and results) and of the operation of Brazilian governments, in particular local governments, can only be fully understood when taking the dimension of corruption into regard. As was stated above (Cf. Context: Brazil, Culture), in many developing countries, including Brazil, it is not the existence of laws and regulations that is a problem, but their acceptance and enforcement. Brazil's political sphere, in particular is characterised by practices such as 'jeitos' or Clientelism, and as well as many other forms of abuse of power largely subsumed as 'corruption'.

[705] In contrast to India, as we have seen in the chapter on Navi Mumbai.

[706] In Brazil's general context, several of the previously public urban services have been completely privatised, while most remained public (Cf. the context subchapter).

profit organisations. Various hybrid and nested sub-structures emerge, as these organisations in turn subcontract certain tasks, such as security services or gardening etc. to the private sector.

Legislation

Legislation is the corresponding element to the geography of stakeholders (and their power relations). It is needed to discern the regulatory framework of our project. While this section is not able to elaborate a holistic legislative basis, it focuses on a number of relevant aspects of high relevance to our topic. Among these are the legal standing and the political boundaries of the project area as well as the context of master plans. Particular attention is given to a feature that is unique for this Brazilian case – the unresolved legal status of AlphaVille-Tamboré's residential typology, the 'loteamento fechado'.

Legal status

Town without town hall

The development of AlphaVille-Tamboré took place principally in a regulatory void. It has triggered a series of significant contradictions and political challenges. While the project's structure and functionality corresponds to a fully-fledged town, politically it does not enjoy the status of a city. It is part of two distinct municipal areas. Another notable contradiction is represented by the fact that the neighbourhoods are handled in the form of closed condominiums, while legally they correspond to open subdivisions. It remained vague for a long time how much the public hand could enforce in the area. Public census collectors, for example, were habitually denied access to most of AlphaVille's residential communities[707] Only as late as in April of 2008 almost of the master planned communities have been inventoried and regularised during a reorganisation of Barueri's municipal structure – the previous structure was based on the founding statutes of the municipality dating back to 1949.[708]

Who owns the place?

Indeed, one might provocatively claim that the undertaking is an informal settlement. This could be the case because large parts of it have been developed along an ambiguous process without the formal backing of land rights or development plans. While the total area lacks its own administrative body, the actual local power is mainly exercised by the developers and the landholders via the respective residents associations. The fact that the developers marketed this approach as an integral part of the brand and dubbed it 'auto-management' must be seen as part of the innovatory achievement.[709]

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[707] This has also resulted in a deficit of publicly available information on the area, as well as a skewed representation in statistics and maps. For example, maps of the spatial distribution of incomes in the metropolitan region do not reflect the real incomes of the area. Cf. http://www.usp.br/fau/docentes/depprojeto/c_deak/CD/5bd/1rmsp/m06-ren/index.html, r24.04.2009; Cf. www.ibge.gov.br, r27.02.2009

[708] "A Câmara Municipal aprovou na sessão de terça-feira, 15, a Lei nº 1.709 de 17 de abril deste ano (Lei de Abairramento), de autoria do prefeito da cidade, dispondo sobre a oficialização dos bairros do município de Barueri." (http://www.barueri.sp.gov.br/sistemas/informativos/informativo.asp?id=8095)

[709] Indeed, this situation is not unique. As a matter of fact most of São Paulo's urban growth of the industrial era occurred by illegal land divisions (Cf. above: Context, São Paulo; Cf. Holston and Caldeira 2008: 22, Bogus 2004) As in other rapidly developing contexts (Cf. Indonesia, India) the official reaction always came only after the public had been confronted with the *fait accompli*.

São Paulo's richest squatter settlement

AlphaVille exemplifies the fact that this category of informal settlements is not reserved for poor neighbourhoods only. The NeoTown counts as an unofficial settlement in a number of ways: The area is not organised as an own district, or municipality. Moreover, from the perspective of the administration, several of its neighbourhoods exist on illegally appropriated grounds, obscuring the legal status of some neighbourhoods.

In this context, representatives of the federal government (e.g. the regional national heritage office) claim that 18,000 residents, mainly from the richest sections, were owners of illegal subdivisions. [710] It is argued that large sections of the Penteado farm, originally indigenous lands, were re-appropriated on the basis of an unlimited lease and not a sales contract (Cf. Badadobulos 2006; Duram 2006; Cf. above).[711] Consequently from the point of view of Humberto Natal, a federal lawyer, Alphaville and Tamboré were born on the basis of false documents.[712] The government thus demands that the land should be regarded as a part of a national patrimony. It accuses the developers of having subdivided and sold the land illegally. This was happening mainly during the 1980s real estate boom while most of the local Governments were overburdened.

This is the reason why these days the federal government seeks to legalise the area and to get hold of a large backlog of fees and taxes.[713] Yet, so far the residents refused to accept the allegations by the government.[714] The case entered a next stage by 2006, as it was handed over to federal lawyers (Cf. Babadobulos 2006, Duran 2006).[715]

Impact of master planning

AlphaVille-Tamboré developed in the framework of a master plan: the 1971 Plano Diretor de Desenvolvimento Integrado (PDDI). Yet while this plan, as well as other urban legislations, lacked implementation and enforcement at a local level, the incremental and bottom-up development of the scheme portrays an archetypical (neo) liberal progress.

The emergence of the 20 million macrometrópole of São Paulo is devoid of any efficient general plan (Cf. above, Cf. Somekh 2002, 2005). This is true in particular for the period that marks AlphaVille's development from the 1960s to the 1990s – a time when the metropolis doubled in size. (Cf. above Milestones, Cf. Rolim 2006)

São Paulo does have a tradition of strategic documents and plans guiding regional development (Cf. above: Context, Milestones). Initial efforts date back to the 'Plano das Avenidas' of the 1930s. Yet, it was mainly the period from the mid Sixties to the end of the Seventies which demonstrated a high inclination towards large integrated regional master plans. This peak time of authoritarian modernisation saw the emergence of São Paulo's Plano Urbanistico Basico (PUB, 1968), as well as the Plano Diretor de Desen-

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[710] The journal Isto É reported in July 2005 that 18.000 thousand residents (about a quarter of the population) live on lands of the former Tamboré Farm on lands for BRL 400 thousand each (US $180,000) without legal property rights. The debated neighbourhoods lie in the Southern and Southwestern part AlphaVille Tamboré. They comprise: Alpha Zero, Alpha 4, the Tamboré area, the Conde, 18 do Forte, Melville, Alpha Plus, the Resort Tamboré and the whole commercial and industrial areas of AlphaVille and Tamboré (Cf. Babadobulos 2006).

[711] Duran 2006 writes: "A questão de AlphaVille remete a 31 de maio de 1739, quando Bernardo José Leite Penteado ganhou, do governo, os direitos irrestritos (aforamento) das terras da então Fazenda Tamboré, uma gleba de 2,2 milhões de m2. Para mantê-los, Penteado devia apenas pagar o foro - 0,6% do valor venal do terreno - anualmente à União, e, em caso de venda ou transmissão desse direito, o laudêmio de 5% do valor venal da transação. A prática é comum no litoral, entre moradores das chamadas 'terras de Marinha'.

[712] "Alphaville e Tamboré nasceram em cima de documentos falhos" (Isto È)

[713] In this context the administration also aims to update the affected land registers by utilising satellite maps.

[714] They refused to pay the related taxes. These amount to 0,6 percent of the property value and sales taxes amounting to 5 percent. (Cf. Isto É 2005)

[715] Accounts in this land dispute are presented in a 2005 article of the journal Revista Isto É, SP, 27/7/05. Seção Economia & Negócios, p.76 a 77; online at; http://www.terra.com.br/istoe/1867/economia/1867_ocupacao_luxo.htm; r16.01.2008. A copy is available at http://geodesia.ufsc.br/wiki-ctm/index.php?title=Posseiros_de_Luxo&redirect=no, r16.01.2008.

volvimento Integrado (PDDI, 1971). The first defined a general development framework for a multiplex urban region. It became São Paulo's first legally approved master planning document, facilitating the inflow of essential government funds. It also initiated substantial zoning laws.[716] In addition, on June 8th in 1973 – the year when building started in AlphaVille-Tamboré – the Região Metropolitana de São Paulo (RMSP) was founded. It aimed to combine São Paulo and 39 municipalities in the hinterlands (Cf. Bogus 2004: 10).[717]

Nonetheless, none of the documents were powerful enough to fix the city's immense development pains. The region of São Paulo, as much as many other Brazilian metropolises, developed along a process of 'autoconstruction'[718] This lets the master plans appear more as effects of the general boom, than as a cure for the same.[719]

In contrast to the situation in informal settlements, the void in efficiency of public regulations has triggered the emergence of private zoning codes and regulations. As a consequence AlphaVille's neighbourhoods are shaped and governed by elaborate legal contracts, strict local codes and design guidelines, leading to harmonious single family landscapes as an integral part of the 'regulatorios'.

Box 45: Debate on the impact of planning in shaping urban development

> There is a stimulating debate about the impact of urban planning in the development of São Paulo. On one side Rachel Rolnik (2008: 1), former head of the Brazilian Ministry of Cities, states that the development of the metropolis neither occurred in a chaotic manner, nor without a plan, and that conscious planning decisions are having a tremendous impact on the city's urban form to date. Moreover the architect and urban infrastructure expert Renato Anelli claims that transport planning in combination with urban design played a pivotal role in São Paulo's history (Cf. 2008: 17).
> The Chilean scholar Francisco Sabatini, on the other hand, is convinced of the role of large urban infrastructure and disagrees on the impact of planning: "The design and implementation of these types of works [land liberalisation, economic incentives, infrastructure development], particularly urban roads have more influence on the evolution of urban form than actual urban planning." (P.105).
> The former lead planner of São Paulo's municipal planning authority Flavio Villaça on the other hand discusses the 'illusions of the master plan'. He argues in great depth that so far that all efforts of master planning the city have been without significant results and that the city is predominantly shaped by socio-economic forces.[720]

PDDI

The Plano Diretor de Desenvolvimento Integrado (PDDI) of 1971 was the actual master plan in place when AlphaVille was started.[721] Yet, Alphaville-Tamboré was neither a direct component of this plan, nor of other major public interventions.[722] Of course the project thrived on some of the repercussions. While the direct 'power' of the plan for

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[716] Cf. Deák 2001, Anelli 2008; Cf. also above: National Milestones

[717] The federal government in 1973 institutionalised nine metropolitan regions (Cf. Rolim: 2006, 1)

[718] Cf above; Cf. Holston and Caldeira 2008

[719] The major formal problem was the fact that the Municipal Council did not approve any but two of the proposals (1971 and 2001).

[720] Indeed Villaça has devoted a significant part of his work and the 2005 book "As ilusões do Plano Diretor" to this topic (Cf. his articles at http://www.flaviovillaca.arq.br/, r07.01.2008; Cf. also to Somekh, 2002, 2005

[721] As a matter of fact this plan is among the two legally binding plans that ever existed in São Paulo. The other document is the 2001/2002 document (Cf. Somekh 2002, 2005)

[722] This, indeed, is a major difference of the development framework. From the Neo Town examples, Navi Mumbai, BSD and Piedra Roja / La Reserva (amongs others) are all deeply embedded in regional master plans (Cf. above: Predecesors).

steering regional development was small[723], its indirect effects were manifold. Among other things, the plan as well as the new zoning codes contributed to an increasing valorisation and segregation of inner city areas and triggered additional migration towards the suburbs, including the middle classes. In this context AlphaVille's developers managed to benefit in a two ways as: a) land markets in the peripheries became highly valorised and as b) a new regulation for residential condominiums in the inner city came forth.[724] (Cf. Predecessors, Ilha do Sul)

Prototype of liberal self-organisation

Still, while AlphaVille was thriving on the economic boom and urban expansion of the time, the legal development framework of this planned city rather represented a regulatory void. The military regime was prioritising economic growth by all means and the urban fabric exploded, leaving the enforcement of urban laws a neglected matter. Indeed, it was in particular this situation that provided the '*Unterbau*' for the emergence of this liberally minded Neo Town along an incremental bottom-up process. Notably this resulted in a New Town driven by 1) a maximum amount of entrepreneurial spirit (and also bottom-up demand), 2) minimal regulation, and 3) the quest for highest individual 'happiness' (e.g. freedom and property), AlphaVille-Tamboré appears as the perfect liberal development model.[725] And likewise, on top of this 'classical' process, we can detect a 'spirit of a new capitalism' represented by the appropriation of innovative strategies from the 'other' – here in the form of semi-legal occupation and land division practices.[726]

Legal status of the clusters

One of the most stirring legal topics in the context of AlphaVille-Tamboré is the legal status of its neighbourhoods. The closed neighbourhoods in the area represent the earliest typologies of 'loteamentos fechados' in Brazil. Yet the legal status of this 'construction' remains unresolved to date. The fact that the interior street space of 'loteamentos' is legally public but access is restricted is one of the main problems of this typology. Another difficulty is that the 'residencials' do not provide spaces for public services. Notably, despite intense debates, Brazil's legal system has still not been able to devise a viable solution.

Loteamento vs Condominio and some forms in-between

Our list of ambiguities and contradictions represented by the unusual and robust structure of AlphaVille-Tamboré is far from closed. Another of its legal antagonisms embraces the sphere between the public and the private.[727] AlphaVille's neighbourhoods are among the first examples of the typology of the 'loteamento fechado' in Brazil. This typology leaves behind many classical notions (and ideals) of a city, in a legal as well as an urban sense.

The problem is however that this typology does not appear in any Brazilian law. (Cf. Oliveira 2007)[728] While the Brazilian ruling differentiates between the categories of

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[723] Cf. Personal Interview with Pablo Villaça in March 2006

[724] In general our NeoTown also thrived on the strategy of decentralised growth and the emphasis of individual transport, represented for example by the construction of the Rodovia Castello Branco.

[725] Truly, these are the three main criteria of classical liberalism as discussed by Hackworth 2004: pp3.

[726] A characteristic for example explored by Cf. Boltansky and Chiapello 2003

[727] "A grande questão quer surge no loteamento fechado está, exatamente, nas vias de circulação e nos logradouros públicos." (Marini 2000)

[728] "As leis existentes que tratam de parcelamento de solo, não tem por previsão, empreendimento com essas características" (Marini 2000)

'loteamentos' (open subdivisions) and condomínios (condominiums), 'loteamentos fechados' emerge as an unanticipated model.[729]

Accordingly, to comprehend the evolution of the horizontal closed (gated) condominium and its consolidation it will be necessary to take a look into history and the legal aspects at hand. It will also be significant to trace the differences between closed land divisions ('loteamento fechado') and horizontal closed or gated condominiums (condomínio). Whereas the formal differences between these two models are not significant, what is very different is the legal context.

Major legal disputes among municipalities and the private companies have been held on the jurisdiction, construction and maintenance of road systems, the upholding of the urban services, and regarding access to the community. (Cf. Santos 2002) Legal ambiguities in regard to 'loteametos fechados' are also expressed between the federal and the local levels, as several existing state and municipal laws authorise the closure of subdivisions without the backup of federal laws.[730]

The pragmatism of the closed land subdivision

The difference between 'condomínios' and 'loteamentos' is that in 'loteamentos' the clients buy only the part of their individual lot, while in 'condomínios' they obtain a share of the whole. A 'loteamento' is an agglomeration of individual properties while a 'condomínio' represents a collective form of property.[731]

Thus AlphaVille's neighbourhoods exist in a grey sphere inbetween legality and illegality. They adhere to a principle of 'nullum ius sine actione' (no compliant without redress). Indeed, this approach can be described as being pragmatic at its best. Obviously it was easier for the developers to register each of the projects as 'loteamentos'. Moreover many municipalities tolerated the practice. Once completed, the clients requested guarded entities with controlled access. In this context the developers did no more nor less than just to provide each of the parties with what it desired – at least as long as this represented the most profitable solution. Eventually the entire suburbia of São Paulo's emerged according to such dubious land development practices. Hence the practice of constructing private streets was nothing new. (Cf. Holston 2004: 414)

The critical point however is that this 'pragmatic' result is technically illegal. The official 'loteamento' foresees public streets (and other facilities) that are open to all.[732] Yet, when this legal loophole became apparent, another 'pragmatic' fix followed. SIA, the umbrella organisation of the resident associations in AlphaVille agreed with the local governments on individual concessions for the use of the gates and the public spaces in the closed neighbourhoods.[733] (Cf. Marini 2000) As a consequence the question of how

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[729] The common names 'loteamentos fechados', 'loteamentos em condominio' or 'loteamentos integrados' represent the ambiguity of these urban typologies. AlphaVille was indeed one of the earliest pioneers representing this typology. The phenomenon is increasingly common all around Brazil. It still awaits legal consolidation on a federal level and causas intense debates among legal experts and urbanists (Cf. Oliveira 2007: 4).

[730] Some municipal laws have foreseen closed land divisions as part of the Federal Law n.° 6,766/79, whose internal ways and public areas are object of concession, permission or authorization of use granted by the municipal Public Power to an association constituted of the inhabitants. They are example: Municipal law n.° 8,736/1996, of the City of Campinas (SP); Municipal law n.° 3,270/1999, of the City of American (SP); Municipal law n.° 2,668/2003, of the City of Paulínia (SP); Municipal law n.° 9,244/2003, of the City of Native of London; Municipal law n.° 2,047/2004, of the City of Capon of Canoa (RS); Municipal Complementary law n.° 12/2005 of Xangri-Lá (RS); Municipal law n.° 2,351/2005, of the City of Lawn (RS); Municipal law n.° 2,253/2004, of the City of Gravataí (RS); Municipal Complementary law n.° 246/2005, of the City of Caxias of Sul (RS); among others. (Cf. Oliveira 2007: 8)

[731] Cf. Personal interview with Flavio Vilaça in March 2006

[732] The greater legal uncertainty that usually arises is the question of who collects the taxes and pays the bills for common public services such as electricity or the police.

[733] "A SIA é também a principal responsável pela concessão pelas prefeituras de Barueri e Santana de Parnaíba do Direito Real de Uso das portarias, prédios administrativos e áreas de lazer localizados no interior dos Residencial, o que contribui para aumentar o nível de segurança em nosso bairro." (SIA Website: www.sia.org.br, r12.11.2008)

to handle these new closed subdivisions has been engaging Brazilian legal experts for years now without resolution. (Cf. Marini 2000) (Cf. Interview with Flavio Vilaça in March 2006).

→ Illustration D-35: Between the walls

Box 46: Context of federal land use regulations in Brazil

Subdvision laws (Lei 6766/79 and PM 3057/00)
The regulatory framework of land subdivisions in Brazil are the Lei 6766/79 and the planned PL 3057/00. The Lei 6766/79, commonly known as the 'law of subdivisions', is among the most important laws in urban development. For the last 30 years this regulation was the legal base for the parcelling of peripheral land in Brazil. In time more and more loopholes emerged, for example the lack of environmental regulations, or as well in our case, insufficient statutes regarding closed subdivisions ('loteamentos fechados'). A new law, the PL 3057/00 is supposed to close many of these gaps.
Parcelamento do Solo (Lei 6766/1979)
The law of subdivisions was enacted in 1979 (5 years after the development of the first neighbourhoods in AlphaVille). The law distinguishes only between two parcelling categories: 'desmembramentos' and 'loteamentos'. While 'desmembramento' relates to a breakdown of areas that are already serviced by public networks (cf. Art 2, §2), 'loteamento' refers to the development of new land, making necessary the extension of public infrastructure, space and circulation systems (Cf. Article 2, §1).[734] Among the basic infrastructures the law mentions are: rain water drainage, public illumination, sewer and water supply systems, electric energy networks and the road system.[735] Principally the article 2 §5 of the law regulates the duties of the developers, e.g. minimum standards for the lot sizes and for the infrastructure. The law also prescribes that a minimum area of 15 percent of non-circulation open space has to be devoted to public services and facilities. Apparently both of these regulations have been problematic for AlphaVille's neighbourhoods.

Edilício condominium (Law 4.591/ 1964)
As opposed to the 'loteamento', the articles 1.331 the 1.358 of the Brazilian Civil Code and the Law 4.591 of 16 December 1964 define the framework for condominiums in the real estate and construction sector. A condominium is defined as a property that is jointly owned. Each owner possesses a virtual share of the total. Condominium literally means 'joint sovereignty' of a communal domain (estate).[736] The civil code defines that each owner is assigned an ideal and not a physical share of the property. All owners are obliged to manage the property jointly and to draw up an internal set of codes. 'Loteamentos', in contrast, consist only of private property and a public domain.
A condominium in the real estate sector is referred to as an Edilício Condominium. These can be a building or an ensemble of buildings under joint and autonomous ownership.[737] Here the difference is that each owner is entitled to a share of the property that he can use privately. Hence real estate condominiums generally consist of a unit devoted to a private use (such as a house or an apartment) as well as an ideal part of communal ownership (the roof of a building, common areas, etc). Nonetheless a con-

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[734] Article 2, §4 prescribes the necessity that all elements of the planned project have to comply with local standards and regulations, e.g. the master plan and municipal laws.

[735] Since the law was enacted debates have arisen as to whether the public lighting or paved streets should be a basic standard in Brazil.

[736] Cf. www.etymonline.com/index.php?search=condominium, r23.03.2009

[737] Some state regulations (E.g. São Paulo's state degcree No. 52.053, of August 13th 2007) distinguish between three types of condominiums: horizontal (houses), vertical (apartments), and mixed condominiums. (Cf. Governo Do Estado De São Paulo 2007).

dominium usually consists of only one lot.[738] It has to be noted that the respective regulations do not distinguish between closed or open types of condominiums. Because a condominium is a form of shared property a 'condomínio fechado' is not a subject of the laws that govern this category. (Cf. Oliveira 2008: 10)

Prima facie the 'edilício condomínio' appears as the most appropriate form of legalising 'loteamentos fechados'.[739] This has not worked in reality for several reasons:

The maximum size of a 'condomínio' is principally limited.[740] Most of the closed subdivisions, in contrast, reach a ten-fold size.[741] It seems that this dimension is economically predetermined, and that peripheral locations make larger ventures more profitable. Most Municipalities require a significant proportion of public spaces to be set aside by the developers. (Cf. Oliveira 2008: 12)

In addition, the legal form of the 'condomínio' implies significantly higher operational costs, as the average share is larger than the usual private lot.

At the same time individual property remains theoretic. When, for example, an owner seeks to sell his land, he has to get an official approval by the association of all owners. Hence this option is unattractive for buyers as well as consumers, as long as affordable alternatives exist.

Lei da Responsabilidade Territorial Urbana (PL 3057/2000)
An important new version of the Lei de Parcelamente de Solo is the Projeto de Lei 3057/2000. This draft law has been in planning since 2000.[742] The PL 3057/00 is supposed to replace the 'law of subdivisions' and addresses many of the problems and legal gaps that emerged in the last 30 years of urban growth and development. Whenever it becomes enacted it will bring major changes to the handling of gated communities in Brazil.

In the final analysis the regulation is of highest relevance for many other countries with lagging legislation and high amounts of informal subdivisions and unregulated urban growth (be that in the luxury, middle class or no-income segments).[743]

The nine general principles represented by the "Urban Responsibility Law" (Art. 2) are:
1. Social function as one of the primary functions of a city
2. Guaranteed right to housing and sustainable development of human settlements
3. Urbanism serving public purposes and with respect for public order
4. Prioritisation of public order over private interests
5. Prioritised development of vacant urban land and the respect of particularly sensitive and protected terrains
6. Recuperation of the status/ acceptance of public power and its effects
7. Universal access of public goods for all people
8. Guarantee of balancing public goods with environmental requirements
9. Protection of the consumer.

Notably the PL 3057 de-bureaucratises many aspects of urban developments and introduces various innovations in environmental regulations. The new regulation seeks to ease the life for municipalities and developers in integrating and mainstreaming urban as well environmental licensing elements (Cf. Art 3, §23). Among these important measures are a minimal area for permanent preservation ('Áreas de Preservação Per-

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[738] Each joint owner is a 'titular', with exclusiveness of the independent unit (apartment, office, room, store, mezzanine, garage) and bearer of the ideal parties of the common areas: land, structure of the building, roof, general net of water distribution, sewer, gas and electricity, calefação and refrigeration central offices, corridors of access to the independent units and the public areas etc. (CC, Art. 1.331; of the Brazilian civil law; volume V: property law, São Paulo).

[739] Indeed these simulate many conditions that are characteristic for joint properties: controlled access, private streets, semi private communal services, autonomous governance etc.

[740] The maximum size of a condominium in Rio Grande do Sul, for example, was set at 30 thousand square metres.

[741] We have seen above that a characteristic AlphaVille Residencial, for example, amounts to 50 hectares; these are 500.000 square metres. (Cf. above: Structure)

[742] The 2007 version of this law PL 20/2000, became known as the 'Lei da Resposibilidate Territorial Urbana'.

[743] Despite the fact that the PL brings major reforms for hitherto unregulated land subdivisions, this law is remarkable in general for acknowledging that the country has reached a watershed in regard to urbanisation. Indeed, it represents a new era which accepts that from now on questions of conservation and preservation will be increasingly important. The law in particular emphasises the importance of social and environmental dimensions by placeing public interest and the preservation of the environment before private concerns and putting the consolidation of inner urban areas before the development of new territories. These values are presented in a list of statutes and principles that are part of the 2nd article of the law.

manente' or APP) comprising 15 percent of the land, prescription on locally appropriate vegetation, and soil sealing limits. (Cf. Articles 13 to 20 of the law) The regulation allows the combination of social (recreational) uses and environmental concerns. It also allows the total of the preservation area to be included in the calculation of general public space (Cf. Art 14 §3 of the law). Art 15 generally frees all developments under 100 hectares from the requirement of additional environmental impact statements (upon confirmation by the respective authority).

The condomínio urbanístico – gated communities as a form of added urban value
The PL 3057 is also highly relevant for the future of gated communities in Brazil: To 'resolve' the problem of gated communities in Brazil the PL 3057/00 not only introduces a new legal typology, the 'condomínio urbanisctico', in addition it also attempts to increase the general public value of residential encalves. [744]

Most notably the PL 3057/00 introduces the new model of the 'condomínio urbanístico'[745] as a valorised form of the 'loteamento'. In contrast to previous forms of subdivisions the regulation foresees that the interior streets can remain closed. Yet at the same time it requires the setting aside of 15 percent of the total land for public facilities outside of the undertaking (Cf. Art 11).[746] As a matter of fact municipalities get a high amount of autonomy regulating closed land divisions, as long as they operate with a comprehensive urban management system.[747] Notably the regulation intends to enable the municipality to control the size, dimension, total number and the interrelations of the respective gated communities under their jurisdiction.[748]

Ongoing discussions, PL 20/2007
While closed land subdivisions become increasingly prominent throughout Brazil, their regulation continues to be a highly debated subject. For the time being the various stakeholders use their own interpretations of the law.[749] In this situation true solutions become delayed, as long as any law becomes approved. The latest update of the Projeto de Lei 3057/00 'lei de responsibilidate urbana', dubbed 20/2007 foresees that in the future[750] 'loteamentos fechados' must gain approvals as horizontal condominiums. (Cf. Oliveira 2008) In addition the law envisions that the 'closed' status will only be granted for periods of five years, then the residents will have to apply for a renewal.[751]

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[744] The PL 3057 institutionalises several new typologies of subdivisions in addition to the existing 'desmembramentos' and 'loteamentos'. Among the new types of subdivisions that the law includes are: urban condominiums ('condomínios urbanisticos'), various forms of integrated parcellations, subdivisions and condominiums, as well as small forms of allotments. A 'condominio urbanistico' is defined as a shared property consisting of autonomous units, including ideal shares of common areas. A small subdivision is a project of less than 10'000 square metres, or less than 5 units. (Cf. the 5th Article of the law).

[745] "XII — condomínio urbanístico: a divisão de imóvel em unidades autônomas destinadas à edificação, às quais correspondem frações ideais das áreas de uso comum dos condôminos, sendo admitida a abertura de vias de domínio privado e vedada a de logradouros públicos internamente ao perímetro do condomínio." (Official definition of the condomínio urbanistico by the PL 3057/2000).

[746] A placement of the public facilities is even allowed at totally different locations, as long as these are within the boundary of the municipality.

[747] "Município com Gestão Plena"

[748] Cf. Art 12; Cf. Saboya Renato 2007: Condomínios Fechados; at http://urbanidades.arq.br/2007/07/condomínios-fechados/, r20.03.2009.

[749] Such an attempt, for example, is the definition of a horizontal condominium of lots. ('condominio horizontal de lotes', Cf. Oliveira 2008)

[750] The law plans for a transitional period of 5 years.

[751] Cf. the Art. 3º, XI, of the Project of Law n.º 20/2007 quoted by Oliviera 2008: 12)

Summary

Stakeholders

Despite a fundamental shift of powers to the civic and the corporate sectors, which is an important underlying theme of this thesis, the public sphere undeniably continues to play a fundamental role in the process of production of contemporary space. Accordingly it becomes important to explore the relevance of the public sector for our case. Indeed, the examination of AlphaVille-Tamboré's legal status and its regulatory framework brings to the fore many contradictions and ambiguities. In this context the private city appears as a new terrain, challenging various traditional definitions of 'the city' and calling into question traditional concepts of urban (civilisation) versus peripheral (wilderness), formal versus informal, and public versus private. In essence the ambiguities of AlphaVille-Tamboré are represented by the absent town status of the scheme (The urban structure of 90.000 residents has no own municipal rights), by the autarchic governance practices of the neighbourhoods (automanagement), and by the 'off the record' status of the public spaces in the neighbourhood enclaves.

Indeed, it could be claimed, albeit with a provocative undertone, that the NeoTown of AlphaVille-Tamboré is an informal settlement. As the scheme developed in a formal void that is characteristic of the evolution of São Paulo's periphery, the area counts as an informal settlement in at least three ways: 1) Power is mainly exercised by the land holders along a system of 'automanagement'; 2) An enormous share of the land is considered to be squatted; 3) formal acknowledgement by the authorities has been incomplete for a long time (until 2006).

As matter of fact a serious land dispute has been underway for several years. The federal administration is claiming that nearly 20,000 of AlphaVille's residents are owners of illegally subdivided territories. In addition, the matter becomes more complex: the subdivision, which occurred during a real estate boom of the 1980s, was apparently tolerated by the overburdened (and corrupt) local authorities. Furthermore, the fact that AlphaVille-Tamboré developed in a self-organised manner, is not only related to the lacking capacities of a developing country; it must also be closely related to the liberal inclination of the military regime at the time of the project's founding. While AlphaVille largely thrived in a context of immense infrastructure projects (such as the Castello Branco Highway), and private sector subsidies, it must also be supposed that the regime of that time tolerated (indeed likely supported) the developer's strategies of consolidating and developing the site, disregarding any legal vagueness on one hand and the reality of the existing settlers on the other.

At the same time as Brazil's industry was booming as the result of the tremendous economic initiatives of the military regime, the public government was unprepared to master the urban escalation beyond the boundaries of the centre. The smaller adjoining municipalities in particular, such as Barueri and Santana do Parnaíba, lacked the necessary manpower, basic infrastructure and vital expertise. For this reason the industrialists, entrepreneurs, developers, and the masses of new settlers (including AlphaVille's middle classes) became the main drivers of change.

At the least municipal boundaries exist, constituting a baseline structure of public organisation. However, the fact that AlphaVille transcends these supports the notion of an independent and self organised construction that has its own dynamics. Thus, it can be assumed that the developers benefited from two alternative administrations to bargain with, when AlphaVille expanded from Barueri to Santana do Parnaíba along the major traffic artery. Moreover it can be assumed that as the two municipalities were elevated

into the prime economic league of the nation, they benevolently absorbed the legal ir-regularities of the scheme.[752] Consequently, reciprocal progress and additional sorts of monetary flow pacified the frontier between the new settlers and the local political heirs. Yet, at the same time the boundaries between the two parties remained too deep to stimulate a true 'dialogue'. Undeniably, the rationales of government institutions in Bra-zil (as well as their operational logic) can only be understood when dimensions of irregu-lar behaviour, such as corruption, or practices such as 'jeitos' or clientilism, are taken into regard.

The traditional *laissez-faire* context of local politics surely does not imply a lack of regulatory frameworks; the practices observed point to a highly selective, instrumental, and politically motivated enforcement of the law (in addition to an overburdened sys-tem). Today developers seeking develop closed subdivisions are facing a fundamentally altered situation. The tendency of bureaucratisation in combination with particular po-litical interests has greatly increased the risks they have to take. This situation largely supports a trend towards of consolidation.

Public-private partnerships have played a rather insignificant role in the development of the area. While some areas, such as education or transport (and even funerals) feature high rates of privatisation, a parallel system of public options prevails at all times. The resident associations are by far the most interesting hybrid form of collaboration of Al-phaVille, as these operate as non profit-making corporations between the private sector and the civil society.

Legislation

Land use

One of the most stirring legal topics in the context of AlphaVille-Tamboré is the legal status of its neighbourhood enclaves. The closed neighbourhoods of the area are among the earliest typologies of 'loteamentos fechados' in Brazil. In spite of the popularity that this model has attained in the country, the federal laws did not foresee this typology. Its legal status remains unresolved to date.

Indeed, AlphaVille's controlled enclaves or Residencials leave behind many classical notions and ideals of a city, in a legal as well as an urban sense. As this typology extends the category of communal space from the scale of the building to the scale of the neighbourhood, it re-introduces an archaic hierarchy between the public (city) and the private (building). Notably it is this arrangement that is greatly challenging the conven-tional order of the modernist 'enlightened' city.

The closed land subdivision never existed in the Brazilian law. It is thus technically il-legal. Notably, the Brazilian law differentiates only among the categories of 'loteamento' (subdivisions, Law 6766/79) and the 'edillício condominium' (a condominium in the real estate sector, Law 4.591/64), but does not foresee any privatisation of public spaces on a neighbourhood level. The major difference among 'condomínios' and 'loteamentos' is that in the former the clients buy only their own individual lot while the rest must remain public, while in the latter the buyers obtain a share of the whole. The Brazilian law also limits the 'condomínio' to a size of 5 hectares; this generally amounts to less than 10 per-cent of the average 'loteamento fechado'.

Indeed it is quite remarkable that, despite this context, the model of the 'loteamento fechado' was able to become so popular. It seems that the model thrives on the basis of

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[752] The municipalities regulated the practice of closing land subdivisions by granting concessions to AlphaVille's neighbour-hood associations; they tolerated that AlphaVille's neighbourhoods feature insufficient public spaces; and they accepted the semi-legal operations of the project's private security services.

major trends and an unrestrained demand – not in a legal void, but as we have already seen above, enabled by a context that lacks enforcement.

As a consequence of the dilemma of being one of the most prominent urban development typologies and at the same time being left behind the official regulatory framework, the 'loteamento fechado' has been the object of legal controversies engaging experts for years. Many states and municipalities (including Barueri and Santana do Parnaíba) are facing a dilemma of the popularity of this model. In a context that can best be described as pragmatic they authorised the closure of subdivisions on the basis of their own studies and interpretations. At the same time the developers, facing a highly profitable market, followed the principle of 'nullum ius sine actione' (no compliant without redress), as they were familiarised with semi-legal land development practices as the norm, and not the exception.

As Brazil has seen a context democratisation and political decentralisation several new laws are in the pipeline, which are relevant for our situation. Consequently the conditions that were characteristic of the last 40 years may be about to change.

Notably, the new draft of the law of subdivisions ('Lei de responsabilidade urbana', PL 3057/00), among other things, foresees the introduction of a new legal typology, the 'condomínio urbanístico'. In addition this law compels municipalities to establish comprehensive urban management schemes, which also regulate the permissible amount of closed land divisions. In addition, the latest update this law (PL 20/07), foresees that in the future 753 'loteamentos fechados' must gain approvals as horizontal condominiums, while at the same time approvals be granted only for 5 years (cf. Oliveira 2008).

Whereas the whole debate of neighbourhood closures in Brazil is challenging traditional nations of 'the city' and stimulating numerous academic and political debates, the new regulations mentioned above are of highest relevance for many other countries facing lagging legislation and high levels of unregulated urban growth.

Master plans

AlphaVille developed in the framework of a legally binding master plan, the Plano Diretor de Desenvolvimento Integrado (PDDI) of 1971. Nonetheless, the project was neither a direct component of this master plan, nor an element of other direct public incentives. Of course it thrived on the repercussions of the enormous investments in infrastructure and the booming economy of the era and profited in particular from the generous construction of highways.

In spite of this, while the military regime prioritised economic growth by all means possible, the enforcement of urban laws remained a neglected matter, and the municipalities in charge lacked the necessary means. AlphaVille's developmental framework in the 1970s was mainly defined by a regulatory void.[754] Indeed, from this perspective AlphaVille-Tamboré appears as the perfect model of liberal progress that emerged on the basis of entrepreneurialism and the 'pure' quest for profit along an incremental a bottom-up process. In this context, the scheme impersonates the basic characteristics of liberalism, as it is driven by: 1) a maximum amount of entrepreneurial spirit and demand, 2) minimal regulation, and 3) the quest for highest individual 'happiness' (e.g. freedom and property). The fact that AlphaVille's developers also appropriate strategies of land devel-

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[753] The law plans for a transitional period of 5 years

[754] Gonçalves accuses the state of not having fulfilled its duties when he writes: "The state is one of the actors in the process of urban space production and, doubtless, the one that has the duty and the ways to enforce it, although it has not done so far" …"the lack of control in the process of urban space production causes problems, damage, waste of public land and private resources, punishes the society and risks the future of the city environment." (Gonçvales 1998: 4)

opment from the 'other' informal sector, exemplifies further attributes characteristic of this 'new economy'.

Epilogue –
"Mas os assaltos continuaram"

The following text by the Brazilian satirical writer Luis Fernando Veríssimo[755] demonstrates that the increasing prevalence of gated communities is an actual topic of discussion in Brazilian society.[756]

The strongest sales argument of the neighbourhood was its security. There were beautiful houses, gardens, playgrounds, swimming pools, but there was, above all, security. A high wall surrounded the entire area. It had a main gate with many guards who oversaw everything via closed circuit TV. Only the proprietors and visitors duly identified and checked were allowed to enter the area.

But the assaults had started anyway. Thieves jumped the walls and attacked the houses. The joint-owners decided to place towers with guards in each of the four sides of the high wall. The inspections at the entrance gate became more rigorous. Now not only the visitors were obliged to use identification badges, but the proprietors and their families as well. Nobody could pass the gate without identification – not even the nannies or the babies.

But the assaults continued.

They decided to electrify the walls. There were protests, but in the end everyone agreed. Security was most important. Whoever touched the high-voltage wire on the wall would be fatally electrocuted. If he did not die, he would attract a battalion of guards with orders to kill.

But the assaults continued.

Bars were put in the windows of all the houses. This was the ingenuity. Even if the thieves mastered the high walls and the high-voltage wire and the patrols and the dog, and the second fence of barbed wire raised inside the premises, they would not be able to enter the houses.

All the windows were barred.

But the assaults continued.

Appeals were made asking the people to leave their house only for the minimum amount possible. Two thieves had entered in the condominium in the rear bank of the car of a proprietor, with a gun pointed at his neck. They had invaded the house and later left in the stolen car with stolen identification badges. As a consequence, rigorous control of the exits was introduced in addition to the entrance controls. It was only possible to leave the area after a careful examination of the identification badge and with the express authorisation of the guard. These neither wanted to talk nor to accept bribes.

But the assaults continued.

The fortification line was strengthened. They had constructed a third fence. The families with the most possessions, with most things that could be stolen, called for maximum security. It was taken to an extreme.

Nobody could enter in the condominium anymore. Nobody. Visits were allowed only in a place predetermined by the guard, under his severe monitoring and for short periods.

And nobody can leave.

Now, the security is complete.

It has not had any more assaults.

Nobody needs to fear for his property. The thieves who pass on the sidewalk can only watch through the big iron gate and perhaps get a sight of one or another of the owners, who looks melancholically out through the iron bars of his house on the street.

But another problem appeared.

Escape attempts. And the constant riots of joint owners who try by all means to reach freedom.

The guard has been obliged to act with force.

[755] Luis Fernando Veríssimo 2001: Segurança; pp97; In "Comédias para se ler na escola"; Rio de Janeiro: posted as the first comment in relation to Renato Saboya 2007 (http://urbanidades.arq.br/2007/07/condomínios-fechados/, r20.03.2009)
[756] Translation by the author

O ponto de venda mais forte do condomínio era a sua segurança.

Havia as belas casas, os jardins, os playgrounds, as piscinas, mas havia, acima de tudo, segurança.

Toda a área era cercada por um muro alto. Havia um portão principal com muitos guardas que controlavam tudo por um circuito fechado de TV Só entravam no condomínio os proprietários e visitantes devidamente identificados e crachados.

Mas os assaltos começaram assim mesmo. Ladrões pulavam os muros e assaltavam as casas.

Os condôminos decidiram colocar torres com guardas ao longo do muro alto. N o s   q u a t r o   l a d o s .   A s inspeções tornaram-se mais rigorosas no portão de entrada. Agora não só os visitantes eram obrigados a usar crachá. O s   p r o p r i e t á r i o s   e   s e u s   f a m i l i a r e s   t a m b é m .   N ã o   p a s s a identificar para a guarda. Nem as babás. Nem os bebês.

Mas os assaltos continuaram.

Decidiram eletrificar os muros. H o u v e   p r o t e s t o s ,   m a s   n o   f i m   t o d o s   c o n c o r d a r segurança. Quem tocasse no fio de alta tensão em cima do muro morreria eletrocutado. Se não morresse, atrairia para o local um batalhão de guardas com ordens de atirar para matar.

Mas os assaltos continuaram.

Grades nas janelas de todas as casas. Era o jeito. Mesmo se os ladrões ultrapassassem os altos muros, e o fio de alta tensão, e as patrulhas, e os cachorros, e a segunda cerca, de arame farpado, erguida dentro do perímetro, não conseguiriam entrar nas casas.

Todas as janelas foram engradadas.

Mas os assaltos continuaram.

Foi feito um apelo para que as pessoas saíssem de casa o mínimo possível.

Dois assaltantes tinham entrado no condomínio no banco de trás do carro de um proprietário, com um revólver apontado para a sua nuca. Assaltaram a casa, depois saíram no carro roubado, com crachás roubados. Além do controle das entradas, passou a ser feito um rigoroso controle das saídas.

Para sair, só com um exame demorado do crachá e com autorização expressa da guarda, que não queria conversa nem aceitava suborno.

Mas os assaltos continuaram.

Foi reforçada a guarda. Construíram uma terceira cerca. As famílias de mais posses, com mais coisas para serem roubadas, mudaram-se para uma chamada área de segurança máxima. E foi tomada uma medida extrema.

Ninguém pode entrar no condomínio. Ninguém. Visitas, só num local predeterminado pela guarda, sob sua severa vigilância e por curtos períodos.

E ninguém pode sair.

Agora, a segurança é completa.

Não tem havido mais assaltos.

Ninguém precisa temer pelo seu patrimônio. Os ladrões que passam pela calçada só conseguem espiar através do grande portão de ferro e talvez avistar um ou outro condômino agarrado às grades da sua casa, olhando melancolicamente para a rua.

Mas surgiu outro problema.

As tentativas de fuga. E há motins constantes de condôminos que tentam de qualquer maneira atingir a liberdade.

A guarda tem sido obrigada a agir com energia

E. Evaluation

THREE NEOTOWNS COMPARED

Introduction –
Identifying trends and typologies

This research aims to contribute new insights to the question of the city as a venture, exploring the dynamics of privately driven urbanism. Broadly it seeks to reconfirm, update, and furnish the concept of spatial production (which was mainly developed in the 1960s and 1970s), in the context of global urbanisation as well as the framework of a new economy. It explores this general objective along actual sites that reflect the impacts of privatisation in a most direct and unfettered way. Young peripheral Greenfield sites represent optimal benchmark locations for the purpose of this investigation. In this context the work localises a new generation of, privately planned cities, which currently emerge on a worldwide scale in the peripheries of large mega-city regions of developing countries. The term NeoTown (or NoT) was introduced as a hypothetic working definition, as the cases explored seem to represent a novel typology. The research has been made feasible by selecting three international examples, which basically allow tracking the changes of spatial production taking place in the last 30 years (from Keynesianism to the New Economy).

Some of the main questions in this context were: What happens to space when the city becomes a venture? Are private developers doing a better job than governments? What are the basic features of a commoditised city, a NeoTown?

The oil crisis of the early 1970s and the deregulation of global finance by the end of the Bretton Woods agreements, not only shook up the positivist world order, it also gave rise to an era of economic internationalisation, liberalisation, privatisation and deregulation. In other words, the debt crisis engendered by the scarcity of oil, resulted in a decreasing role of the state and at the same time a rising relevance of the market, notwithstanding the fact that the limits of growth had become apparent. Indeed, the groundbreaking of our NeoTowns falls into this historical turning-point, marking the transition between Modernity and Postmodernity, or industrialism and consumerism, the national and the global, which also gives rise to a fundamental restructuring of the roles, as well as strategies, of architecture and planning.

We see that private urban development is based on trends related to a generally increasing division of labour such as standardisation, typologisation, and modular design. Importantly these trends generate counter trends of individualisation and differentiation leading to an increased weight of personal and collective identities. Consequently emphasis on exchange values, image generation, and representation is among the major effects regarding space. The processes of spatial development tend to deconstruct the local context, while preferring to generate artificial environments which are of a highly controlled, predictable, secure and peaceful nature.

The following chapter provides a (critical) evaluation of the three NeoTowns, comprising the formulation of trends as well as the documentation of the major experiences.

The main body of this research presented holistic and comprehensive information on the production of the three selected NeoTowns. Comparison of the major aspects will highlight the general significance and value of the cases, confidently leading to the generation of new practical and theoretic insights.

The methodology and selection of the cases was developed as part of the preliminary chapter. In the previous three chapters a holistic inquiry of three contemporary New

Towns, in the context of developing economies of the South, was undertaken. Thereafter this chapter will provide a comparative perspective of the topic and thus advance the general objectives of the thesis. An additional aspect of this approach is that it may provide a quick overview of the findings for the fast reader.

Accordingly the following subsections will extract and contrast the major findings originating in the main body of this research. The major commonalties as well as contradictions of our three New Town cases of Bumi Serpong Damai, Navi Mumbai and AlphaVille will be emphasised in particular. A specific focus will be given to the presentation of the major innovations as well as problems represented by the respective cases. Crucially the juxtaposition of the three cases is aimed at describing the most significant general trends these contemporary NeoTowns apparently have in common. While tendencies derived from a comparison of only three cases would have to remain hypothetical by their very nature, the theme presented here can then serve as a point of departure for ongoing case studies for further clarification and verification. In addition the assessment will also result in a reflection on the experiences made in the respective processes. This amassed experience can directly benefit the stakeholders on the ground.

The above goals will be expanded along the holistic narrative-structure as used throughout this work: In this context the three cases will be contrasted on the basis of: 1) the general socio-spatial and historical framework (Context); 2) the regional and local morphological, physical and functional characteristics (Structure); 3) the comparison of the profile, motives and organisational forms of the residents (Population); 4) the question of authorship and the respective development and design strategies (Developers and Designers); 5) the particular financial strategies; as well as 6) in the framework of the specific systems of regulation and control.

Structure of the chapter

The following titles and subtitles not only represent the structural fabric of this chapter, but also indicate the conceptual findings. In addition the subtitles point to a major dialectical framework dominating the respective subject:

1) Part one: "Peripheral modernisation – between autonomy and control": All the cases emerge in the postcolonial context of developing peripheries struggling to define their harmony and identity in a volatile quest between central powers and decentred control (peripheral modernisation – between autonomy and control).

2) The second subchapter is titled "Idealistic cluster cities – between the public and the private", because ordered neighbourhood modules come out as the underlying structural elements of our NeoTowns, and in addition the trends discovered point to the re-emergence of collective and personal spaces.

3) Thirdly: "Dawn of the modern consumer – between progress and tradition" indicates that the residents of our three New Towns belong to newly emerging middle classes in the respective countries. These thrive on modern consumer oriented life-styles and demand alternate spaces to develop, to preserve, as well as to pass on their assets.

4) The developers of the contemporary New Towns all share a process oriented, market driven and strategic approach. This stems from the world of industrial and commercial products and has been transferred to the practice of real estate development. In this context they aim at coming up with standardised products while at the same time also serving distinct consumer groups. This explains the title of the forth subchapter: "Corporate urbanism – between dogmatism and populism".

4b) Spatial designers are also among the authors of Neotowns. This endeavour has also significantly contributed in updating their role. Indeed, the subtitle "Imagineering –

between the abstract and the concrete" reflects new emerging tactics. Although the term is usually used in reference to the Disney Company, in our context it points to a dominance of abstracted design practices, the prominence of standardised typologies, a parallel loss of context and an increasing role of representational values and synthetic environments.

5) The fifth subchapter: "Landscapes of opportunity, thin walled – between the stabile and the vaporous", points to the fact that the moment of capital is increasingly important for the New Town ventures. Yet, at the same time the products generated increasingly diversify into a nonmaterial, and at the same time also unpredictable world of finance.

6) The underlying motif of the sixth subchapter then is summarised by "Enclavic regimes – between formal and informal", for the basic power structures of the New Towns studied chiefly relate to distinct elite groups, and, as many of the spaces produced also portray novel legal typologies challenging the general formal status quo.

→ Illustration E-1: Structural diagram of chapter

Context –
Peripheral modernisation,
between autonomy and control

National context

History and political system

A common feature of our three cases is that they all emerge in the postcolonial context of developing peripheries: struggling to define their congruity and identity in a volatile quest between central powers and decentred control.

Our study cases: Bumi Serpong Damai, Navi Mumbai, as well as AlphaVille, are located in mega-city regions of three dynamically growing emerging economies: Indonesia, India, and Brazil. While today all of these countries have parliamentary democratic systems, the start-up phase of all of our examples is characterised by strong, central, and developmentalist governments: In this context autarchic regimes dominate Indonesia and Brazil, whereas a democratic, but strongly centrally oriented government steers the development of the Indian subcontinent. When BSD was founded in 1984 General Suharto controlled Indonesia, and Brazil was under the command of a paternalist military regime with changing heads of state when AlphaVille starts in 1973, in addition the long period of Navi Mumbai's planning until the project's start in 1971 is characterised by the central 5 year plans of India's central Government. Indeed, the settings in which we find the origins of our three New Towns are characterised by postcolonial nations struggling to define an own identity. Navi Mumbai was founded only 24 years after India's independence (1947) in a context which is defined by an increasing decentralisation towards the Indian states. Bumi Serpong Damai started in the 39th year of Indonesian sovereignty which was marked by two dictatorships, and AlphaVille was initiated after more than eight decades, or 84 years of Brazilian autonomy – a time period marked by several volatile shifts between democratic-republican and militarist governments.

Despite the stark ideological contrasts of the respective regimes – the dictatorship in Indonesia, India's central government and Brazil's military junta – all countries were dominated by politicians who considered themselves as an enlightened elite aiming to lead the modernisation of their respective countries. Indeed, our New Town examples have, more or less, to be seen as important model projects in this regard. While Navi Mumbai and Bumi Serpong Damai were openly declared to represent such milestones of modernisation AlphaVille was indirectly thriving on various government subsidies and programmes. Yet, crucially the New Towns examples examined in the previous chapters do not represent a supply driven approach of modernist New Towns, as it was characteristic for many Keynesian central welfare states of the post-war era. While a political elite prepared the legal, financial, and political ground, major players of the private corporate sector were playing the main role in the realisation of the projects. Consequently, Bumi Serpong Damai, Navi Mumbai and AlphaVille emerged as early test sites of private urban development. As this process leads to novel spatial configurations and typologies this research suggests introducing the terminology of NeoTowns for the cases at hand.

Despite a mutual quest towards emancipation and the common strategy of privately driven modernisation, these three countries demonstrate significant differences of devel-

opment: With urbanisation rates of less than 30 percent and a national GDP per capita of 1200 US$ (at currency exchange levels) India seems to represent the least developed country; Indonesia ranges in the middle with urban populations at 43 percent and average incomes at twice the Indian levels; Brazil appears as the most developed nation in our context with urbanisation levels of 82 percent and an average annual GDP per capita amounting to 9.600 US$ (cf. Appendix: Comparative matrix). This range is confirmed by the role played by the tertiary sector (services) in each respective country: Its value added to the national GDP amounts to 22 percent in India, 32 percent in Indonesia, and 57 percent in Brazil. Moreover it is further verified by a reverse order of poverty rates, or child mortality levels. The spectrum is further validated by respective car ownership rates, availability of personal credit and access to insurance systems (cf. Appendix: Comparative Matrix).

Indeed the three countries demonstrate a powerful course towards a consumer oriented and service based economy and society. Rapidly rising levels of consumption and a stark rise of populations with disposable income, e.g. middle class populations, confirms this. On the other hand a long way remains to reach western development levels. The US-American GDP, for example, remains 5 times above Brazilian, 20 times above Indonesian and about 40 times above Indian levels.

Moreover some of the experiences and indicators even point to more worrying scenarios of inequality and stagnation, questioning whether Western levels of 'development', wealth, and equality can be achieved at all. In this context the developing nations at hand represent an ever rising socio-economic and spatial polarisation of society pointing to scenarios of dual societies, fragmentation and exclusion. This is illustrated, for example, by an enormous rise of informal economies, which seem to parallel the trend towards liberalisation and privatisation and which, on the ground, result in an increasing number of populations in informal settlements. This alternative, and worrying trend is represented by increasing income disparities: Significantly Brazil, as the richest of our countries, also features the highest income disparities with GINI levels of 60 (among the highest in the world), while the two other countries represent levels close to the US (of ±40). Notably all indicators demonstrate a strong inclination of increasing inequalities, gaps and disparities. While during the first half of the 20th century informality accounted for a marginal phenomenon in most developing countries, including our case countries, by the turn of the 21st century the informal sector comprised two-fifths of the population in Brazil, in Indonesia less than 20 percent of the population have an income stemming from the formal sector, and notably in India this amount is less than 10 percent. Moreover an increasing share of populations dwelling in informal settlements represents the rise of the informal sector. Here often 40 to 80 percent of the populations live on a small fraction of the land.[1] Indeed the former numbers underline a framework for our NeoTown cases that is characterised by a bleak development scenario of inequality, fragmentation and exclusion, with only a fraction of a country's population being able to secure a decent life in an affluent comfort zone. Brazil, in particular, seems to demonstrate an example of an advanced economy which is however based on a dual society and increasing socio-economic marginalisation.[2]

→ Illustration E-2: Chart comparing the three countries

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[1] In Mumbai, for example two-third of the populations reside in informal settlements, which occupy less than 5 percent of the city's area.

[2] While Sloterdijk 2005 describes this phenomenon as an exclusive crystal palace of comfort, which is spanning the globe accommodating a rough third of the population, Fiedler (2001) has referred to this scenario as the Brazilianisation, as opposed to the Westernisation, of society.

Regional Context

The data on the regional scale demonstrates that all three NeoTowns emerge in the largest population and economic points of gravity of the respective nations. Notably they are also all among the top-ten megacity metropolitan areas in the world. While the greater region of Jakarta (also known as JABODETABEK) is estimated to have 21 million residents, the population of greater Mumbai (MMR) is estimated to be 19,4 million, and the greater region of São Paulo (RMSP) is estimated to include 18,1 million residents. In this regard Jakarta and São Paulo house more than a tenth of the respective national populations, while, Mumbai comprises 2 percent of all Indians (which is a lot given the vastness of the subcontinent). Notably the cities generate a disproportionate proportion of the national income: In 2005 Jakarta's annual product of 100 million US$ amounted to 12 percent of the national GDP, São Paulo's product of 225 GDP amounted to the same share of the national product and Mumbai's 126 billion US$ amounted to 5 percent of the national product. Importantly these outputs were projected to at least double by the year 2020. The contrast appears even starker when related to per capita outputs: a person living in Mumbai generated a GDP about seven times higher than the national average, the Jakarta per capita income was 6 times higher than the national average, while a Paulistano's output was valued twice the Brazilian average at GDP levels (cf. Chart below).

→ Illustration E-3: Economic and demographic significance of the three regions
→ Illustration E-4: Maps comparing the three city-regions (1:1m)

The mother cities of our three NeoTowns all have a long tradition of serving as interfaces between the respective national and the global economies. They feature an extensive history as posts of trade and exchange (of ideas, cultures, and populations) and display many characteristics of global cities – from a substantial share of international banking and corporate headquarters to the amount of AAA grade high rises.[3]

Nevertheless on the reverse of the economic, demographic and spatial growth, socio-economic problems loom, which include urban poverty, the rise of the informal sector, inequality, increasing polarisation, socio-spatial fragmentation and severe environmental problems. It seems to be characteristic of Megacities that growth and development surpasses the planners' capacity to build sufficient infrastructure, and the system is also unable to produce a sufficient amount of housing. In combination with a frequent neglect of planning by liberally minded governments (laissez-faire context), the environments of our mega-city regions are characterised by rising risks, represented by traffic jams, pollution, environmental hazards and high levels of violence all of which result in a deteriorating quality of life. In our context of NeoTowns, the fact that megacities are environments of increased risk is certainly among the main reasons why developers come up with new 'solutions' at the real estate markets and why populations who are able to afford it, opt to move to these 'controlled' environments.

Despite the varying local histories, the diverse macropolitical frameworks, and the distinct levels of economic and social development, mega-city regions also share a list of mutual social, economic and spatial trends, which define an important context for the emergence of NeoTowns as investigated by this thesis. It can be observed that the centres of Jakarta, Mumbai and São Paulo cease to be power houses of industrial production in favour of becoming centres of advanced service industries, banking, power and innova-

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[3] According to the consultancy Emporis, this type of high-rises amounts to 500 in Mumbai, 1.200 in Jakarta, and more than 6.000 thousand in São Paulo.

tion, etc. In the last 30 years, all Megacities at hand have undergone tremendous region-alisation and decentralisation leading to an enormous restructuring of the urban regional fabric. One of the most important results of this is that in all of the cases studied the dual character of centre and periphery has given way to what Massy, 1984, describes as a multiplex urban region. Significantly this 'new' region represents a new urban landscape (cf. Gotsch Kohte 2007) which is characterised by a vibrant land fabric of edge cities, regional subcentres, specialised production facilities, new settlements, but also traditional villages, as well as that what remains of nature and topography. In addition to the above mentioned economic restructuring, from industrial to service oriented modes of produc-tion, the development is largely based on new modes of mobility and accessibility, repre-sented by the availability of vast regional infrastructural facilities and networks such as highways, ports, airports, power lines and also access to information and electronic spaces.

→ Illustration E-5: Three pictures from the peripheries

In this context of growing decentralisation, but also diversification and specialisation, the general urban fabric has undergone a trend towards homogenisation and fragmentation of land uses. In this situation neighbouring land uses tend to become indifferent to each other. Nevertheless, it was also observed that most production and reproduction of wealth tends to concentrate in a few affluent sectors (although not exclusively), while slums, for example, tend to spread throughout the entire region. While these trends are only gradually starting to be seen in Jakarta and Mumbai they have reached a high de-gree of maturation in São Paulo.[4]

Importantly, in this post-industrial context, urban peripheries emerge as the most dy-namic places of contemporary change, development and modernisation. While the 'satu-rated' core cities are increasingly portraying exuberant costs, negative population growth rates and the above-mentioned risks, the urban peripheries naturally feature the highest rates of investment, growth and development. Significantly, all of our examples are char-acterised by spatial growth rates largely surpassing the rates of economic growth and overtaking the amount of demographic growth. (It was the industrial era which featured the highest population growth rates, mostly spurred by interregional migration move-ments as we have also seen in Indonesia, India, and Brazil in the course of this investiga-tion). It is therefore not a coincidence that many new urban forms and typologies emerge in dynamically growing and rapidly modernising peripheries of mega-city regions at hand and that the three NeoTowns which are the object of this study emerge at these loca-tions.

Predecessors and peers

Discussion in the previous chapters has demonstrated that, in addition to being deeply entrenched in a context of national, regional and global narratives and trends, our cases of Bumi Serpong Damai, Navi Mumbai and AlphaVille are also embedded in a local con-text of predecessors of planned cities and New Towns (and that in addition they have already demonstrated a significant impact on peers driving contemporary urbanisation):

Navi Mumbai was inspired by the idea of New Delhi as a new government centre, the modernist layout of Chandigarh, the decentralisation as well as the social strategies as embodied by Ebenezer Howard's Town-Country Magnet. In addition, Asian success

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[4] Caldeira (2000) has referred to the fragmentation of the city as the practice of walling, while scholars such as Villaça (2002) discuss new patterns of socio-spatial segregation and the formation of affluent sectors.

models such as Singapore, or Dubai, now largely stimulate the contemporary development of the area. New projects in the area exist in a national context of Special Economic Zones, Integrated Township programmes and a framework of market driven planning instruments.

Bumi Serpong Damai is deeply rooted in the colonial town planning traditions of the European quarter of Bandung, the early Jakarta satellite city of Kebayoran Baru, the first privately sector driven suburb of Pondok Indah, as well as international predecessors of Irvine, Milton Keynes as well as Japanese New Town strategies.

AlphaVille, as well, has to be seen as an integral part of a Paulista tradition of elite neighbourhoods and private urban development ranging from neighbourhoods Higienopólis, the garden city of Jardim America, vacational new towns such as Granja Viana, or fully serviced vertical condominium types such as Ilha do Sul. In addition the São Paulo NeoTown demonstrates a close relationship to the US American typologies of edge cities, gated communities, while the Californian model of Irvine is outstanding in particular. The AlphaVille type of neighbourhood, the 'residencial', became a national benchmark for urbanisation and has highly influenced the development of thousands of middle class enclaves in the Brazilian context.

Structure –
Idealistic cluster cities, between the public and the private

Introduction

The underlying structural elements of our NeoTowns are increasingly composed of highly controlled and ordered neighbourhood modules. In addition a renaissance of collective and semi-public spaces can be observed. These form large buffer zones between the private domain of the houses and the public spaces of the cities.

→ Illustration E-6: Three characteristic pictures at neighbourhood level

Regional context and urban form

It has been described above that NeoTowns are children of urban peripheries in the mega-city regions in the South. Yet, far from being classical satellite settlements highly dependent on the traditional core, Bumi Serpong Damai, Navi Mumbai and also AlphaVille emerge as new regional nodes reinforcing multiplex patterns of regional urbanisation. Amounting to a superlative of 33.400 and a planned population of more than 2 million residents, since 1971 Navi Mumbai emerges as an enormous parallel city on the main land of the Indian state of Maharashtra at a distance of about 45 kilometres from central Mumbai. A recent number of internal and external SEZ and Integrated Township projects adds up to an additional 5.000 hectares adding to the size and complexity of the Indian scheme.[5]

Bumi Serpong Damai has emerged in Jakarta's southwestern periphery since 1984 with a planned size of 6.000 hectares and an envisioned population of 800.000 as the oldest and largest of a number of regional New Towns in Jakarta's environs. Notably the city emerges as one of the largest planned cities by population, driven by a single private developer. Since 1973 AlphaVille-Tamboré represents a dynamically emerging NeoTown in the São Paulo urban region, which has reached a size of 3.000 hectares and comprises a total population of about 80.000 residents as well as a floating population of twice that number. It has also to be accounted for one of the most successful New Town developments world wide, as it has constantly made profits emerging in a bottom-up manner along a market oriented and process driven, rather than a formally inspired, development strategy.

All of the examples are part of a regional fabric of infrastructure networks, such as highways, airport nodes, or novel typologies of service centres. Regional shopping malls[6] as well as major toll-roads, are among the characteristic features in the environs of our examples. While public transport (e.g. trains and busses) remains the main mode of mobility to and from Navi Mumbai, BSD as well as AlphaVille are greatly dependent on individual motorised traffic.[7]

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[5] Its size allows Navi Mumbai to be described as the largest planned city on the globe. The project surpasses the 31.000 hectares of Milton Keynes and Irvine's 21.000 hectares.

[6] Today Navi Mumbai features six regional Malls, BSD two, and AlphaVille three.

[7] Walking and cycling remain the major means of getting around the interior of the Indian example. The car dominates the other cases.

→ Illustration E-7: Regional access

Local context

A modular structure of townships, nodes and neighbourhoods connected by major transport spines, comes into view as a common underlying feature of all three planned cities. In this context Navi Mumbai emerges as a macro structure of 14 independent townships, Bumi Serpong Damai is a series of neighbourhood clusters and enclaves in a loose structure of public transport arteries, and AlphaVille-Tamboré has developed along a central spine that accommodates important services and which connects the enclavic neighbourhood modules. Our cases represent a variation of modular growth and development strategies: While AlphaVille represents a modular and phased development, growing neighbourhood by neighbourhood without the framework of a general master plan, Bumi Serpong Damai's development has been part of a phased master plan and many of the neighbourhood and infrastructure facilities have been developed in parallel as part of the first level[8] and Navi Mumbai has grown incrementally along the development of major infrastructure networks (e.g. railways) as well as a phased development approach centred on a revolving fund, in the context of a regional master plan as well as its own development framework.

Notably all of the examples deserve to be called Towns (as opposed to dormitory settlements) as they represent a high degree of autonomy featuring the whole range of land uses from housing to offices, commerce and recreation, supported by a wide array of services including schools, hospitals and educational institutions (including universities). Nevertheless residential land use dominates the scene: it amounts to more than 40 percent of land use in Navi Mumbai, more than half of BSD's area and more than 60 percent in AlphaVille and it becomes increasingly relevant. At the same time the share of open spaces tends to decrease from more than 40 percent in Navi Mumbai and Bumi Serpong Damai to a lesser amount in the entirely private scheme of AlphaVille-Tamboré.

In addition all of our NeoTowns are characterised by their exceptional infrastructure networks well beyond local standards. They provide full access of tapped water, sewage, sophisticated garbage collection systems, a 24 hour power supply, as well as comprehensive security services, amenities which were previously only known in western cites. This mix of land uses and quality of services distinguishes BSD from most of its peers in the Jakarta periphery, it also makes Navi Mumbai one of the best serviced cities in India, and also characterises the highly secured benchmark environment of AlphaVille-Tamboré. Navi Mumbai is the example with an exceptional amount of public infrastructure including outstanding railway networks, and vast train-station office-parks. Bumi Serpong became known as the location of a Swiss-German University and business centre, for it's golfcourse of international standards and recently for a major regional theme park. AlphaVille has emerged as a regionally significant edge city accommodating several international corporations and TV stations.

Indeed, all three NeoTowns emerge as outstanding economic centres and, far from being dormitory suburbs, AlphaVille and BSD represent exceptional areas, competing with the mother cities and featuring average GDP rates of twice the amount of core cities. At the same time Navi Mumbai keeps a significant distance of 50 percent of the average GDP of Mumbai's, which is highly exceptional by Indian standards. In addition all of the places feature urban densities which mostly surpass suburban standards. Here BSD stands out with average densities of 100 residents per hectare and more, Navi Mumbai

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[8] High rates of undeveloped lots in some of the neighbourhoods can be seen as one of the consequences of this approach.

follows with 63 residents per hectare, while AlphaVille-Tamboré has a total density of 30 persons per hectare (albeit some of its neighbourhoods, as well as the downtown area, feature densities of 120 persons per hectare and more).

→ Illustration E-8: Demographic and economic relevance of the schemes
→ Illustration E-9: Population densities
→ Illustration E-10: Proportion of jobs to residents
→ Illustration E-11: Planned versus unplanned population
→Illustration E-12: Major indicators compared

Contradictions

However, when comparing the realities on the ground to the original plans, e.g. completion of projects, important contradictions and dissimilarities emerge: Navi Mumbai lagged behind its plan until almost the turn of the century. Nowadays, however, supported by a flood of private investments[9], the scheme is approaching 80 percent of the capacity projected in the beginning.[10] Bumi Serpong Damai features the greatest contrast between plan and reality in terms of the target population and the completed area. While the macroeconomic framework has experienced several political and financial crises, and the management of the planned city has changed several times, today only 1.200 of the planned 6.000 hectares have been completed and just 120.000 out of 800.000 planned residents are on the ground. Despite the fact that significant portions of the first phase remain vacant, the second phase has commenced. It has to be regarded as highly critical that most of the undeveloped land has for decades remained under the control of developers who then use this land as part of a speculative land bank. Yet, given Jakarta's enormous prospects of economic and demographic development it can be predicted that sooner or later the project will be completed. In contrast to the first two examples the contradiction of the planned and real is alien to AlphaVille-Tamboré. As the project developed without a target population or a classical master plan, it was constantly being adjusted to the market requirements of the time. Yet, even so the scheme has successfully evolved displaying enormous levels of growth throughout the recent three and a half decades.

A stark contrast between the planned and the existing is also true regarding availability of jobs in some of the NeoTowns. In this respect AlphaVille again emerges as the most successful candidate featuring as many as two jobs per resident, und thus undermining its position as an emerging edge city in the region. Nevertheless, as is normal for highly specialised urban economies, many residents continue to commute to other parts of the city. Navi Mumbai emerges as a balanced case with half as many jobs as residents. After years of delay and stagnation because of the government's reluctance to relocate to the area, the recent phase of privately dominated development has produced a large number of service oriented blue collar jobs as well as jobs in the construction sector.

In contrast Bumi Serpong Damai once more represents the most problems regarding the availability of jobs. The reality is that the project is lagging behind its goals regarding jobs as much as its other development targets. It features only a small number of jobs for less than 20 percent of the residents. The envisioned synergies between local universities (ITI-Serpong) and new technological parks have not yet emerged. Neither has the devel-

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[9] These are mainly represented by the prospect of a new international airport, another cross-harbour link, and plans for enormous Special Economic Zones.

[10] Despite this fact the area, featuring average densities of 63 people per hectares has the capacity to accommodate at least another million residents by western standards and many more by Indian values.

opment of a new central business district gained significant momentum. It remains to be seen if a new plan for a new city core with 6 interconnected regional super malls and a large amount of office space can come to the fore as part of the second phase of the project.

Another important contradiction in all our cases is the fact that none of them take place on an empty Greenfield site which is usually imagined as the ideal environment for a New Town or satellite city. Indeed all the examples illustrate that virgin land barely exists in the peripheries of rapidly growing mega-city regions and hence a tabula rasa scenario remains an illusion of the planning boards. Significantly Project affected Populations (PAPs) had to be coped with from the beginning. In this context Navi Mumbai was forced to come up with solutions to accommodate more than 80 on-site villages and to develop spatial as well as socio-economic programmes of integration. Moreover the plan had also to accommodate itself in a context of industrial areas, urban agriculture, rapidly developing suburban towns, dumping grounds, coastal preservation zones, ports, new highway corridors, and many other kinds of rapid informal growth in the surroundings. In addition, the successful city today attracts a significant amount of informal settlements in the environs. As a consequence unplanned populations (villagers as well as slum dwellers) account for 800.000 additional residents. The developer handled the challenges positively and was able to come up with innovative solutions.

→ Illustration E-13: Mishmash of surrounding urban fabric and on-site villages

Bumi Serpong Damai, despite having been implemented on large former plantations, is facing similar problems. Despite the exclusive right for the land, about 15 percent of the area of phase 1 remains occupied by 30.000 on-site villagers, who have so far resisted moving. Their share in the unplanned areas of phase 2 and 3 is estimated at 120.000. It is holding half of the land and rapidly growing. Unfortunately the developer is using more problematic methods of indirect discrimination and eviction. Again it is only AlphaVille-Tamboré that enjoys the advantage of having been implemented on a large farm, the Facenda Tamboré.[11] In addition, as with the other two examples, the scheme is not evolving as a satellite in the green, but as an elemental module of a rapidly urbanising (and highly fragmented) peripheral urban fabric.

Among the common problems faced are the existence of cultural facilities and public spaces. While all contain an impressive amount of services such as schools, hospitals, shopping and entertainment areas, institutions of higher cultural value are strikingly absent. Only Navi Mumbai, as a quasi-public project, features some theatres, public swimming halls, and public parks. The semi-private urban spaces of Bumi Serpong Damai and AlphaVille are rather antithetic to these types of public facilities. Despite the fact that the NeoTown as such remains publicly accessible to a greater clientele, it seems that Alexander Garvin's statement that "the public sphere is more of a problem in suburbs than the private market..." (Garvin 1996: 284) has to be confirmed, the problem remains a puzzle for public governments, developers, planners, and architects of the coming generations.

Neighbourhoods

Neighbourhoods (residential and commercial) clearly emerge as a fundamental module on which the development of all of our cases of NeoTowns takes place. In this context our new towns emerge along a hierarchical and modular model: Navi Mumbai consists

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[11] Neither on-site settlements, nor informal settlements exist in the area. Yet various sources confirm that local settlers were moved from the area before the development process started.

of 14 nodes and 200 sectors, BSD of three phases and 80 residential enclaves, and AlphaVille-Tamboré of about 45 residential neighbourhoods, divided up in two larger and several smaller schemes which are controlled by various developers. While Navi Mumbai largely emerges on the basis of an open nodal structure, Bumi Serpong Damai, as well as AlphaVille, are based on systems of closed enclaves.[12] While the size of a typical neighbourhood may vary between 20 and 100 hectares and a population of 500 to several thousand, the average species contains about 2.000 residents and 50 hectares.[13]

→ Illustration E-14: Neighbourhood level maps

The Indian case represents an example of modernistic design along a hierarchy of sectors and neighbourhoods and along a hierarchical and open road network from highways to streets, alleys and also a pedestrian system of paths. While the system certainly has been inspired by predecessors such as Chandigarh, the sectors of Navi Mumbai's (despite representing an extreme variety of solutions) tend to follow a more pragmatic approach. Commercial areas, for example, generally face the streets and intersections, rather that the cores of the blocks.

Bumi Serpong Damai's structure is founded on a modern base structure of a network of main arteries providing public access to the area, yet while the development of the first neighbourhood started in an open manner, in the meanwhile closed enclaves dominate the project to a great extent. Significantly, even most of the neighbourhoods of the early stages have been retrofitted in this way. BSD thus demonstrates how a modernist principle of sectors, neighbourhoods and a hierarchical street system was 'successfully' and successively appropriated and transformed by the requirements and principles of private development.[14]

Finally, AlphaVille represents a pragmatic logic of the highly controlled private enclave from the beginning without any reference to formal modernistic ideals. As a matter of fact the Brazilian project re-introduces a new hierarchy between the private and the public sphere. Hence AlphaVille, as well as BSD, more or less neglect the ideal of the private house surrounded by a sea of public space which represents the ideal of the enlightened European city and which peaked as a part of modernist culture.

All of the new cases of enclaves, and gated community typologies, (mainly in AlphaVille and in Bumi Serpong Damai, as well as some new parts of Navi Mumbai) are characterised by an enormous perimeter fence, access through only one entrance, as well as a highly homogeneous interior. This interior is composed of a generic landscape of turnkey houses (BSD) or owner-driven architectural designs (AlphaVille). While the perimeter fence remains a dominant spatial element, often reaching a height of 4 to 5 metres, it stays surprisingly disregarded and accepted as a pragmatic necessity and compromise in regard to security. Consequently walling, even in areas with beautiful natural surroundings, results in a totally introverted and insular character. The outer world, whether it is the Atlantic Rain forest, a former village, or the shopping mall, remains entirely excluded. Yet, notably in this manner the synthetic character of the local world, as an alternative reality is also reinforced. Outside of the walled neighbourhoods spatially absurd situations often emerge, in particular where two or more enclaves face each

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[12] Nevertheless, recent developments, in particular those centred on the middle and upper classed, also portray a strong trend towards closed enclaves in Navi Mumbai.

[13] Interestingly these numbers come close to what already Platon had imagined for the ideal Greek Polis: 5040 people Politeia: §5737d_738a.

[14] In this regard the project shows many parallels to the example of Barra do Tijuca in Rio de Janeiro as discussed in the AlphaVille chapter.

other divided only by an access road.[15] A particular feature in Bumi Serpong Damai is that walls are not just used to enclose the newly developed enclaves, but that the existing villages are also usually walled off and camouflaged by the developers.

Cultural differences regarding walls and other security features exist (and need further investigation). While the walls are highly important and 'sacred' security features in the Brazilian context, their relevance in the Indonesian and Indian context remains more relaxed and symbolic. In particular in the lower-middle class areas life remains rather Indian, or Indonesian: In Indonesia access for pedestrian visitors is rather easy and fortunately school children frequently cross the walled neighbourhoods. In addition street vendors, also serve many of the places.

In contrast to the walls, which are (dis-) regarded as necessary infrastructures, the entrance points of the neighbourhoods are highly symbolic and celebrated features. While each of the neighbourhood has only one main "door", the gates carry many idealistic and representational features. They display a logo and a name, as well as further symbolic elements representing the neighbourhood. While Bumi Serpong Damai's gates are often designed to represent the main thematic language of the place, AlphaVille's gates put forward a more pragmatic approach. AlphaVille's gates often feature significant sizes, as it is common to feature up to three different control points: for residents, visitors and for services and delivery respectively. This feature is locally known as the 'portaria criteriosa'. In addition gates at all locations are often constructed as ensembles in combination with grand representational entry plazas that frequently account for the largest open spaces on the neighbourhoods.

While, accordingly Navi Mumbai's neighbourhoods demonstrate the least amount of homogeneity, featuring open access and in many cases small scale services and commercial activities, the trend, however, in BSD as well in AlphaVille (as well as in Navi Mumbai's new neighbourhoods) is to increase homogenisation and monofunctional land uses and even a limited amount of building typologies within the neighbourhoods. These are increasingly landscapes composed of single-family villas of a similar size, or of groups of residential high-rise condominium's, or of quarters containing commercial office parks. Thus, the main observation is that while the larger scale of the Town represents an urban mix and complexity, the scale of the neighbourhoods is rather uniform and homogeneous. Additional locally distinct structural and functional features of the neighbourhoods examined are neighbourhood clusters. These can be observed in the Indonesian case. Here in neighbourhoods such as "Latinos", or "The Green" several enclaves are grouped under one theme and served by a joint local centre, which lies at the outside of the respective enclaves but at the inside of another common (and fenced) area. At the same time AlphaVille's 'residencial', as the main distinctive product and brand of the scheme, are served by external service and commerce centres (Centros de Apoio), which are grouped along the main access spine.

Vacancy rates in the neighbourhoods differ greatly from case to case depending on the stage of completion, the income of the target population and the local culture of enforcement: In particular in BSD high rates of vacancy are a notable feature and problematic. Some of these neighbourhoods feature 30 to 80 percent empty lots, resulting largely from a high rate of land speculation. Usually the vacancy levels rise, as the neighbourhoods get richer. While many lots were bought for speculative purposes, a firm enforcement of the obligation to build was neglected both by the municipality and the developer. Therefore the visitor can find himself surrounded by grazing goatherds and strange land-

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[15] Only some new neighbourhoods in AlphaVille, such as Burle Marx, started to introduce a transparent fence instead a wall. It remains to be seen, though if the clients will accept this feature.

scapes of compartment walls instead of the expected suburban garden-city environs in some of the places. Such a pattern is unimaginable in AlphaVille, where the code for building structures is strictly enforced and controlled by the developed as well as the resident associations. Vacancies and land speculation in Navi Mumbai are minimised by the facts that: 1) the developer Cidco is a non-for profit agency, 2) the land is traditionally leased, and 3) because the demand is very high – in particular in the subsidised parts of the project.[16]

Recent trends

In Navi Mumbai and its environs a new boom of gated communities, novel forms of Special Economic Zones, as well as Integrated Township typologies represents new tendencies on the neighbourhood level. In this context an entire node, Dronagiri, has been converted into an SEZ and now serves as a model project. Among the recent trends of BSD are the above-mentioned clustered neighbourhood enclaves which combine several neighbourhoods into a thematic area and which feature a joint service zone. At the same AlphaVille is increasingly frequented by holistically developed and 'monolithic' turnkey neighbourhoods. In addition ever larger super-block schemes of an Asian style are making an appearance in the down town area.[17]

→ Illustration E-15: Trends at building level: SEZ, Superblocks, Cluster-enclaves, Turnkey-buildings

Blocks and Buildings

> *Without doubt the building has a tremendous significance. ... The building represents on one hand a physical reality; on the other hand it is a property. ... The house enables the family to settle down and it represents a symbol of success and personal achievement." (Gans 1969: 243)*

What Herbert Gans describes above for Levittown, seems to remain valid for the places that are part of this work. While from the perspective of the developers and planners the neighbourhood remains a major modular element of the planned cities, from the point of view of the household the own building, as well as the surrounding block, is the most important physical element. Our three cases comprise a huge amount of completed building structures. It can be presumed that these are of a similar relevance for the Indian, Indonesian, and Brazilian middle class populations as Levittown was for the increasingly nuclear suburban households of post-world-war two US. The sheer number of dwellings our NeoTowns feature is enormous: Navi Mumbai leads with 380.000 housing structures, Bumi Serpong Damai plans to accommodate 140.000 households, and AlphaVille accommodates 22.000 housing structures. While these numbers demonstrate large differences among the size of the three NeoTowns at hand, it has to be stated that the 22.000 households and 3600 hectares of AlphaVille-Tamaboré remain a huge planned city 40 percent the size of Paris and with a population seven times larger than Ebenezer Howard's Town-Country Magnets.

→ Illustration E-16: Projects compared to Howard's Town-Country Magnet

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[16] In addition many Indian laws are aimed to discourage land speculation.
[17] Such as the projects Tiner Videolar, or São Paulo Wellness etc..

Navi Mumbai alone, due to its sheer size, offers the largest variety of typologies, with the residential walk-up as the most common and typical of the residential typologies. This typology has been the most efficient means to house the vast majority of lower-income and middle-income groups, and to represent the ideal of communal administration. High-rise apartment buildings seem to be the most popular typologies for upper middle and high income groups as can be seen, for example, along the Palm Beach Road. In contrast, low-rise typologies have so far mostly been popular among the populations of the villages as well as informal settlers. Interestingly, the detached villa-typology, representing the middle-class status in suburban locations around the globe, including Bumi Serpong Damai and AlphaVille, has so far not found its way into the Indian suburbs. One explanation is that the infrastructure of roads, an integral part of this typology, is not yet available in the Indian context. Another aspect is that the share of middle classes in the country has not yet reached a decisive momentum. Nevertheless the development of first gated communities and villa type neighbourhoods is underway, as represented by Cidco's Khargar Hills Plateau project, or other schemes along the Mumbai Pune Highway.

In contrast to Navi Mumbai, the detached villa typology including a garden and carport is the most prominent residential typology both in Bumi Serpong Damai as well as in AlphaVille. It dominates the landscape of Bumi Serpong Damai in the form of thematic turnkey buildings. At the same time, a huge mass of individually fabricated suburban mansions straddles the hills of AlphaVille-Tamboré, which, despite many architectural highlights, appears as an anonymous architecture. With the residential high-rise tower – despite the suburban setting – representing the other popular housing typology, the residential fabric is increasingly reduced to two typologies. Importantly, the neighbourhoods are zoned and regulated in such a way that no other land uses or building typologies are permitted and the prescribed fabric therefore has something eternal built-into it. This is truly antithetical to the dynamic megacity-landscapes that characterise most of the surrounding areas.

The three examples represent enormous urban densities which are significantly higher that most Western type suburbs and gated communities. Accordingly most of the Bumi Serpong Damai's lot sizes vary between 250 and 500 square metres (the low income range starting at 80 square metres) and in this context the gardens are often reduced to symbolic amenities. While the street frontages remain open with front gardens, perimeter walls at the rear of the individual lots are integral elements of the schemes and secure a certain amount of individual privacy on the small lots. As a consequence these urban patterns can easily reach urban densities of 100 people per hectares or more (numbers that if required could support a regular public transport system). Moreover several local features can be observed in each local situation: AlphaVille, for example, features the Churasqueria, a small swimming pool with a sealed roman style floor design.

Among the most outstanding typologies, which represent the local context of the respective schemes, are Navi Mumbai's various low-income schemes (most notably Charles Correa's projects in Vashi's Sector 1, The World Bank sponsored site-and-service projects in the Kopar Khairane node, or the 'domino' style houses in the Khagar area). Outstanding examples of local typologies and experiments in the Indonesian case are the 28 square metre minimal starter houses, the prevalence of the shop-house model (which accounts for the most successful real estate format in Indonesia), as well as the recent experiments with work-and-life layouts. Among the novel and exceptional of AlphaVille's species are the afore-mentioned turnkey villas and Asian style superblock developments.

→ Illustration E-17: Up-to-date low income projects

The trend at all three cases seems to be towards an increasing size of developable areas and towards extended private boundaries.[18] At the same time the amount of building typologies is decreasing with the villa typology and the residential high-rise tower emerging as the two most prominent forms of housing. Nevertheless, the examples studied by this work also indicate that a certain hybridisation and adaptation of the models does take place which gives them an India, Indonesia, or Brazil appearance.

Conclusion: The NeoTown as an emerging structure

Indeed, the organisation of AlphaVille, as well as that of the new parts of BSD's phase II, resembles a quasi-organic arrangement in which a cellular structure of neighbourhood modules is served by a central access spine. And interestingly we find here an order, which fully complies with the criteria of self-organised complexity: namely modularity, hierarchy and self-similarity (cf. Batty 1994). While houses, blocks, and neighbourhoods comply to a modular order, the transition from private to public undergoes several hierarchical stages, from the private dwelling, to the semi-private neighbourhood, in some cases, such as BSD's new schemes, to the neighbourhood cluster, to the public town-structure. Moreover, elements such as doors and access points are replicated in a self-similar manner throughout the hierarchical system. The resulting urban landscape is composed by an anonymous 'architecture without architects' and follows this pattern.

→ Illustration E-18: En vogue neighbourhood structures

Fascinating however as this model may be, it has to be stressed that this perspective on the NeoTown as an emerging structure does not seek to impose a determinist and absolutist worldview on the issue, rather it intends to provide a new perspective on a matter which, at least to the knowledge of the author, has so far been was underrepresented. Thus, while the model should not lead to the neglect of problems such as segregation, polarisation and socio spatial fragmentation, which the private development of the structures also entails, it can serve as an example of resilient, flexible, e.g. 'successful' bottom-up strategy of urban planning and development with many extraordinary aspects to learn from (cf. to the discussion of the strategies part below).

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[18] This is represented, for example, by the AlphaVille's new superblocks, Navi Mumbai's SEZ projects and integrated townships, or BSD'S new clustered neighbourhoods.

Population –
Dawn of the modern consumer, between progress and tradition

> *"...the buyer does not envision the own house, the garden, the house of the neighbour,..., as much as his own family, the neighbours family, the community of denomination, his daily way to work, the schooling system for his children and his aspirations." (Gans 1969: 9)*[19]

Introduction

The formal populations of our NeoTowns are largely composed of the newly emerging middle classes of the emerging countries. As these new societal segments conform to new consumer-oriented life styles, NeoTowns represent alternative environments, enabling these populations to develop, preserve and to pass on their material and cultural values and assets.

This brings us to the question of how the residents and buyers of Navi Mumbai, Bumi Serpong Damai, and AlphaVille-Tamboré compare. The main chapters presented a detailed profile of the respective resident populations, their aspirations and motives. All resident populations represent a new generation in their respective countries. This seeks to carve out, secure, as well as inherit its spaces of life and representation. A majority of the residents belong to what is largely referred to as the middle classes, i.e. populations with a certain amount of disposable income, which, makes them predisposed to a lifestyle based on appropriation through consumption. At the same time it can be observed that a large majority of our populations thrive on the tertiary sector, e.g. the informational economy, and a part of white-collar societies. While this is a significant difference from the Keynesian and Modernist post-WW2 settlements in Europe and in the US (though these as well represented the dawn of the modern consumer in the Western hemisphere), it appears to compare better to the arrival of bourgeois suburban communities in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Population Profile

Returning to the presentation of data, it can be said that Navi Mumbai presents by far the largest and most diverse populations of our three examples. This population, of what can be considered the largest planned city in the world, is today estimated at 1,7 million residents. The populations of Bumi Serpong Damai of 120.000 thousand and the 80.000 residents of AlphaVille-Tamboré are more comparable to one of Navi Mumbai's nodes than to the whole. Nevertheless they represent autonomous New Towns of an enormous size and an additional set of superlatives. As far as jobs are concerned, and they must be a good measure of a New Town's success to achieve autonomy, AlphaVille can be named as the most successful case, as it was able to generate almost twice as many jobs as resi-

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[19] "Nicht das eigene Haus, der Garten, das Nachbarhaus, ... liegen vor den Augen des Erwerbers, sondern seine Familie, die Nachbarsfamilie, die Denominationsgemeinde, der Arbeitsweg, das Schulsystem in Beziehung auf seine Kinder und seine Hoffnungen". (Aus der Einleitung von Lucius Burghardt zu Herbert Gans' "Die Levittowners": 9)

dents, namely an estimated number of 140.000; Navi Mumbai was successful in generating 800.000 jobs, which in theory would cater for half of its population. Notably the fact that Bumi Serpong Damai lags behind with an estimated number of 22.000 jobs (making up for less than 20 percent of the residential population) points to one of the most serious "to do's" the developers have to solve as part of the next phases. The goal may be attainable, given the fact that the gap between the target and the realised part of the new town is greatest in BSD, as today less than 20 percent of the plan has been realised, while Navi Mumbai is 75 percent completed with only a tiny 'virgin' area remaining to be developed AlphaVille, which entered a stage of consolidation and densification.

An important feature of all of the NeoTowns discussed as part of this work is their significant numbers of unplanned populations, e.g. the residents of on-site villagers and informal settlements. This indeed is another large and notable contrast to the classical Keynesian New Towns as known from the Western hemisphere. Here Navi Mumbai stands out with an unplanned population of 800.000 residents (a number totalling almost half of the formal population!); In BSD the new populations have been joined by 30.000 'unplanned' residents, mostly preexisting village populations, but also new migrants seeking work. The statistics appear 'cleanest' in AlphaVille-Tamboré as no indigenous villagers remained in the area. However it can be estimated that a stealth army of 30.000 servants, maids and security guards are employed, if we assume only one maid per household. While unplanned populations appears as integral elements of NeoTowns in the South, in contrast to western New Town typologies, the politics and the attitudes towards these, are quite different in the three cases. (Cf. the developer section below)

In addition, it can be easily seen, that the setting of all of our cases is characterised by a fragmented fabric of formal and informal settlements. These are more interwoven with our cases and their economies than is presented by the official numbers. (This is an interesting feature in itself, which needs further examination and study).

Returning to the profile of the new and 'formal' residents, it appears that in the majority of cases belong to privileged segments of society and that consequently our NeoTowns emerge as economic powerhouses of the regional economy. Indeed, the economic relevance of NeoTowns tends to be higher than the ability of accommodating large population numbers. While the populations of AlphaVille-Tamboré and BSD make up less than 0,5 percent of the metro populations, their average portion to the metropolitan economy only amounts to 2,4 percent in BSD and 3,2 percent in AlphaVille. Navi Mumbai, in contrast, appears different, as it accommodates almost every 11th resident of the region, while so far contributes less than 1/20 of the regional product.

Our three NeoTowns represent an increasing departure from the modern ideal of an open city that was actively (sometimes even technocratically) mixing ethnicity, religion and class, along with its ideal of the enlightened modern citizen, towards systems based on bottom-up demand, individualisation and profitability. This combination of the consumers' freedom of choice (liberalism) as well as a commercial logic (capitalism), results in trends of self-segregation in homogeneous neighbourhoods. While income seems to plays the most decisive role, in some places ethnicity and religion remain important factors along which the lines of clustering, exclusion and segregation are drawn.

The 30 to 40 year history of the places studied shows that the most accessible places emerge as central nodes – resulting in the highest land values and also some of the richest populations. In a majority of the cases these places are different from the centres envisioned by the master plans. Navi Mumbai node of Vashi clearly represents this tendency. In addition it was also observed that, in contrast to the early intentions of top-down

planning and 'social engineering', in the long-term, populations tend to align themselves along ethnicity and religion in their own neighbourhoods.

Again Navi Mumbai demonstrates considerable tendencies of clustering along the lines of class and ethnicity and religion in particular in regard of minority groups such as Muslims and Christians (cf. Ananthakrishnan 1998). Ethnicity also plays a role in Bumi Serpong Damai, where some of the neighbourhoods are populated by a majority of Sino-Indonesians (Chinese minorities), despite the fact that this population accounts for less than 5 percent of the greater Jakarta region. 'Only' in AlphaVille do class divisions along income alone seem to dominate the composition of the neighbourhoods. All cases though demonstrate a strong tendency towards these new forms of homogenised neighbourhoods, segregated patterns on a larger scale, while income emerges as the major driving factor – reflecting an increasingly complex and polarised postmodern society at large. (Of course the above-described trends are based on secondary data and subjective observations. Hence they must be seen more as hypotheses than as results, pointing to a need for more empirical studies and validated results.)

Despite these novel trends Navi Mumbai features the greatest spectrum of residents from Lower Income Classes (in the local jargon, the LIC's), to Middle Income Populations, to the Higher Income Classes (HIC's). Notwithstanding that the ideal goal of resolving the housing problems of the Indian society and in particular of finding a solution for the no-income populations was not achieved, the parallel city managed to come up with many innovative solutions. For example it was successful in attracting large numbers of lower class populations, and in providing exceptional infrastructure, at least as compared to the local context. However, recent reforms towards privatisation and deregulation have been much blamed in this regard, as they seem to imply that Navi Mumbai today is targeting an increasing number of middle and high-income residents. This tendency is represented by the fact that high-end projects such as the Khargar Hills Plateau (a mix of a theme park and gated enclaves), the Seawood Estates (fully serviced high rise condominia geared at affluent Indians from abroad), or the new Khargar Golf course, officially represent the flagship projects of Navi Mumbai's developer Cidco.

On the other hand Bumi Serpong Damai, as well as AlphaVille, are more inclined towards profitability and the logic of the private market: Indeed, providing a social mix and "housing for all" has played an important role during the initialisation of the Indonesian project, justifying public approvals, credits and claims on the land. The social approach was also reflected in the open layout of the first sectors of the project and low-income populations played a major role as the pioneers of the scheme. However, the 'private' project was measured by the benchmarks of market success. It was shaken by several macroeconomic crises and major political reforms and it became challenged by strong competition from more than a dozen other new town peers. All this resulted in many of the early social goals being surrendered in favour of catering to profitability and the market. As a result, today Bumi Serpong Damai displays a strong inclination to middle income and higher income groups, even though minimal solutions for lower-income classes remain on the agenda.

Again AlphaVille represents the example that was, from the beginning, solely driven by the logic of market-efficiency. It consequently catered exclusively to middle and high-income earners as the largest profits could be achieved from such a strategy. Fortunately however, trends and markets change and, interestingly, a recent focus aiming at lower income populations can be observed. These are less profitable individually, yet with the marketplace for the upper middle classes becoming saturated, the lower middle classes

constitute an enormous clientele in the context of Brazil (and many other emerging nations), which is only recently beginning to be explored.[20]

Motives

In the above context the trends and observations our NeoTowns have to be seen predominantly as cradles of middle class, bourgeois populations, which are emerging in large numbers in the context of developing countries and the emerging economies. All these seems to have similar motivations independent of the national context at hand and only their prioritisation seems to differ from case to case. The principal reasons involved are mainly security, life-style, economic development, and decongestion (e.g. a quest for increased space). As a really important prerequisite to understanding these goals we have to appreciate the needs and desires of middle class starter families in third world settings. Notably all of these have a strong desire of appropriation, conservation, and tradition of material and ideal values to the next generation. Consequently in the context of São Paulo, which for a long time was one of the most violent urban environments in the world, security emerges as the primary motive of families seeking alternate environments to establish their lives and to raise their children. Improving one's quality of life as well as one's status (e.g. life-style) is the second major reason of making the decision to move. The motive of a secure investment which can serve as a back up for one's retirement and which can be inherited by the next generation is another major trigger.[21]

In contrast, in Bumi Serpong Damai, investment and economic potential seem to be of major concern before security issues and the desire for an alternative lifestyle. The predominance of the longing for stable investments is underlined by the large number of undeveloped lots in the area, which represent the need for alternative investments in an environment that proved quite unstable and volatile during some of the previous crises (e.g. the 1997 Asian financial crisis). Still, the Indonesian inclination towards Disneyesque theming and branding points to a strong desire among the newly emerging middle class to find new and alternative representations.[22] Security concerns are also serious motives as most of the buyers belong to the upper fifth income segment of society. Security is important for the Chinese minorities in particular, as these populations have been the targets many persecutions, pogroms and outbreaks of public violence in the past.

Finally, in the case of Navi Mumbai the motive of space and decongestion appears to remain the most important trigger, before the desire for economic development, the quest for life-style and representation, and security. This relates to the fact that density is a major issue in Mumbai, as the central city, being located on a peninsula, is among the cities with the highest population densities and the least amount of public space in the world. In this context Navi Mumbai was developed as part of a classical decongestion strategy. Moreover the amount of space the new city provides (30 percent of public spaces, playground and parks in contrast to less than 3 percent on the peninsula) repre-

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[20] The trend is represented by the models of VilasAlpha as developed by AlphaVille, as well as the products generated by Tenda, one of the subsidiaries of AlphaVille's mother company Gafisa. A decisive role in this context is the availability of cheap housing credits for the target populations, which must be provided by the central governments. While Mexico is seen as one of the worldwide models in this regard, and Brazil has made important steps towards this direction, India as well as Indonesia, still have a long way to go.

[21] Interestingly in the context of the public the motives of security and financial investments are set apart as taboo while the life-style motives dominate the marketing campaign of the projects. Most probably it can be explained by the potential of the latter to produce positive feelings and expectations.

[22] What is interesting in the Indonesian case, though, is the fact that many of the western style facilities such as sports clubs, or jogging tracks are abandoned. They seem to be serving purely representational purposes.

sents a highly valued asset by populations choosing to relocate. More than 50 percent of the project's population originate at the peninsula, and only a small share comes from the rural areas of the state (Maharashtra).

The motive of investment and economic development comes second: While for a long time a large part of the housing projects was subsidised, and therefore seen as a good investment opportunity, today many realise that development has reached a significant momentum and seek to participate in the rapidly rising valorisation of the land. Life-style may play a role when relocating to Navi Mumbai, in particular the upper income populations will select their neighbourhoods along this criterion. The names of numerous novel projects (such as Hiranandani Palace Gardens) point to the dreams and aspirations of the target populations. In contrast the issue of crime plays a minor role when compared to the relevance it has to the residents of AlphaVille or for the Chinese minorities of BSD.

At the baseline, it is safety, security and tradition which represent a common baseline for all of the middle class residents of the three examples. We observe that the predominant set of values as represented by our NeoTowns is not solely dominated by consumerist ideals geared to rapid turnover rates, frequently changing fashions, the flickering, superficial and the representative, amongst others, notably it remains embedded in a setting of traditional and conservative ethics which are characteristic of suburban middle class life-styles. Our NeoTowns thus emerge as a hybrid of consumerist ethics and traditional values – a third alternative that is neither urban nor rural.

Organisations

The population in a newly planned settlement is more than the sum of individuals. An important aspect relating to the life of residents of planned cities is the question of social organisation as well as the question of local governance and control. What is specifically new (and exciting) in the case of planned settlements is that at the beginning all of the residents are foreigners and new to each other, that social networks, bonds and organisations have to emerge in time or have to be imposed by the developers of the state. In addition, in respect of large-scale planned settlements with hundreds of thousand of residents, certain resident organisations may be forming, while new populations continue to move in for decades.[23]

While this work was not able to provide empirical insight of the bottom-up formation of societies and clubs, some important qualitative observations could be made: It is easy to observe that Navi Mumbai relies on a huge amount of self-organisation in clubs, societies and associations – indeed these seem to be an integral part of Indian urban life. Moreover, what is important from our perspective is that the entire social housing cosmos (e.g. all projects by Cidco implemented for lower and middle income classes) of Navi Mumbai is based on a system of co-operative societies (These are an integral part of Indian social housing tradition in general, and comply to a well established framework of public laws and regulations). While every household is obliged to become a member of the society in his block or sector, the organisations take care of governance issues, services and of the maintenance at a micro level. From this perspective Navi Mumbai is the example, which most closely represents Ebenezer Howard's ideas of communal governance and joint land ownership. The very forceful and influential form of contractual self-

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[23] Herbert Gans was interested in this aspect while he has described the formation, reformation and impact of various of Levittown's organisations, as well as the spirit of the key individuals and institutions driving the process (Cf. Gans 1969: pp71). Yet, naturally it was not possible to cover these aspects in the depth carried out by Gans.

organisation of resident associations is also one of the major characteristics of AlphaVille-Tamboré. The practice is referred here as "automanagement." All owners of land are obliged to participate.[24]

Yet, in contrast to Navi Mumbai, the system is entirely privately driven and was initiated by the developers. Notably the share someone has in the resident association is mostly not determined on a personal basis, but by the size of his property. The resident associations can be seen as one of the major components of AlphaVille's success (in addition to the high quality standards of its infrastructure and of its security). They handle the approvals of new projects, co-ordinate maintenance, provide security and form a lobby which protects the interest of the residents vis-à-vis relevant governmental institutions and groups (which is very important in the Brazilian context). Interestingly, it is also in AlphaVille where even an umbrella organisation of several resident organisations emerged: This Sociedade AlphaVille Tamboré, or SIA, takes care of the maintenance and security of the larger area, and was also an important lobby group for the area. The Resident Associations are particularly efficient from the developer's perspective, who is then able to withdraw from the development process as soon as a viable basis of owners has been established in a neighbourhood, which can sustain resident associations.

Indeed, this very aspect constitutes a major problem and burden in Bumi Serpong Damai. As the developers here were not able to set up resident associations, the burden of subsidising a large part of the maintenance costs ate up a significant amount of their profits. In this context BSD developers find themselves in a vicious circle, as they have to provide for a high level of maintenance if they want to stay competitive in the market. An additional dilemma is that both the residents, as well as the developers, are not interested in the completion of their New Town, as according to public regulations the city goes into public hands when completed. (Today BSD developers have started major initiatives to improve the level of self-organisation by the residents).

Conclusion population

In conclusion Navi Mumbai emerges as the most diverse of the NeoTowns studied. AlphaVille represents the most radical case of private urban development (based on a combination of individual freedom and entrepreneurial dynamics). Bumi Serpong Damai emerges as the case in-between, with a social start and a private ending. The Indian context has not (yet) been the place to fulfil the 'classical' dream of the villa in a romantic green landscape (at least not in a western sense). For the average Indian mind, the notion of a suburban lifestyle does not exist so far. Nevertheless, as all of the places represent a strong bias towards middle and high-income populations the term of NeoTowns seems justified.

Notably, our three NeoTown cases have also demonstrated evidence for surprise and the unexpected. Among some trends, which neither the planners nor the developers envisioned, are Navi Mumbai's patterns of economic and ethnically inspired self-segregation and clustering. The harmonious environment of SE Asia also seems to provide opportunity for the unexpected as is confirmed, for example, by the increasing informal conversions of family mansions to student apartments. In AlphaVille the organisation of residents in associations seems to have led to new forms of collective consciousness, which was a driving point of the resistance against the closure of the access to the public highway when a new tollroad was built.

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[24] This is an integral part of the sales contract – an extensive book of dozens of pages, also referred to as the 'regulamento'.

The high level of resistance by the unplanned populations represents an unexpected element. The tendency that can be observed is that they have increasingly gained social, political and cultural power during the long-term development process. As far as Resettlement and Rehabilitation is concerned, Navi Mumbai in particular evolved from a problematic experience to a best practice model. While the situation remains problematic in Indonesia, the time speaks for the unplanned populations. First cases of discrimination have been brought to the human right courts[25] Consequently developers will have to learn and to take the issue more seriously unless they want to ruin their credibility.

While the problem of on-site resistance of local villagers does not apply for AlphaVille, the Brazilian NeoTown has to cope with a set of their own self-generated problems. The extremely controlled environments have apparently triggered other unwanted internal effects. Among these are unbelievable levels of car accidents in the interior of the neighbourhoods, as well as increased levels of drug abuse and youth criminality, which both seem to arise from boredom and despair (As for example Theresa Caldeira 2001 describes in detail).[26]

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[25] Cf. http://www.vhrmedia.com/A-Camp-at-Bumi-Serpong-(1)-story281.html ; http://www.vhrmedia.com/A-Camp-at-Bumi-Serpong-(2)-story282.html, r10062009)

[26] A bright spot, though, is represented by the appropriation of AlphaVille's hilly streets by communities of skateboarding youth. A phenomenon, which is also featured in YouTube (For example at: http://de.truveo.com/carveboard-hawaii-alphaville/id/2348016481, r12.06.2009)

Developers– Corporate urbanism, between dogma and populism

Introduction

Entrepreneurs and developers emerge as the main driving forces of the production NeoTowns. These share process oriented, market driven tactics. The transfer of this approach from the world of international business to the practice of real estate can be regarded as the most important innovation achieved. Significantly this approach focuses on processes instead of products.

The larger originating context portrays rising levels of specialisation, an increasing division of labour, as well a growing relevance of management, innovation and representation. This results in the domination of three major trends: standardisation, modularisation and diversification. In this context the products (as well as the steps of the development process) are increasingly standardised, and building structures, as well as urban neighbourhoods consist of modularised components. The process is diversified, as in parallel the developers seek to reach an ever-increasing social and spatial range of customers and in addition sell different variations and components of the merchandise (from lots, to turn-key houses, to shares).

Whereas the spatial form, as well as the population dynamics are the two core components needed to describe urban spaces in general, in the case of planned cities the question of authorship plays a particular role. Indeed, it is a central characteristic of planned cities, as these are societal, political, or economic projects, that they are driven by the vision of some authority. As a result, planned cities represent the ideology, power and vision as well as specific concepts of design and planning, of a specific time.

As this work seeks to provide a thorough analysis of this novel typology as an epitome of the private city, and as it seeks to understand better the role of the private sector production of contemporary urban space, it becomes fundamentally important to understand the role, the visions, strategies and ideologies of entrepreneurs and developers which emerge as the main driving forces of the production NeoTowns. In this context we want to understand whether the private sector is doing a better job in producing new cities than is the public, but also to comprehend the impact the structural and organisational logic of the new economy has on contemporary spaces. Notwithstanding the new role of entrepreneurs as masters of the process, experts are needed to put plans on the ground. Hence it will remain important to realise the roles and strategies of planners and architects in this new context (and how these have changed in contrast to previous eras).

Developers

> *They perceived clearly that all that he [Levitt, the private developer] foresaw, was far superior to what exists, and possibly would even be better than what would be built with public funds ...*
> *(Gans 1968:45)*

Profile

What the developers of the three NeoTowns of this investigation all have in common is an underlying entrepreneurial logic. At the same time the organisational set up, as well as the history of the respective organisations varies widely: while Navi Mumbai was developed by a public non-for profit company, Bumi Serpong Damai was permanently in the hands of a large industrial conglomerate and AlphaVille was driven by a private middle class entrepreneur. All three examples represent an individual colourful history of 25 to 35 years of development and planning experience. Each project has survived socio-economic transformations from industrial to a service based system, large political transformations (end of the Cold War in 1989), major crises (1974 oil crisis), structural adjustment programmes and changes in macroeconomic policy towards deregulation and liberalisation (1991, Washington consensus), major transformations from supply driven systems (driven by authoritarian, or central planning regimes) to the rise of consumer societies, to increasingly decentralised, and market driven tactics based on demand. In this context the characteristics of Navi Mumbai's developer, Cidco, changed from that of a public housing agency to a private developer; the consortium developing BSD has also undergone several reconfigurations, and AlphaVille's developers developed from a garage venture to a real estate heavyweight.

AlphaVille's developers started as a small garage venture of two engineering graduates, the firm Albuquerque and Takaoka Empredimentos. With the development of the AlphaVille project, the firm rapidly developed into one of the largest and most profitable players in the Brazilian real estate sector. Notably by the year 2007 AlphaVille, as well as its peer Tamboré S.A., were bought by two of the largest Brazilian real estate conglomerates, Gafisa and Brascan. Bumi Serpong Damai started as a consortium led by a group of ten influential real estate conglomerates, arranged by the state. After several crises and waves of restructuring, the firm BSD PT is today led by a subsidiary of one of Indonesia's largest industrial conglomerates. Not least Navi Mumbai was developed by a state owned enterprise, the City and Industrial Corporation of Maharashtra (Cidco). Cidco can be seen as an example of a hybrid public-private organisation. Despite major shifts of supply driven to demand driven systems of housing production, the organisation remains in power to date. While it was backed up by the state of Maharashtra, the organisation was seen as an experimental vehicle to explore strategies of privatisation and market driven urban development. Thus, from the beginning it had to comply with the rules of profitability and the market, although in the non-profit framework. Today, Cidco, representing the state of Maharashtra, remains the dominant developer of Navi Mumbai and its environs. The issue of privatisation continues to be explored in the form of multiple joint ventures with major national and international players of the private sector, such as DLF, Reliance, Al Nakheel (Dubai), or Jurong (Singapore).

Vision and ideological moment

The initial ideologies and strategies of the respective projects varied between collectivist dreams, individual utopias and hybrid forms in-between. Today, the tactics and ideologies of liberalisation and privatisation leading to practices of 'market-driven strategic planning', have become increasingly important. In this context NeoTowns emerge as liberalist versions of utopia, driven by the dual ideology of the happy individual and the free market.

Navi Mumbai, and Bumi Serpong Damai in particular, emerged in a context of high public attention and were seen as important milestones of postcolonial modernisation

that could contribute to solving some of society's central problems. Significant governments have played central roles in setting up the projects: While Navi Mumbai was to become a national landmark project of national dimensions representing a new approach of city building in India, Bumi Serpong Damai was to become the 'best city after independence'. AlphaVille, in contrast, was driven by the entrepreneurial energy and motivation of its two founders who wanted to come up with a national benchmark product from the very beginning.

Navi Mumbai and BSD embarked on significant collectivist tactics, while the logic of excellence, individual happiness and market efficiency has dominated AlphaVille from the initial stages. Nevertheless, as becomes clear in the main part of this work, both Navi Mumbai and BSD eventually embarked on the maxims of privatisation and liberalisation. Still, the early stage is represented by the mass of public housing projects in Navi Mumbai, the mixed 1:3:6 development approach in BSD, as well as the concentration on middle and higher income classes in AlphaVille. The significant difference between Navi Mumbai and Bumi Serpong Damai was that in the first case the social housing schemes were seen as prestigious landmark and flagship projects, while in BSD social housing for the lower classes was implemented for better or worse.[27]

In contrast today the visions of all three cities are more geared on ideals economic performance and technological excellence: In contrast to the social utopia along a Gandhian dream, today Navi Mumbai markets itself as a "World Class Economic Node" and "India's new Supercity" and the main motto of Cidco, the agency developing Navi Mumbai, is "We make cities"; BSD is marketed as a "Big City, Big Opportunity", firmly pointing to the economic potentials the project is supposed to represent. In contrast, less things are new with AlphaVille, while the concept became a national benchmark, standing on the three pillars of "Quality, Security, and 'Automanagement'."

We have to note that initially a utopian moment and a central vision were highly essential to gain the necessary ideological support required for the momentum needed for the projects. Hence, Navi Mumbai (The new Mumbai), Bumi Serpong Damai (Peaceful land), as well as AlphaVille (The supreme Alphacity) share the existence of a strong ideological moment, and all embody the promise of an alternate society[28]: In this context, the developers (e.g. the state government) of Navi Mumbai dreamt of developing an equal city which would solve all housing problems along a mix of modernistic and Gandhian ideals, and which would also solve Mumbai's urbanisation problems along the idea of a counter-magnet; AlphaVille's authors, two engineers, and entrepreneurs sought to create a benchmark environment for modern living, the Alphacity, and BSD's producers embarked on a parallel strategy of a private development with social goals.

Needless to say, all developers want their projects to become a benchmark environment of modernisation in the respective contexts. While Navi Mumbai is envisioned as a mix of a modern, equal and enlightened city and Bumi Serpong Damai represents a mix of modern and corporate ideals AlphaVille comes closest to the 'spirit of the new capitalism'. In this context, Navi Mumbai's developer plays the role of the extended hand of the state, in BSD he represents the enlightened patron, who in partnership with the state knows how to guide society in a new modern era, while in AlphaVille he is a model entrepreneur, who has the right sense for the trends of the time and who performs in an exceptionally successful way.

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[27] It is documented that many of the private developers in Jakarta's periphery shifted the social housing projects they were obliged to do to other locations out of the terrain of the main projects.

[28] A major characteristic of all planned cities and new towns (Cf. Chapter one)

An interesting commonality in the context of visions is the fact that all three cities seek to emerge as slum free environments. And while the approaches and solutions to attain these goals are quite distinct, it can be observed (with a portion of cynicism) that the results on the ground are not as diverse, all the environments thrive on the presence of informal economies and all attract new informal settlements: While Navi Mumbai has without a doubt produced the greatest amount of social housing, its plan to eliminate slums has turned out to be ambitions and illusory. The fact that local statistics are inclined to conceal the real numbers of informal settlements seems even doubtful. Nevertheless the reader has to judge whether the outspokenly exclusionary approach of AlphaVille and BSD, and their corporate social responsibility programmes, can be regarded as more and sincere. Indeed, while it remains difficult to compare the three approaches, it can be ascertained most policies must take the presence of unplanned populations and informal developments into account.

Hence, while Navi Mumbai appears as the 'City of social visions' with a modernistic and social approach, the ideological quest of becoming comfortable, peaceful and highly controlled environments is what drives Bumi Serpong Damai's and AlphaVille's ideological goals.[29] These projects represent a longing for alternate worlds and other visions, which are radically different from the complex, dangerous and uncontrollable urban worlds on the ground. This in itself would be not much different from the proposals of Thomas More's Utopia, Ebenezer Howard's Town Magnet, or Frank Lloyd Wright's Broadacre City etc, were there not a second important driving ideological goal represented by the belief in individual happiness, and the supremacy of the market. Interestingly, the first aspect of this hybrid ideology (that of an alternate world) dominates the physical reality of Bumi Serpong Damai, while the second aspect characterises AlphaVille. Accordingly Bumi Serpong Damai represents an environment that is obsessed by the quest for alternative 'synthetic' identities, and is beset with surfaces, images, and representational strategies, while AlphaVille stresses the employment of 'invisible' codes, norms and ethics.

Implementation Strategies

When it comes to the question of implementation we find a range of common overlapping strategies: The strategies of Navi Mumbai and Bumi Serpong Damai are largely based on the spatial development approach of formal master planning (at least initially). In contrast AlphaVille follows an approach which is rather based on processes. In this context secured land rights, an integrated master plan, the operation along a revolving fund, as well as the development of major infrastructure, have formed the core of Navi Mumbai's implementation strategy; BSD worked on the basis of a similar strategy which constituted the secured access to a major land bank, a master plan (in contrast to Navi Mumbai private), the objective of a balanced land use, a strategy of phased development (in time and in space), and the application of modern corporate management mechanisms. It stands out in particular for the attraction of low-middle class pioneer populations at the beginning, and more recently, for the widespread application novel strategies of theming and branding.[30]

AlphaVille, in contrast, operated along principles of security, quality, control, (and recently also ecology). Its tactics of modularisation and phased development represent a

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[29] It is interesting to observe, in this context, that while Bumi Serpong Damai shared many collectivist goals on paper with Navi Mumbai, it revealed a different ideology on the ground.

[30] Despite the fact that BSD offers the least number of jobs of the three NeoTowns, its state of the art service and infrastructure facilities highly stand out in the context of other competing new towns and planned settlements in Jakarta's periphery.

process-based approach. Notably strategies of comprehensive spatial plans were renounced in favour of an open development strategy.[31] The tactic, for example, was not to plan educational and service facilities, yet to provide the necessary framework for their accommodation upon demand. AlphaVille therefore represents a system based more on codes and principles than a formal idea. It operates along the motives of innovation, profitability and delivery of benchmark products. Founded on a corporate ethos of excellence, the strategy results in a high degree of attributes such as resilience, openness, elasticity, adaptability and flexibility in the context of ever faster changing market conditions. This seems to represent some significant advantages as compared to the traditional master planning tactics.

Quality standards

Our NeoTowns portray the increasing impact of international business quality standards and corporate management norms in the production (and appearance) of contemporary urban environments. Nowadays, a firm seeking to grow, to diversify its products and to raise money from national as well as international markets, is bound to strict standards of accountability and quality management. In this context AlphaVille Urbanismo, Sinar Mas, and also Cidco, acted as early adopters and importers of professional business-, financial-, quality management- and environmental codes to the real estate sector of their respective countries. The ISO 9000 as well as the ISO 14000 norms are certainly the most widespread as well the most influential global business standards. While the first is a general quality management standard, the second comprises important environmental management guidelines. Notably these norms suggest a focus on processes of production as opposed to the final product; in addition they put the customer in the centre of the process, thus implying an entirely new relationship between enterprise and customer. This generally leads to a standardised and rationalised chain of production independent of context, as well as to an increased role in marketing and customer relations.[32]

For space and design it means an increasing reliance on a reduced set of standardised typologies which are efficient, rational, controllable and predictable, and which feature minimised financial risks (represented, for example, by the reduction to the market of either villa, or high-rise typologies, or the increased application and spread of brands such as McDonalds, Staples, Hilton, or Starbucks). The typologies frequently portray a platform design which may be customised to various consumer segments, and their local implementation mostly occurs in a modular way (e.g. as portrayed by the combination of villas to gated communities). Tactics of entirely customised design, geared to specific context and situations (e.g. which form the perspective of design would be called contextualism), on the other hand, are increasingly abandoned.

AlphaVille Urbanismo, as well its peers MVT and Tamboré SA, have been pioneers in implementing the ISO 9000 as well as the ISO 14000 standards in the real estate sector. Also the five major departments of Bumi Serpong Damai PT have been modelled along international ISO 9000 standards. Moreover, in the previous 10 years, Navi Mumbai's developer Cidco has been focusing mainly on quality management standards in the construction and engineering segment. Its most recent project, dubbed Intelligencity, seeks to innovate in exploring synergies of several electronic management tools, business process applications and geographical systems software in combining GIS and SAP tools.

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[31] In this context the temporal sequence of 1) Strategic Analysis, 2) Acquisition, 3) Master planning, 4) Marketing and Sale, 5) Construction, and 6) Occupation acquired a greater role.

[32] Other significant norms comprise the US American International investment and accounting standards (Barnes-Oaxley), or general CPM and PERT techniques.

Innovations in real estate development

All of the three cases have brought forward several novel, innovative and outstanding strategies: The developers of Navi Mumbai experimented with novel strategies of social redistribution of profits made along private market operations. One of the most interesting financial innovations, which originated in Navi Mumbai, is Cidco's system of differential land pricing based on a reserve price mechanism (e.g. the real development cost of the land). With this tactic (we call it: "the Robin Hood Strategy") the developer transfers surplus revenues from the sales of commercial, as well as higher income projects, to the benefit of lower income customers. This indeed is an exemplary strategy for the social redistribution of wealth in the framework of market-based systems.

BSD, as well as AlphaVille, have been the forerunners in the development and application of so called 'market driven strategic planning'. The innovation of the developers is the successful transfer of strategies from the world of services and commodities, ranging from optimised fabrication techniques, quality management standards, financing, marketing, customer relations, etc., to the world of real estate. In other words, the developers have increasingly succeeded in handling the constructions of houses in the same way as other companies are delivering other commodities, and the provision of urban infrastructure and services in the manner of a consumer oriented service. Notably, the resulting 'market driven strategic planning' tactics differ largely from conventional planning and design strategies. While the latter work along the vision of the final 'product', be it along social, or aesthetic ideals, the former are driven by a process driven and market oriented logic of growth, profit and survival of the fittest. Geared at tapping into the most profitable markets, they are also aimed at optimising efficiency, the delivery the highest quality, as well as standardisation and rationalisation of the processes at hand. Consequently, the drive to growth, diversification, and standardisation emerges as a major force inherent to the whole process, with deep reverberation on the spaces produced. Truly, the spatial effects of this approach are a central part of the conclusions of this work.

Complications and learning curves

Without doubt each of the projects has experienced many contradictions and errors. A general flaw of privately driven projects, working along a shortsighted orientation towards profit, is the negation of the social, as well as of the natural environment. The combination of private dynamics and inadequate public regulations has resulted in many serious flaws (such as environmental pollution and social injustice). In the beginning, and in the process of implementation, large populations have been displaced and a huge amount of natural assets have been destroyed without a proper compensation. On the other hand, our projects, as well as their environments, also represent steep learning curves. At the same time, social and environmental impact assessments became mandatory at most of the locations. As a matter of fact, the public became increasingly empowered and informed.[33] For example, significant parts of the Navi Mumbai's plan (including the entire Ulve node), had to be altered when a new coastal protection law was promulgated in 1986.

On the other hand, developers came up with comprehensive Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) packages. These included extensive social and environmental programmes, often in joint ventures with important not-for-profit institutions and non-governmental and governmental organisations. And even if the underlying rationale of such programmes remains to be tied to business logic, many notable changes have been

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[33] A result of an ongoing democratisation, decentralisation and, and at many places also the rise of popular peoples parties.

achieved compared to the initial phases. Navi Mumbai's developer Cidco, in particular, has come up with exemplary Resettlement and Rehabilitation (R&R) packages for Project affected Populations (PAPs). While at the beginning of the development process the local villagers belonged to the most disadvantaged groups, and compensation was rather symbolic, after long years of protest, fights and demonstrations, affected people today can retain 12,5 percent of all developed land. In addition they can opt for monetary compensation, job programmes and vocational and educational packages. Now environmental social impact statements are on the agenda and notably Cidco's strategy has become a regional model applied by private developers in the environs (despite the fact that protests and resistance movements remain fierce).[34]

As the developers of Navi Mumbai have developed exemplary Resettlement and compensation schemes, so have the authors of AlphaVille-Tamboré innovated with environmental standards and regulations. Projects such as Aldeia da Serra, AlphaVille Graciosa, or the Projecto Genêsis have set national benchmarks in exploring strategies of environmental budgeting and eco-sustainable design, novel to the Brazilian context.[35]

Marketing

"As the products and lifestyles become more and more similar... the decision about which cut-price product to buy turns on global imaging and marketing." (Sennett 2006: 134)

We live in a age where economy and demand govern the existence of every creation. Marketability and profit are the prime objective of every product... Architecture in the present day is shaped by market demand, real estate calculations, zoning practices and municipal rules... (Prathima Manohar in Hafeez 2006: pp21)

Our three examples demonstrate that marketing emerges as a central discipline in the context of the production of NeoTowns. Indeed the practice of promoting and selling products become a significant part of the identity of the projects. Truly, it could be claimed that a NeoTown is only a NeoTown because it is constantly marketed, and sold, as a fundamental basis of the experience of consumerism. In this context the NeoTown produces new dimensions of the mutual relationship of consumer and consumed: Its inhabitant is the postmodern consumer who *is* because he buys. While buying emerges as the existential experience in the consumer age, the NeoTown defines itself along its potential of being sold.

Notably, this is an important departure from the New Towns of a generation of central planning. Whereas techniques of distribution dominated in the context of supply driven systems, in a postmodern world of enhanced choices, of mass customised products and lifestyles, featuring an overload of information, the discipline of marketing and sales emerges as a crucial part of process oriented techniques of production (e.g. construction). Here marketing emerges as a crucial interface mediating between processes of production

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[34] In contrast the condition in BSD seems to remain more critical: conflicts among villagers and the developer are on the increase, the local populations become more populous and more powerful, and transparent compensation schemes, like those in Navi Mumbai, are lacking.

[35] While this type of innovation remains an integral feature of the subsystem of planned middle class settlements, it may not solve problems of another level or scale. On the other hand it is difficult to blame the agents of the subsystem for the innovation. E.g.: Green gated communities neither resolve the problem of segregation, not do they contribute to more urban density and less traffic. They are not more, or less, than a better alternative to non-green-gated communities.

and consumption, and catering for a collective individualisation. Significantly the NeoTowns examined in this work clearly illustrate the above trends. They represent particularly interesting cases of a direct transfer of marketing techniques from the corporate world to the real estate sector, e.g. to the production of contemporary space.

Navi Mumbai

If we look at the three locations we see that marketing played only a minor role when Navi Mumbai was initiated in 1971. Indeed, as for a long time Cidco was constructing housing projects along the monopolistic strategies of a public housing agency, and while it had the privilege of offering subsidised products, questions of distribution remained prominent for a long time.[36] In the case of Navi Mumbai marketing became prominent with the advent of massive privatisation (it also seems to be related to the income of the target population): when, for example, the state run development agency started to seek partners for the implementation of the Navi Mumbai SEZ in 2002 it launched a huge international advertising campaign (for example in the weekly magazine: The Economist). In combination with Cidco's "We make Cities", the slogan asked: "Do you want to plan a city for a majority of the world's population?" Another sign of the rising relevance of marketing is represented by a presence of the projects in the World Wide Web, as well as the plan to build a Cidcoseum, a museum documenting the emergence of the parallel city. After all, while Navi Mumbai reflects the rising relevance of marketing, and despite the fact that Cidco started to introduce the terminology of Customer Relationship Management (CRM), compared to our other two cases, Navi Mumbai's agency was so far certainly not the hotbed of innovation of this domain.

BSD

In contrast to Navi Mumbai, BSD strongly emphasises marketing. This clearly indicates how much more this NeoTown is dominated by private sector logic. BSD's management came up with a concept of demand inducing strategies at a time when it was facing signs of a saturated market and increasing competition by the mid 1990s (In 1995 the competing scheme of Lippo Karawaci was launched). Significantly these were chiefly based on a triple strategy of theming, life-style branding, and festivalisation: in this context the marketing departments became a mix of research lab and intelligence agency, with the aim of not only identifying the needs and desires of potential target groups, but also with the mission of helping these desperate seekers to actively achieve their dreams.

Interestingly, this revisiting of the very essence of marketing leads to the construction of Disneyesque, and festivalised environments of branded neighbourhoods and thematic villas touching the heart of the prospective Indonesian middle class consumer. Their form is revolutionary and entirely new (aberrant) to everything that previously existed in the Indonesian, but also in a global urban environment. Instead of being grounded in the spatial context and the histories of a place, they seem to represent a blending of global image worlds and mediascapes. Durkheim's criteria of Anomaly could serve as a good

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[36] And indeed Cidco innovated also in this respect, coming up, for example with a book-building process.

conceptual framework to unravel the phenomenon, as these forms suggest a radical departure of the target groups from traditional norms and cultures. While North Americans and Europeans had so far utilised theme parks as heterotopias of spectacle and temporary breakout from daily routines[37], South-East Asia's (e.g. Indonesia's) middle classes decided to stay, moving in and turning them into habitual[38] living places.

As thematic orientation became a brand of BSD's developers, neighbourhoods such as the Latinos, the Green, Virginia, or Neo Catalonia were marketed as the ultimate Western life-style environments for the diverging middle classes[39]. Not least, the strategy of festivalisation plays a crucial role in the developer's tactics for valorising their products in BSD. The practice implies that that the image of marketing is ritualised, and while it is combined with theming and life style schemes, the discipline of marketing marries the discipline of design. In this context this planned city presents itself as a continuous chain of events, betting on a narrative approach to the product and largely enhancing the above strategies of life style theming and branding.

AlphaVille

If BSD appears as the ultimate case exploring all imaginable aspects related to marketing and the production of cities, it will be interesting to see what remains to be added by AlphaVille. Indeed, while the developers of the São Paulo NeoTown came up with their own set of sophisticated solutions underlining and reconfirming the importance of marketing in their context, their concept seems to have been even more mature and professional. This also implies that AlphaVille's strategy perfectly transferable – in contrast, for example, to BSD's unique exotic approach.

Moreover, client-customer relationships have been brought to a new level, referred to as a strategy of 'dual transparency' (e.g. the transparent enterprise as well as transparent consumer) where the firms seek to transport an image of security, corporate ethics, as well as reliability, while also seeking to become the consumer's 'best buddies'. A life-long brand loyalty, not the purchase of only one product, is their goal. In this context someone who decides to buy a house at AlphaVille is supposed to join a club and acquire a life-style, instead of just making a simple purchase. On the other hand, as in BSD, marketing departments increasingly become intelligence agencies, aiming to understand the buyer's psyche in the best possible and holistic way.

Among AlphaVille's major achievements are strategies of urban branding, as well as a novel eco-theming in particular. These are mainly geared at the sophisticated urban buyer. The tactics developed from a single brand approach to a modus of diversification. AlphaVille's developers had centred all their efforts on the generation and optimisation of one single product, that of the residential enclave (Residencial), which then became a national brand. Its mother company Gafisa, as part of a story of growth and evolution, now relies on the success of multiple brands, thus diversifying the risks. It works with 4 major brands which are formed by subsidiary enterprises and cater for four various customer groups, i.e. (AlphaVille, FIT, Bairro Novo, Gafisa). The fact that an own subordinate, namely Gafisa Vendas, was formed to handle the issue of marketing again underlines the relevance of the subject. This demonstrates that a strategy of 'redundant marketing' and in-house competition is applied as this branch competes with other internal and external teams for the sales and promotion of the same products.

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37 Starting with the world exhibitions and being institutionalised in Coney Island, as Koolhaas 1978 describes.

38 In German: "gewohnt"

39 Simas Red first developed and tested the concept in some alternate projects such as Kota Legenda, or Kota Wisata.

The other important brainchild of AlphaVille-Tamboré's developers is the invention of eco-theming. Here, in particular the firm of Marcello Takaoka, the son of one of AlphaVille's founders, was among the first to identify a profitable demand as well as the need for innovation. Emphasising a sensible life style in the green, its Aldeia da Serra (1980) and Genêsis (1997) projects evolved as exceptionally successful benchmark schemes, soon to be copied by others. AlphaVille Urbanismo stands out for having mainstreamed and advanced the approach, mainly in its AlphaVille Graciosa project (Curitiba, 1996) and the Burle Marx neighbourhood (2007). Indeed, while the strategy is generally criticised as green-washing, it has to be acknowledged that AlphaVille-Tamboré's developers have delivered a series of significant improvements to the typology of 'controlled' neighbourhoods. As opposed to others who have only concentrated on the marketing aspects[40], they have planted additional trees, compensated the environment, trained residents, installed new waste collections systems and organised the building of new sewage plants.

A further important achievement of AlphaVille's developers is the introduction and refinement of procedures of Social Corporate Responsibility (CSR) in the real estate sector. Early on entrepreneurs noticed that, in the consolidated markets of today, projects that are neither social nor ecological have a much lesser chance of success. They consequently decided to join the goals of development with the objectives of environmental and social development. Thus all of the major enterprises, AlphaVille Urbanismo, Tamboré SA, as well as MVT, are running their own not-for-profit foundations and environmental institutes.[41] Notably, these foundations thrive on a network of joint ventures with not-for profit groups and independent research institutions, as well as government bodies. MVT, for example has obtained a ranking by the renowned Instituto ETHOS, it cooperates with the Brazilian branch of Transparency International, and has presented a series of papers on sustainable development at scientific workshops and conferences. Alpha Ville's foundation organises a significant number of social, as well as environmental projects, mainly geared at the residents in the environs. Not least, Tamboré S.A. focuses mainly on the preservation of the environment, as a large protection zone, the Reserva Biológica Tamboré, is part of its land.

Conclusion: Leading trends

Growth and consolidation, efficiency and diversification

As the developers of the new towns examined are increasingly integrated into a larger corporate sector they are also subjected to general trends such as growth, consolidation, efficiency and diversification. The recent purchase of AlphaVille-Tamboré's developers by some of the largest Brazilian real estate magnates (Gafisa and Brascan), the size of BSD's enormous mother company (Sinar Mas), or the influence of Reliance one of the largest Indian conglomerates in Navi Mumbai, represents this tendency. More subtly, the increasing number of public-private, and private-private partnerships and joint ventures also portray the trend. It is represented by: Navi Mumbai's Special Project Vehicles, as joint ventures of national and international companies with the task of developing and running the newly emerging Special Economic Zones; By the public-private-private joint

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[40] E.g. A notable example of the second kind of strategy is Eco-Vila. Notably this small scheme in the vicinity of AlphaVille in among the projects that deliberately confuse a green setting with ecological design.

[41] AlphaVille is running the Fundação AlphaVille (www.fundacaoalphaville.org.br, r12.05.2009), Tamboré S.A. the Instituto Tamboré (www.institutotambore.org.br/, r12.05.2009), MVT has set up the Instituto Takaoka (cf. http://www.takaoka.eng.br, r12.05.2009).

venture among the developers of BSD and Bintaro Jaya which developed and operates the new toll road connecting the area to South Jakarta; Or by the private-private joint ventures developing new superblock schemes in AlphaVille's downtown.[42]

These enormous mixed-use structures composed by large a commercial base which is topped by enormous office towers, represent the most impressive spatial materialisation of the recent drive towards increasing growth, consolidation and efficiency in the real estate sector. It is also impressive to observe how the superblock schemes – enclavic cities, based on size on one hand and on a maximal mix of uses on the other – and currently emerging in AlphaVille, resemble Navi Mumbai's integrated township projects as well as the Jakarta style superblocks.[43]

Internationalisation

The increasing complexity and internationalisation of the firms is a significant aspect of growth and diversification as well. In this context many firms open up new corporations and project vehicles with almost any new part process. Operating with dozens of subsidiaries and firms, Sinar Mas, for example, was dubbed a Corporate Brezel Palace. SimasRed, the property and real estate division of Sinar Mas is one of the leading real estate developers in Indonesia and the SE-Asian region with links to more than 80 international companies and hundred of projects around the world. At the same time AlphaVille's mother company Gafisa is 30 percent owned by the international conglomerate Equity International and its shares are traded on Wall Street.

Internationalisation has also a deep impact on Navi Mumbai and its environs. Many of the projects are composed of international consortia (such as Parsons Brinckerhoff, Jurong, or Al Nahkeel). Moreover international money markets are of increasing importance.[44]

The tendency towards diversification then is most clearly represented by the strategic framework of AlphaVille's mother company Gafisa.[45] In the Indonesian case diversification is less bound to a BSD brand, than to a certain range of branded typologies that the BSD's mother company SinarMas has developed: e.g. Shop-house typologies and thematic clusters of gated enclaDesigersigners: *Imagineering* – between the abstract and the concrete

> *By altering the arrangement of lots, houses, and open space, the designers of Back Bay and Radburn changed the pattern of daily life. (Garvin 1996)*

> *These institutions, we have seen, benefit the kind of mental life embodied by consultants, moving from scene to scene, problem to problem, team to team. (Sennett 2006: 121)*

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[42] iTower, the AlphaSquare, the Brascan Plaza, the Castello Branco Office Park, as well as the Tiner-Videolar are mostly joint venture projects of national and international investors and brands (such as Iquatemi, Marriott, Brascan, JAG, or Odebrecht.

[43] The growth trend is also represented by the increasing size of BSD's neighbourhoods (including their novel clustered typologies) and the constantly increasing lot-sizes in Navi Mumbai.

[44] Prior to the 2009 financial crash, the investment bank Wachovia had heavily invested in some of the projects. In addition Hirco, the developing arm of Hiranandani, one of the developers of luxury Townships in the vicinity, started to raise a significant amount of start-up money on the highly speculative London Alternative Investment Market.

[45] Here, not less than three different types of diversification can be identified, 1) a geographical, 2) a functional, and c) a social approach: The first is represented by the quest to distribute the products and brands on a multitude of national (and possibly also international) markets; Functional diversification is represented by a basket of various products on sale, ranging from the classical residential mansion to shares on the financial markets; And last, but not least, social diversification is represented by the desire to broaden the range of products to a wider range of income classes.

The design strategies inherent in the examples of private urbanisation, as looked at in this work, can be characterised by a practice of 'abstract localisation' and imagineering. The stategy points to a dominance of abstracted design practices, the prominence of standardised typologies, an increasing role of representational values and synthetic environments and a parallel loss of the context.

Context of change – of macrostructural changes, heroes and team players

Despite the fact that developers have come to play a fundamental role in the production of NeoTowns, the entire process from inception to design and implementation cannot be carried out without the input of expert disciplines such as planning, engineering or design. A closer look at the relationship of the developers with these 'space making' professions highlights the new roles and impacts of architects, designers, planners, landscape architects and engineers in the context of privately driven urban development. The departure from the 'safe harbour' Keynesian state leads to a redefinition of their role as well as the nature of the professions.

Our examples illustrate that, hyped by the economic boom of the 1950s and 1960s, the developmentalist governments of the time, socialist and capitalist alike, believed that social development could be engineered in a technical and positive manner. In those heydays of spatial determinism, modernism became mainstream and architects and planners, as well as engineers, were seen as the heroic masterminds of the modernisation process.[46] For the author the squatting of the Carlos Raúl Villanueva's Enero 21 housing blocks in Caracas symbolises the end of this zenith of functional modernism[47].

Indeed, are able to observe that the rise of the corporate sphere into the prime position of urban development, compelled architects and planners to step back from their heroic positions. While the business of urban production was corporatised, they had to get accustomed to a new role. This role implies a greater integration into the system – from being a hero to being a partner, team-player or consultant. Moreover, the practices and strategies of planning and design have also undergone a radical reconfiguration. Design processes based on aesthetics and form, and often also place (modern functionalism and contextualism), increasingly give way to the design of abstract processes, branded typologies and representational wrappings.

The application of abstract symbols and codes, replaces a work along aesthetic ideals, or local narratives. As this often leads to the emergence of what was referred to as new forms of anonymous construction, remedy is then sought by the construction of second natures and synthetic landscapes. Context, distinctiveness and profile are then created by the elements of iconic architecture, by a combination of thematic landscapes and also new types of supermonuments. While we have called this design approach "abstract localisation", the resulting urban landscapes are driven by their marketability, resembling media events in a meticulously orchestrated setting.

→ Illustration E-19: Main stakeholders of contemporary urban development

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[46] The process is represented by the series of CIAM congresses as well as by Le Corbusier's Chandigarh (1953), Niemeyer's Brazila (1960), or Rober Moses's era in New York. It culminates in Constantino's Doxiadis 'science' of Ekistics (1948) and his vision of a world-spanning Dynapolis (1968). An end comes into sight by the founding of Team X at the 1953 CIAM congress in Aix La Provence.

[47] Charles Jenks (1977), in contrast proclaimed that "the day Modern Architecture died" was March 16th 1972, the day of the destruction of Pruitt Igoe project in St. Louis (US).

Changing role of architecture

The meta-framework described above is largely represented by our three examples: Navi Mumbai represents an evolution from self-design to subcontracting, and from competitions to direct commissions. In the beginning (1970s to 1985) most of the projects in Navi Mumbai had been designed by Cidco's own in-house staff in a supply driven manner[48]. With the major shift towards demand driven schemes by the mid 1980s, a significant share of the projects was outsourced. At that time the developers sought to promote innovation (in construction and design) by organising public competitions with freelance architects and developers. Yet, while the results of most of the competitions were seen as rather meagre and while a strong corporate real estate and construction sector was emerging, from the early 1990s Cidco embarked on the practice of direct commissions.

Parallel to the changing of broad paradigms, the different phases of Navi Mumbai are characterised by different designers: The early conceptual phase is driven by the Modern Architecture Research Group (MARG) composed of the young architect Charles Correa, the architect Pravina Mehta, as well as the engineer Shirish Patel who come up with the innovative contextual design scheme; the launch and realisation of the project is carried out by the in-house team of the state planning agency Cidco; and today the advice of well-known designers is mostly sought when developing large, and/or publicly significant projects: Balkrishna Doshi, for example was asked to prepare the plan for the master new node of Khargar, while the consultancy McClier prepared the underlying scheme for the Navi Mumbai SEZ. When it comes to contemporary architecture, the firm Hafeez Constructor, one of the busiest contemporary Indian design consultancies, emerges as the most popular of Cidco's in-house architects.

Bumi Serpong Damai embarks on a strategy of development and innovation by external consultants who are often star representatives of international stature, while local teams carry out the implementation. Names such as Doxiadis, Portman, and SOM as well as EDAW are some important master planners. New branded products, which require a profound knowledge of the local conditions and markets, are developed and implemented under the guidance of SimasRed, the real estate arm of Sinar Mas.

In contrast, AlphaVille works like an automobile, or electronics manufacturer: The concept of the 'residential' is handled as much as a commercial innovation, based on a combination of technical (engineering) and entrepreneurial (business) knowledge. In this context, the Residencial brand has undergone constant optimisation and improvement. As technological perfection dominates over artistic expression, a team of in-house experts mostly does the firms' product development and optimisation. External consultants and specialists are asked to join in when required. In this context the developers have a team of trusted partners who work in the background. The office of São Paulo based architect Reinaldo Pestana, indeed can be called an *éminence grise*. He has designed the majority of the schemes in AlphaVille's environs.[49]

A new era was inaugurated by the collaboration with the Curitiba based Alfred Willer, introducing environmentally friendly urban schemes in Curitiba.[50] Yet, whereas AlphaVille's developers principally shun the formalism and aesthetic individualism of big name planners[51], the situation is different with the discipline of landscaping: here the

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[48] Notably the strategy is also related to the lack of expertise available on the private market.

[49] His office is also credited with having authored the name AlphaVille.

[50] Significantly, after this project, in accordance with the firm's in-house approach described above, Willer's son Marcello was appointed as the director of AlphaVille's planning department.

[51] Indeed the strategy seems to be based on local experiences instead of beliefs. When by the end of the 1980s Arthur de Ulhôa of Tamboré S.A. made an early attempt to design a 'Cidade de 21. Millenio' scheme, with the advice of Jamie Lerner and José Molalez (Placedesign), a large majority of the planner's urbanistic ideas failed.

offices of Burle Marx as well as Fernando Chacel, were appointed to design some land-mark schemes.[52]

It seems though that with the advent of Asian style mixed superblock projects, the contributions of big-name architecture consultancies has become a prominent element in the development (and marketing) process, as for example Miami based group Arquitec-tonica was invited to work on a proposal for the vast TinerVideolar scheme.

Planning

When we look at the existence and relevance of large-scale master planning, we find that the state agencies of Cidco and the Mumbai Metropolitan Development Corporation dominate Navi Mumbai's environment; that BSD's master planning was done by in-house architects and planners prior to it being integrated into the official master plan; and that master planning did not play any role in AlphaVille. The scheme developed in a tabula rasa environment outside of São Paulo's municipal boundaries. The developers never 'officially' intended to interfere on a larger scale and limited their attention up to the level of the neighbourhood.

Visions, Strategies, Practices

In addition to looking at the organisational structures and some of the stakeholders of planning and design, it becomes important to explore some of the underlying visions, strategies and trends regarding the space-shaping disciplines. As much as the govern-ments, politicians and developers, the designers have had their own visions when crafting the schemes. A juxtaposition of these original intentions with the status of the projects today may tell us about these achievements and their relevance.

Navi Mumbai was designed on an impressive 'grand vision' of a twin city on the sea, Bumi Serpong Damai intended becoming an idiosyncratic version of an Indonesian New Town, while, in contrast, AlphaVille emerged chiefly as a business oriented real estate strategy (while implicitly dreaming of becoming a mixture of a Garden and Edge City). Indeed, what unites all three examples is that they seek to represent a radical departure from the traditional city which was stigmatised as an aberrant dead-end environment. Furthermore, also traditional (vernacular, pre-colonial) strategies were mostly disre-garded in favour of state-of the art technologies.[53]

In particular Bumi Serpong Damai, as well, as AlphaVille represent the vision of pro-ducing alternate worlds along these lines. BSD's dream starts with the dogma of central planning which gradually becomes dominated by the belief in the supremacy of the mar-ket.[54]

AlphaVille, works on a market based ideology. Eventually both portray the ideal of an alternative life, remote from the daily complexities and hassles of a post-industrial third world metropolis and based on the notion of difference and contrast. The resulting en-clavic environments represent these ideals.

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[52] Burle Marx's office has designed a neighbourhood in AlphaVille São Paulo with the same name, while Chacel's bureau was appointed to design the scheme in Rio de Janeiro. Chacel, in particular, became known for his concept of eco-sustainability, which has left a big mark on various projects of AlphaVille's developers.

[53] Our examples represent the dream of many designers of planned cities. In particular Ebenezer Howard's system of Town-Country Magnets was intended to trigger dissolution of the morbid metropolis of London. Accordingly he believed that: "the old, crowded, chaotic slum towns of the past – will be effectively checked, and the current of population set in pre-cisely the opposite direction – too the new towns, bright and fair, wholesome and beautiful. (Howard 1898 (1946): 111)

[54] Initially BSD was part of a holistic vision of satellite towns for Jakarta, driven by Dutch planning expertise. Yet, the idea was lost due to a lacking enforcement and the irrational land speculation and New Town boom in the City's periphery.

Navi Mumbai, in contrast, presents an interesting alternative. It's design approach is contextual and place based whilst it also joins the disciplines of city planning and urban design. The designers of this parallel town share the belief in the power of the modern plan and a technical modernisation of society (with influences from New Delhi, and Chandigarh). Their set up for a twin-city on the sea, portrays a holistic and integrated future scenario for the whole region. In a combination of planning and urban design, Correa, Mehta and Patel as well, seek to define a new city centred around the bay and morphologically based on a chain of grand public spaces. The underlying rationale is not one of isolation and exclusion but one of upgrading and integration, seeking to produce a whole city that is larger than the sum of its parts. So the early design of the MARG group is an important example of the departure from a functional modernism to a contextual place based design approach – notably on the scale of a city and not at the level of an architectural object.[55]

Indeed, Navi Mumbai's initial approach is largely antithetical to a liberalist rationale underlying the strategies of the private sector (in our case most radically represented by AlphaVille). While the first method believes in higher communal values such as the power of planned aesthetics, in the cultural value of architecture and the relevance of place, as well as the collective nature of basic resources, the later is based on individual ideals: subjective representation, the relevance of strategic locations, the productivity of standardisation and in the efficiency of the market in allocating resources and structuring terrain.

In this context AlphaVille's urban design strategy, could be dubbed 'anti urban'.[56] While the project thrives on the strategies of a seamless process driven optimisation, and is driven by an entrepreneurial logic of market-based competition, it can be perceived as anti-spatial, non-formalistic and individualistic, as it is based on a bottom-up logic of processes, standards, and regulations.

BSD's urban design tactics, in contrast, display a history that went from the modern grid to postmodern theming, and festivalisation. Interestingly, and in contrast to AlphaVille, in BSD the impact of traditional planning and the relevance of holistic master plans remain strong. Nonetheless, the underlying basis is a classical functionalist approach that could be termed 'typological new town design'. The design strategy is mainly based on the universal principles of New Town and Garden City design such as modern zoning, a hierarchical network of roads, a system of tree lined boulevards and a structure based on neighbourhood clusters, etc.

Navi Mumbai's urban concept on the other hand, in addition to the system of grand public spaces as discussed above, is grounded in a combination of density and transport. The new city was organised along a system of individual nodes, which were connected by a modern system of mass transport. Zoning densities increasing towards the centres highlighted the resulting fabric. (Cf. → E-15)

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[55] It must be noted that (tragically and symptomatically) almost none of MARG's initial ideas was realised. Generally the system of public spaces proposed was regarded as too bourgeois by politicians and the state, who saw it as contradicting the social ideals of the city. Hence, the series of open spaces along the sea became an early victim of cost efficiency; later on the option was killed by federal coastal zone regulations. The concept of urban cores with increased densities at the central nodes fell prey to India's monolithic zoning regulations.

[56] Of course serious urbanists would dispute whether urbanism can be founded on such formal characteristics.

Conclusion Design

Imagineering urban space

The above mentioned ideologies and strategies give rise to a series of important spatial trends represented by building typologies as well as the handling of public space. With a cultural context that became too complex to be based on local congruity alone, the (self-) image of a city has to be constructed in an 'artificial' way. Consequently the designers of all of our examples have to engage in the (pro) active generation of identity. We have called this strategy imagineering.[57] While the increasing emphasis on the process goes along with a recurring focus on the value of representative architectural forms, theming and branding, adapted from the media and advertising industries, emerge into state-of-the-art architectural and design strategies. And consequently, while representational spaces boom, building structures are ever more characterised by a prominence of iconic architecture. Examples of both nostalgic and futuristic worlds have gained a new significance in generating urban images and as demand inducing instruments. In addition, the rising relevance of marketing and image generation leads to a 'deja vu' experience with the urban which reappear as 'supermonuments', or 'monuments of monuments' serving as a way to valorise increasingly homogeneous urban landscapes. (Cf. the discussion of Marc Augé's concept of the 'non-lieu' in the introductory chapter)

Accordingly, an eclectic mix of historical, postcolonial, neo-traditionalist and modern styles tends to dominate Navi Mumbai's formerly functionalist fabric. Iconic landmark shapes, themed worlds and symbolic architecture are, for example, represented by the Spaghetti housing complex in Khargar. Yet, in contrast to the largely homogeneous neighbourhoods of Bumi Serpong Damai and AlphaVille, most of Navi Mumbai's neighbourhoods display an electric mix of styles (among the few homogeneous examples are only some enclaves of the super rich, such as Seawoods Estates).

The changing role of Navi Mumbai's railway stations is an interesting indicator of some of the new spatial trends. In the first 20 years of development the city's railway-cum-commercial complexes, portrayed important landmarks and 'cathedrals of industrial modernisation'. The combined stations and Infotech parks at Vashi and Belapur resembled the out-of scale structures of monolithic super tankers. In contrast, the present plan for a new Seawoods Railway Station displays a thematic and functional mix of railway station, shopping landscape and Theme Park.[58]

Along the same rationales, Bumi Serpong Damai's public space is gradually more representational and synthetic. There are a large number of statues and 'plastic' monuments

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[57] The term is usually closely associated with the World Disney Imagineering. WDI's employees are known as Imagineers. We use it because its direct meaning also perfectly conveys the spirit of a novel combination of marketing and design.

[58] Other prominent 'classical' monuments of the time are Khargar's Utsav Chowk and Vashi's Shivaji Chowk. The first is a circular fountain and arcade in Greek-Roman style that features an enormous media presence and emerged into one the most prominent icons of Navi Mumbai. The second is a populist monument featuring a local hero serving the longing for nostalgia and identity and the needs of the populist parties.

the theming, staging and festivalisation strategies of the respective neighbourhoods. Yet, most of these are reduced to the visual and representative.[59]

Bumi Serpong Damai and AlphaVille are exceptional examples of the current relevance of theming and branding strategies. Their neighbourhoods exemplify the trend that today's developers (as well as their clients) prefer the homogeneity of synthetic worlds, to the complexity of place. While the first seems highly predictable, controllable and secure, the second is regarded as an unpredictable, complex, and risky condition. Architects and designers are rather asked to develop successful and efficient typologies and brands based on a modular design in order to be replicable. Extreme cases and irregularities are outsourced to social, technical, and legal experts (who, for example, negotiate problems with the environment or with the local population). Consequently the unpredictable context is fenced out. The site is then bulldozed to create a tabula rasa environment on which the abstracted models can be efficiently implemented. Because the naked synthetic and mass produced structure would remain highly unpopular, it is then valorised by the means of theming and branding strategies, introducing distinct life styles and identities upon demand. (When this landscape remains bare, it becomes the famous corporate office park).[60]

Bumi Serpong Damai's neighbourhoods represent this approach with particular strengths on the theming of the neighbourhoods: The gates and representative public spaces are individually designed and cater to the identity of the respective neighbourhood (be it Latino, French, Japanese, or European). The mass of turn-key villa's, on the other hand, is highly rationalised and standardised. The construction process was streamlined to low-skilled workers and a limited set of surface designs can be attached to the modular platform basis. The strategy therefore resembles techniques of gold-plating, modularisation, and typological combination, as they are known from the production of commodities such as cars or mobile phones. Nevertheless, apparently the times of the wildest thematic designs[61] seem to be over, and moderate thematic designs, along half a dozen of recurring motives, dominate the scene. These neoclassical, or modernistic motives are increasingly independent of the underlying theme.

AlphaVille's strategy, in contrast, follows an approach based on rules and codes. It is this context, which explains why design in AlphaVille focuses on the single architectural object (and why is it not important at larger scales). In contrast to BSD's holistically themed neighbourhoods, AlphaVille's developers set strict regulations, but outsource the construction process, as part of the whole strategy of 'Automanagement', to the individual buyers. For this reason, the design of the personal house is one of the remaining freedoms of this highly controlled context. The concept thrives on the existence of a large pool of extremely well qualified architects that exist in São Paulo, something unimaginable in Indonesia or India. The result is a hybrid landscape of individually designed villas between the diverse and the homogeneous. While it features many exceptional designs the fabric actually resembles a form of anonymous construction (as opposed to a consciously designed structure). As in BSD an urban fabric emerges only at a larger scale of the town.

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[59] Symptomatically a thematic playground of "The Green" with some of Disney's characters, displays a sign that play is prohibited (The place was visited by the author in 2007 during a major marketing initiative. The playground was apparently closed until a large part of the neighbourhood had been sold).

[60] Durkheimer would refer to the phenomenon as the paradox of a boom of individualisation in a world which is dominated by an increasing collectivisation of production and consumption, represented by an augmenting division of labour along the standardisation of products.

[61] As for example represented by the Kota Legenda schemes, built by the same developer in South Jakarta.

Whereas our NeoTowns emerge as thematic landscapes, the break with nature and the environment emerges as one of their major characteristics. While the process dominates in BSD and AlphaVille-Tamboré, it is increasingly present in Navi Mumbai. Interestingly, AlphaVille's negation is most radical as it is also cultural and aesthetic. This project rejects subordination to universal design and instead favours the fulfilment of the individual household.

In this context, landscaping emerges as one of the most prominent disciplines. On the one hand its boom can be explained because it controls the construction of new artificial terrain and topography, whereas on the other hand it has the role of localising (implementing) the abstract spatial typologies and forms. Landscape architects have played an important role in recent product innovations. While the tradition of bulldozing and tabula rasa clearing was particularly widespread in Brazil, an increasingly saturated market, in combination with rising public criticism and new groups of ecologically minded customers, has led to the spread and innovation of novel concepts of eco-sustaibanle design. Here the most influential concept is Fernando Chacel's eco-sustainability tactics which works along the compensation of natural resources (cf. above).

A role for design in the process of privatisation

If NeoTowns increasingly emerge along a rationalised logic of spatial production with the motto of maximum efficiency, accountability, predictability, control and security, the question emerges if, and what role remains for design in this process?

We find that even as the privately developed NeoTowns examined in this work represent a radically different approach to design, the relevance of the issue in general is highly assured. AlphaVille, Bumi Serpong Damai, as well as some of Navi Mumbai's new neighbourhoods, demonstrate that today design is a highly important and needed tool of valorisation. The examples show that privately driven urban development does not necessarily lead to chaos and degradation. Even in tabula rasa environments characterised by the absence of public planning mechanisms, the quality of architecture and public spaces (in addition to state-of-the art infrastructure and services) becomes an important and value adding feature, in particular in a context of consolidation and increased competition. The recent efforts of upgrading, pedestrianisation and installation of public parks in AlphaVille, as well as in BSD, may illustrate one aspect of this trend. When highly controlled and monolithic environments, such as BSD's thematic neighbourhoods, are produced, design is actually needed, more than before.[62]

Thus we see that private urban development is able and inclined to produce an urban 'Gestalt' of a higher aesthetic order (Even in AlphaVille, the example that seems to be most radically driven by the 'invisible hand of the market', is that design is a highly important element of representation, valorisation) – albeit the underlying paradigms of which are essentially different from the Leitmotifs of modern functionalism, the enlightened European city.[63]

It becomes clear that contemporary designers and planners need to draw on a new set of talents (which address the requirements posed by the trends of standardisation and modularisation on one hand and the generation of identities on the other). Therefore the designers of our NeoTowns need to combine the capabilities of process managers, prod-

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[62] Of course the political and social problems of these neighbourhoods are another topic to be discussed.

[63] The question of the pro's and con's of these different systems, and the questions whether and how the spatial logic represented by the private sector needs to be constrained and regulated, emerges as an important topic, which needs ongoing debate.

uct designers, stage designers, event managers, and ecologists. In contrast to the formal heroes of modernism, they must be highly capable of working in teams.[64]

The above discussion of the role of planning and design illustrates that contemporary design practices increasingly need to engage in the development of abstracted typologies on one hand, and to cope with imagination, dreams, constructed life-styles and potentialities on the other. In this context the actual assignment is not represented by the final form, but by the open process of generating life styles and their representations. It is therefore proposed to refer to this new set of requirements as imagineering.

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[64] Notwithstanding the urgent need maintain an edge of criticism and self-reflection.

Finance –
Landscapes of opportunity, thin walled

*Developers are successful by offering products that are either cheaper than
the average or provide more quality of certain aspects or both. (Garvin 1996)*

*The availability and cost of capital is critical. Developers need capital to pay
for property acquisition, planning, site development, infrastructure installa-
tion, and the expense of carrying the property till development costs have
been recouped. (Garvin 1996)*

*The most difficult problem facing developers of residential suburb, though, is
financial security over the life of the project... the worst disaster is an eco-
nomic downturn. (Garvin 1996)*

Examination of the NeoTowns as examples of privately driven urbanism indicates that
the moment of capital is increasingly important. Our three urban undertakings tend to
diversify into a nonmaterial world of finance. In this context tremendous new markets
are explored. The enterprises become part of an increasingly complex web of financial
flows, corporate organisations and mutual regulations. Yet this new situation also leads
to new dimensions of uncertainty and volatility.

Capital is the eponym of capitalism. Money is the crucial medium of market-based
systems. It facilitates appropriation and exchange. In this context the perspective of fi-
nance becomes a central component of an examination of the nature of private urbanisa-
tion. While planned cities become economic ventures, financial strategies come out as
crucial tools of contemporary private urban modernisation. In this context we investi-
gated how our privately developed NeoTowns managed to develop, survive and thrive,
also whether, and how, tendencies of the finance world affect spatial forms and typolo-
gies and whether a privately planned city of the 21st century is more profitable than its
20th century peers. Examination of the financial aspects was done for both the demand
side and for the supply side.

It was observed that AlphaVille passes the profitability test with flying colours as it is
geared to prosperous elites while remaining open as to how far this success is transferable
to other locations. BSD, in contrast, displays a history of a constant struggle for survival.
Despite the fact that it controls one of the largest land banks in the region, the project
was only able to survive with massive backups from the government as well as from its
mother company Sinar Mas. BSD thus demonstrates that the construction of New Towns
remains a risky business. On the other hand a constant crisis represents an important
driving force to innovate. Navi Mumbai then has, for most of its history, represented an
impressive model of social redistribution, along a non-for profit scheme. Here, as well as
in the other cases the continuous investment in infrastructure was among the most deci-
sive factors of success. The developers have continuously reinvested 30 to 40 percent of
the profits in infrastructure.

The examination of finances, financial mechanisms and the products created, also
helps to track important tendencies. The fiscal landscape of our examples is more and

more dominated by the effects of an increasing diversification of products, the internationalisation of investments and the deregulation of markets (as is the case in many other places). In this context the undertakings at hand seek to increase investment and reduce risks, to tap international expertise and additional markets so the organisational geography of enterprises becomes increasingly elaborate and complex, as in 'Brezel Palace', which is increasingly hard to understand, even for insiders. At the same time urban space is more-and-more moulded by a synchronising logic of international codes and regulations, often in relation to credit and accountability standards. In other words: While the money, and its internal dynamics, plays an ever-increasing role, the production of cities it more-and-more dependent on worldwide economic cycles.

Demand side

An investigation from the demand side confirms that our NeoTown examples are not only based on the economic logic of the private sector, but also on various fundamental demand side dynamics. Indeed the demand side of our cases is mainly represented by rising numbers of middle class population in the respective countries with climbing disposable incomes. In addition, almost all of the projects, with some minor exceptions in Navi Mumbai, are geared to a buyer's market. The fact that a house in AlphaVille may cost US$ 200.000 and more indicates that the project caters primarily for an elite segment of 15 percent of the total population earning at least 20 minimal Brazilian incomes. While prices in BSD range between 12.000 and 200.000 US$ a wider scope of the target populations is included. However, a strong trend to marginalise the poor can be observed. Not least Navi Mumbai's price category of US$ 20.000 to USD$ 50.000 points to a strong focus on middle and low middle classes, though the scheme also represents the highest share of low income projects. We also see that prices fluctuate among the different nodes – largely as a result of the accessibility of some places and not of master planning measures.

The development and maintenance of first class standards in third world contexts raises the question of how the extra costs are covered. The experiences made in the three examples demonstrate the importance of decentralisation and local finance in this regard. The fees raised by the co-operative societies cover a significant part of the maintenance costs of Navi Mumbai's neighbourhoods. Also in AlphaVille residents pay for the entire maintenance of their neighbourhoods via their neighbourhood associations. In contrast, the fact that no bottom-up solution exists in BSD created a problematic situation of unsustainable cross-subsidies, as it forced the developer to cover most of the running costs.

Supply side

The fact that in AlphaVille the price of a house basically equals the amount to be paid for an apartment in inner city locations while projects in surrounding areas are available for half of the sum, indicates the status and reputation achieved by the brand, which has become the Mercedes-Benz of middle class housing in Brazil. Nevertheless, given an increasingly saturated market, new trends point to a diversification and an augmented focus on lower income, as well as in parallel, on the luxury segment. While the first segment is predominantly supplied with basic turnkey products, the later is served by sophisticated eco-lifestyle schemes.[65]

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[65] Disproportional high levels of return confirm the financial success of the ventures. These amounted to 30 percent per year in AlphaVille in 2007 (while the mother company achieved 10 percent in the 1Q of 2009) Earnings in before Interest, Tax, and Depreciation. BSD achieved a profit margin of 31 percent in 2008 (cf. www.reuters.com).

The data and observations confirm that privately driven urbanism depends largely on revenues and profits and therefore, to date, it has preferred to cater for middle and high income populations. Consequently few solutions have been developed for low-income populations and the no-income populations have basically remained marginalised.

The fact that for a long time most of the projects focused on affluent target groups is also connected to payment methods and the availability of credit. Traditionally, a large part of payments had to be made in advance while public mortgage schemes did not exist. In some cases the private sector innovated by individual credit schemes, often in collaboration with private banks. (Yet the dilemma was that even the fees of these mortgages exceeded the incomes of low-income populations).

Finance and low-income housing

Interestingly the situation is increasingly changing. Nowadays, new federally insured mortgage markets serve more lower middle classes and developers come up with a growing range of products geared to this sector. Yet, still, we see that privately driven urbanism is only capable of producing housing for populations with some regular income. It fails to cater for no-income populations, unless forced to by the public. Hence the problem of housing the poorest remains unresolved.

Bumi Serpong Damai as well as Navi Mumbai had to fulfil specific housing quotas for the lower middle classes and the poor. Significant numbers of lower income schemes were built in both of the projects. In this context (e.g. the 1:3:6 guideline) BSD produced a large number of minimal housing typologies. Tight profit maxims have resulted in 'nanohouses' (e.g. extremely small houses), starting at 24 square metres - even below federal guidelines. In the beginning this strategy attracted a significant number of lower-income pioneer populations and it continues to be relevant today. Nevertheless, a strong inclination towards the exclusion and segregation of low-income populations can be observed. While initially the housing for lower income populations had been integrated at the centres of the first neighbourhoods, today they are being placed in peripheral enclaves. It seems that the obligation to include lower income populations is seen largely as a despised burden rather than an important future asset. (Cf. → E-17)

Navi Mumbai remains the example which has managed to produce the largest number of lower income schemes, and the one which came up with the most interesting innovations. Indeed, this fact has to be associated with its not-for profit character as well its general public mission to become a city for all. The developing agency Cidco has impressively demonstrated that it is possible to cross-subsidise development by skinning-off profits from profitable developments geared to the rich, and to redistribute these for the benefit of the general public and the poor. This was mainly done in particular along the innovation of differential land pricing mechanisms – the method operates with the reserve price versus the market price of developed land. We have dubbed this tactic the "Robin hood strategy" as it exploits market dynamics to leverage and cross-subsidise urban development that would otherwise be impossible under purely market-dominated conditions. An additional important component of the effort to tame the markets, is the fact that the land of Navi Mumbai remains in public hands, it is leased and only the built up structures become private property.

Consequently, in the first 15 years a large number of low-income housing has been produced in a supply driven manner through federally subsidised schemes. The node of Kopar Khairane has been a notable experimental field for an enormous site-and-services World-Bank project by the mid 1980s. When the general housing policy shifted to a supply driven system, Cidco was among the first to offer buyers a choice of direct payments

or own mortgaging schemes. Nevertheless here too, in the context of a general liberalisation and privatisation, poorer populations have been increasingly marginalised. Many critics lament that Cidco betrayed its early social goals. In the meanwhile middle and higher income populations dominate the project by 75 percent, a share that is well beyond Indian 'norms', while solutions for the poor have been reduced to tiny model projects or outsourced. (It has also to be stated, that in the 35 years of development, a large proportion of Navi Mumbai's residents have thrived on the rising real estate prices and managed to climb the ladder of wealth). The fact that the 'only' rental market in Navi Mumbai's on site villages is regarded as one of the few successful strategies for lower income populations in place today, is also a declaration of bankruptcy in regard to the current achievements of the developer.

Government incentives and financial subsidies have always played a significant role in the provision of low-income housing. In particular Navi Mumbai, as well as BSD, have gained from generous subsidies and exclusive rights. Yet, while the relatively unfettered AlphaVille again emerges as the most profitable undertaking, the question arises whether long-term subsidies will be unsustainable and distorted.

A start up fund (to be used along a revolving fund principle), important land permits, as well the general advantage of being a semi-public agency, were significant parts of Navi Mumbai's starting package. BSD received easy credits, the guarantee to buy the entire land (land permits), exclusive development rights, as well as comprehensive bailout packages after the 1996 financial crisis. AlphaVille, on the other hand, was nurtured only indirectly by the state: in the form of significant infrastructure programmes in the environs (e.g. highways), as well as by a macroeconomic and political environment, which was highly favourable to private sector development.

Internationalisation

Direct foreign investments played a surprisingly minor role during the start up phase of our projects. On the other hand, international credit institutions tended to display a bigger relevance. While The World Bank co-financed most of Navi Mumbai's site-and-services schemes, the progressing Navi Mumbai SEZ is co-financed by momentous national as well as international banking institutions such as the ADB, the IFZ, as well as the IDBI. At the same time a significant amount of BSD's infrastructure was funded by the Asian Development Bank, while the infrastructure in São Paulo's periphery was co-financed with World Bank and IMF money.

In the meanwhile also a notable number of international companies has entered the real estate market through joint venture operations. Firms from the US, Dubai, Singapore etc., can be found on the boards of most of the so called Special Purpose Vehicles (SPVs) in Navi Mumbai and its environs. Non-Resident-Indians (NRI) play a significant role in investments.

Additional investments come from an increasing number of large industrial corporations, which started to diversify into the real estate sector in the context of the ongoing economic expansion. In Navi Mumbai firms such as Reliance Industries (India's biggest private sector company) represent this trend. Both branches of the firm invested in many ongoing ventures, established its own headquarters in the area, and also plans an enormous 5.000-hectare SEZ to the South of Navi Mumbai. At the same time BSD became an integral part of the corporate galaxy of Sinar Mas, one of the largest and most diversified Indonesian conglomerates. AlphaVille Urbanismo remained confined to the real estate sector, while Gafisa indulged it, one of the four and one of the largest real estate ventures on the country.

Diversification

The fact that our NeoTowns tend to be run and operated by large and diverse corporations not only underscores the success of the projects as business ventures, it also conforms to some major economic trends, such as standardisation, growth, consolidation, diversification as well as the spreading of risks.

Among the predominant trends that of diversification primarily aims at the augmentation of markets. It operates at three major levels: 1) geographical diffusion (targeting the peripheries of other rapidly growing large cities), 2) social extension (seeking to reach an increasing number of societal groups), and 3) functional expansion (increasing the range of products in relation to the development process). The third of these strategies comprises a diversified basket of products, which range from the original villa, turnkey apartments, land development schemes, the neighbourhood life style brand, and the novel mixed-use superblock typologies.[66]

Nowadays, the spectrum of products is increased even further as our NeoTowns represent a vast amount of financial products such as bonds, convertible bonds, share offerings, loans, or futures covering primary and secondary markets. Many of NeoTowns developers, or their mother companies, trade these products on financial markets, locally and globally; today everybody can buy a piece of AlphaVille-Tamboré, BSD, or Navi Mumbai's SEZ. Convertible bonds of BSD PT have been traded since 2003; shares of the firm (JAK: BSDE) have been available since 2008 (not to mention the vast number of financial products generated by Sinar Mas, the mother company).

In Navi Mumbai, the ambitious investor will look in vain for shares in the non-for-profit agency Cidco, yet he will find no difficulty in participating in the area's boom by obtaining shares of Hirco's[67] Urban Infrastructure Opportunity Fund.[68] He can also opt for shares of the company, with a base on the offshore centre on the Isle of Man, on London's highly speculative Alternative Investment Market (AIM), alternatively he can opt for the shares of Dubai's developer of Al Nakheel, or the Indian Reliance, or Jaicorp groups. In AlphaVille, then, he can opt for Gafisa's (GFSA) and Brascan's (BIS) shares.[69]

On the other hand, international integration also brings dependency on the volatility of currency markets. While these had the function to tap the overblown pre-October-2008 international money, the more and more complex webs of international financial flows are impossible to map or even control.[70] BSD was exposed to such risks as early as 1997, when unsecured credits were a major trigger of the SE Asian financial crisis.

Importantly the increased exposure to international finance resonates on the ground by reconfirming and enhancing many of the trends that drive private urban development. As the far off investors expect accountable, planable, and maximum returns, growth and diversification, as well as standardisation, are encouraged. The fact that our local firms have to comply with the accountability standards of international finance (for example

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[66] BSD's own description illustrates the scope and the diversification of the firm: "The Company is also engaged in the construction of residential properties, commercial areas, industrial estates, shopping centres, schools, sports centres, recreational centres, golf courses and education facilities. Its business segments are divided into land, industrial building, houses, shop houses, shopping mall and office. The Company's projects under the name Bumi Serpong Damai are located in Serpong District, Legok District, Cisauk District and Pagedangan District, Tangerang Regency, Banten Province." (http://www.google.com/finance?q=JAK:BSDE, r12.0.2009)

[67] Hirco is the financial arm of the Hiranandani Group, a developer which develops Integrated Townships.

[68] Among the major stakeholders are Liberty Hedge Ventures Limited (2,526,984 shares), the Credit Suisse Client Nominees UK Limited and Vidacos Nominees Limited on behalf of funds under the discretionary management of Laxey Partners Limited (4,647,155 shares), as well as HSBC Global Investment Funds (4,950,000 shares).

[69] Since 2006 Gafisa has been listed under GFSA at the Novo Mercado of São Paulo's Stock Exchange BOVESPA. One year later Gafisa pioneered as the first Brazilian homebuilder to become listed on the New York Stock Exchange, NYSE (under the name 'GFA').

[70] Yet the time of writing this thesis is too early to speculate on the effects of the financial crash.

the US American Barnes Oaxley Act) underlines the drive to standardise, modularise and typologise even more. In addition the sudden arrival of large amounts of international money may led to the abrupt appearance of ever larger projects such as the observed mixed use superblock schemes.

Control –
Enclavic regimes, between formal and informal

It is not the type of developer that is significant [public, non-profit, for-profit]; it is the financial and regulatory market in which they operate. (Garvin 1997)

The administration becomes an instrument of defence, instrumentalised used by one group to protect itself against another group. (Gans 1969)[71]

To conclude the juxtaposition and evaluation of the three NeoTowns being looked at, and to wrap up our generalisation of significant attributes and hypothetical trends, one element is missing: This component relates to the question of public government and control. The terminal part of this subchapter seeks to summarise and to compare the politics and power structures, as well as the public regulations underlying the emergence of the three NeoTowns. This analysis leads to the observation that the ventures are generally controlled by distinct elites. Moreover, the spaces and typologies produced generally represent offbeat typologies outside of the formal (public) status quo. Yet, it also becomes clear that, despite the fact that the projects appear as ultra liberal cradles, the public hand remains a crucial element of the process.

Framework of control

The domination of urban development by the corporate sector is among the major themes of this work. Yet, on the other hand many of our observations underline the assumption that the power of politics (and the government) has not vanished. Indeed, our story illustrates a dramatic transformation of the equilibrium between the public, the private and the civil sectors, which characterises the shift from the Keynesian welfare state to new-economic (e.g. neoliberal) rationale. In this regard NeoTowns are important results of a storyline that believed that the state apparatus had become inefficient, clogged by a top-heavy of bureaucracy and overwhelmed by too much economic and political power, and that development could be handled more efficiently by the private sector as well as civil society.[72]

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[71] „Die Verwaltung wird zu einem Instrument der Verteidigung, das von einer Gruppe benutzt wird, um sich selbst gegen andere Gruppen zu schützen". (Gans 1969: 353, transl. by the Author)

[72] E.g.: The financial crises triggered by the oil shock of 1973 and the liberalisation of financial exchange marked by the termination of the Bretton Woods Agreements of 1974 can be seen as two fundamental economic milestones in this context.

As a result, state run enterprises (and in some cases utilities and resources) have been privatised, markets have been deregulated and political powers have been decentralised. At the same time the impact of transnational corporations and global financial markets was largely augmented, while the relevance of states has decreased. The advent of the information age, and parallel shifts from an industrial to a consumer-based society, add to the complex framework of contemporary change.

The spirit of the time is illustrated by John Turner (1976) who describes the inefficiency of central bureaucracies in the context of developing countries "The alternation of everyday life by organisations that reify activities and institutionalise their values deprives the vast majority of us..." (12)... „The absurdity of excessively costly, centrally administered supply systems for personal services becomes monstrous in countries where earnings are low and controlled by foreign powers." (36)

This thinking resulted in models which suggested shifting the execution and implementation of development to the private sector, and transferring the powers of self-determination, local control and planning to civil society.[73] Therefore during the last 35 years, decentralisation, as well as privatisation, have been the dominating themes of political and economic restructuring in many countries-world wide. [74] [75] [76]

Our examples clearly reflect the transformations described above. The development of Navi Mumbai, Bumi Serpong Damai, and AlphaVille is deeply embedded in the advanced postcolonial settings of the three countries.[77] NeoTowns play the role of experimental models for housing production and urban regional decentralisation implemented by the private sector.

Notably, the enforcement of all models, whether socialist or liberalist, has always remained skewed by ideologies, politics and the interests of specific groups on the ground. Notwithstanding the fact that our NeoTowns have emerged in different ideological settings and power constellations – from India's democratic social, to the Indonesian and Brazilian authoritarian liberalist models – all these relatively young nation states share the characteristics of being dominated by powerful elite groups. In the liberalist context, the transfer of power to the agents of the private economy has dominated while the empowerment of the civil sector has lagged behind.

At the same time our examples affirm that the state maintains an important (and controversial) double role. It remains a crucial element of power and control, defining a vital framework and enabling system during all stages of the projects. While state powers control the stage by setting rules for the game (regulations), government elites emerge as major players in the process (politics, governments).

The macro framework of our NeoTowns is composed of two major political-ideological stages: 1) The groundbreaking phase of the 1970s or early 1980s is dominated by centrally oriented developmentalist regimes; 2) The stage of maturation is characterised by democratising and decentralising powers. Specific landmark reforms of economic liberalisation mark each of the phases.

1970s Developmentalist experiments

Indeed, when we adopt a macro political perspective, the 1971 Navi Mumbai, the 1973 AlphaVille, as well as the 1984 Bumi Serpong Damai emerge as early laboratories and testing grounds of market based development strategies. Notably all are steered by strong developmentalist states.

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[73] John Williamson's Washington Consensus represents one of the most influential formulations of this rationale.

[74] The 1968 movement, and the critique represented by Institutions, such as the Frankfurt School, represent a political and cultural dimension of this critique.

[75] From decentralisation programmes in German spatial planning, to the 74th Amendment in India, or Brazilian community budgeting schemes, the British and US American Thatcher and Reagan governments of the 1980s, Chinese market oriented economic reforms, or the privatisation of the Japan Post in 2007.

[76] The belief in the almighty power of the economy was supported by enormous phases of growth and facilitated by a new international division of labour, as well as by the formation of global markets. It was ideologically promoted by influential schools of thought, mainly the Chicago School, and became known as Neo Liberalism.

[77] While the respective local (national) context was marked by an advanced search for an own status, profile and identity, the political framework was marked by that of the Cold War struggles between the First and the Second World, as much as it was part of great transformations from the collective to the individualist, from industrialism to consumerism, or from place to location, paralleled by an exceptional demographic development and urban growth.

Navi Mumbai emerges in 1974 in a centralist democratic country with the 'strong hand' of Indira Gandhi as the Premier in office[78]. India is governed in a central manner from New-Delhi along the lines of the socialist inspired 5-year plans.

Bumi Serpong Damai develops in 1984 in a 'second generation' post-independence setting under the autarchic regime of the Indonesian General Suharto.[79] The General rules the country for more than 30 years on an autocratic liberalist (and anti-communist) model.

AlphaVille evolves in 1973 under the regime of the former Intelligence Service's head, Emilio Garrastazu Medici. The time is known as one of the most politically oppressive periods, yet at the same time as the golden era of economic growth. Medici is part of an appointed military and business elite, who seeks to modernise the country along a top-down technocratic approach.[80]

1990's Liberal reforms in a democratic context

New liberal reforms of the early 1990s represent the other essential watershed, changing the face of our projects in hitherto unseen dimensions.[81] The era from the early 1980's to the early 1990's is marked by a parallel combination of political democratisation as well as a liberalisation of markets on a worldwide scale. These trends reverberate on the urban surface, reinforcing tendencies such as typological standardisation and modularisation, spatial fragmentation, an emphasis on exchange values, the negation of contextual, iconic architectures, or branded landscapes, among others (as described above).

In this context, by the early 1990's India embarks on a substantial New Economic Programme (NEP) under Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao[82], accepting enormous bail out packages, among others a US\$ 2,5 billion by the International Monetary Fund.[83]

Indonesia sees significant monetary and banking reforms in 1988 carried out by Suharto's regime.[84] Thereafter in 1998 the new democratic government under President Jusuf Habibie (Minister of technology and research, and of strategic industries under Suharto since 1978) embarks on a new version of liberal reforms (based on decentralisation and privatisation).

Brazil, as well, experiences major socio economic reforms by the end of the 1980's. The military regime is ripe for an ending in the framework of the macro events described above. The new democratic presidents, notably Fernando Collor de Mello, Tamar Franco and Fernando Henrique Cardoso, save the country by pushing through fundamental lib-

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[78] As the daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru, who was India's fist president after the country's independence and partition in 1947/48, she is a member of an important political dynasty and a second generation of post-independence politician. The Nehru's are an important dynasty of political leaders with a principal role in the Indian National Congress Party.

[79] Indonesia became independent in 1945. Suharto came into power in 1967. He is the country's second leader after Sukarno. Sukarno had followed a socially inspired nationalist model comparable to post-independent India.

[80] The power remained with the military junta from 1964 to 1989. The country became independent as early as 1889; yet, since then, it has not been able to find the right balance of power. Whereas the regime's development strategy is marked by a strategy of import substitution, the private sector is aimed at becoming the main instrument of change.

[81] By the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s many governments worldwide faced a severe financial crisis, and in addition the Cold War came to an end, many embark on a massive wave of liberal policy reforms. The World Bank, the IMF and other Western trade and finance institutions promote these.

[82] India's present Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh, was the finance minister at the time and played a central role in implementing these reforms.

[83] While the reforms (trade, banking, decentralisation, etc) are enormous by Indian standards, the country retains a significant amount of autonomy, in contrast, for example to Eastern Europe. Its huge domestic market facilitates this. (Cf. "BRICs, emerging markets and the world economy": In The Economist 20.06.2009: 60).

[84] By then it is not knowing that it is digging its own grave, as the subsequent chain of events – combination of easy credits with federal land permits, land speculation, New Town fewer, real estate bubble – trigger the 1997 financial crisis, which leads to the overthrow of the regime.

eral economics known as the Plano Collor, and the Plano Real. Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva becomes known for his social and decentralisation programmes.

Stakeholders and practices on the ground

It is not only the macro framework, but also the local set up of power of control, that points to the emergence of our NeoTowns as elite regimes. The major stakeholders driving and controlling the process of construction of our NeoTowns on the ground range from public representatives to private entrepreneurs, groups of the wealthy and bountiful buyers, or hybrid constellations in-between. Notably, all of these belong to powerful social groups or are closely affiliated with them.

Navi Mumbai is entangled in politics. Until today the project is marked by the struggle of a slow, but constant, devolution of political power from federal to state and to local authorities. At the time of groundbreaking in particular, the parallel city across the Thane Creek was a direct echo of the new powers of the State. While the project is increasingly marked by a rising impact of private corporate stakeholders as well as local Municipal Authorities, in the main it remains under the control of the state, through Cidco, a semi-public development authority.[85] Nevertheless, the ongoing tendency of decentralisation is reflected by the transfer of finished nodes to Municipal Councils (1992), the rise of populist parties such as the Shiv Seena and the BPJ, and the renaming from Bombay to Mumbai (1995), as well as a gradual empowerment of village councils (Gran Panchayats).[86]

In this context the parallel ascent of alliances and cooperation between the state and the corporate stakeholders in the form of Public-Private-Partnerships (PPPs) and Special-Project-Vehicles (SPVs), can be interpreted as an effort to counter the increasing loss of control. Here, vast new patches of urban land are increasingly withdrawn from the control of the public hand (development codes, master plans), as, for example, the thousands of hectares of the Special Economic Zones are controlled by 'private' Development Commissioners (DCs).

The formation of Bumi Serpong Damai is also characterised by elite constellations. Alliances among big politics and the corporate sector drive the formation of the project, while local populations as well as the residents, remain relatively powerless. General Suharto in person endorses the project. He supposedly also provides the name. Yet, in contrast to Navi Mumbai, the corporate sector clearly drives the development on the ground. Whereas, initially a consortium of the ten biggest and most experienced real estate developers of the country is entrusted with the implementation, the group eventually boils down to one agent (Sinar Mas). The development takes place in a 'laissez faire' environment. The Municipality in charge (Tangerang) is overwhelmed at having to control and supervise such a scheme (but it is placated by the flood of taxes).

On the other hand, BSD also demonstrates that finally, local populations are gaining political ground. Despite 25 years of development, secured land rights and an exclusive mandate of development, significant numbers of 'Project affected Populations', villagers and guest workers, remain in the area. Many have endured decades of strain and discrimination. With the rising size of the project, a growing public visibility and more fundamental rights in place, it is highly probable that their standing will invariably improve.

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[85] Along with other state organisations such as it's Mumbai Metropolitan Regional Planning Authority, the Maharashtra Industrial Development Corporation, or the State Industrial and Investment Corporation.

[86] Today villagers and slum representatives compose 60 percent of the Navi Mumbai Municipal Council.

After all, the empowerment of all citizens may become the essential prerequisite to a successful completion of the entire project.

Exclusive groups also dominate the situation in AlphaVille-Tamboré. The underlying power relations are marked by 'informal elite regimes' which work along a 'nullum ius sine actione approach' in combination with the practice of "Automanagement". In this context the project emerges in São Paulo's periphery with a minimum impact of the state and with maximum impact of developers and residential elites.[87]

Compared to Navi Mumbai and BSD, the private sector here works quite freely. AlphaVille is set up by the developers and maintained by the residents while, for most of the development process, the state's impact remains marginal. After completion, the governance of the neighbourhoods is then transferred, one by one, to the residents. On the other hand, a rising impact of big firms and joint ventures of corporate heavy weights can be observed. The country's largest real estate undertakings have acquired most of AlphaVille-Tamboré's enterprises. Enormous commercial projects such as the downtown new superblock schemes are more and more accomplished by gigantic joint ventures. Yet, in contrast to Navi Mumbai, as well as BSD, Public-Private collaborations remain insignificant.

AlphaVille-Tamboré's developers follow the approach of 'nullum ius sine actione' (no suitor, no judge) in combination with the strategy of 'automanagement'. And while the project develops in parallel to informal land developments in the environs, the developers appropriate some of the informal land development strategies. Hence they act in a highly pragmatic way seeking to fulfil the desires of the main target groups in order to maximise profits, knowing the local governments are compelled to tolerate the process (as they are unable to enforce federal laws and regulations and as they are eager to receive taxes and funds). After all, it is only consequent, and also highly common, that in the context of a weak public, the local power is transferred to the residents. The strategy is also most efficient for developers. So, interestingly the developers of AlphaVille-Tamboré have innovated by institutionalising and mainstreaming a series of informal 'best practices'. Practices of the 'other', such as of bottom-up land development and self-management, and have been shifted from the civic to the private sector, whilst the public remains outside.

The above examination of stakeholders reveals that specific power groups and elite populations generally drive the development of our NeoTowns. It can be seen that corporate developers play tend to play the most important roles and to drive the process. While in Navi Mumbai the state agencies still dominate the scene, the increasingly do so alongside of huge partnerships with corporate heavyweights. A single developer, then, almost exclusively controls Bumi Serpong Damai, while higher levels of government have actively facilitated and backed the project. Not least the nexus of private entrepreneurs and elite populations emerged as the main force underlying the power relations in AlphaVille-Tamboré.

→ Illustration E-20: NM, BSD and AV in the triangular model of civic-corporate-private

Our examination of the stakeholder configurations also reveals two important communalities: a) That governments at higher levels continue to play a significant role. Even AlphaVille would not have emerged without the comprehensive economic reforms, as

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[87] Of course the liberal developmentalist approach of the military government plays an important 'fatherly' role, but it remain without any concrete personal interventions on the project.

well as the massive investments in infrastructure of the military government at that time; and b) That all the projects share a context of weak local governments (which is a main characteristic for the emerging peripheries of many mega-city regions). This 'laissez faire' environment then appears to constitute an important driving point for the formation of our NeoTowns.

Regulations

While the question of stakeholders represents one side of the coin when discussing the issue of governance and public control, the game is also controlled by a framework of rules and regulations. The next paragraph will therefore examine the commonalties and differences of the various regulatory settings in which our NeoTown ventures emerge.

Federal level

It was stated above that all of our planned cities emerge in a macro framework of big developmentalist states. While in the 1970s India was more inclined to the Socialist world, Indonesia and Brazil shared a predisposition to the Capitalist West.

Navi Mumbai is spearheading many ideas as represented in the Indian Five Year Plans.[88] [89] In Indonesia Suharto's right-wing authoritarian government is also employing Five Year Plans, through the national planning agency Bappenas.[90] In this context BSD emerges during the Repelita VI[91]. Among the most important federal regulations is the Location Permit (Ijin Lokasi). While it is a significant part of the government's 'market enabling strategies', it provides the Developer with the right to purchase and develop the entire land of a given project area.

Among the central federal regulations which impact on AlphaVille, is the Federal Housing Finance Program (FSH) of the 1960s.[92] Moreover, the country's new democratic

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[88] The third national Plan (1961-66) imposes norms for the development of urban land and housing, and also contains a funding package for the preparation of master plans and town planning legislation on a state level. Further, it facilitates the acquisition of large areas by the public. At the same time it also reflects an increasing decentralisation of planning powers from the national, to the state levels while the Third Plan leads to a formulation of development plans for the states, e.g. Maharashtra, as well as a master plan for Mumbai. In addition the fourth Plan (1967 – 1972) mandates a rational allocation of resources and a redistribution of industries from few urban centres towards the regions. It also recognises the need for housing and infrastructure in the cities. (cf. http://planningcommission.nic.in/plans/planrel/fiveyr/welcome.html, r22.06.2009)

[89] Box: List of federal laws and regulations with superior impact on the Navi Mumbai and its vicinity since commencement.

> 1) The Amendment of the Land Acquisition Act in 1984 dramatically changes the standing of the local land owning populations as it makes compensation and rehabilitation programmes mandatory; 2) The Environmental Protection Act of 1986 triggers the implementation of new coastal zone regulations in 1998 and results in the introduction of a 500 metre coastal protection zone in the area; 3) By 1993 the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments foresee the decentralisation of power to local governments. This leads to the establishment of the Navi Mumbai Municipal Corporation in 1991 and to the empowerment of village councils; 4) In the new century, the federal SEZ and Township regulations, such as the 2000 SEZ regulations, the 2005 SEZ Act, the Maharashtra or the Maharashtra Special Township Policy (2007), or Maharashtra's SEZ Act (2008), etc., bring about a boom of Special Economic Zones and Integrated Townships, fundamentally reconfiguring Navi Mumbai's standing as a global node along the World City Paradigm, and radically changing the practice of city building (urbanism) on the ground. The state's Integrated Township policy, for example, supports the pooling of large amounts of land; streamlines the acquisition of land that is already in the public hands; excepts developers of Integrated Townships from existing land use regulations and it introduces floating FSI regulations. In addition the SEZ policies enable the SEZ's to be developed by the private sector as fully-fledged real estate projects. Notably they also allow very large projects to withdraw from the city while the maintenance and governance of these schemes are internalised and privatised.

[90] The plans in the Indonesian context contain comprehensive state of the art analyses, projections, and broad guidelines of government spending.

[91] Repelita stands for Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun - Five-year economic development plan). This fourth Five Year Development Plan, 1984 to 1989, seeks to diversify the Indonesian economy (away from a one sided dependence on oil. It focuses on export oriented industrialisation, and also leads to the development of urban infrastructure (http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_hb020/is_/ai_n28809719/, r20.06.2009)

[92] This programme required municipalities to draft development plans in order to be eligible for federal loans, it also mandated the implementation of major housing and infrastructure projects by the private sector. The programme had a tremen-

constitution of 1989[93] becomes the underlying basis for legal frameworks such as the Estatuto da Cidade (City Statues, 2001), the 2009 programme of Cidade Legal. [94]

Among the most significant regulations is the planned "Lei da Responsabilidade Territorial Urbana" (PL 3057/2000). This law may bring major reforms for hitherto unregulated land subdivisions, as it is the case in AlphaVille[95]. The law has the potential to become an interesting reference case internationally.

Regional and local level

The regulatory framework described above generally affected a majority of the human settlements in the respective countries. A significant issue, however, which remains to be examined, is the relevance of local regulations. The question of master plans emerged as a pivotal, but not exclusive, topic in this context. Consequently it was of specific importance to examine: 1) whether master plans existed, and if yes, on which levels (regional, local, or private); 2) what impact they had on our projects; 3) and also whether the experience embodied by our projects has, in retrospect, affected any of the master planning strategies. Nevertheless, it was also significant to elaborate which other local regulations, such as building codes, corporate rules, or other informal contracts, were significant at the three projects. In this regard it was important to see what legal status our three NeoTowns, as well as their neighbourhoods, have in their respective Municipalities and also how the respective neighbourhoods are governed at a micro scale.

Indeed, it turns out that, that on the ground, our NeoTowns are driven by a significant amount of informal self-organisation. Yet, it also becomes evident that informality and self-organisation are the other aspects of regulatory frameworks, which are absent, or wrong, or not enforced. Consequently, it is the nexus between the official local regulatory framework (the planned) and of the unofficial informal self-regulation (the unplanned), which emerges as the crucial model to understand the phenomena at hand.

Indeed, the fact that two of our examples are not considered as towns by the law, points to a complex regulatory and political setting. Bumi Serpong Damai as well as Alphaville remain 'stealth cities' – albeit portraying significant morphologic and functional features of towns, and notwithstanding their marketing as world class international hubs.[96] [97] Bumi Serpong Damai is part of the regency of South Tangerang. The first phase of the project is located within the subdistrict (Kecematan) of Serpong.[98] While BSD does

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dous, but indirect, impact on AlphaVille in three ways: 1) AlphaVille's developers Takaoka and Albuquerque greatly benefited from a flood of public projects; 2) At the same time the periphery was made more accessible by a massive investment in regional highway infrastructure, and 3) The inner city became more formalised and expensive and middle class residents opted for cheaper peripheral locations.

[93] The constitutional article 182, for example, defines a new framework for a 'socially oriented and inclusive master planning' along the axiom of 'the right to the city'.

[94] The landmark legislation of Etstatudo da Cidade (Lei 10.257), enforced on July 10th 2001, stresses the social function of the city (including private properties) and the importance of environmental preservation. The programme, Cidade Legal, by the state of São Paulo, will lead to a legalisation of a major part of illegal properties in the Greater Region of São Paulo.

[95] In general the law emphasises social and environmental dimensions of urban development, aiming at a guarantee of a right to housing and sustainable development of human settlements, as well as universal access of public goods for all people. To 'resolve' the problem of gated communities in Brazil, the PL 3057/00, plans the introduction of a new legal typology, the 'Condominio Urbanistico', which entrusts Municipalities with a high amount of autonomy regulating closed land divisions, foresees that 'Loteamentos Fechados' must gain approvals as horizontal condominiums, and that these approvals will have to be renewed in a 5 year cycle.

[96] The population totals thousands residents and comprises a mix of regional malls, offices, universities and parks of enormous economic relevance.

[97] A Google search of Serpong reveals 100 percent hits for BSD but almost none for the original town Serpong (carried out on June 23 2009).

[98] Until October 2008 the area was regarded as Kabupaten (principally a rural area). Thereafter the city (Kota) of South Tangerang (Tangerang Selatan) was spilt from Tangerang (http://wapedia.mobi/id/Kota_Tangerang_Selatan, cf. http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2007/01/15/tangerang-close-forming-new-city.html., r21.06.2009).

not have its own mayor or city government, the different phases of the project are even part of different districts.[99] The same applies to AlphaVille-Tamboré which, as it belongs to two discrete municipalities, is actually divided: Whereas the larger southern part belongs to Baruerí, a smaller segment in the North is part of the Municipality of Santana de Parnaíba. AlphaVille-Tamboré's population of 90.000 residents makes up for about a third of the combined residents of the Municipalities at hand. In addition the New Town contributed the highest amount of the local GDP. An effect of AlphaVille's development was that Baruerí, as well as Santana de Parnaíba, joined the list of the richest Municipalities in Brazil.

So, of the three examples examined, Navi Mumbai is the only one with an own partial town status. Once completed, the nodes of the city are regularly transferred to the Navi Mumbai Municipal Corporation with their own municipal rights. So, in the meantime, 8 of the 15 nodes have became politically autonomous. Though, here as well, this event was not programmed from the beginning – the NMMC is a relatively young organisation and only begun in 1991. It was born as a result of advancing decentralisation.

An ever closer zoom-in on the ground reveals that Navi Mumbai is governed by the Municipality in combination with co-operative societies while Bumi Serpong Damai (officially ruled by the subdistrict governments) is unofficially run by the developers, and AlphaVille is informally run by autonomous Resident Associations. We also, however, have to note that today more and more enclaves are leaving the public framework and are being run by independent Development Commissioners). Nevertheless we can observe in all of the three cases that, as construction goes on, the developers – public or private – are generally the ones in control of the process (Cf. Above).

Master plans

The legal status of the projects brings us to the interesting question of master plans. In this context we find that while in all of the cases master plan have existed, their relevance for the projects is highly different. Master plans have been very central in Navi Mumbai, and have been formally important in BSD, but only of marginal relevance in the case of AlphaVille.

Navi Mumbai is a highly integral and strategic part of the Bombay Metropolitan Regional Development Authority's master plan of 1973. Cidco as well drew up a Draft Development Plan that is closely correlated with the general planning framework. In contrast, in Bumi Serpong Damai, the team of the developers generated the local master plan in 1984, before it was integrated in to a regional planning framework of the RUTRK in 1985 (Structure Plan for the Special Capital Province of Jakarta).[100] Not least AlphaVille developed in the context of the Plano Urbanistico Basico (PUB) of 1969, as well as the São Paulo's Plano Diretor de Desenvolvmento Integrado of 1991. While the Paulista NeoTown is heavily affected by both of the plans, it has not been an integral part of any of these.[101] Notably AlphaVille-Tamboré remains without a local master plan. The local Municipalities, thriving on the new benefits of being central and affordable locations, do not have the power, the means or the interest to elaborate or to enforce local development plans. In addition, the developers are also not interested in confronting local gov-

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[99] This is also a stark contrast from the Master plan at the time of foundation, which intended to install Serpong and BSD as a new regional anchor in the mid 1980s.

[100] The consultants were recruited from the developer's team.

[101] The PUB had developed the idea of a polynuclear metropolis, the PDDI triggered a new demand in the peripheries, as it formalised the development of the inner city.

ernments with private spatial development frameworks (notwithstanding the fact that large aesthetic visions in general contradict the broad principles of the project).

When we examine the fate of the 'old' master plans and look at the major prevalent trends today, we learn that the Mumbai experience demonstrates that while the MMRDA Master plan from 1973 is a very essential starting block at the beginning, it turns out to be too rigid to cope with the dynamic development on the ground. The first update of the plan occurs only 23 years after its enforcement in 1996 (and the next version is planned for 2012). The same problem is true for Navi Mumbai's master plan, while the Draft Development Document of 1973 remains the underlying planning document today.

On the other hand, from the early 1970s till today the city bursts at its seams. It develops at unprecedented rates and grows in unexpected directions, a new service based economy emerges, and the urban system matures into an increasingly complex region. The result is a striking contrast of plan and reality. The first is oriented at ideals of a structured regional growth along the lines of satellite cities, also categorically negating the role of informality. The later represents the messy reality of megacity growth in a developing country. Most of the development occurs precisely outside of formal regulations and plans, therefore informally. The city mushrooms as public spaces, green belts, natural preserves and the margins of major traffic arteries become urbanised. In short the actual development renders the classical (Western) planning ideas obsolete.

The fact that Navi Mumbai's own development plan of 1973 has not been updated till today, seems to confirm that the idea of an alternative satellite has been outpaced by the concept of a regionally integrated node. The fact that a new generation of mega projects is being implemented on the ground, independent of the development guidelines, seems to confirm this trend.

The current generation of urban planners are embarking on a new spirit. The chain of experiences discussed in the respective chapters suggests that the idea of decentral concentration along satellite towns has expired and that new market oriented mechanisms are 'in'. The spirit is demonstrated, for example, by the proposal of Mumbai's 1999 master plan-update, as well as the draft of the 2012 plan. These documents are keen to adjust the planning framework to some crucial bottom-up dynamics of urban growth.[102]

Mumbai's experience is generally also valid for the Jakarta and São Paulo regions.[103] The experiences described verify how hard it is to enforce Master Plans, while the regions consist of competing political entities, different administrative levels and mostly competing peripheral municipalities.

In Jakarta, as well, the dynamic development on the ground has destroyed the idealism of grand master plans and an unregulated boom of competing new town schemes also killed BSD's role as a regional Town Magnet.[104] On the other hand (and on another scale) BSD's developers have demonstrated a greater ingenuity and resilience to handle their approach towards master planning. While the existence of a 'grand' physical plan

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[102] The consciousness is represented by the acknowledgement of informal urbanisation, leading to new land use categories, as well as experiments with flexible market based planning tools and development guidelines. For example, a new U-2 landuse class, addresses rapidly developing "zones in transition" in the entire region. While no formal development plan will be in place, the developers are encouraged to form joint ventures and to develop the necessary infrastructure in a self-organised manner.

[103] More local examples can be found in the respective case study chapters.

[104] This role also formally became obsolete when, in the late 1990s, the Pantura model of regional growth was developed. This favours a linear development of the city along an East-West axis instead of a radio-concentric development with decentralised nodes.

always remained important, the developers proved capable of adjusting their blueprints to the latest requirements on the ground.

Indeed, the case of AlphaVille represents the most extraordinary and provocative concept from a classical planner's point of view. Traditional master plans are lacking. The project develops in a bottom-up manner along a set of principles and rules, whilst the developer adopts and mainstreams many strategies of the informal sector. AlphaVille represents a set of principles and concepts. The scale of the neighbourhoods emerges as the crucial modular element of the scheme. In contrast to the irregular sum of the parts the neighbourhood modules represent extremely controlled environments. They are based on a private set of rules (regulamento) and controlled by Resident Associations; and the enclaves portray novel typologies outside the existing land development laws. The fact that the developer also operates along his own set of principles, regulations and maxims, based on ISO norms, accounting standards, management principles etc, demonstrates that AlphaVille represents a radical and fundamental case of private urbanism resulting in a unique way of non-formal urbanisation.

F. Conclusion:

NEOTOWNS CORPORATE URBANISM AND THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE IN THE 21.ST CENTURY

Introduction – From insights to visions

We now arrive at the concluding section 'NeoTowns' – corporate cities' of this research which explored privately developed cities from the perspective of three examples of what we named NeoTowns. In the main our study affirms that the urban models at hand represent a choice of paradigmatic spaces of the new economy. Hence it largely consolidates the hypothesis that the NeoTowns examined can be regarded as a new category of planned cities. NeoTowns. What general conclusions for the 'production' of contemporary space can be drawn from the description of the above three cases, and which research implications for further research can be developed?'

This section is structured in two major parts. First an executive summary of the major findings of the previous chapter is presented. The second part opens the door for the future. We present perspectives for the scientific and practical knowledge generated by outlining a research agenda as well as presenting a list of innovations.

Synopsis –
Cities of Demand

"Architecture used to be driven by religion. Now it's driven by capitalism.
That's what we believe. So there you are." (Herbert Muschamp)1

The following section provides a synopsis of the previous chapter which assessed our findings on the three cases of Bumi Serpomg Damai (Jakarta), Navi Mumbai (Mumbai), AlphaVille-Tamboré (São Paulo). The structure applied represents the multi-perspective approach used throughout this work.

Context – Nodes in the periphery

National: Postcolonial quest of identity

The settings in which we find the origins of our three New Towns are characterised by postcolonial nations struggling to define an own identity. While today, all of these countries have democratic parliamentary systems in place, the start-up phase of our examples was characterised by strong, central, and developmentalist governments. Autarchic regimes dominated Indonesia and Brazil, whereas a democratic, but strong centrally oriented government sought to steer the development of the Indian subcontinent. A commonality is that, in any case, politicians understanding themselves as enlightened elites, aim to lead the modernisation of their respective countries. And indeed, our New Town examples can be regarded as essential model projects in this regard.

Regardless of this common pursuit towards emancipation and privately driven modernisation, the three countries demonstrate differing levels of development. The demographic, social, and economic facts portrays India as the least developed country; Indonesia ranges in the middle; and Brazil appears as the most developed of the three nations. While all share a powerful course of development towards a consumer oriented and service based economy (and society), all cases also demonstrate a strong inclination to increasing inequalities, gaps and disparities, pointing to worrying scenarios of inequality and stagnation.

Urban: Central nodes of expanded risk

Data on a regional scale demonstrates that the three NeoTown projects surface in the dynamic peripheries of post-industrial mega-city regions, as the most dynamic places of contemporary change, development and modernisation. The respective mother cities are among the top-ten megacity metropolises in the world, with a long legacy as nodes and interfaces between the national and global scales. Nevertheless, the locations entail high-risk environments: severe socio-economic problems, massive urban poverty, informality, inequality, socio-spatial fragmentation, crime, environmental problems, etc. Notably, the

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dynamics of growth and development experienced, overburden the system to develop a sufficient amount of infrastructure and housing. Hence the fact that Mumbai, Jakarta, and São Paulo are environments of expanded risks is certainly among the main reasons why real estate developers come up with new 'solutions' and why populations that are able to afford it, opt to move to New Towns in the peripheries, as 'pacified' and controlled environments.

After all, the stage of the emergence NeoTowns is defined by a series of common social, economic and spatial trends. This is largely characterised by the transition from an industrial to a service based economy. In this context in the last 30 years all these places have undergone an enormous process of spatial reconfiguration and decentralisation resulting in polarised and fragmented urban fabrics and multiplex urban regions. An important phenomenon observed was an ongoing process of clustering and concentration of prime businesses and affluent populations in particular sectors of wealth. Essentially in this post-industrial urban context, urban peripheries come into view as the most dynamic places of contemporary change, development and modernisation. Additional inquiry of local predecessors and peers demonstrates that Bumi Serpong Damai, Navi Mumbai and AlphaVille are deeply entrenched in a tradition of local and global predecessors.

Form – Organic clusters

Far from classical satellite cities in the green, Bumi Serpong Damai, Navi Mumbai, as well as AlphaVille, emerge as modern regional nodes. These are embedded in comprehensive infrastructure networks and close to modern terminals, thus reinforcing multiplex patterns of regional urbanisation.

Nonetheless, the three schemes are also individually of enormous significance. Navi Mumbai represents one of the largest planned cities worldwide, Bumi Serpong Damai is among the biggest New Towns planned and implemented by a single developer, and AlphaVille stands out as an epitome of private urbanisation as a bottom-up process which is based purely on market logic. Moreover all three cases represent enormously different sizes. Even AlphaVille is huge at 40 percent of Paris. An important structural commonality of all three examples is their modular and hierarchical organisation. While Navi Mumbai represents a large grid-like open system, Bumi Serpong Damai, as well as AlphaVille, reveal the increasing relevance of highly controlled neighbourhood modules. Notably, all three cases stand out for their exceptional standards. Each surpasses the levels of the surrounding environments by far.

From a functional, as well as from a cultural point of view, all examples deserve to be called urban. This is because in all of the locations the agglomeration of various neighbourhoods, infrastructures and services result at higher levels of complexity (that is, are more than the sum of the parts).

Indeed, the arrangement of AlphaVille, as well as that of the new parts of BSD's phase II, resemble a quasi-organic cellular structure. Here, as much as in a leaf, or a bunch of grapes, neighbourhood modules are served by a central access spine. Interestingly, we find an order here, which fully complies with modularity, hierarchy and self-similarity, the criteria of self-organised complexity (cf. Batty 1994).

Stagnation represents the major problems on the ground. Yet, given the prospects of the ongoing growth and expansion of all of the mother cities, it can be predicted that sooner or later all the projects will be completed. Navi Mumbai had stagnated for decades and only started to thrive in the last decade with the advent of private investments and the services sector. Bumi Serpong Damai displays the greatest contrast between plan

and reality as it was heavily exposed to financial crises and political twists. In contrast AlphaVille is the only case that displays a history of 35 years of uninterrupted boom and success.

The surroundings of all cases demonstrate that NeoTowns emerge as integral parts of a rapidly urbanising (and highly fragmented) peripheral urban fabric. This demonstrates the difficulty of developing a contemporary new town on a tabula rasa Greenfield site. Indeed, significant numbers of onsite villages (and onsite populations) account for a problematic experience mainly in Mumbai and BSD. Slums surround AlphaVille. It is noteworthy that the privately dominated cases (BSD and AlphaVille) in particular, totally lack significant cultural facilities, public spaces and institutions of higher cultural value.

While NeoTowns emerge along a hierarchical and modular model, the neighbourhoods (residential and commercial) in all three cases clearly embrace the fundamental elements of the structure. Novel forms of enclaves are generally characterised by a high perimeter fence, one exclusive entrance and a highly controlled homogeneous interior. The semi-private space of the neighbourhood re-introduces a new spatial hierarchy between the poles of the private and the public. The gates emerge as pivotal functional and symbolic elements. The main observation is that the larger scale of the Town represents an urban mix and complexity; however, at the same time the scale of the neighbourhoods is composed of self-similar clusters of uniform and homogeneous neighbourhood modules. The neighbourhoods are so regulated that no other land uses or building typologies are permitted.

The three NeoTowns feature an enormous number of completed dwellings which stand out for their high quality at a comparatively low price. The typological spectrum varies among the three examples. Whereas Navi Mumbai mainly represents walk-up and high-rises the single-family villa is the basic element in BSD and AlphaVille. BSD first stands out with its thematic turnkey typologies and individually constructed and designed residences are the basic modules of AlphaVille. The other popular housing typology is the residential high-rise tower.

Significantly, local characteristics, as well as the cultural meaning, tend to vary on the ground. An important contrast to gated communities in the West is that most of the neighbourhoods of our NeoTowns feature exceptional densities. The Indonesian tendency of clustered enclaves, arranged along an onion-like structure from public to private, or AlphaVille's 'portaria criteriosa', a gated typology with distinct entrances for residents, guests and deliveries, are two examples of home-grown species. In addition, the significance of fencing varies from places to place, and while the Brazilian enclaves are sacred and impenetrable, vendors and school children may find access in most of BSD's neighbourhoods. Not least among BSD's main problems are high vacancy rates. In some of the neighbourhoods the visitor finds himself surrounded by grazing goatherds and landscapes of compartment walls instead of the expected suburban garden-city environs. In addition Navi Mumbai, as well as BSD, stand out for various innovative low-income schemes.

A general tendency in all three cases points to an increasing size of developable areas, as well as to an extension of private boundaries. At the same time the number of building typologies is diminishing. The villa and the residential high-rise tower emerge as the two most prominent forms of housing, and their polarity dominates the respective urban fabrics.

Among the most recent trends are a boom in gated communities, novel forms of Special Economic Zones, as well as Integrated Township typologies in Navi Mumbai. Holistically developed and 'monolithic' turn-key neighbourhoods as well as ever larger super-

block schemes of an Asian flavour are found in AlphaVille's downtown area, and we find the introduction of the above mentioned clustered typologies, as well as regional malls and theme parks in BSD. Despite the fact that Western urban models become widespread, a significant adaptation and hybridisation takes place on the ground. Hence "India, Indonesia, Brazil is all written over it."

Population – Houses of comfort

Middle classes principally compose the populations of our NeoTowns. Notably these new societal segments are surging forward in the respective countries and embark on consumerist life-styles. In contrast to many of the Western post WW2 New Towns, most of the residents are working in the white-collar sector. As a consequence they seek to carve out, secure, as well as inherit, individual spaces of life and representation. Indeed, these NeoTowns can be seen as environments which are streamlined to these functions.

Among the examples, AlphaVille stands out as the most successful example of job generation. It has twice as many jobs as residents. At the same time the number of jobs in Navi Mumbai serves half of the population. However, with a population to jobs ratio of less than 20 percent BSD stands out as a problem. Nevertheless, the high profile of the residents, as well as the quality of the businesses transforms these NeoTowns into important economic powerhouses of the regions.

Notably, an integral element of NeoTowns in the South is the existence of 'unplanned populations' and informal jobs. Indeed, these are rarely discussed nor do they appear in the statistics. Nevertheless, in Navi Mumbai and in BSD, village populations as well as new migrants, make up between 30 and 50 percent of the inhabitants. We can also estimate that in all of the cases low-key services make up for more than a third of all jobs.

Significant trends visible in all three NeoTowns represent a departure from the modernistic ideal of an open city, towards systems based on bottom-up demand, individualisation, and profitability. A (neoliberal) blending of the freedom of choice by the consumer, as well as the commercial logic of the market, produces trends of self-segregation and results in homogeneous neighbourhoods.

The 30 to 40 year history of the places allows the observation of substantial contradictions between early intentions and the development on the ground. This is true in particular of the older nodes of Navi Mumbai and BSD, as places that were initially driven by the principles of top-down modernist planning and an open society. The most prominent phenomena in this context is the emergence of new centres at the most accessible locations, as well as many cases of voluntary self-segregation and clustering along the lines of ethnicity and income. All three NeoTowns share these common trends resulting in a highly fragmented urban fabric that is composed of greatly homogenised groups (neighbourhoods) – reflecting an increasingly complex and polarised postmodern society at large. The criterion of income seems to emerge as the major driving force behind the trends described above.

Stark contrasts also exist between the planned profile of the target populations and the current trends on the ground. Navi Mumbai features the greatest mix, as well as the greatest share of lower income residents. Bumi Serpong Damai also displays a notable variation of income segments. Nevertheless, the current trends in all three projects point to a focus on middle income and high-income populations. The question of creditability and a regularly formal income emerges as an important benchmark to be reached.

While the three NeoTowns apparently represent the cradles of booming bourgeois communities in the respective countries, an overarching set of motives was identified.

The four central motives driving households to move to NeoTowns are: 1) security, 2) life-style, 3) investment, and 4) decongestion (quality of life). Only the prioritisation of these factors varies from place to place. An additional fundamental motive is the desire to acquire a spatial framework for the appropriation and preservation of material and ideal values, and after that to guarantee their tradition to the next generation. NeoTowns thus emerge as a hybrid mixture of consumerist ethics and traditional values – a third alternative that is neither urban nor rural. They are not solely focused on the new, flickering, and the fashionable,

However, the new environments bring about new and unanticipated problems. In many instances the extremely controlled milieus have triggered unwanted internal effects. For example displays such as high levels of car accidents in the interior of the neighbourhoods, as well as increased levels of drug abuse and youth criminality have been reported from AlphaVille.

Planned cities are not only composed of individuals. The emergence of societal and political groupings is an important pillar on which the success or failure of the NeoTown examples rest. In our context Navi Mumbai, as well as AlphaVille, both show success-cases of bottom up-self organisation, while BSD lags behind. Co-operative Societies drive the process in the Indian case, and Resident Associations in the Brazilian example. The developers have actively promoted both of these.

Developers – Cities of demand

Entrepreneurs and developers emerge as the main driving forces of the production of NeoTowns. The strategy of market driven development unites them. They excel by having transferred this approach from the world of commodities to the real estate sector. Indeed, this is one of the most crucial innovations achieved. Significantly the approach focuses on processes instead of products. Moreover it brings along the overarching trends of standardisation, modularisation and diversification to the urban fabric. Several of the urban phenomena observed within this work indicate an increased impact of these trends on contemporary urban space.

In our case, the thee organisations driving the respective processes have experienced different beginnings. Navi Mumbai was driven by a semi-public development authority (Cidco), Bumi Serpong Damai was a joint venture of some of the largest of Indonesia's industrial conglomerates, and AlphaVille originated as a middle class business. Nevertheless, all developers shared a specific entrepreneurial logic. This can be regarded as one of the main factors underlying the flexibility and resilience of the undertakings. All have survived significant social, economic, political, as well as cultural shifts in the last decades. In the context of this change the character of Navi Mumbai's developer Cidco changed from that of a public housing agency to a private developer. In addition, the consortium developing BSD has undergone several reconfigurations and became the subsidiary of an industrial corporation (Sinar Mas). At the same time AlphaVille became part of one of the largest Brazilian real estate conglomerates.

Whereas the initial ideologies of the projects varied between collectivist dreams and individual utopias, today's NeoTowns emerge as liberalist versions of Arcadia driven by a dual ideology of the happy individual and the free market. Notably, Navi Mumbai and Bumi Serpong Damai were set up as landmark projects of national relevance aiming at a modernisation of society. Here governments played an important role in initiating the processes, setting ambitious social goals. AlphaVille, in contrast was a bottom-up entre-

preneurial undertaking from the beginning aiming at coming up with the highest quality at the lowest price to fulfil the dreams of its target populations.

Nevertheless a strong ideological moment is shared by all of the ventures. Even their names suggest that they all embody the promise of an alternate society: Navi Mumbai (the new Mumbai), Bumi Serpong Damai (peaceful land), AlphaVille (the AlphaCity). One notable result is that all three cities have sought to emerge as slum free environments. The developers share the vision of representing a benevolent power that drives forward the modernisation of society in the respective contexts. Navi Mumbai's developer acts in the role of the extended hand of the state, in BSD he represents the enlightened patron who, in partnership with the state, knows how to guide society in a new modern era, while in AlphaVille he is an exceptional model entrepreneur guided by excellence, intuition and the invisible hand of the market.

Yet only Navi Mumbai appears as the 'City of social visions' combining a modernistic and social approach. Bumi Serpong Damai's and AlphaVille's ideological moment is driven by the dream of comfortable, peaceful and highly controlled environments, as well as by the belief in individual happiness and the supremacy of the market.2

Implementation

Common strategies dominate the process of implementation. All projects share four crucial elements: 1) a secured access to land, 2) the objective of a balanced land use, 3) a strategy of phased development (in time and in space), and 4) the application of modern corporate management mechanisms. What varies, on the other hand, is the approach concerning master planning: Navi Mumbai and Bumi Serpong Damai rely on spatial development plans, while AlphaVille follows a process-based approach based on rules and codes.

Furthermore, our NeoTowns also represent an increasing impact of international business quality standards, and corporate management norms in the production (and appearance) of contemporary urban environments. AlphaVille Urbanismo, BSD PT, and also Cidco, have been pioneering the application of professional business-, financial-, quality management- and environmental codes to the real estate sector in their respective countries. Norms such as the ISO 9000 as well as the ISO 14000 represent a focus on processes of production as opposed to the final product and, in addition, they put the customer in the centre of the process. They are significant for driving the process of standardisation and modularisation, and the abandonment of custom tailored design.

Role of marketing

NeoTowns are fundamentally based on the experience of consumerism. As much as the postmodern consumer is, because he buys, a NeoTown is only a NeoTown as it is constantly marketed and sold. In this context marketing emerges as one core discipline of private urbanism. It also emerges as a crucial interface mediating between processes of production and consumption, and catering for a collective individualisation. The NeoTowns examined in this work very clearly illustrate these trends. Developers seek to achieve a life-long brand loyalty instead of the purchase of just one product. Marketing departments become a mix of intelligence agency, research institute and event office.

In Navi Mumbai marketing became prominent with the advent of massive privatisation: Cidco, the developer, recently stands out for the employment of worldwide marketing campaigns, and its Customer Relationship Management (CRM) strategy. At the same

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2 Interestingly the first aspect dominates the urban spaces of BSD, while the second becomes best visible in AlphaVille.

time BSD's developer is remarkable for bringing forward demand inducing strategies as well as the triple tactic of theming, life-style branding, and festivalisation. AlphaVille's authors are distinguished by advanced strategies of eco-theming geared at the sophisticated urban buyer, as well as by the introduction of Social Corporate Responsibility (CSR) tactics to the real estate sector.

The examination of the dynamics of the developers of our NeoTowns brings some outstanding trends to the fore: As the real estate sector, including the developers of the projects examined, becomes increasingly integrated in the operational dynamics of a larger corporate sector, growth, consolidation, effectiveness and diversification emerge as the dominant tendencies of the time.

Outstanding innovations and problems

All of the three developers have brought forward a series of innovative and outstanding strategies. The authors of Navi Mumbai applied bright strategies of social redistribution of profits (differential land pricing); BSD as well as AlphaVille emerge as the forerunners in the development and application of 'market driven strategic planning'. While each of the projects also displays many contradictions and mistakes, most of the undertakings also shine by presenting steep learning curves.

The negation of the social, as well as of the natural environment, emerges as an outstanding problem/contradiction of the privately driven projects. In particular, in the early stages, environmental pollution and social injustice was 'the norm'. In many instances large populations were evicted and a huge amount of natural assets were also destroyed. On the other hand the projects demonstrate an enormous capability of transformation and progress for the better. In this context the developers of Navi Mumbai stand out for their handling of the Project Affected Populations. At the same time AlphaVille's developers are jumping forward with exceptional environmental solutions.

Designers – Abstract localisation and 'Imagineering'

In the context of privately driven urbanisation the practices of 'abstract localisation' and 'imagineering' emerge as the most important tactics of spatial design.

Abstract localisation stands for the practice (and desire) to neutralise the existing context. Imagineering stands for the essential capacity to generate a new distinctive profile by elements such as iconic architecture, a combination of thematic landscapes and also by the introduction of new types of super monuments. In other words, it stands for the need to create a meticulously orchestrated setting in environments which more and more resemble media events, and which are increasingly driven by their marketability. In this context 'imagineering' refers to a set of design practices which is related to the requirement to develop abstracted typologies on the one hand, and to cope with imagination, dreams, constructed life-styles and potentialities on the other. Notably, the actual assignment is not geared at a final form but at the generation of processes, e.g. open life styles and their representations.

While the 'space making' professions remain central stakeholders in the production of cities, the privatisation and the corporatisation of urban development imply fundamental changes of strategies and stakeholder configurations. Planners and architects acquire new roles and the practices and strategies of planning and design undergo radical reconfigurations.

Whereas in the heydays of Keynesianism, architects and planners (as well as engineers) accounted for the heroic masterminds of the modernisation process, the new situation brings about a need for a greater integration into the system. The role of the planner

changes from a hero to a team player and partner. In addition, the need to develop abstract modules, branded typologies and representational envelopes supersedes the functionalist and contextualist design approach of the modernist era. The application of generic symbols and codes replaces a work along aesthetic ideals, or local narratives.

Our cases demonstrate that advancing corporatisation brings along a shift in the organisational structures among developers on one hand and designers and planners on the other. This is represented by the growing relevance of ever larger national and international consultancies: Hafeez Constructor, Jurong, or McClier in Navi Mumbai; Doxiadis, SOM, EDAW or Portman Associates in Bumi Serpong Damai, or Arquitectonica and Königsberger Vannucchi in the AlphaVille area.

Designer's visions

As far as designer's and planner's visions are concerned, all of the examples are based on a radical departure from the traditional as well as a stark negation of the existing and on the quest for excellence. Albeit, we uncover quite different strategies to achieve these goals: The designers of Navi Mumbai dreamed about a 'grand vision' of a twin city on the sea, Bumi Serpong Damai' planners sought to shape an indigenous Indonesian New Town Typology, while AlphaVille' designers wished to create landmark neighbourhoods of a hitherto unknown quality in Brazil.

While Bumi Serpong Damai as well as AlphaVille clearly represent the vision of producing alternate artificial environments, Navi Mumbai's initial design approach is contextual and place based. The plan for a twin-city on the sea essentially portrays a holistic and integrated future scenario for the whole region. It marries the disciplines of planning and urban design.

Indeed, Mumbai's parallel city and São Paulo's private NeoTown emerge as systemic antipodes. The first departs from a belief in higher collective values, the power of aesthetics in the cultural value of architecture, the social relevance of place and the communal nature of basic resources, etc. The later is based on individualist ideals of subjective representation, the relevance of strategic locations, the productivity of standardisation and the efficiency of the market in allocating resources and structuring terrain. (It delivers a built-in capability of flexibility and instantaneous optimisation in rapidly changing environments in a context that is struggling to re-define questions of collective values.) The case of Bumi Serpong Damai then makes clear that a dream of a collectivist future can turn out to be shaky and uncertain. The scheme started with a real world scenario of social mix and modernist new town design, which was then rapidly taken over by market based rationales.

Theming and branding

The environments of our NeoTowns represent urban and cultural context, which became too complex to be based on local congruity alone. In this situation designers are bound to engage in a (pro) active generation of identity. While imagineering emerges as a central method, the strategies of theming and branding are two of its most important elements.

The urban landscapes of our examples portray an eclectic mix of styles and rapidly changing fashions. Visual and representational values of spaces are emphasised, iconic landmark shapes, themed worlds, super monuments, and a symbolic architecture are booming. In this context the tactics of theming and branding, adapted from the media and advertising industries, emerge into the state-of-the-art architectural and design strategies. Architect and designers are asked to develop successful and efficient typologies

and brands, based on a modular and replicable design rather than to design customised solutions.3 The abstract typologies must then be valorised. Notably this occurs by the means of theming and branding strategies, introducing distinct life styles and identities upon demand.

The star of landscaping

Despite the fact that a rupture with the local environment, emerges as one major characteristic of the new planning a design approach, landscaping comes forward as one of the most prominent disciplines. It becomes is the master discipline, which controls the construction of new artificial terrains and topographies. Moreover it has the specific role of localising (implementing) the abstract typologies and forms.

Design

The strategies and concepts as discussed above demonstrate that design remains a highly important ingredient in private urbanism. This indeed contrasts with the common assumption that urban development led by the private sector is bound to produce chaos and fragmentation. While the role of design is highly different today to that of 30 years ago, the quality of architecture, public spaces, state-of-the art infrastructure and services, remains an important feature. This observation seems to be valid in particular in the contexts of advanced maturation, consolidation and increased competition. Our cases have demonstrated this by presenting various efforts of spatial upgrading, pedestrianisation and the installation of public parks. We see that private urban development is capable, and inclined to of produce an urban 'Gestalt' of a higher aesthetic order. Even an aspect of subversion comes in here, as in the highly controlled monolithic environments design is needed more than before.

The context described above makes it clear that contemporary designers and planners need to draw on a new set of talents. The requirements posed by the trends of standardisation and modularisation on one hand, and the need to generate artificial identities on the other, ask for the capabilities of process managers, product designers, stage designers, event managers, ecologists and team players.

Finance – Landscapes of opportunity

At the same time that capital is at the core of market-based systems, finance emerges as one of the key ingredients of corporate urbanism. Our examination demonstrates that its expanding impact reinforces the existing tendencies of growth, standardisation and diversification and derivatives of money facilitate the penetration of ever increasing markets. The tapping of remote financial pools also brings a greater security of investments. On the other hand integration in a global space of financial flows also brings about new risks involving increasing complexity and decreasing transparency.

Indeed, the NeoTown experiences examined appear to be more successful than their publicly driven ancestors. In contrast to many New Towns and satellite cities of the post-World WarII era, the cases of Navi Mumbai, BSD, and AlphaVille stand out for their resilience and adaptability, a continuous (re-) investment in infrastructure, and the capacity to attract the right urban blend. Likewise the profitability levels achieved by most of the projects generally surpass most of the local benchmarks.

AlphaVille and Navi Mumbai present a successful example and embarked on decentralised structures of bottom-up finance and 'automanagement' to cover the extra cost

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3 Extreme cases and irregularities are outsourced to social, technical, and legal experts and other consultants.

related to the exceptional standards. In contrast, BSD's history of struggle of survival highlights that private development is not a free ticket to success, but that it depends on the right setting of a successful combination of other factors (such as the greater political and economic context, the right regulatory framework and good management with the right strategy).

Navi Mumbai teaches us an alternative lesson of a market oriented not-for profit scheme and interesting strategies of social redistribution. It is this example which has managed to produce the largest amount of lower income schemes, and the one that came up with the most interesting social innovations. The developing agency Cidco has impressively demonstrated that it is possible to cross-subside development by a method of differential land pricing mechanisms.

In any case, we can see that private urbanism depends largely on revenues and profits. Our examples confirm that it structurally fails to provide housing to no-income populations, unless the public compels it. Yet even here, the success stories appear moderate. Unfortunately Navi Mumbai's innovative schemes were depended largely on external subsidies and were thus restricted to specific periods. Since the privatisation and liberalisation boom of the early 1990s the developer has failed to keep up providing a significant number of low-income schemes. On the other side of the Indian Ocean the drive to profit maximisation resulted in BSD's sub-standard 'nano schemes' at remote locations, while older integrated schemes have been phased out.

The price of privatisation and profit orientation seems to be exclusiveness and segregation. The dominant share of middle class populations in all of the projects underlines this general inclination and is best represented by AlphaVille. Even in the socially oriented project of Navi Mumbai middle classes dominate the scene, making up 75 percent of the population. Only today a tendency to broaden the 'services' towards lower middle classes can be observed. The underlying reason for this development is an improved access to consumer credit for the masses of lower income populations (as well as a consolidation of the middle income markets).

The examples examined demonstrate the importance of indirect subsidies. They thrived when the macroeconomic and political environment was highly favourable for private sector development. In this context a large amount of the external infrastructure was co-financed by federal banks and international credit institutions.

On the other hand direct government incentives and financial subsidies appear more questionable. BSD is the project which was nurtured by enormous public grants. At the same time it displays most of the problems. The question arises whether the subsidies have produced distorted conditions of monopolised land markets and sponsored elite populations, and whether general vulnerability regarding future irregularities and crises, was negatively effected.

In the case of our examples direct foreign investments tend to play a minor role. On the other hand various forms of national and international joint venture operations are booming. In addition, the NeoTown ventures progressively represent investment targets of large corporations, which started to diversify into the real estate sector (from Reliance in Navi Mumbai, to Sinar Mas in BSD, to Gafisa and Brascan in AlphaVille and Tamboré).

The fiscal landscape of our examples is dominated more and more by the effects of an increasing diversification of products and the internationalisation of investments, as well as the deregulation of markets. In this context the undertakings at hand are seeking to increase investments and reduce risks, to tap international expertise and additional mar-

kets. Nowadays everybody can buy a piece of AlphaVille-Tamboré, BSD or Navi Mumbai's SEZ by obtaining one of the financial derivatives of the undertakings.

The increased exposure to international finance leads to significant impacts on the ground. Urban space is moulded more-and-more by a synchronising logic of international codes and regulations, mainly in relation to credit and accountability standards. The codes and rules of financial business seem to reconfirm and enhance most of the trends which drive private urban development. The collective of remote investors expects even more accountability as well as planability of returns. As a result, the trends of growth and diversification, as well as standardisation, are reinforced and driven while the production of cities is closely interlinked (and dependent) on volatility of worldwide economic cycles.

Control – Power compounds

NeoTowns are usually controlled by distinct elite groups. The cases being looked at represent urban forms and typologies which are radically different from the official legal status quo. Many instances include informal strategies and typologies. However, despite all the offbeat, neoliberal, and informal qualities, public stakeholders and regulations continue to play a crucial role in the process. Our examination demonstrates that the state remains a crucial element of power and control, defining a vital framework and enabling the current system.

Macro level

In general the examples of planned cities, as discussed in this work, come about in a context of two greater processes: 1) The macro economic framework is defined by the dramatic shift from the Keynesian welfare state to a new-economic thinking which has dominated a worldwide scale in the last 35 years; 2) At the same time, the underlying political context is determined by an impressive transformation from centralist and elite driven systems of control to decentralised and democratised power geographies. (After all, both trends are effective in the postcolonial settings of the respective nations.) Notably the above described processes are marked by two fundamental watersheds, firstly the events around the oil crisis and the deregulation of the world financial system in the early 1970s, and secondly the effects of the end of the Cold War by the beginning of the 1990s.

Indeed, the histories of our projects are divided in two major phases along these milestones which have fundamentally changed the face of our projects. Our planned cities emerged in the 1970s and early 1980s in relatively young nation states which had all embarked on a centrally driven developmentalist approach of modernisation. Thus, in their early stages, Navi Mumbai (1971), AlphaVille (1973) and also Bumi Serpong Damai (1984), served as pioneering laboratories of an elite driven modernisation, testing the dynamism of market based instruments. The new wave liberal and democratic reforms of the early 1990s represent a fundamental watershed. The interconnected breakthrough of private urban development changes the face of the projects at unforeseen dimensions.4

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4 The 30-year process of neoliberalisation described above can also be circumscribed by a balance between the public, the private and the civil spheres which is shifting towards the private sector. The NeoTown examples remain dominated by the private part. The role of the civil-society is rather passive.

Stakeholders

At the same time the change was highly biased, ideological and political, as it was dominated by powerful societal elites. Indeed our three cases demonstrate in an exemplary way that particular interest groups, made up by public representatives, private entrepreneurs, groups of the wealthy and bountiful buyers, or hybrid constellations in-between, control the processes on the ground. While civil society in general, and the locally affected populations in particular, tended to lag behind, the state maintains an ambiguous role as on the one hand it defines the rules and, on the other hand, also acts as a major stakeholder.

Our three cases are strongly entangled in alliances and conflicts among distinct elites. Navi Mumbai is dominated by the public sector along strategic alliances with the corporate world.5 Bumi Serpong Damai displays a power geography that largely leans towards the public-private nexus. In contrast to Navi Mumbai, here the corporate sector dominates the scene while distinguished government elites serve as strategic partners.6 The situation in AlphaVille-Tamboré is clearly dominated by a strong political bond between the developers and the new landowners, which is represented by the system of 'Automanagement'.7

Notably, what the stakeholder configurations and power geographies of all the projects have in common is: a) the essential importance of governments at higher levels (states and federal levels), and b) a context of weak local governments.8 This combination of public elites and a local 'laissez faire' environment, then, appears to constitute a significant variable for the formation of our NeoTowns.

Regulations

In addition to the political geography of stakeholders, rules and regulations represent an important setting, which controls the organisation of societies in general, and also our NeoTowns in particular. We have seen that all of our planned cities emerge in a macro framework of strong developmentalist states. Navi Mumbai, for example, spearheaded many ideas as represented in the third and fourth Indian Five Year Plans, which, by the end of the 1960s was asking for increasing public intervention in urban development. Likewise, federal laws and regulations, such as the Amendment of the Land Acquisition Act (1984), or the 73th and 74th Constitutional Amendments of 1993, have had a profound impact on the project and its vicinity. BSD emerged in the context of an Indonesian liberalist version of such plans (Repelita), and thrives on federal regulations such as the Location Permit (Ijin Lokasi). AlphaVille's developers were nurtured by the benefits of new Federal Finance Programmes geared to the development of housing and infrastructure. At the same time today the project is essentially confronted with various regulations originating with the new democratic constitution of 1988, such as the "Estatuto da Cidade" of 2001, or the planned "Lei da Responsabilidade Territorial Urbana" (PL 3057/2000).

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5 The context is marked by the struggles of a slow, but constant, devolution of political powers from federal, to state to local authorities. Hence a constant friction exists with municipal governments, village councils and populist parties.

6 While the project emerged in a context of weak regulations and powerless local governments, today the supremacy of the corporate landlords is challenged as daily protests are on the rise and the affected on-site populations gain political ground.

7 The public sphere stays largely outside: While huge the developers have innovated in adopting and mainstreaming significant 'best practices' of informal urbanisation.

8 Indeed presumably a main characteristic for the emerging peripheries of many emerging mega-city regions.

When examining the local level it became evident that our NeoTowns thrive in a 'laissez faire' context and develop a significant amount of informal regulations.9 The fact that 2 out of 3 of our cities do not have official town status, instances of private codes of the resident associations, examples of novel neighbourhood typologies which do not exist in common law, or cases of exclusive operations by developers and governments (such as land permits, or new SEZ laws), all have in common that they differ from the 'orthodox' public domain. Consequently, some of the cases, such as Bumi Serpong Damai and AlphaVille, represent stealth cities – albeit these portray the significant morphologic and functional features of towns notwithstanding the fact that they are marketed as world-class international cities.

Finally, the three NeoTown examples represent a highly stimulating experience with Master plans. While the relevance of master plans for each of the projects has been very different, most of the lessons and experiences encountered, point to similar conclusions.

Master plans have been very fundamental for Navi Mumbai and have been formally important in BSD but only of marginal relevance in the case of AlphaVille. Yet, it became clear that places with a high emphasis on Master plans had difficulty coping with the dynamic development on the ground, at least in the long run. Mumbai's Master plan, for example, remained valid for 25 years and resulted in a striking contrast between plan and reality. While the blueprint maintained ideals of a structured regional growth along Western models, propagating satellite cities and greenbelts and negating informal development, the ground displays the 'messy' contradictory reality of megacity growth in a developing country.

Indeed, the examples also confirm how hard it is to put master plans into practice, as the regions at hand comprise an increasing amount of competing political entities and divergent administrative levels. Moreover the enormous development and growth fundamentally changed the role of our NeoTown examples from alternate cities to integrated regional nodes.

Significantly, at a local level, our New Towns can be seen as forerunners of an approach which has departed from a formal master planning and mainstreamed to a more flexible and process oriented development.

The cases demonstrate a greater elasticity and resilience of private urban development. While a physical plan remained important in Bumi Serpong Damai, the developers constantly demonstrated an ability to readjust the blueprint to the latest requirements on the ground. AlphaVille in particular developed in a bottom-up manner along a set of principles and rules, while a guiding master plan did not exist at all. Indeed, the case represents a radical and fundamental case of private urbanism resulting in a unique way of non-formal urbanisation. While the developers of Navi Mumbai adhered to the conventional approach, the development plan was scrutinised by the growing number of exceptions, amendments and alternations, as well as the introduction of the special development zones.

Interestingly, today many of the municipal governments have started drawing their own conclusions. The idea of debundled concentration along satellite towns has expired and new process oriented and market oriented mechanisms are in vogue. In this context Mumbai experiments with new land use categories, market based planning tools, development guidelines and public private partnership. Jakarta has embarked on a model of regional growth (Pantura), which favours a linear development of the city along an East-West axis. São Paulo is also experimenting with market based tools such as the 'paid

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9 Nevertheless, it became clear these unconventional operations are deeply entangled in, and even produced by, formal regulatory environments, which are absent, displaced, corrupt, or not enforced.

authorisation for the right to construct' (outorga onerosa do direto de contruir) and the 'urban operations' programmes.

In conclusion

1. NeoTowns come to the fore in the context of postcolonial peripheral modernisation representing a search of identity, a quest for control between central and 'decentred' powers and a major socio-economic-cultural shift from the public to the private and corporate sectors.

2. NeoTowns represent idealistic cluster cities of immense dimensions that are predominantly based on ordered neighbourhood modules, notably portraying a hierarchical re-arrangement of spaces between the public and the private (a radical departure from open modernistic grid patterns).

3. NeoTowns portray the dawn of the modern consumer as they are inhabited by a population of newly emerging consumer classes in the respective countries demanding alternative environments of life.

4. NeoTowns are examples of corporate urbanism. They are developed by private sector developers who appropriate the rationales of the larger corporate sector. These are mainly process driven and demand oriented. Moreover they increasingly embody design practices of 'abstract localisation' and 'imagineering', leading to synthetic landscapes, standardised typologies, and a rise of themed and branded environments.

5) NeoTowns portray landscapes of opportunity: featuring a rising importance of diverse forms of capital exchange and representational values and becoming part of complex transnational arrangements and flows (of money, people, products, and ideas).

6) Last but not least, NeoTowns come to the fore as enclavic regimes engendered by distinct elite groups (mostly in collaboration with the government and private sector crème de la crème), along a bottom-up logic of pragmatism and profitability and in a context of weak local regulations.

Indeed the characteristics described above largely validate the categorisation of the species described as NeoTowns.

Outlook –
Components of a research agenda

While this project has for the most part analysed and evaluated the phenomenon of NeoTowns, the following section seeks to provide a future perspective. In this context, we will present an outline of the major innovations and the focal points of a research agenda.

Main innovations

The following table summarises the major 'innovations' as represented by the three cases examined by this project

City	Pioneering Innovation	Description, Note
Bumi Serpong Damai	Life-style theming & festivalisation	Themed residential landscapes
	Marketing,	‚Customer Relationship Management'
	Turn-key solutions	Mass customised housing products
	New Finance Tools	Private Credits, Bonds, Stocks
Navi Mumbai	Strong master plan	Spatial vision, role of public infrastructure
	PPPs, SEZs, Integrated Townships	New urban modules
	Resettlement and Rehabilitation (R&R)	Compensation strategies for locals
	Differential land pricing mechanisms	Redistribution of profits to the poor
AlphaVille	Market driven strategic planning	Process oriented, phased development
	Standardisation, Quality monitoring	DIN 9000, DIN 14000, CSR…
	'Automanagement'	Bottom-up governance by Resident Associations
	Eco-lifestyle-neighbourhoods	First green gated communities

Table 40: Innovations

Four dimensions of a research agenda on NeoTowns

The subsequent outline of a research agenda focuses on a priority list geared to the topic of NeoTowns in particular and private urbanism in general. We consider four components as particularly important to develop and consolidate the core of NeoTown research: I: studies of additional NeoTown examples; II: examination of other typologies of

private urban development; III: the integration of a historic perspective; And IV: support by evidence based explorations.

I: Examine more NeoTown cases

While the existing study starts by examining three cases of NeoTowns in order to identify trends and to generate hypotheses, the approach has to be broadened. Only the study of more examples can establish and authenticate the present results. While we have shortlisted 16 cases at a groundwork stage of our project, 13 of the cases wait for closer inspection. As the list if far from complete additional examples may be added.10 (Cf. Appendix: Comparative matrix table)

II: Inspect more examples of private urban development

We also propose to supplement the list of NeoTowns with additional typologies of privately developed urban schemes. Numerous other project-types can be studied with the same methodological framework designed for this work. This will not only contribute to a better understanding of private urbanism in general, but it will also facilitate the refinement of the NeoTown classification. While the databank generated in the background of this work lists more than 40 examples of Special Economic Zones, Integrated Townships and other privately planned neighbourhoods11, the list is also open ended and additional examples will contribute to the overall qualification of the topic.

III: Include a historical thread

The third important step to consolidate NeoTown research is the expansion of a historical perspective. The research at hand has made a deliberate choice to carry on a spatial investigation of three cases of NeoTowns because this was deemed the most important first move in the identification of major trends and the development of hypotheses contributing to new theory formation. Although a chronologic narrative was integrated as part of the examination of the context and the maturity of the samples, at this point projects that focus entirely on the historic thread would produce an entirely new class of knowledge to the NeoTown debate. From our perspective a comparative study of historic and contemporary cases would be the most reasonable approach. For a start it would be of supreme relevance to compare two groups of planned cities to NeoTowns: Firstly, classical New Town examples from the 'Keynesian' era; and secondly, precedents of privately planned cities (cf. to the lists in the first chapter). Clearly the two paradigmatic cases of Howard's Town-Country Magnet and the private city of Irvine embody exceptionally interesting aspects.

IV. Explore supporting empirical research

Because cities are a complex subject matter our holistic examination of NeoTowns has touched upon a wide spectrum of topics: whether the national context, a chronologic perspective, economic profiles, socio-cultural contours, political characteristics, or spatial dimensions. After this complete but 'rough' assessment, now, each of the topics represented by the integral diagnostics presents numerous opportunities for deeper evidence

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10 A systematic investigation of the entire context of contemporary NeoTown projects in Latin America is still an open project. The Mexican 'Valle de las Palmas' and the Chilean 'Ciudades Walladas' mark a starting point.

11 The authors think that, in parallel to NeoTowns the Indian SEZ and Integrated Township schemes are particularly promising objects of future study. Furthermore it is evident that the Chinese region presents scores of recently planned cities waiting for an own contextualisation, analysis and critical assessment.

based studies: from demographic profiling, to the history of postcolonial (and peripheral) modernisation, to new urban typologies in mega cities, the rise of the third-world consumers, market oriented urban development, the role of capital and the commoditisation of space, or political and regular dimensions. From our perspective the subjects of finance and law in particular have the greatest scope for expansion and development, as these now have been the most distant disciplines for us (as architects and urbanists).

Synopsis of the hypothetical findings and related research questions

The following list presents an outline of the hypothetical findings and research questions in relation to the urban debates presented in the context chapter. These suggest a focus on empirical research.

Debate	Finding	Question
Global City	NeoTowns are important terminals and interfaces of global economic and cultural flows.	What role do NeoTowns play in the hierarchy of global nodes (as centres for the production and reproduction of globally oriented goods, classes, symbols, classes, etc)? Which flows pass through? How is global culture produced here?
Regional City	NeoTowns are integral elements of post-industrial 'multiplex urban regions'	How do NeoTowns as planned nodes drive and structure the process of regionalisation? What is the mutual impact of local and regional infrastructure systems – both for the region, as well for the NeoTowns?
Megacity	NeoTowns appear as genuine products of mega-city regions.	Why NeoTowns emerge in the peripheries of Megacities, and not in the Western context? Which roles do practices of bottom-up planning and self-organisation play?
Sprawl	NeoTowns emerge as new centres in the periphery. On the other hand they generate urban sprawl.	Are NeoTowns an alternative to sprawl, or triggers of more of the same?
Fragmentation	Gated neighbourhoods, residential enclaves and their inherent organisational forms (i.e. Homeowner Associations) are important components of NeoTowns.	Are NeoTowns a particular form of agglomerated gated-communities (Mega-enclaves)? What are the limitations of bottom-up initiatives and self-organised governance?
Post colonial space	NeoTowns originate in a context of postcolonial modernisation.	To what extent are NeoTowns products of the 'periphery'? Do NeoTowns represent unique forms of 'indigenous modernities'?
Themed landscapes	New Towns appear as archetypes of themed environments of daily life. Thematic architecture and branded neighbourhoods appear as the most important strategic	How can the semiotic vocabulary of New Towns be described? Which spaces and typologies are produced? Are NeoTowns the places of the ultimate spectacle?

elements.

Table 41 : Research implications of the seven urban debates

Selected singular topics

In addition to the central research objectives listed above our research brings to the fore and validates the following quintessential topics as subject of further debate and inquiry.[12]

Theme	Topic	Remark
Space	'Indigenous supermodernisation in the periphery of the peripheries'	A blend of Weber, King, Augé and Fishman
	Supermonuments, Iconic architecture, Festivalisation	(Cf. Jameson, Augé)
	'Organic' structural logic of demand driven spaces	Self-organisation and complexity (Cf. Batty)
	New indigenous typologies	Asian-style superblocks, shophouses, thematic 'green-enclaves'
	Local adaptations, Hybrid forms	
People	'Cities of demand'	Space and ideology of consumer society, Architecture of demand, New Economy and Populism
	Personal imagescapes and role-models	(Cf. Appadurai)
	Automanagement	Limitations? (Cf. Tönnie's: 'Gemeinschaft vs. Gesellschaft')
	Unexpected outcomes, appropriations	E.g. Self-segregation, youth crime
Economy	Impact of 'advanced economic rationalisation' on space	(Cf. Weber, Ritzer)
	Market driven strategic planning	How do Towns and Cityscapes compare as commodities with standard products?
	Impact of standardisation, modularisation and quality management on urban form	(ISO, DIN…)
	Role of Marketing CRM, CSR	Cf. 'Cities of Demand'
	Contradictions inherent to the logic of the private sector	How to address the neglect of social and natural other?
	Relationship of financial and monetary dynamics and spatial trends	E.g. expansion and growth, standardisation, modularisation, mass customisation, diversification
Design	New process, rule, and image-based planning and design practices	Abstract localisation' and 'Imagineering', Theming, Life-style branding…
Control	Interpretation of the 'self-reproducing impulse of global and local elite regimes' through a sys-	(Cf. Niklas Luhman's social systems theory, concepts of autopoiesis etc.)

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[12] Note that although the topics have been allocated to a specific theme, they may also be relevant for other areas of inquiry and combinations of these.

tem theoretic approach	
Market driven planning and development tools versus master planning strategies	Tradable Development Rights, Flexible Development Controls, New land use categories…
Role of hybrid organisational species (SPVs, PPPs, BOTs, DCs…)	Special Project Vehicles, Private Public Partnerships, Build Operate Transfer, Development Commissioners…
Limits of privatisation, Future role of the public sector	(Cf. Above: Automanagement)
Evaluation of policies	Brazilian experiences of "Lei da Responsabilidade Territorial Urbana" (PL 3057/2000) Mumbai's experiences of U-2 land uses and TDRs Assessment of Rehabilitation and Resettlement (R&R) strategies

Table 42: Singular research topics

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H. Lists

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NeoTowns
Prototypes of private urbanism

Appendix
Charts and Illustrations

Illustrations

B.BUMI SERPONG DAMAI

C. NAVI MUMBAI

D. ALPHAVILLE

E. SYNOPSIS

A. Introduction

Valle de las Palmas

Kommunarka

Göktürk

Cairo

KAEC

Alsunut

Maha Mumbai
Navi Mumbai

Anting

Saigon South

Bumi Serpong Damai

Alphaville

Piedra Roja

Century City

Illustration A-1: World map with expected NeoTowns

Illustration A-2: 13 Regional Setting: AlphaVille and Alsunut

A-2b: 13 Anting and Bumi Serpong Damai

A-2c: 13 Century City and Göktürk
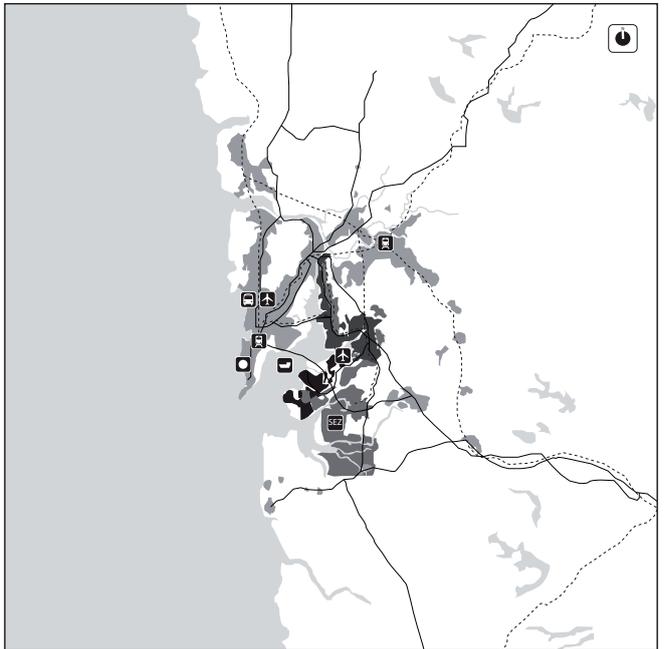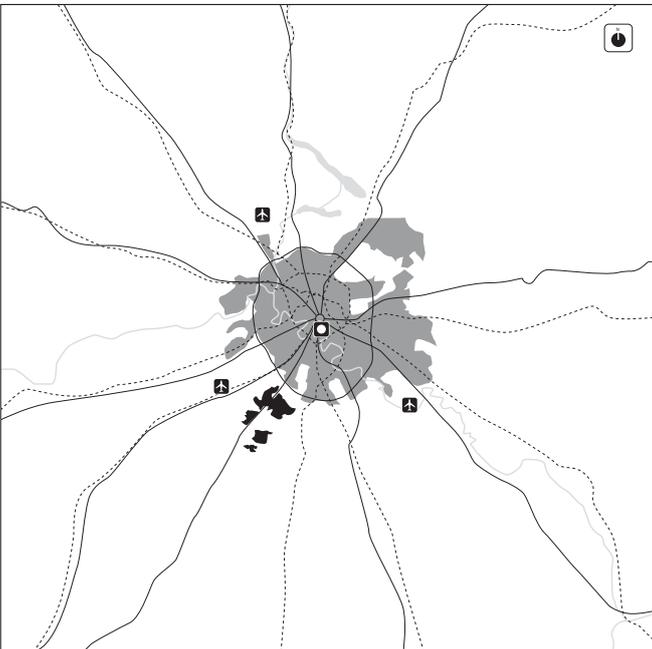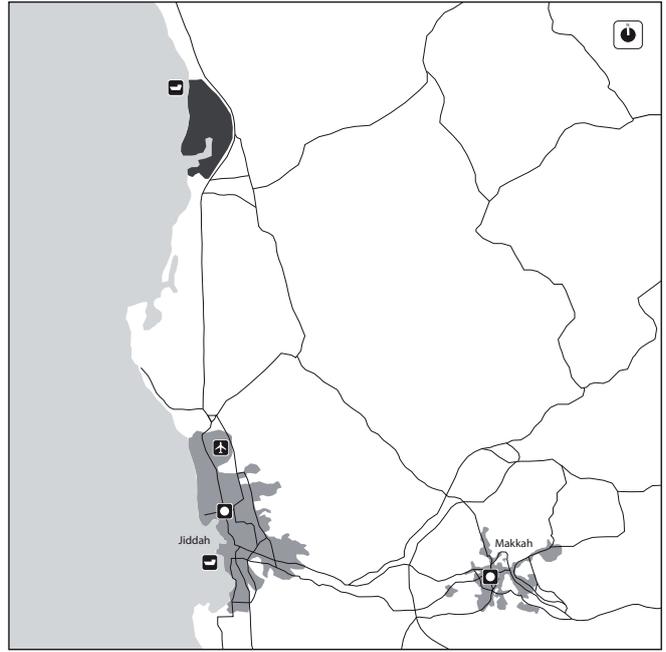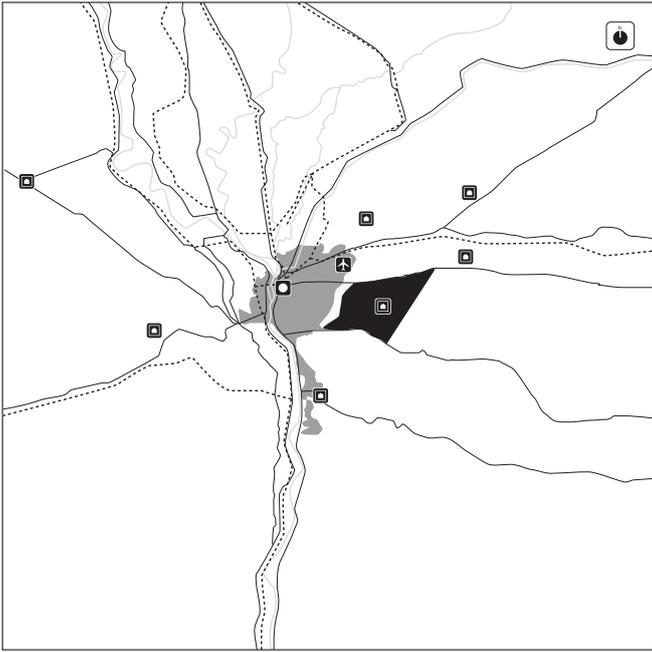
A-2d: 13 New Cairo and King Abdullah Economic City

A-2e: 13 Kommunarka and Navi Mumbai
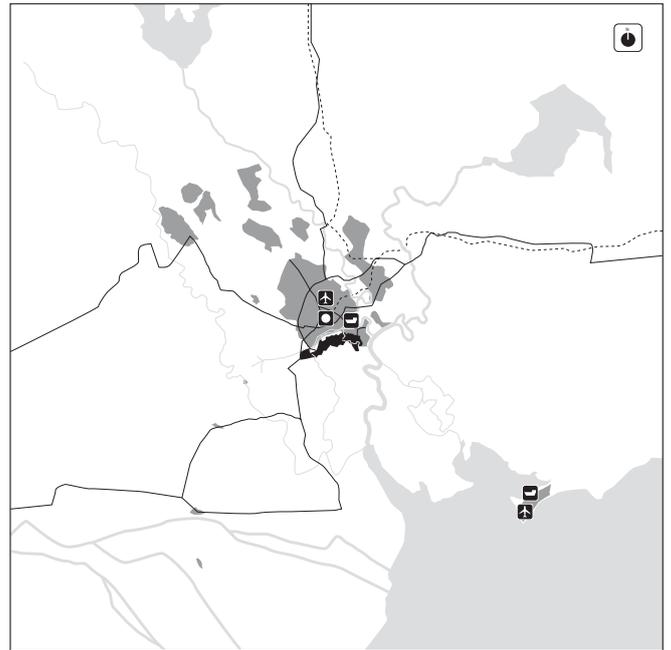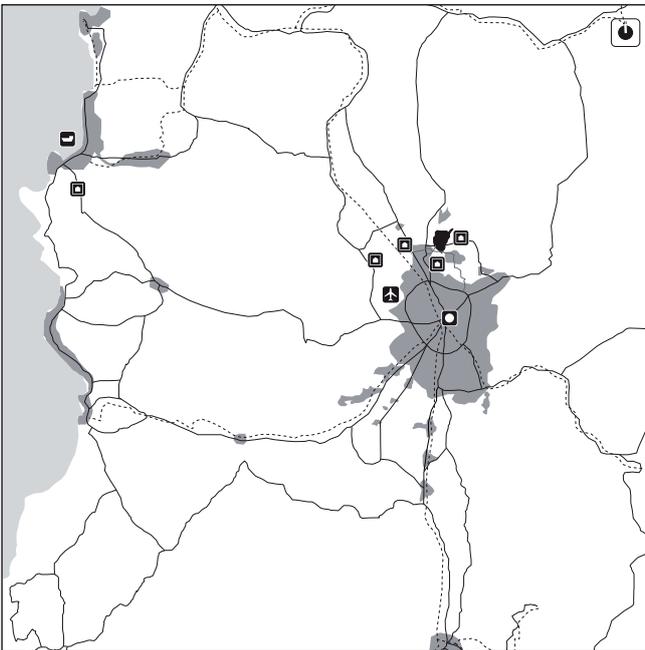
A-2f: 13 Nordelta and Paris

A-2g: Piedra Roja and Saigon South
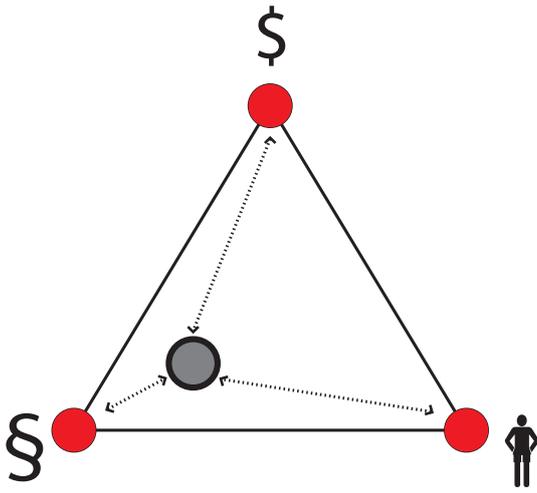
Keynesianism
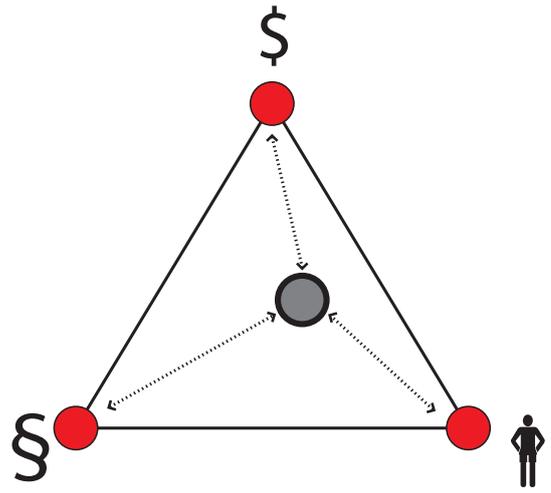
Neoliberalism
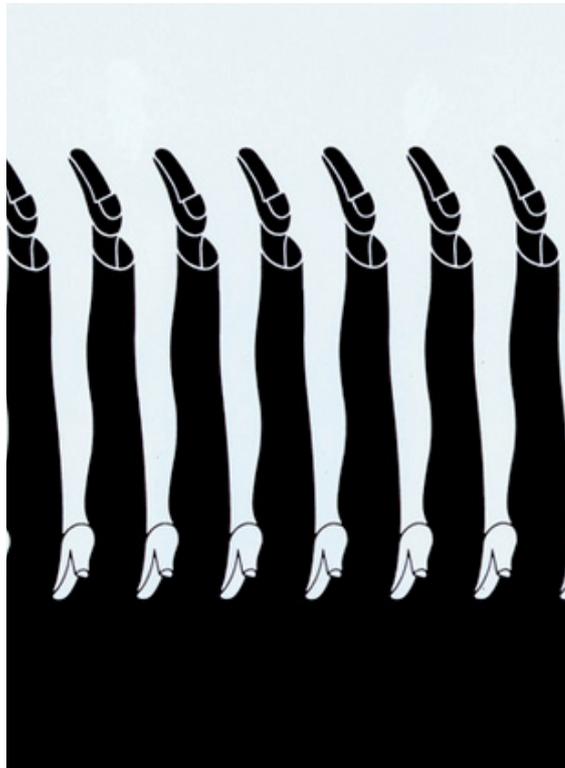
Illustration A-3: Shift of equilibrium from Keynesianism to Neoliberalism

Illustration A-4: 'Form and content'
(http://blog.danakanso.com/post/75358414/figure-ground-relation, r12.10.2009)
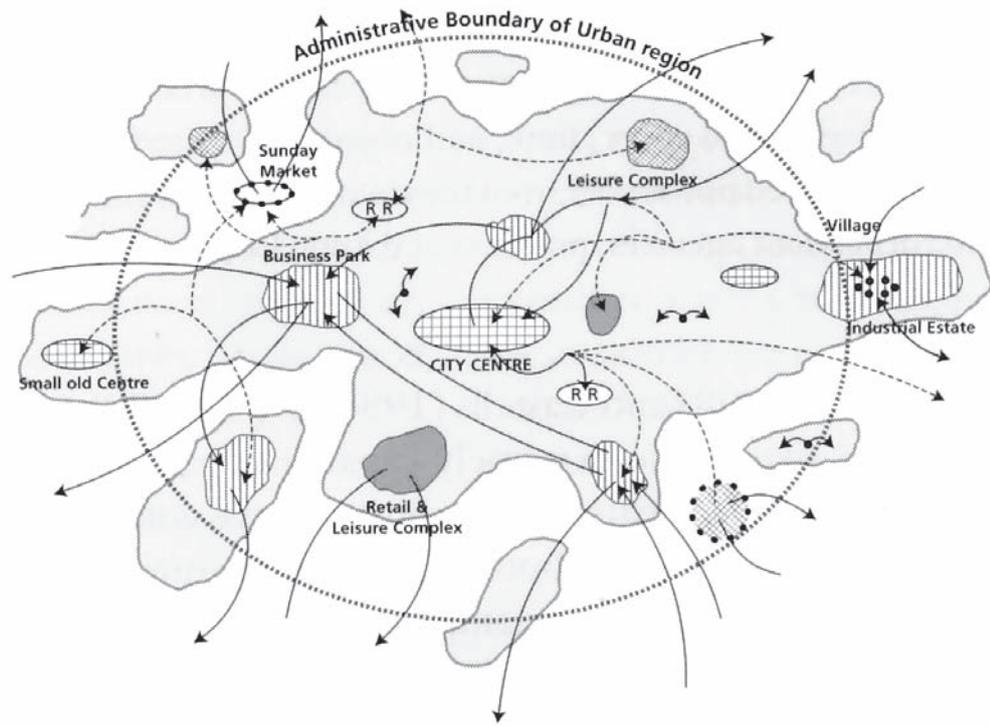
Illustration A-5: Patsy Healey's 'multiplex urban region' (from Graham 2001)

Illustration A-6: Gursky's 99 cent store as an example of post-modern consumer space (Gursky 99)

Military Camps

New Capitals

Colonial Cities

Industrial Towns

Decongestion Nodes

NeoTowns

Parallel Cities

Satellite Cities

Independent New Towns

Alternate Growth Poles
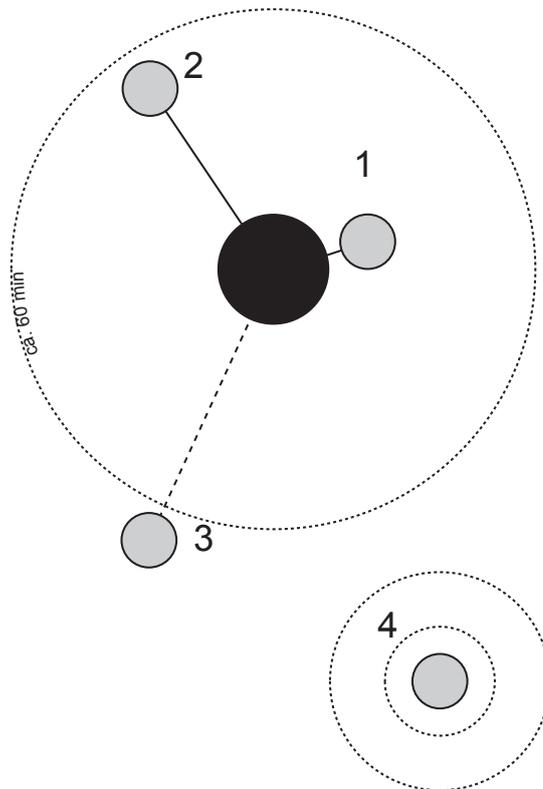
Illustration A-7: Placement of NeoTowns in Galantay's classification of planned cities

Illustration A-8: Typologies of decongestion nodes (Cf. Galantay 1975)
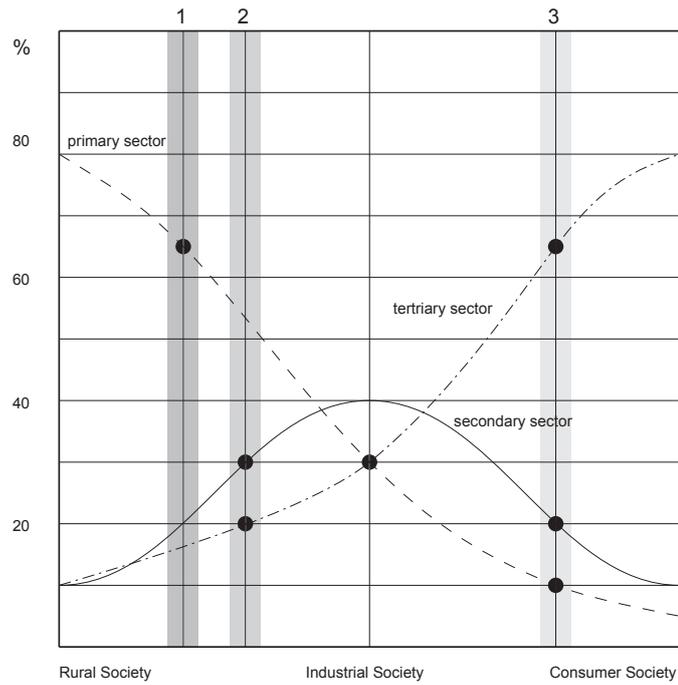
1. Merkantilism (Colonial Cities)
2. Industrialisation (New Towns, Industrial Nodes)
3. Tertiarisation (Decongestion Nodes, Consumer Towns)
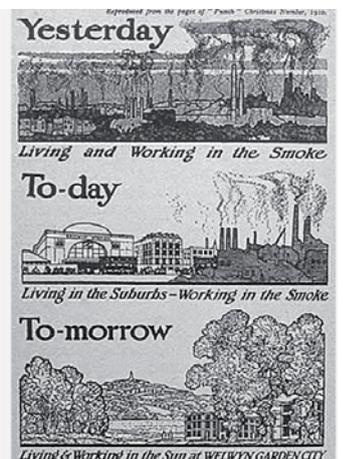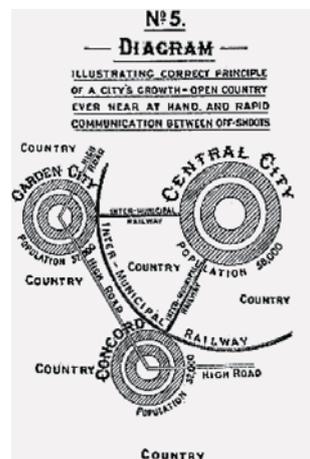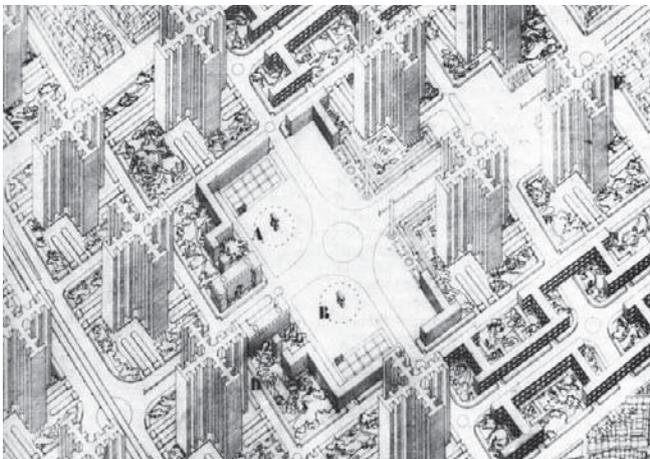
Illustration A-9: Patty's law (Reworked from Galantay 1975: 2)

Illustration A-10: Ville Radieuse and Garden City (www.medienarchitektur.at, r11.10.2009)

NEW DELHI

多摩ニュータウン基本計画図
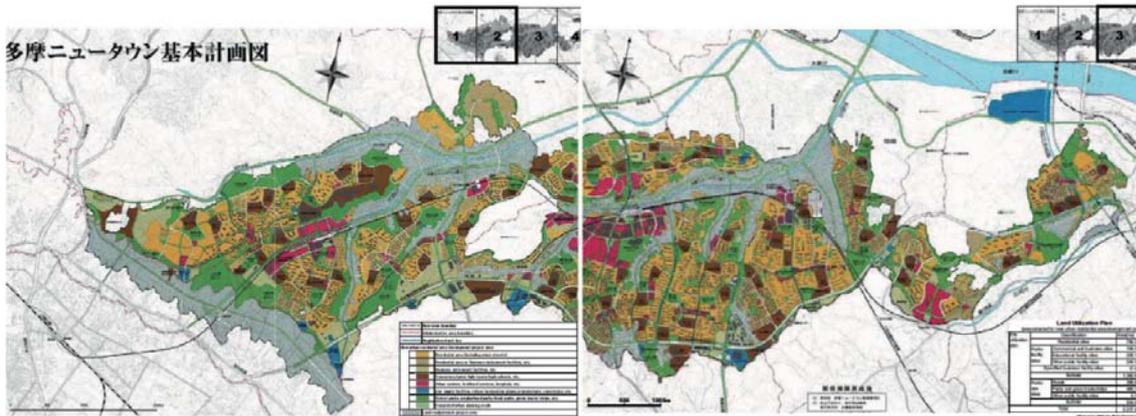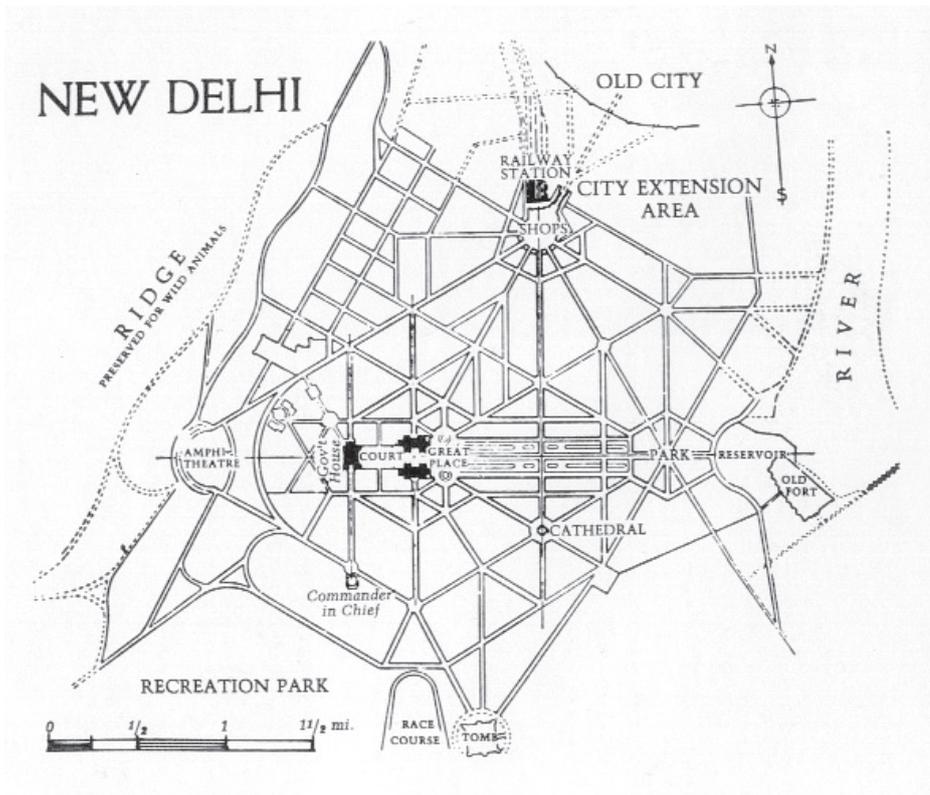
Illustration A-11: Examples of planned cities: Lutyens' New Delhi (From Galantay 1975)

A-11b: Tama New Town, Tokyo
(http://web.mit.edu/11.304j/www/japan/tama.html, r03.09.2009)
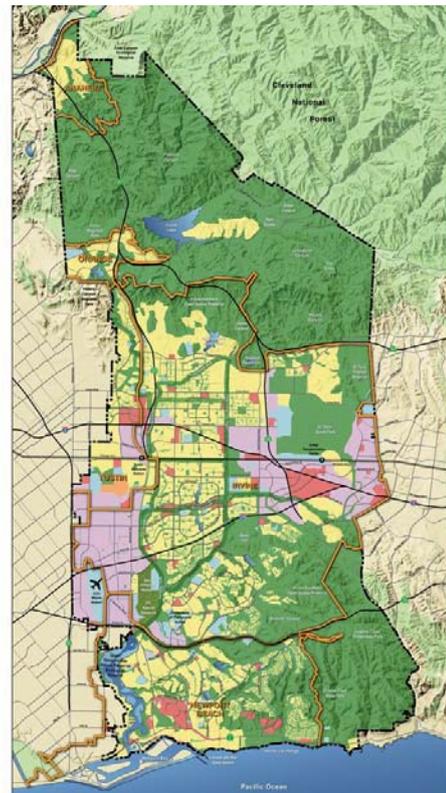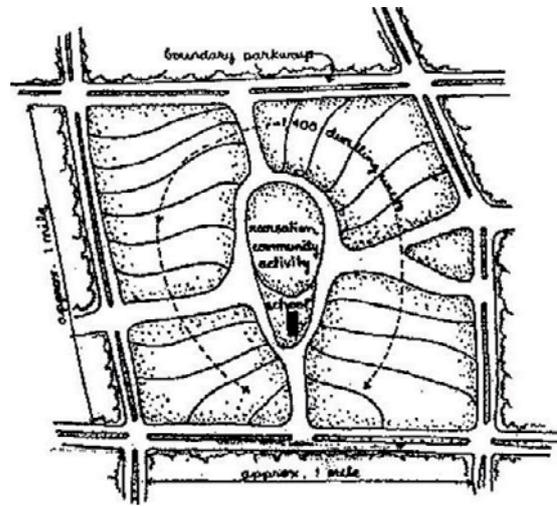
Illustration A-12: Theming in Coral Gables // Neighbourhood module in Levittown (PA)
(www.coralgables.com, http://server1.fandm.edu/levittown/)

A-12b Levittown Long Island // Irvine
(tigger.uic.edu/~pbhales/Levittown.html, r10.09.09, www.cityofirvine.org, r10.11.09)

Research Framework on NeoTowns (NoT's)

	Ia Production of Space	Ib Neoliberal Economy & Space	II New Towns Ideal Cities	1 GlobalCity World City	2 MegaCity	3 RegioCity	4 Sprawl/ Anti S.	5 Fragmentation Segregation/ Gated.	6 Post-Colonial Indig. modernities	7 Semantics/Semiotics Repr. of Identity
Title										
Authors (selected)	Heidegger, Baccelard, de Certeau, Debord, Merleu-Ponty, Lefebvre, Jameson, Schmid, Harvey, Gottiener	vonHayek, Friedman, Boltansky, Harvey, Sennett, Hackworth, Mericato, Brenner, ..., Hardt/ Negri, Geddes	Howard, Andersen, Osborne, Galanthay, Gans, Fishman, Garwin, Rimmer, (Sonne)	Friedman, (Massey), Wallerstein, Sassen, Castells, Mignaqui	Lo-Fu-Chen, UNHCS, World Bank Hall, Husa, Pearlmann...	Jacobs, Gottmann, Simmonds/Hack, Lo-Fu-Chen, McGee, Scott, Healey	Wright, Webber, Fishman, Bruegeman, Sieverts, Garreau, Wall, Lang, Calthorpe, Platler-Zyberc	Blakey, Caldeira, McKenzie, Marcuse, Soja, Graham and Marvin, Rademacher, UN, Abdou Mailq	King, Wright, Kunso, Hosagrahar, Said, Hardt and Negri, Hannerz, Appadurai, Skeldon	Venturi, Ito, Merleau-Ponty, Pierce, Norberg-Schulz, Lynch, Sorkin, Eco, Sonne, Barnes, Baudrillard, Debord
Key Words/ Concepts	urbanisation, commoditisation, abstract space, dialectics' of vecu, concu, percu, increasing role of space, contradictions	Happiness + Market, + Non-State, "There is no better alternative as the market!", privatisation, visual age, abstraction... Kakotopia (Geddes)	Garden Cities, New Towns, growth by decentral.concentration, planned alternative to the conventional city	Global City, networks, New Division of labour, Advanced producer services, new centralities, spatial restructuring, 'the other'	dynamic growth, formal vs informal, self-made city...	Megalopolis, Global-City Regions, demise of the nation-state, multiplex urban region,	New Urbanism, Zwischenstadt, Peri-Urban debates, Boomburbs, Urban Landscape	Gated Communities, Urban Enclaves, Socio-spatial fragmentation, restructuring of borders & boundaries, UN-Gini Index	Center-Periphery' Dynamics, Cultural-Flows, local Appropriation, Production of cultures	crisis of space/orientation, individual and social perception, semiotic/ symbolic language, theming, livestyle branding, simulacra and
Associated Trends/ transformations	urbanisation, abstraction, commoditisation	growth, abstraction, rationalisation, networks, flexible exchange, (see Sennett and Sloterdijk)	steered/ enlightened process of urban growth (& social engineering?) >> hebrard	globalisation, centralisation vs decentralisation	growth dynamics, self-organisation/ informalisation	multiplex-regionalisation	spread, decentralisation, spatial homogenisation	socio-spatial fragmentation, polarisation, 'clubbing',	cultural homogenisation, vs hybridisation, creole, complexity of flows	abstraction, the surface, the visual, symbolic/ exchange values, hyper-reality,
Research-Gaps	Lack of concrete examples, actualisation with contemporary trends	Focus on processes & spaces, No theory of NL-Space	Historical perspective	Top down perspective	Often focus only on the problems. Megacity as a strange beast ...to be tamed by science and civilisation.	Focus too much on production	Ideological and moral debates, can societies be 'designed' by architects/ developers/ philanthropists?	Often too much focus on space/ geography and too less focus on processes.	... just for the sake of being alternative?	<< loss of authenticity >>
Relevant 'to do's'	Update in the informational age, new economy	Focus on typologies and places	compare, update	Put NoT's on the map of Global theories	Put NoT's on the map of the Megacity	Put NoT's on the map of the RegioCity	Put NoT's on the map of Sprawl debates	NoT's as Super-Slums?	Place NoT's in a post-colonial context?	Analyse the language, the vocabulary of NoT's
Question	How is space produced? – today? Are NoT's good representations?	What is the structural logic/ typology of neo-lib space? How does the ideology of nl'm materialise in space?	Are NoT's better or worse than New Towns? Are NoT's New Towns al all?	Are NoT's new centralities? What role do global forces play? Which local ones?	Are NoT's Children or 'bastards' of the the Megacity? How much are they integral parts, and how much anti-	Are NoT's substantial elements of regionalisation? How to drive and structure the regionalisation process?	Is fragmentation bad, or good? How much autonomy is ok? Are self controlled communities the natural benchmark?	Are NoT's alternative to sprawl? Part of sprawl? A new type of sprawl...	Innovation at the Periphery? How much homogenisation? How much hybridisation?	City of Representation? Are NoT's the absolute spectacles? Pure surface?
	> City?	> Commodity?	> Reform?	> Centrality?	> 'Super-Slums' ? > Are NoTs new and unique urban types born in Megacities!	> Infrastructure? Multipl > Anti Sprawl? Societal c > Urban Individualism? > Subject/Object/Project? > Spectacle?		homogeneous fragments,		
'Diaterms'	eternal moment, spatialised place, 'global village', homogeneous fragments, unified polarity	produced consumption, flexible fix, active response, controlled freedom	cultural nature, village-town	global locality, placed space	formal informality, bottom-down 'top-up'	central periphery, structured chaos, complex simplicity	urban rurality	homogeneous fragments, harmonious polarisation, networked isolation, common individuality	monotonous hybrids, autonomous heteronomy	surfaced content, abstract specificity, performed representation, perceived comprehension

Comparative Matrix   Project Level

Project	NT name	Type	Start year date	Stage	NT.area planned ha	NT.pop planned	Dens planned c/ha	MNT.size ratio %	MNT.dens ratio %	Metrop ratio %
Study cases										
BSD (6, 7)		Regional node	1984	Implement	6.000	800.000	133	0,87	0,2	0,6
Navi Mumbai		Parallel city	1971	Implement	33.400	2.100.000	63	7,67	0,7	8,8
Alphaville-Tamboré		Regional node	1973	n.a.	3.600	90.000	25	0,42	0,9	0,5
Other cases										
Nordelta		Satellite	1999	Implement	1.600	80.000	50	0,51	0,9	0,6
Hanoi New Town		Parallel city	1996	Planning	7.000	1.000.000	143	47,73	0,9	50,5
Saigon South		Parallel city	1998	Implement	3.300	800.000	242	3,65	0,4	10,0
Anting		Satellite	2000	Implement	600	50.000	83	0,19	0,6	0,3
Century City		Node	1998	Implement	250	4.000	16	0,35	2,4	0,1
Kommunarka		Satellite	2005	Planning	6.000	160.000	27	1,53	1,4	1,1
New Cairo		Parallel City	1997	Implement	25.000	2.500.000	100	15,78	1,0	15,6
Pudong		Regional Node	1990	Implement	52.300	1.800.000	34	16,56	1,3	12,4
Shenzhen		Regional Node	1980	Finished	205.000	11.820.000	58	881,14	5,1	172,8
Alsunut		New Centre	2005	Implement	650	52.000	80	1,02	0,9	1,2
KAEC		Regional Node	2005	Implement	16.800	2.000.000	119	18,22	0,3	60,2
Piedra Roja		Satellite City	1998	Implement	1.060	62.000	58	1,55	1,4	1,1
Lavasa		New Town	2006	Implement	4.000	110.000	28	14,88	6,2	2,4
New Towns										
New Delhi		Parallel city	1912	Finished	4.300	321.900	75	2,59	1,5	1,7
Town-Country Magnet		Satellite	1898	Ideal	400	32.000	80			0,6
Letchworth		Satellite	1903	Finished	2.057	30.000	15	1,27	3,5	0,4
Marne La Vallee		Satellite	1987	Finished	15.215	250.000	16	4,89	2,1	2,4
Milton Keynes		New Centre	1974	Finished	30.800	184.500	6			
Marzahn		Satellite		Finished	1.950	102.704	53	2,01	0,7	2,8
Radburn		Satellite	1928	Finished	520	25.000	48	0,05	0,4	0,1
Irvine		Regional Node	1960	Finished	21.200	175.000	8	3,31	2,9	1,1
Reference										
Manhattan		New City	1624	Finished	6.000	1.600.000	267	0,53	0,1	7,8
Karlsruhe		New Town	1715	Finished	17.300	300.000	17			
Paris Zentrum		Redevelopment	-1850	Finished	10.500	2.125.000	202	3,38	0,2	20,1

Illustration A-13: L: Framework matrix

Illustration A-14: Comparative Chart 1 (Project Level)

Comparative Matrix Regional Level

Project	M.Name	M.Pop.	Reg.area**	M.dens	M.growth	M/CTR/p	MGDP(1)	MGDP (2)	MGDP (2)	MGDPgr	M/ CTR	M/CTR/p	QoL	H.rises
name	name	[2006**] mio	red=adjusted ha	** p/ha	2005 (14) % /a	own c	2005 ppp USD p.c.a	2005 ppp USDbn	2020 USDbn	5-20 %	GDPppp %	GDPppp pc	2005(21) 1-215	# (rank) # (19)
Study cases														
BSD (6, 7)	Jakarta	21.000.000	689.100	30	2,7	9,91	6.877	98	253	258	12,08	5,81	142	125 (73)
Navi Mumbai	Mumbai	19.400.000	435.500	45	2,2	1,85	6.688	126	300	238	4,48	6,93	150	126 (72)
Alphaville–Tamboré	Sao Paulo	18.130.000	851.000	21	0,8	10,42	12.784	225	411	183	12,53	1,87	108	288 (23)
Other cases														
Nordelta	Buenos Aires	13.460.000	313.023	43	0,6	37,39	18.202	245	416	170	49,60	1,33	78	376 (13)
Hanoi New Town	Hanoi	1.980.000	14.667	135	2,3	2,48	14.141	28	73	261	13,40	5,41	155	22 (353)
Saigon South	HoCHiMinhCity	8.040.000	90.337	89	2,2	10,05	1.200	38	98	258	18,18	0,46	148	88 (105)
Anting	Shanghai	14.530.000	315.870	46	1,1	1,14	9.566	139	360	259	2,15	1,89	103	353 (16)
Century City	Capetown	2.820.000	72.308	39	0,8	6,27	26.596	75	121	161	16,56	2,64	83	
Kommunarka	Moskow	14.100.000	391.667	36	0,0	9,79	12.837	181	325	180	9,12	0,93	172	335 (17)
New Cairo	Cairo	16.000.000	158.416	101	1,7	24,24	6.125	98	212	216	25,39	1,05	131	140 (61)
Pudong	Shanghai	14.530.000	315.870	46	1,1	1,14	9.566	139	360	259	2,15	1,89	103	353 (16)
Shenzhen	Hongkong	6.840.000	23.265	294	2,2	0,53	35.673	244	407	167	3,77	7,05	68	508 (10)
Alsunut	Khartoum	4.380.000	63.478	69	3,4	36,50	5.251	23	51	222	30,26	0,83	212	
KAEC	Jeddah	3.320.000	92.222	36	2,5	15,09	16.566	55	111	202	10,28	0,68	161	
Piedra Roja	Santiago	5.750.000	68.452	84	1,0	35,94	15.826	91	160	176	40,27	1,12	81	
Lavasa	Pune	4.570.000	26.882	170	2,4	0,44	6.565	30	76	253	1,07	2,45		5
New Towns														
New Delhi	Delhi	18.560.000	165.714	112	2,2	1,77	5.011	93	229	246	3,31	1,87	152	26 (314)
Town-Country Magnet	(London)	5.000.000											39	
Letchworth	London	8.280.000	162.353	51	0,0	14,03	54.589	452	708	157	21,01	1,50	39	520 (9)
Marne La Vallee	Paris	10.570.000	310.882	34	0,0	17,92	43.519	460	611	133	22,18	1,24	32	219 (26)
Milton Keynes	n.a.	n.a.		n.a.	0,0						0,00	0,00	39	
Marzahn	Berlin	3.680.000	96.842	38	0,0	4,49	20.380	75	88	117	2,67	0,60	16	154 (54)
Radburn	New York/NJ	20.420.000	1.134.444	18	0,3	7,09	55.485	1.133	1.561	138	8,19	1,16	46	5672 (1)
Irvine	Los Angeles	15.350.000	639.583	24	0,4	5,33	41.629	639	886	139	4,62	0,87	55	554 (7)
Reference														
Manhattan	New York	20.420.000	1.134.444	18	0,3	7,09	55.485	1.133	1.561	138	8,19	1,16	46	5672 (1)
Karlsruhe	Karlsruhe	800.000			0,0	0,98	40.000					1,17		
Paris Zentrum	Paris	10.570.000	310.882	34	0,0	17,92	42.700	460	611	133	22,18	1,21	32	219 (36)

Comparative M Country Level

Project	Countryname	Ctr.pop (12) Mio	urb. (13) %	in lrg.cit (17) %	GNI (12) bil. p/a	Ctr.GDP 2006 (20) bill ppp	Ctr.GDP 2001 (12 bill. p/a	Ctr.GDP 2008 bill p.a.	02-08 Own.c. factor	Ctr.GDP 2008 p/cla	Ctr.GDP ppp pca	ValaddAIS 1990 (11,12) %	ValaddAIS 2002 (12) %	QLife_i Index (9) 1-10 (rank)	HDIi (15) 1-100	GES (18) 1-10	Corp_i CPI 1-10	<2US$ p.d.(14) %	GINI (15) 1-100	10%rich (15) %inc.	<5† (12) %oc	Enrg.use kg/oil/eq p/a (12)	pc's (12) %o/c	cars (12) %o/c
Study cases																								
BSD (6,7)	Indonesia	212	43	12	710	811	173	497	2,9	2.344	3.825	56/14/30	46/17/37	5,81 (71)	72	3,4	2,3	55,3	37	30	43	729	12	12
Navi Mumbai	India	1.049	28	6	470	2.812	317	1.237	3,9	1.179	2.681	68/14/18	60/18/22	5,75 (73)	62	3,9	3,5	86,2	38	34	90	515	7	6
Alphaville-Tamboré	Brazil	174	82	11	495	1.795	452	1.665	3,7	9.569	10.316	29/25/46	24/19/57	6,47(39)	80	4,2	3,5	26,5	60	48	37	1074	75	120
Other cases																								
Nordelta	Argentina	36	89	36	4.220	494	102	339	3,3	2.833	13.722	8/36/56	11/32/57	6,46 (49)	87	3,9	2,9		37	30	19	1.593	82	166
Hanoi New Town	Vietnam	80	25	23	430	209	35	91	2,6	438	2.613	39/23/38	23/39/38	6,08 (61)	73	4,5	2,6		36	30	26	495	10	..
Saigon South	Vietnam	80	25	23	430	209	35	91	2,6	438	2.613	39/23/39	23/39/38	6,08 (61)	73	4,5	2,6				26	495	10	..
Anting	China	1.280	38	3	750	6.475	1.266	4.222	3,3	989	5.059	27/4/231	15/51/34	6,08 (60)	78	4,9	3,5				23	680	49	7
Century City	South Africa	45	58	12	2.500	453	104	300	2,9	2.311	10.067	5/40/55	4/32/64	5,24 (92)	67	4,3	5,1	35,8	59	46	65	2.404	73	..
Kommunarka	Russia	144	73	10	2.130	1.985	347	1.757	5,1	2.410	13.785	17/48/35	6/34/60	4,79 (105)	80	4,4	2,3	25,1	49	39	21	4.293	89	132
New Cairo	Egypt	66	43	35	1.470	386	90	158	1,8	1.364	5.848	19/29/52	17/33/50	5,60(80)	70	3,7	2,9	52,7	29	25	39	677	46	23
Pudong	China	1.280	38	3	750	6.475	1.266	4.222	3,3	989	5.059	27/4/231	15/51/34	6,08 (60)	78	4,9	3,5	52,6	40	30	23	680	49	7
Shenzhen	China	1.280	38	3	960	6.475	1.266	4.222	3,3	989	5.059	27/4/231	15/51/34	7,34 (18)	78	4,9	3,5	52,6	40	30	23	680	49	7
Alsunut	Sudan	12	38	31	370	76	14	3	0,2	1.167	6.333		39/18/43		53	2,2	1,8	..			94	421	6	10
KAEC	UAE	22	87	22	8.530	535	188	468	2,5	8.545	24.318	6/49/45	5/51/44	5,76 (72)	61	3,7	3,4	..			28	5.195	130	93
Piedra Roja	Chile	16	86	40	4.250	226	64	182	2,8	4.000	14.125	9/41/50	9/34/57	6,7 (31)	87	5,6	7,0	8,7	57	46	12	1.545	119	87
Lavasa	India	1.049	28	6	470	2.812	510	1.665	3,3	486	2.681	31/28/41	23/27/51	5,75 (73)	62	3,9	3,5	86,2	38	34	90	515	7	6
New Towns																								
New Delhi	India	1.049	28	6	470	2.812	510	1.237	2,4	1.179	2.681	31/28/41	23/27/51	5,75 (73)	62	3,9	3,5	86,5	38		90	515	7	6
Town-Country Magnet	Great Britain							2.787																
Letchworth	Great Britain	59	90	16	25.510	2.151	1.566	2.787	1,8	26.542	36.458		1/26/73	6,91 (29)	95	6,7	8,4				7	3.982	406	384
Marne La Vallee	France	59	76	21	22.240	2.074	1.413	2.978	2,1	23.949	35.153	4/30/66	3/25/72	7,08 (25)	95	6,3	7,3				6	4.487	347	477
Milton Keynes	Great Britain	59	90	16	25.510	2.151	1.566	2.787	1,8	26.542	36.458	2/35/63	1/26/73	6,91 (29)	95	6,7	8,4		36	27	7	3.982	406	384
Marzahn	Germany	82	88		2.270	2.806	1.984	3.818	1,9	24.195	34.220	2/39/59	1/30/69	7,04 (26)	94	7,0	7,8		30		5	4.260	431	516
Radburn	Germany	288	77	8	35.400	13.830	10.383	14.330	1,4	36.052	48.021	2/28/70	2/23/75	7,61 (10)	95	6,8	7,2		41	31	8	7.996	658	481
Irvine	USA	288	77	8	35.400	13.830	10.383	14.330	1,4	36.052	48.021	2/28/70	2/23/75	7,61 (10)	95	6,8	7,2		41	31	8	7.996	658	481
Reference																								
Manhattan	USA	288	77	8	35.400	13.830	10.383	14.330	1,4	36.052	48.021	2/28/70	2/23/75	7,61 (10)	95	6,8	7,2		41	31	8	7.996	658	481
Karlsruhe	Germany	82	88	5	22.740	2.806	1.984	3.818	1,9	24.195	34.220	2/39/59	1/30/69	7,04 (26)	94	7,0	7,8		30	24	5	4.260	431	516
Paris Zentrum	France	59	76	21	22.240	2.074	1.413	2.978	2,1	23.949	35.153	4/30/66	3/25/72	7,08 (25)	95	6,3	7,3		33	25	6	4.487	347	477

[light] = Estimated Number

(**) Demographia World Urban Areas: Population Projections 2007 & 2015
(1) Own approximation (Demographia & Citymajors data combined)
(2) http://www.citymayors.com/statistics/richest-cities-2005.html
(3) Corruptions Perceptions Index von Transparency International
(4) WB, World development indicators 2007
(5) Jones Lang Lasalle
(6) DKNI Data for JOBODETABEK 2000
(7) ADB 2006
(8) Mercer 2006
(9) Economist Intelligence Unit
(10) http://skyscraperpage.com/cities/#notes
(11) Goldman Sachs (N-11 Economic Snapshot)
(12) WorldBank (Little Data Book 2004)
(13) WorldBank (Little Green Data Book 2006)
(14) UNHabitat2001
(15) UN? Human Development Report 2007/2008
(16) IMF Word Economic Outlook Database (2007)
(17) UN World Urbanisation Prospects 2003 (cities > 750.000)
(18) Goldman Sachs 2007:101 "Growth Environment Score"
(x) IMF: World Economic Outlook Report 2008
(19) www.emporis.com (finished as well as under construction, rounded figure)
(20) CIA
(21) http://bwnt.businessweek.com/interactive_reports/livable_cities_worldwide/index.asp?sortCol=rank_2007&sort(
(22) UN-Habitat GUO 1998
(23) Geocommons Database

A-15d: References of comparative matrix tables

Selection of Cases

Name	Size	Mix	Democratic context	Private Sector	Project Maturity	Region	Selection
Cases							
Saadiyat Island	(?)	x		x		MENA	
Alphaville	**x**	**x**	**x**	**x**	**x**	**LA**	**x**
Alsunut	(?)	x		x		AF	
Anting	x	x			x	EA	
Baneasa	(?)	?	x	x		E-EU	
BSD	**x**	**x**	**x**	**x**	**x**	**SEA**	**x**
Century City			x	x		AF	
KAEC	x	x		x		MENA	
Kommunarka	x			x		CA	
Lavasa	x	x	x	x		SA	
Navi Mumbai	**x**	**x**	**x**	**(x)**	**x**	**SA**	**x**
New Cairo	x	x	x	(x)		AF	
Nordelta	x		x	x		LA	
Piedra Roja	x		x	x		LA	
Saigon South	x	x		x		SEA	
References							
TownMagnet'		x	x		x	EU	
Radburn	x		x		x	US	
Irvine	x	x	x	x	x	US	(x)
Toulouse Le Miraille	x	?	x		x	EU	
Almere	x	x	x		x	EU	(x)

Illustration A-15: Selection chart
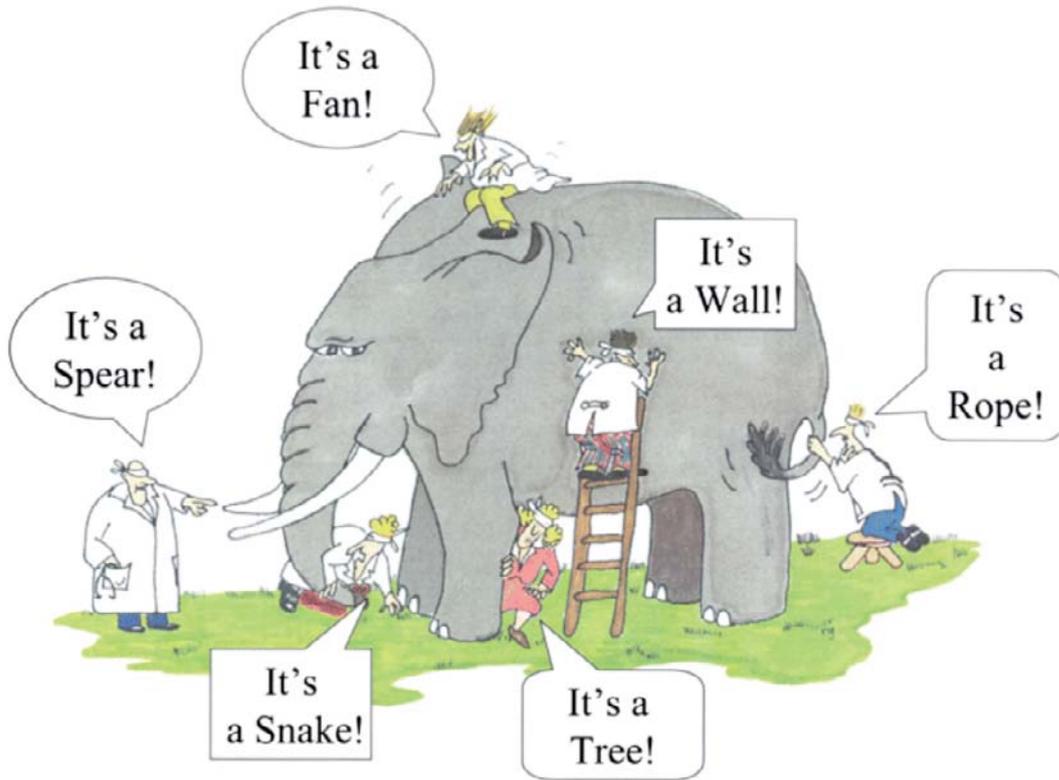
Illustration A-16: Elephant metaphor (www.nature.com/ki/journal/v62/n5/fig_tab/4493262f1.html, r10.12.09)

Illustration A-17: Structural diagram of the research
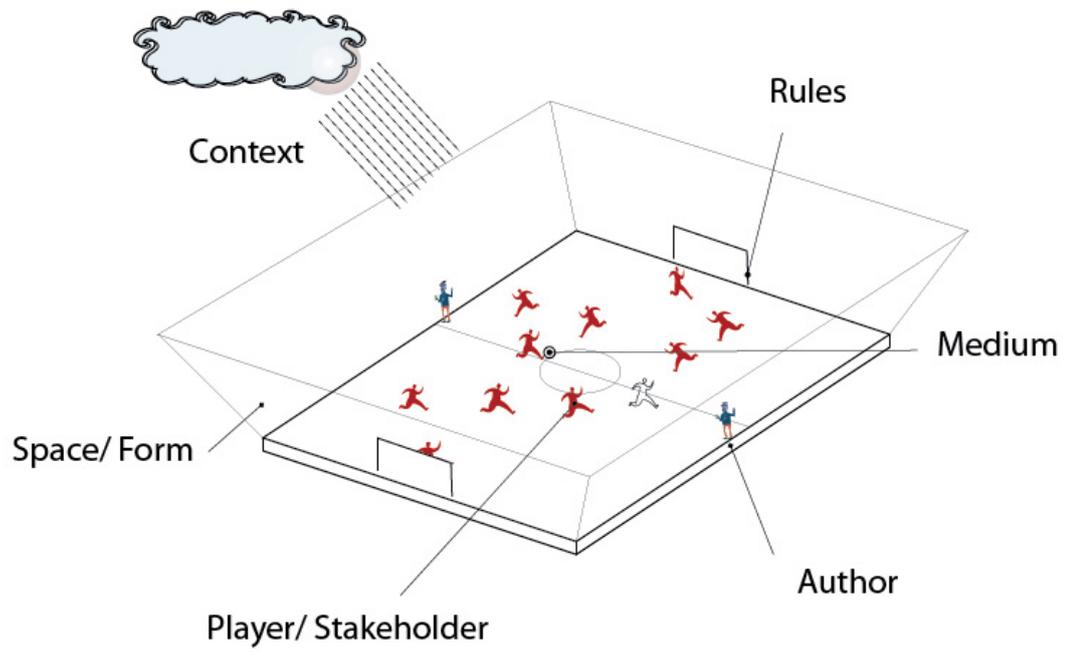
Illustration A-18: Narrative panorama inspired by game theory

1. COMPARATIVE INDICATORS

(2005 status at the departure of the rsearch)

1. General Information

Name of NeoTown: (name)
Country and Region: (name of country and region)
Start Date: (Year of project start)
Status of Project: (completed, interrupted, underway, planned)
Size: (hectares)
Population: (planned total population)
Structures: (number of buildings)
Developer: (name of developer)
Major motive: (decongest); (lifestyle); (security); (economic development);
Type: (parallel city, new centre); (satellite town, decongest); (garden city in the green, lifestyle)

2. Context

2.1. Basic profile (national level)

Country and demography
Name of country (name)
Political system (socialist, democratic, totalitarian)
Year of independence (year)
Demographic indicators (⊠)
Urbanisation (⊠)
Literacy (⊠)
Quality of life (index⊠)
Decentralisation programmes
Migratory movements, internal and external

Economic indicators
Market attitude (rather regulated, rather liberal)
Average income (Euros)

Affordability levels (Affordability number)
Consumption levels (Availability of cars)

Income distribution (GINI)

Share of informal economy (percent)
Impact of globalisation (FDI; remittance inflows; Aid money⊠)
Liberalisation & neo-liberal development policy
Change in share of, manufacturing, services, agriculture

Boom sectors (main export goods)

Culture
Socio-cultural context
Religion
Ethnicity
Race composition
Feudalistic tradition
Corruption Index

2.2. Risks and disasters

Risk & vulnerability profile (famines, natural disasters, wars, cultural-conflicts, and crime)
Environmental hazards
Security and perception of security

2.3. City level information

Basic city data (population, income⊠)
Size of urban region
Average regional income: in times of average national income
Share informal settlements
Distribution of wealthiest neighbourhoods in the region
Major trends in urban regional development
Structure of region
Peripheral growth rates
Forms and typologies in the periphery
Infrastructure development
Predominant type of newly planned quarters

2.4. Historic milestones

National milestones
Project milestones

2.5. Local predecessors

Models
Peers
Impacts

3. Form

3.1. Regional context (location)

Relationship of the project to the region
Size in relation to the centre
Location: topography, climate, elevation
Political boundaries
Percentage of land owned by the developers
Accessibility
Distance to the centre and to other centralities
Average commuting times
Infrastructure framework
Physical character of the vicinity
Presence of similar projects

3.2. Local context (design)

Town level
Total size: (hectares)
Status: (completed/ partially completed/ started/ planned)
Structure (major axes, grid, cluster⊠)
Growth pattern (quarter by quarter/ phase by phase/ all at the same time)
Infrastructure and services
Accessibility to infrastructure and services
Land-use and its distribution
Former land use
Number of villages remaining onsite

Existence of central [cultural facilities]libraries, museums, theatres, public swimming pools (yes, no, qualify)
Role of parks and open spaces, places for rituals & worship

Neighbourhood level
Number of neighbourhoods (number)
Any structures between town and neighbourhood level? (nodes, clusters?)
Size of neighbourhoods (households)
Average population density (persons/hectare)
Structure of Neighbourhoods (gated, semi-gated, open) (grid, cul-de-sac, curved)
Neighbourhood land use (residential, streets, open space & communal facilities)
Neighbourhood services and infrastructure (playgrounds, primary schools, local shops, health services, parks...)
Share of playgrounds and communal facilities
Accessibility of neighbourhood services and infrastructure (foot, public transport, car)
Occupancy (share of unsold lots), (share of vacant lots)
Parcelling type (rectilinear plats, curvilinear subdivisions// cluster communities)
Variation of parcelling, structures, cost (low, medium, high)
Design integrity (yes/no)
Design principles (setbacks, threes, lighting, signs)
Local (private) zoning and design regulations (yes/no, which)

Blocks and Buildings
Block size (number of lots)
Block structure (...)
Lot size and geometry (m2), (m x m)
Buildable area (% of lot)
Private space per resident (m2)
Prescribed floor area ratio (FAR) (0,5, 1, 1,5)
Housing type (villa, walk-up, apartment tower, mixed)
Housing size (m2)
Housing style (historic, thematic, modern, post-modern, vernacular, generic, [timeless], mix)
Individual adaptations of buildings (yes, no)

Examples

Neighbourhood level
Project level

4. Population

4.1. Population profile
Planned total population (thousands)
Pre-existing population (persons)
Present [unplanned population] (Local villagers, temporary workers)
Ratio of residential population, working population, (visiting population) (x%/x%....)
Main of buyers (25-30, 30-35, 35-40,)40)
Ethnic composition, relative share of ethnic and religious minorities (%)
Occupation profile of target population (freelance, public service, private industry...)
Education profile of target population (primary school, high school, college, university)
Consumption patterns/ lifestyle needs of target populations (car, aircon, fridge, gym...)
Imaginations, dreams, role models
Average turnover rates (percent moving per year)
Daily routes (average commuting miles, hours[])

4.2. Motives, values, and role models of the target groups
Main motives of target groups: (freedom, space, security, investment, clean air, peace & harmony, status, quality of life, alternative society)

Satisfaction levels

Values of target groups: (family, savings, stability, security, peace, be among similar people...)
Political orientation (conservative, liberal, green, social-democrat)
Role models (upper middle class segments of society/ western middle classes/ global media)

4.3. Resident groups and associations
Which groups and organisations emerge? (Politics, recreation, religion, social status, security, self-administration)
What is the specific role of bottom-up government and management by resident associations and cooperatives?

5. Developers

5.1. General (Entrepreneurship)
Names and Background of developers
Institutional Geography of developer
Legal status (public corporation; cooperative; real estate entrepreneur; industrial conglomerate)
Corporate structure (employees, subsidiaries, sub-departments)
Role of international partners

Goals and deliverables, [maxims] and ideals of developers
What is the mission, [motto]of the venture?
What were the developer[s aspirations]and visions?
Did any social goals exist?
Which principles are most important? (Implicit?, explicit?)

Development strategy, delivery
Early and present strategies compared
Openness and flexibility of the tactics
Specific political strategies and tactics
Role of [global] business rationales and ethics
Role of alliances and partnerships (Other Businesses, Governments, Civil society) (National, International)

Approach concerning minorities (villagers, ethnic, religious, teenagers... e.g. non value adding population)

Implementations strategy
Delivery strategy
Strategies and [secrets] of success
Role of quality standards (E.g. ISO) (yes, no) (Names)

5.2. Design
Who are the designers?
Design strategy, concept? (Text)
Operational mode (self/ subcontracting) (size of own design department)
Planning, Masterplan, (Names) (Significance)
Urban Design, (Names) (Significance)
Landscaping, (Names) (Significance)
Architecture, (Names) (Significance)

Engineering: (Names) (Significance)
Background (local/ international)
Education (Europe, US, local)
Role of (Gold plating/ modularisation/ customised design?)
Use of western models, international (High, Medium, Low) (Examples)
Presence of star designers (Y/N) (Names)
Role of visualisation: Emphasis on scenarios, renderings, image generation (High, Medium, Low) (Examples)
Relationship design and marketing (How is the product-image constructed?)

5.3. Marketing & sale

Size of marketing department
Organisation of sales and marketing department(s)
Operational mode and major strategies (Client Relations Management?...)
Marketing media? (Advertisements; website; own publications; charities, local banners, flags, posters)
Novel tactics concerning value generation (life-style-branding; ecological-branding; social-branding...)
Role of event-culture and temporary installations (flags and banners, concerts, festivals)

5.4. Maintenance, Operation

Who runs and maintains the place and its parts? (Developer, private company, resident association)
What is the most important job to do?
Are ☒total-quality management☒ strategies used (Y/N)

6. Finance

6.1. Finance

Total investment sum (Euro)
Strategies to maximise returns and to minimise risks?...
Major lending bodies, investors, banks (private, public), (local, international) (Names)
Security mechanisms, federal backup? (Y/N)
What is ☒the product☒ are the products? (developing company/ real estate object / infrastructure/ financing instruments...)
Is the ☒product☒ or parts of it on the stock market? (Y/N)
Are bonds, and or other financial instruments used? (stocks, bonds, securities, futures, PPPs, SPVs)
Internationalisation: Are FDIs allowed? (Y/N)
House/land prices compared to acessibility of the buyers, their development in time (Euros) (ratio) (chart).
Reinvestment of profits in (amenities, public spaces, green)(%tage)
Distribution of budget to the respective departsments
Is the property sold, or leased, if leased for how long ($/L) (Years)
How are the main profits made? (speculative gains/ property products/ longterm lease...)

6.2. Supply-side finance

Cost of land (developed and undeveloped)
Square metre prices of construction
Basic data on revenues and profits
Major strategies to generate added value
Role of financial products (Bonds, stocks, derivatives☒)
Role of government subsidies
Role of international stakeholders and investors

6.3. Demand-side finance

Income of target population (low, middle, high)

Variation of income per cluster (low, middle, high)
Affordability (Average cost of a house in the NoT as a multiplier of annual income)
Accessibility to money: long term mortgages (yes, no)
(Method to obtain a house and it☒s cost(relative to other options))
Compensation schemes for local residents
Housing cost (compared to benchmark locations)
Private maintenance fees?

7. Control

Who owns the place?

Role of national, regional, local governments
Amount of public intervention (low, medium, high)

How was it possible to purchase the site? (Regulatory framework)

Market for mortgages, and mortgage insurance? (Financial framework)
Corruption index (taken from transparency international?/UN/ Wordbank) (high, medium, low)

Do regional planning institutions exist? How much can they do? What is their role, competence?

Cost and duration of getting public approvals (euros) (days)
Existence of particular subsidies and government programmes (SEZ-models, technology parks, infrastructure funds...)

Presence of regional master plan (yes, no)

Governance (resident associations, private forms of management, public administration)
Local design ordinances part of contract etc (Y/N)
Extra fees (Yes, No) (Euros)
Joint-Ventures (PPP☒s) among developers and government (Eg schools, police, parks, administration?)
Legal status, conflicts of township and the clusters? (E.g. status of streets in the enclaves) (public, private)

Own town status (yes, no)

Who is active, and who is re-active developer, or government?

7.1. Stakeholders

Character and role of national governments and elites
Regional authorities, (Stakeholders and driving forces in regional development and planning)
Local level administrations
Power geographies (Relationship of the various levels of government with bodies of the private and the civil sector)
E.g. relation of developer and government authorities
Who dominated the scene? (Who was/is innovating?)
How did the stakeholder power-relations change before and after the official completion of the project (project phase)?

7.2. Regulations

Legal status of the project and its elements
Impact of Federal, regional, and local level regulations (municipal and local master plans versus private ordinances)
Relationship of private rules and government regulations
Change in time (Cf. Milestones)
Lessons and actions of administrative side

Illustration A-19: List of comparative indicators

B. Bumi Serpong Damai

Illustration B-1: Map of Indonesia (vvwww.cia.gov, r12.12.2009)

Illustration B-2: Map of the Jakarta Metro Region (1:1000 000)

BSD+

1917: Menteng, Gondanglia

48: New Town of Kebayoran Baru

57: Pulomas

74: Pondok Indah (first privately developed district)

84: Start BSD plan

89: Start BSD implementation

90: BSD Damai Indo Golf

93: Start of Lippo Karawachi

96: Master plan (Doxiadis/ Portman)

96: Jakarta-Serpong tollroad constr.

01: Sinar Mas buys majorty share in BSD

03: First BSD Bond Issued

Start of *Latino's* and *The Green* clusters
Launch of BSD *Phase II*

1950   1960   1970   1980   1990   2000

launch   maturation

Jakarta

1957: Sukarno's Outline Plan for Jakarta with USAid

1966: Sadikkin's JMPD plan (1965-85)
1966: Jakrta is pronounced Special Capital City District

Goverment issues Location Permits and subsidised loans for developers

1985: Jabotabek Structural Plan (RUTRK, 1985-2005) with Ciputra Staff

1994: Presidential Decree (Kepres) (superblocks & bundled deconcentration)
95: MasterPlan 2010
1996: Peak of Jakarta's New Town boom

Late 1990s: Pantura plan

1950   1960   1970   1980   1990   2000

Social use of land
Modernist & Symbolist Appropriation

Commodification of land
Postmodern Iconographic Approach

30 Years Suharto regime!

Indonesia

1619-1945: Dutch Occupation

42-45: Japanse Occupation

45: Independence

49 - 67: Sukarno Era

55: Bandung Meeting of the Non-Alligned Movement

65: Mass prosecutions of Chinese and Communists

67- 98: Suharto Era

1969: Repelita I

74: World Bank Urban Development Project KIP etc.
74: Oil Crisis brings boom to Indonesia

79-84: Repelita III: Peak of 'Transmigration' Early 1980s, End of oil boom

88: Major financial monetary and banking reform

97 : SE Asian Financial Crisis

98: Anti Chinese Pogroms
98: New Government

99: Habibi's Decentralisation Act (Local Government Act No.22/1999)

04: Susilo Bambang's Democratic Government

09: Financial Crisis

1950   1960   1970   1980   1990   2000

Autoritarian Developmentalist Model

Centralist Liberal Model

Demand driven planning approach

'Nation Building Process'New Order' – Appropriational Development

Post-liberal Democratisation

Illustration B-3: Milestone chart Indonesia, Jakarta, BSD

Illustration B-4: Map Semarang-Oost // Postcard Tjandi road (www.semarang.nl, r03.09.09)

Illustration B-5: Villa in Bandung's European quarter (own picture 2007)

Illustration B-6: P.J.S. Moojen's plan for Menteng, 1910 (Cf. Surjomihardjo)

Illustration B-7: Plan for Kebayoran Baru // Modern Dwellings in Kebayoran Baru in the 1950s (Cf. Surjomihardjo)
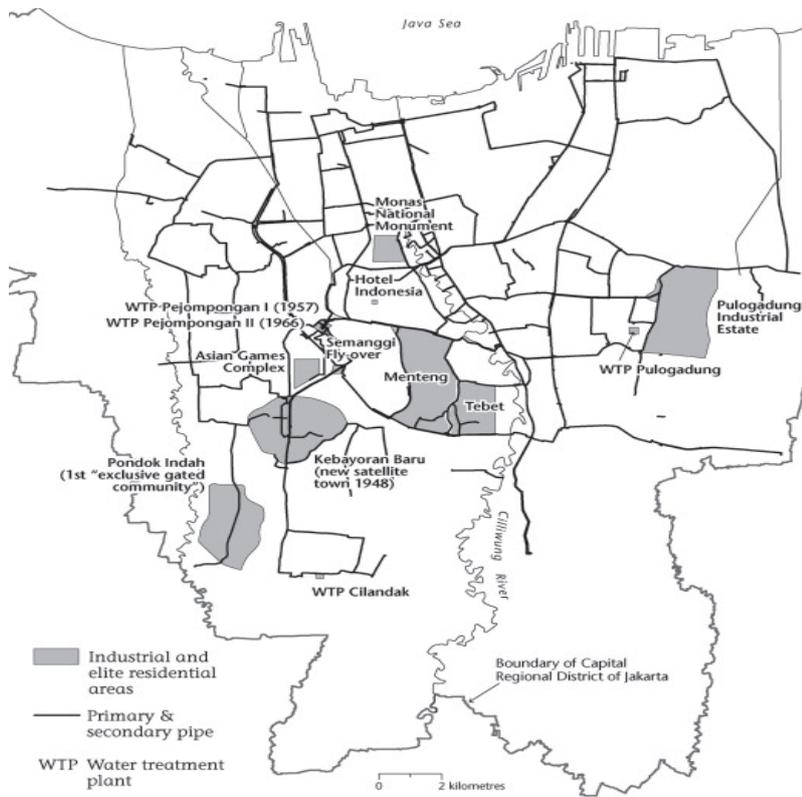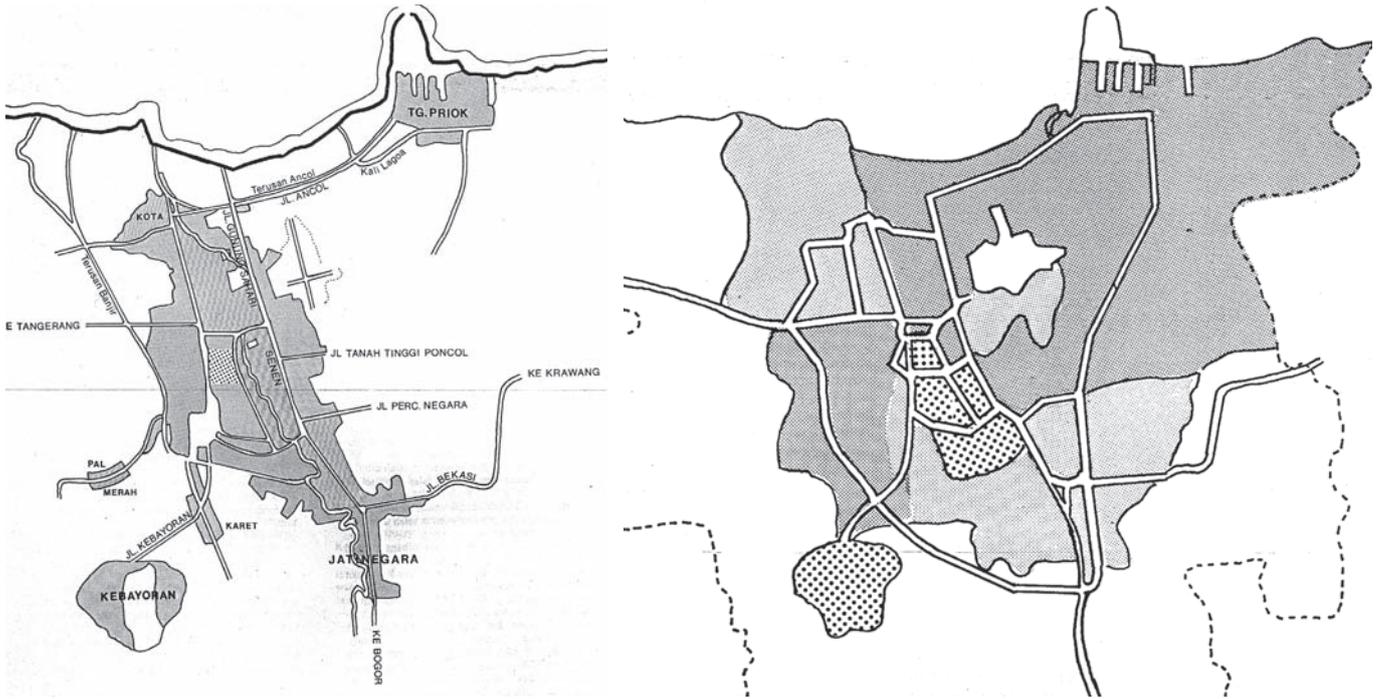
Illustration B-8: Development of Kebayoran Baru from the 50s to the 60s (Cf. Surjomihardjo)

Illustration B-9: Jakarta's industrial and elite quarters indicated by water-infrastructure (Cf. Douglas 2005)
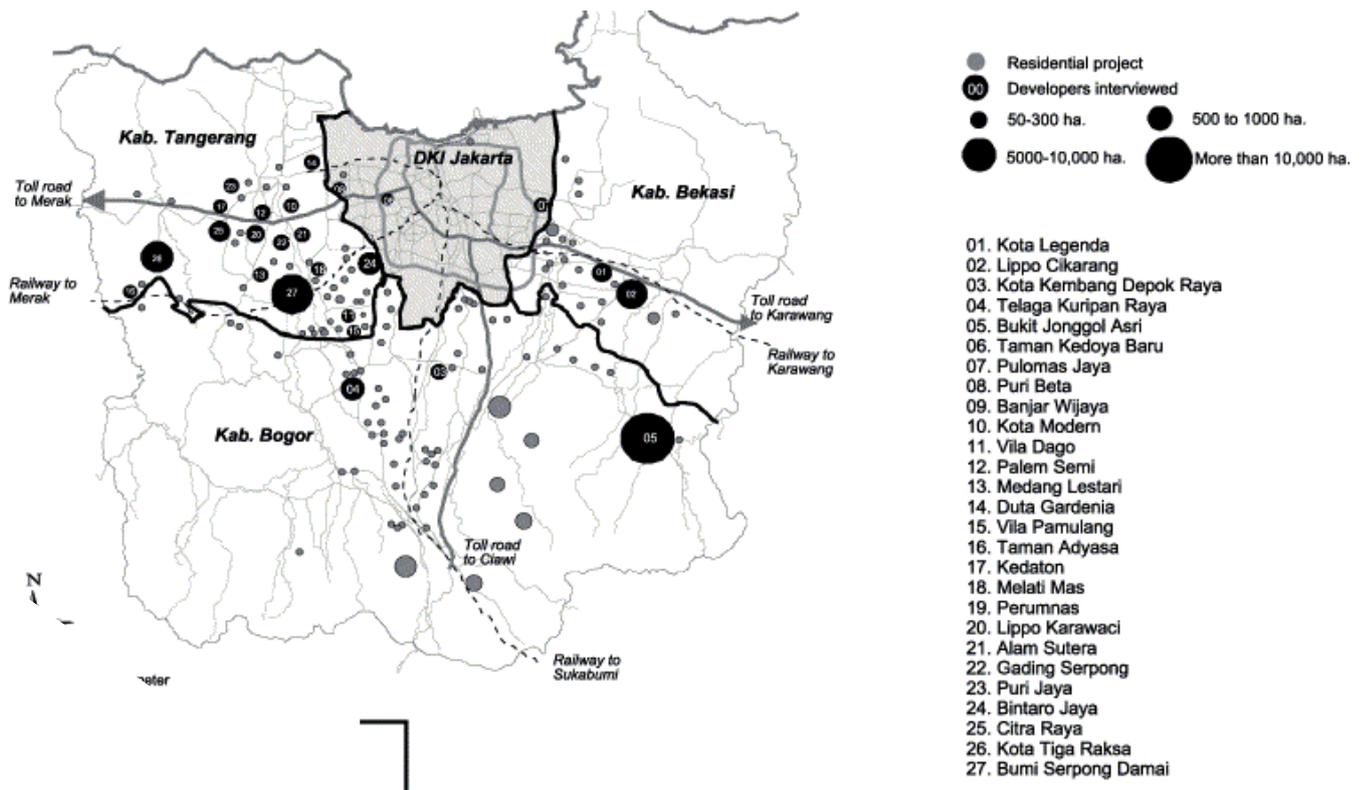
New Town Project Occupying Land of 500 Hectares and Over in Jakarta Metropolitan Region, 1995 and 2001

No.	Project	Area (Hectare)	Location	1995	2001
1.	Bumi Serpong Damai	6 000	Tangerang	X	X
2.	Kota Tiga Raksa	3 000	Tangerang	X	X
3.	Bintaro Jaya	1 700	Tangerang	X	X
4.	Citra Raya	1 000	Tangerang	X	X
5.	Gading Serpong	1 000	Tangerang	X	X
6.	Kota Modern	770	Tangerang	X	X
7.	Alam Sutera	700	Tangerang	X	X
8.	Kota Jaya	1 745	Tangerang	X	–
9.	Pantai Indah Kapuk	800	Tangerang	X	X
10.	Lippo Karawaci	700	Tangerang	X	X
11.	Lippo Cikarang	3 000	Bekasi	X	X
12.	Kota Legenda	2 000	Bekasi	X	X
13.	Harapan Indah	700	Bekasi	X	–
14.	Cikarang Baru	5 400	Bekasi	X	X
15.	Rancamaya	550	Bogor	X	–
16.	Royal Sentul	2 700	Bogor	X	X
17.	Banyu Buana	500	Bogor	X	–
18.	Maharani Citra Pertiwi	1 679	Bogor	X	–
19.	Bangunjaya Triperkasa	500	Bogor	X	–
20.	Kuripan Jaya	500	Bogor	X	X
21.	Resor Danau Lido	1 200	Bogor	X	–
22.	Pantai Modern	500	Jakarta	X	–
23.	Kota Wisata	n.a.	Bogor	X	X

Source : 1. adapted from Firman, 1997, p.1036
2. Jurnal Properti, VIII, January 2002, p. 2.3

Note : X, still in operation;
– , no longer in operation or completed

Illustration B-10: Map of Jakarta's New Towns (Cf. Firman 2004)

Illustration B-11: New Towns before and after the 1997 crisis (Cf. Firman 2004)

Table 19   Value of Commercial Developments in Jabotabek and Other Regions
1999 – 2004 (billions of Rp.)

| | m² | Year | | | | | | | Total |
		1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	
Shopping Centers/Jabotabek	3,498,053	1,469.00	2,756.09	4,484.30	9,828.00	15,937.90	21,368.02	19,363.63	75,206.94
Shopping Centers/Region	3,049,634	79.20	181.20	577.90	4,152.30	13,440.37	16,538.99	13,367.96	48,337.92
Office Developments/National	417,748	499.60	726.70	604.20	106.14	577.43	870.90	1,066.25	4,451.22
Hotel Developments/National	166,083	-	-	-	59.16	885.32	1,319.64	1,327.70	3,591.82
Shop Housing Developments/National	-	1,096.00	1,922.00	2,220.00	3,938.00	5,582.50	6,364.05	7,812.15	28,934.70
Apartment Developments/Jabotabek	3,107,644	271.15	797.95	915.89	1,484.00	4,064.58	7,909.72	11,859.84	27,303.13
Apartment Developments/Region	131,304	-	-	158.40	249.40	361.82	236.24	311.19	1,317.05
Housing Developments/National	-	1,993.00	3,495.00	4,037.00	7,129.00	8,708.00	11,571.00	15,078.00	52,011.00
Total Developments per year	-	5,408.00	9,879.00	12,998.00	26,946.00	49,558.00	66,179.00	70,187.00	241,154.00

Source: PSPI, January 2005

Housing and Land Prices in Some New Towns in
Jakarta Metropolitan Area, 2002

No.	New Town (Table 1)	Smallest Size (B/L)*)	Price (in million Rp)	Largest Size (B/L)	Price (in Million Rp)
1.	Alam Sutera	159/200	450	265/480	1050
2.	Bumi Serpong Damai	36/72	122	243/375	1000
3.	Cikarang Baru	21/75	29.8	80/288	240
4.	Royal Sentul	33/72	120	100/300	500
5.	Gading Serpong	36/72	44.5	113/250	500
6.	Bintaro Jaya	25/72	101.7	265/400	1322
7.	Kota Modern	45/72	157	265/350	1009

Source : Properti Indonesia, October and December 2002

Illustration B-12: Focus areas of Indonesia's real estate sector (Cf. Hoek-Smit 2006)

Illustration B-13: Housing and land prices in selected New Towns (Cf. Firman 2004)
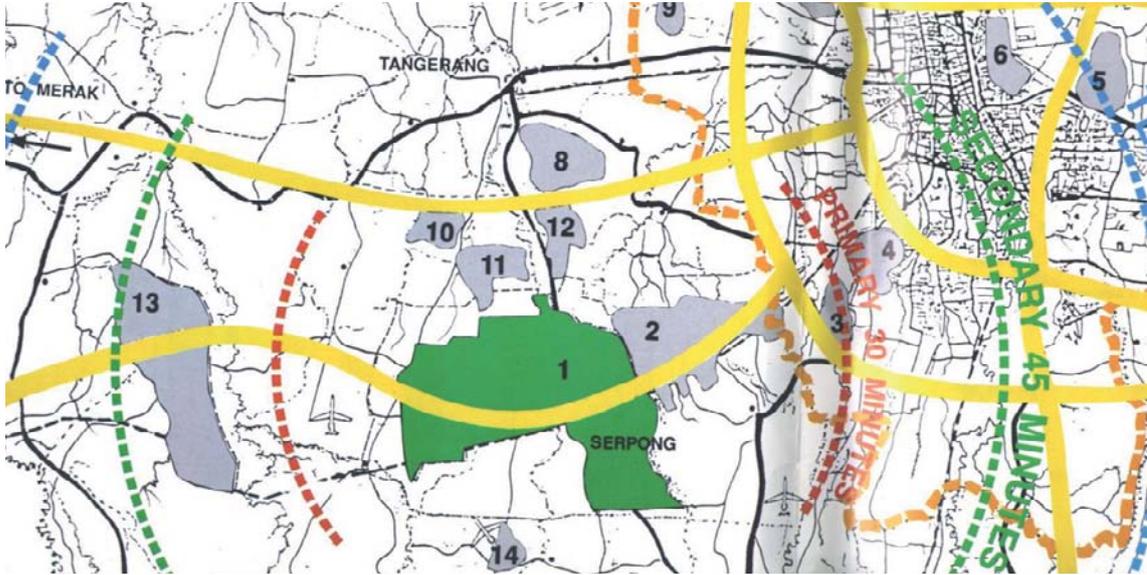
Illustration B-14: BSD and its competitors (Cf. BSD PT 2006)

Illustration B-15: On a Sunday in 2007 in BSD's vicinity
Illustration B-16: Unfinished highway bridge in 2005
Illustration B-17: Access map to the German Centre (2006)

Bumi Serpong Damai / Jakarta / Town

Illustration B-18: Town level map: BSD's phase I (BSD PT, Promotional material, 2007)

Illustration B-19: Master Plan of the entire Project (BSD PT 2008)

Illustration B-20: Building types from various periods (TL.: Sector-1, BL.: Sector-1; TR.: De Latinos, BR.: Early Commercial Centre)

Illustration B-21: Parallel street systems
Illustration B-22: Camouflaged village
Illustration B-23: Guest worker housing in a village
Illustration B-24: Villa adapted to student housing

BSD / Neighbourhood / The Green
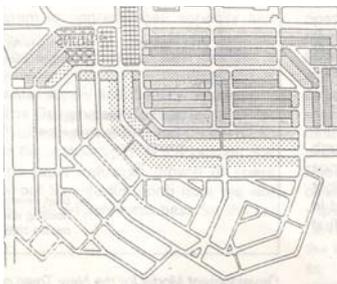
BSD / Neighbourhood / Sector -1
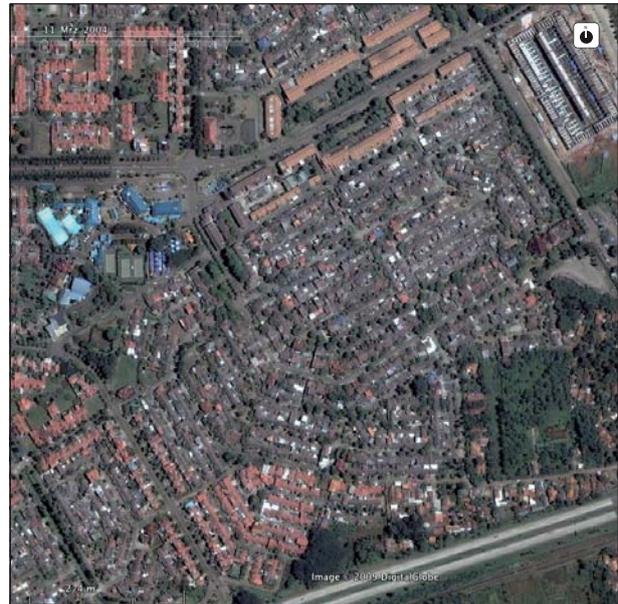
Illustration B-25: Neighbourhood-level structure and detail: The Green, 2004, (BSD PT promotional material, 2006)

Illustration B-26: Neighbourhood-level structure and detail: Sector-1, 1989 (Google Earth, 2006)

Illustration B-27: BSD's gate typologies (L: Formal, R: Informal)

Illustration B-28: Bricolage of vacant lots and fire walls

Illustration B-29: New Playground and corner dilemma (background)

BSD/ Neighbourhood/ Monte Carlo

Illustration B-30: Block-level map: Monte Carlo (1:2 500)

Illustration B-31: L.: Show-house in timeless villa design, R.: Shophouse typology

Illustration B-32: Matured lower income projects in Sector-1
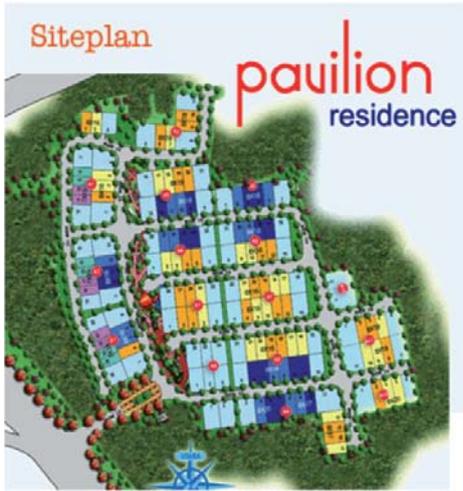
Illustration B-33: Pavilion residence (BSD PT promotion material)

Illustration B-34: Festivalised landscape of 'De Latinos' cluster (Mix of own images and PR material)

BSD / Neighbourhood / Latinos

Illustration B-35: Structural map of the 'De Latinos' cluster (1:10 000)

BSD / Neighbourhood / The Green

Illustration B-36: Map of ,The Green' cluster (1: 10 000)
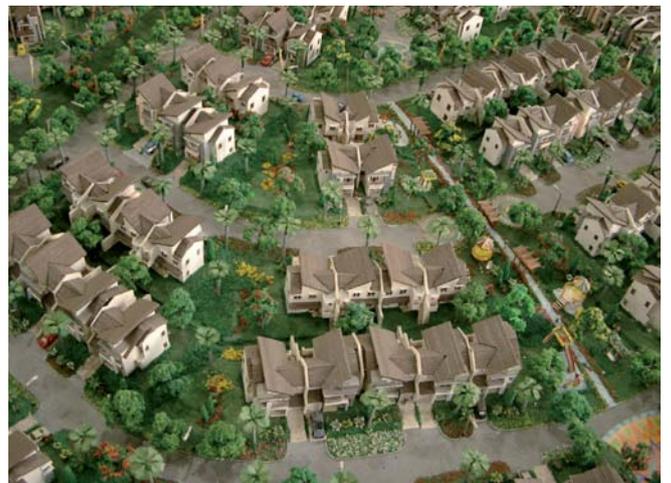
Illustration B-37: Images L: Column monuments as markers in the landscape,
R: ‚Goldplated entrance' with floral motives ,

Illustration B-38: L: ‚Modern' shop-houses featuring a live-work program
R: Bird's eye view of a neighbourhood (model picture)
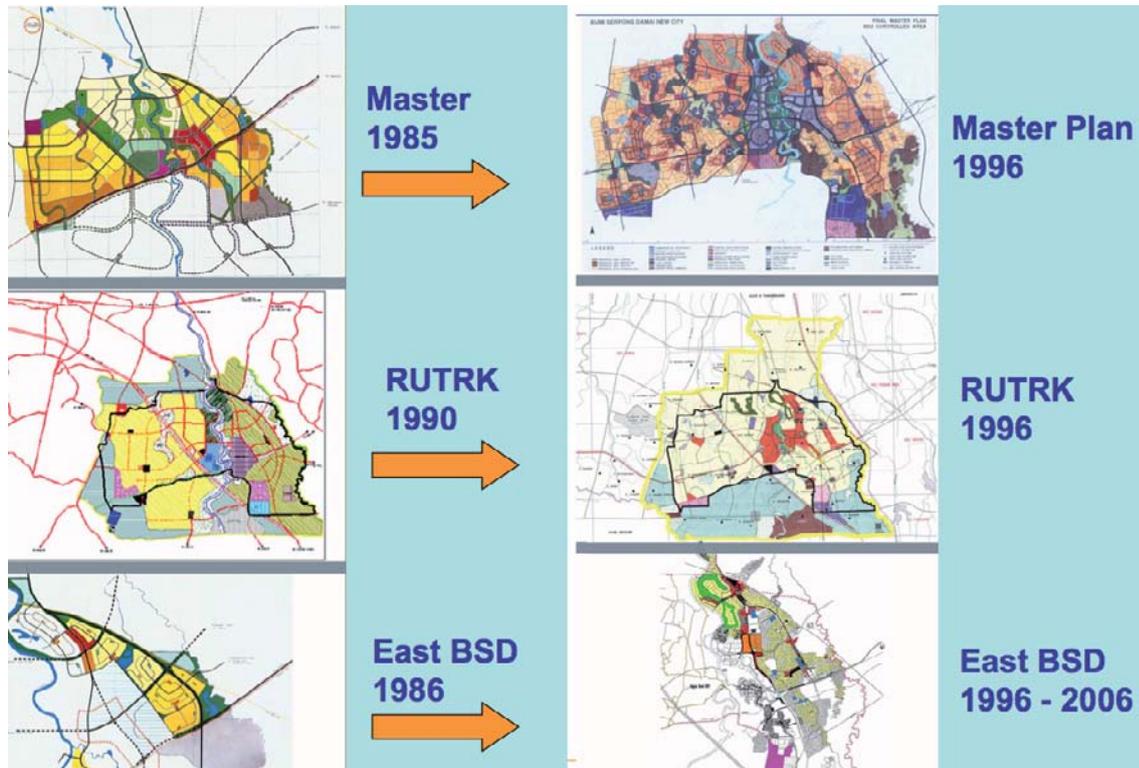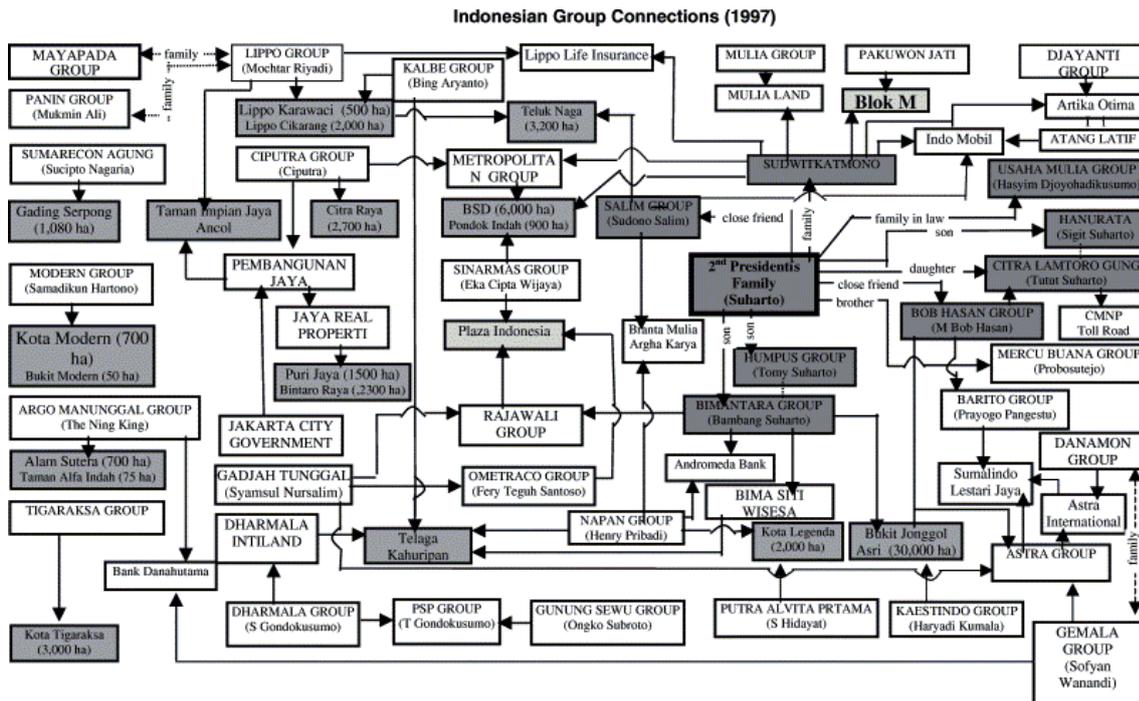
Illustration B-39: Corporate brezel palace (Cf. Winarso 2002)

Illustration B-40: Master plans from various stages (Cf. BSD PT 2007)
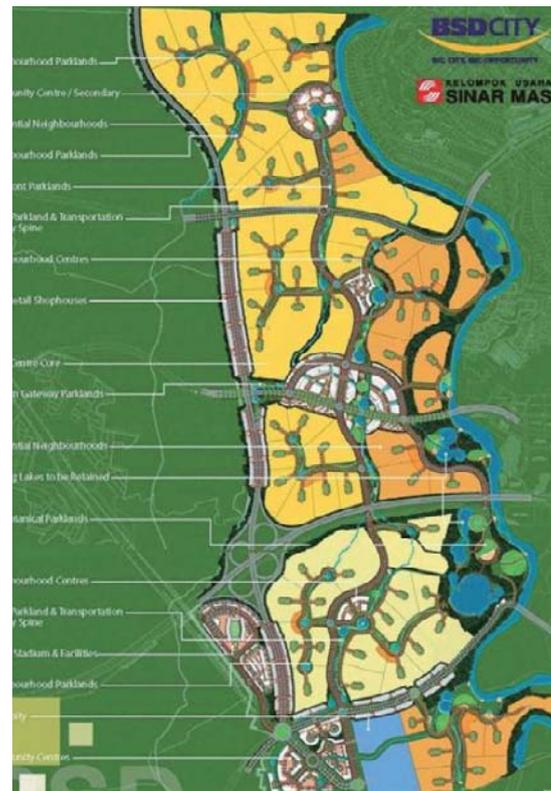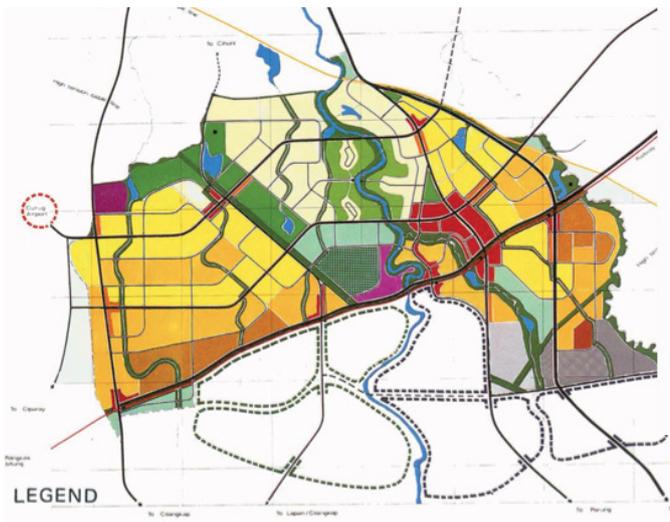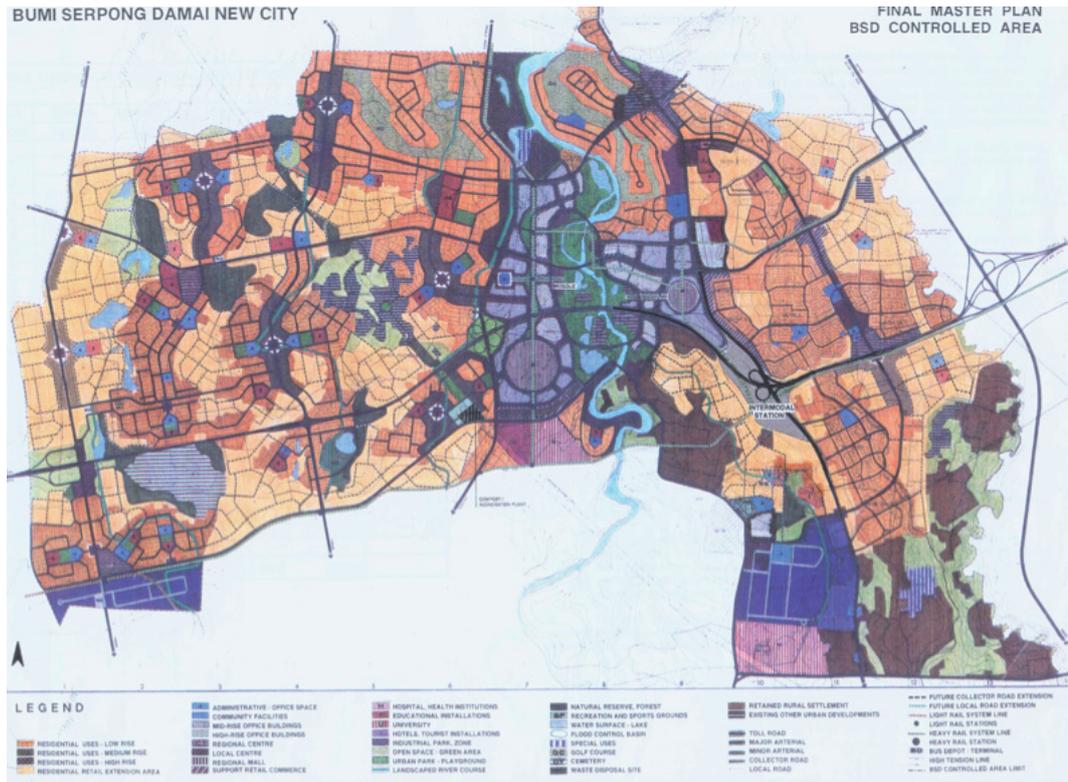
1996 Master Plan by Doxiadis Associates & John Portman (Detail of B-39)

L: 1985 Pre-study by the Pacific Consultants International Group (PCI) (Detail of B-39)

R: Recent 'organic' pattern of Phase-II by V2i (Cf. BSD PT, PR material)

Illustration B-41: Tight arrangements portraying trends of rationalisation and prefabrication

Illustration B-42: The other new typology: High-rise luxury condominia
(Here from Kebayoran)
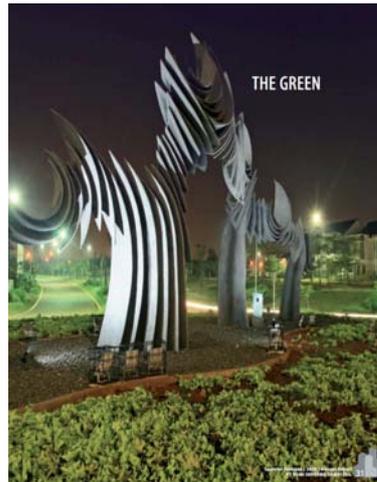
Illustration B-43: New generation of *Supermonuments* (The Green, Koty Wisata, Citra Raya)
(PR material BSD; Own picture; www.ciputradevelopment.com, r02.10.09)

Illustration B-44: Examples of standard villa typologies available in one neighbourhood (BSD PR Material, 2006)

Illustration B-45: Inducing demand by overabundance of ‚Imaginaries'
(Various PR Material, 2006)
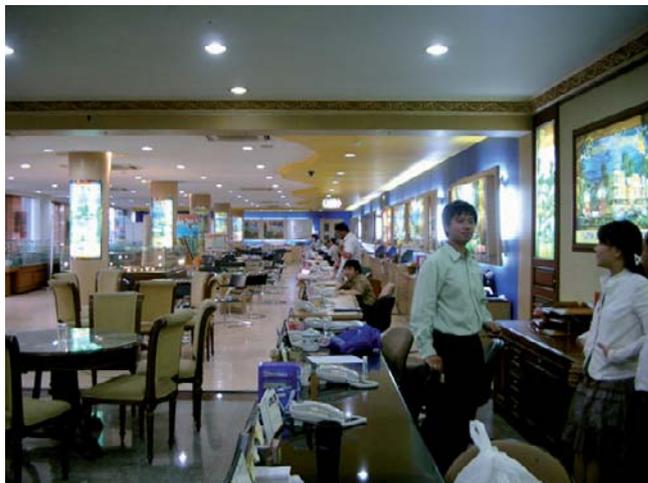
Illustration B-46: Marketing culture of festivals and events
(T.: BSD PR material; M.: BSD Sales office; B.: Flying the flag at Kota Legenda (2006)
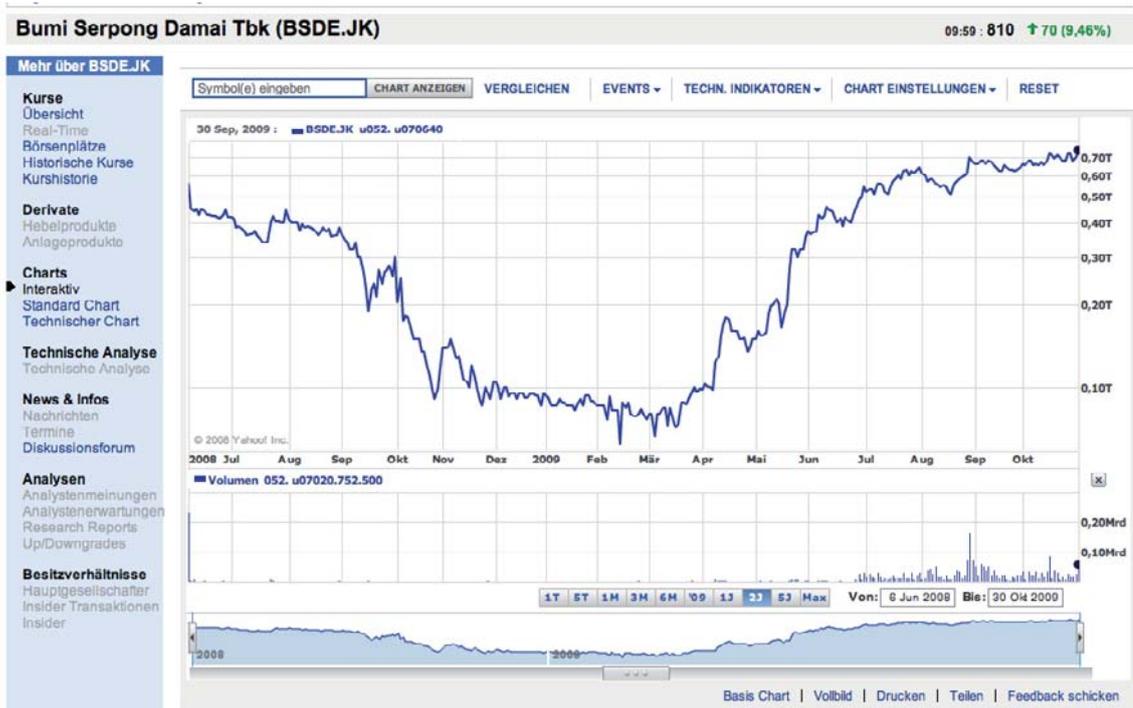
Illustration B-47: Stock quote BSDE.JK (Yahoo Finance, r30.10.09)

C. Navi Mumbai
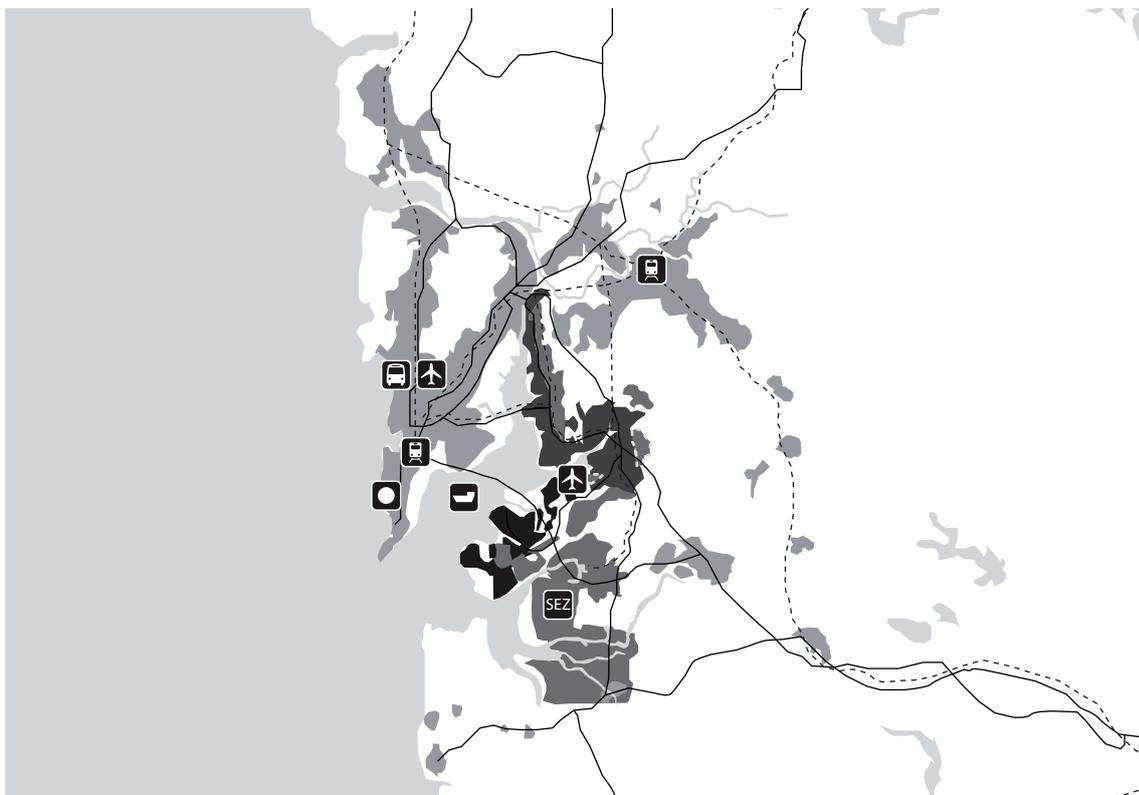
Illustration C-1: Map of India (www.cia.gov, r02.10.09)

Illustration C-2: Map of the Mumbai Region (1:1000 000)

The city environment: gradually boiling to death in a state of euphoria.
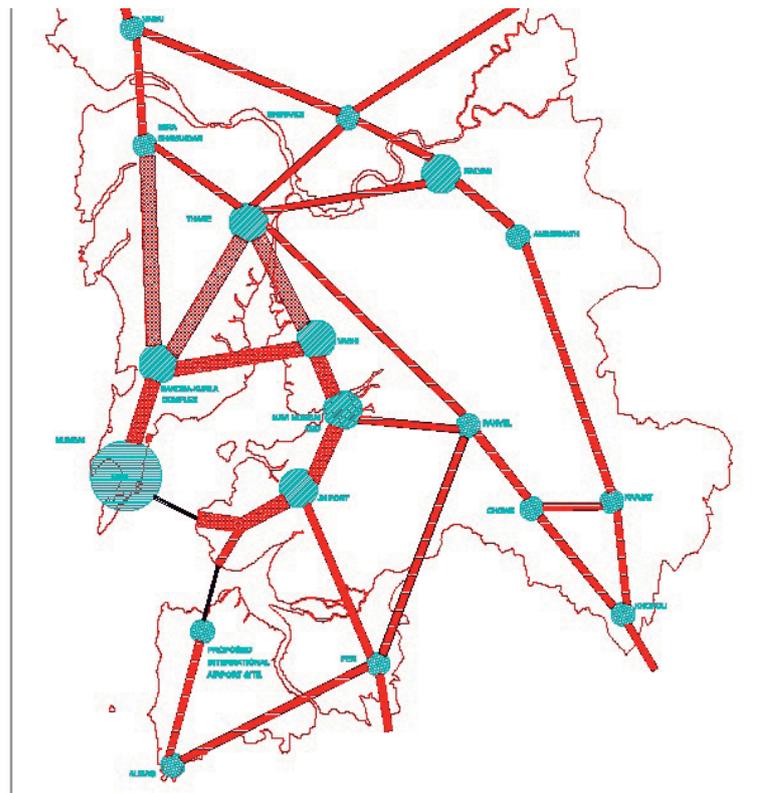
Illustration C-3: Charles Correa's boiling frog (Cf. Correa 1989)

Illustration C-4: Mumbai's inner centres forming a pentagon (MMRDA 1999)

MAP SHOWING SUITABLE SITES WITHIN CORRIDOR
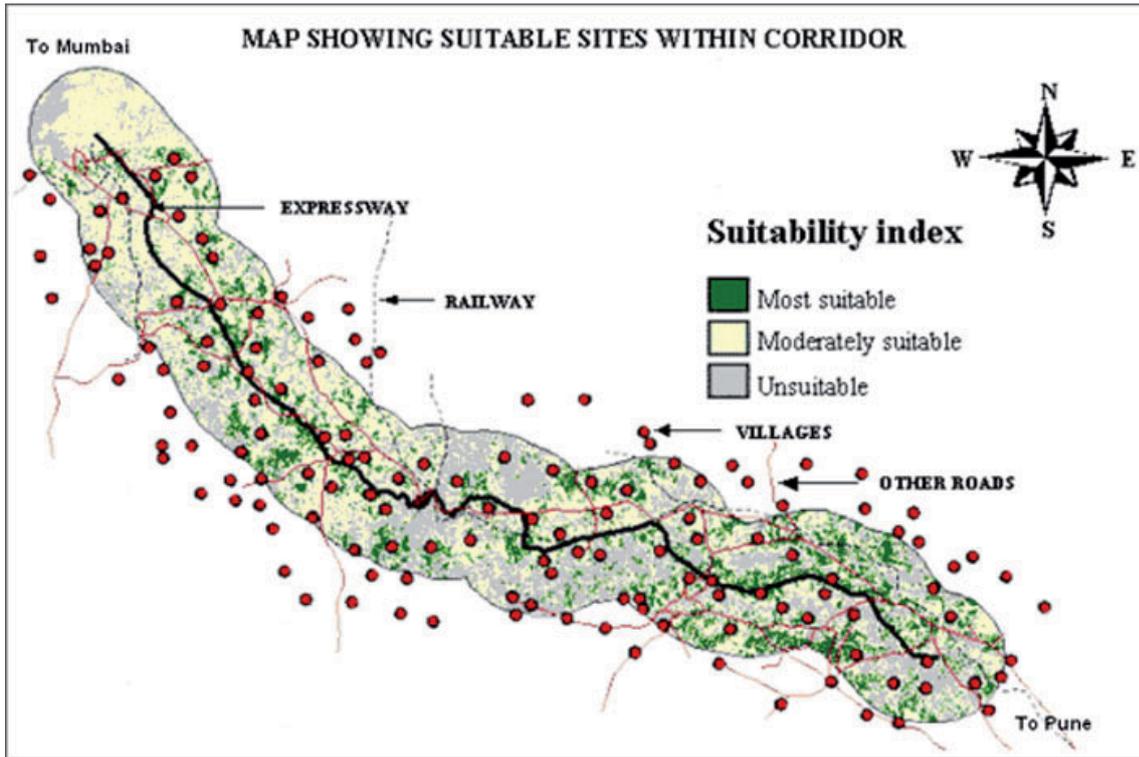
Illustration C-5: Mumbai-Pune is one of India's 17 new mega growth corridors. The map displays development potentials (Cf. www.cdac.in/HTML/geomat/projcomp.asp, r12.09.09)

Illustration C-6: Impression of the Mumbai-Pune highway (NH-4, 2008)

Illustration C-7: Milestone chart for India, Mumbai, Navi Mumbai

Navi Mumbai

- 65: MARG Magazine
- 67: MEDC Plans for NM
- 70: MIDC established
- 71: CIDCO established
- 73: Cidco's Draft Development Plan
- 79: Final approval for NM
- 80: Shift of wholesale market to Vashi
- 86: BUDP Site and Services Project with The World Bank
- 86: Replanning according to Coastal Regulations
- 92: Rail link to Vashi
- 92: Navi Mumbai Municipal Corp.
- 95: Start of Khargar Node
- 02: CIDCOs Navi Mumbai SEZ
- 04: Maha Mumbai SEZ
- Boom of large infrastructure projects (Airport, Cross Harbour Link)

1950   1960   1970   1980   1990   2000

plan   launch   maturation   consolidation

Mumbai

- 45: Formation of Greater Bombay
- 47: Modak and Mayer Plan
- 61: Barve Report recomments satellite cities on the main land
- 64: Development Plan for Greater Bombay
- 66: Gadgil Report sugg. multiple nodes
- 67: Maharasthra RM&TP Act
- 73: BMRDA Plan institutionalises NM
- 79: Regional Plan of the BMRDA
- 84: Land Acquisition Act, R&R mandatory
- 95: Bombay becomes Mumbai
- 96: Repeal of the MR&TP Act
- 96: MMRDAs Second Regional Plan
- 03: Bombay First Report

1950   1960   1970   1980   1990   2000

India

- 30s: Bollywood produces 200 movies p.a.
- 47: Independence
- Partition & massive migration
- Nehru's socialist model of development
- 54: Town Planning Act
- 61: Third 5 Year Plan promotes 100% government-led urban development
- 61: Samyukta Maharashtra Movement
- 65: Shiv Sena
- 66: Indira Gandhi's National Policy
- 74: India's first nuclear test
- 85: R.Gandhi's liberalisation policy
- 91: 2,5 billion bail-out package by the IMF
- 91: Rao's New Economic Programme
- 92: 74'th Constitution Amendmend Act
- 94: National Housing Policy (NHP)
- 95: I.st real estate boom and bust
- 01: GoI's New Trade and Investment Programmes pushing FDI
- 05: JNNURM
- 05: SEZ Act
- 05: Violent Anti SEZ protests (Haryana)
- 02-08: II.nd Real Estate Boom and Bust

1950   1960   1970   1980   1990   2000

Central Planning, focusing on deconcentration and rural areas, supply driven approach

Decentral Planning, increasingly focusing on cities, demand driven approach

New Bombay: Structural Plan

Illustration C-8: Navi Mumbai's structure as conceived in Correa (1989)

Illustration C-9: Navi Mumbai's land use plan (Cidco, 1993)

Illustration C-10: Juinagar Railway station by Shirish Patel
Illustration C-11: International Technology Park (Vashi)

Illustration C-12: Planned Darave station by Hafeez Contractor (r. hafeezcontractor.com 12.09.09)
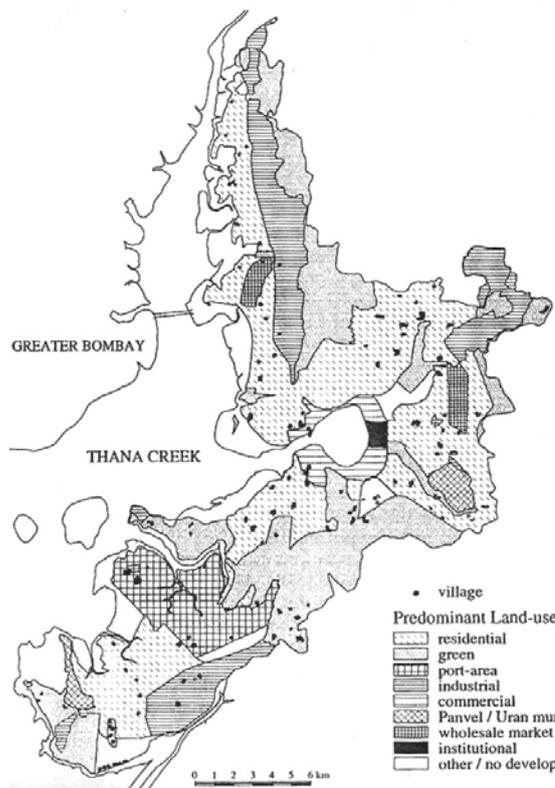
Illustration C-13: Northern part of Vashi with Juhu and Kopri villages (Wikimapia, r01.10.09)

L: Map of on site villages (dark spots, from: Raje 1991),
R: Diwala village Belapur in 2005

Location of Slums in NMMC area

on CIDCO land
on MIDC land
on Govt land
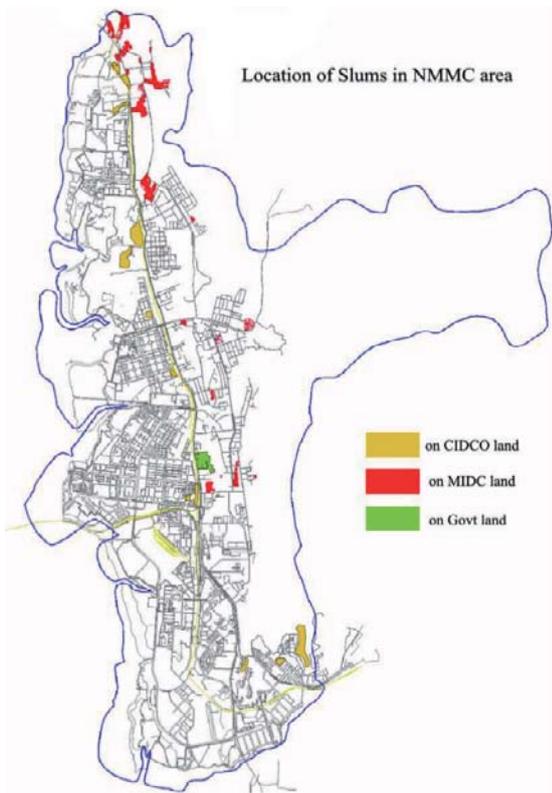
Illustration C-14: Turbhe stores, largest Slum in the vicinity; 1:5000 (Googlemaps, r12.09.09)

L: Map of Navi Mumbai's slums (NMMC 2001), R: Street-view impression from Turbhe

Illustration C-15: Magic Hills (Planned at the Mumbai-Pune highway)
(www.sternon.com/current-india-magichills.htm, r12.05.09)

L: Road access diagram (Ibidem) R: Model villa (magichillsresidences.com/, r12.05.09)

Navi Mumbai /Neighbourhood /Turbhe

Navi Mumbai /Neighbourhood /Kopar Khairane (Sector 1-4)
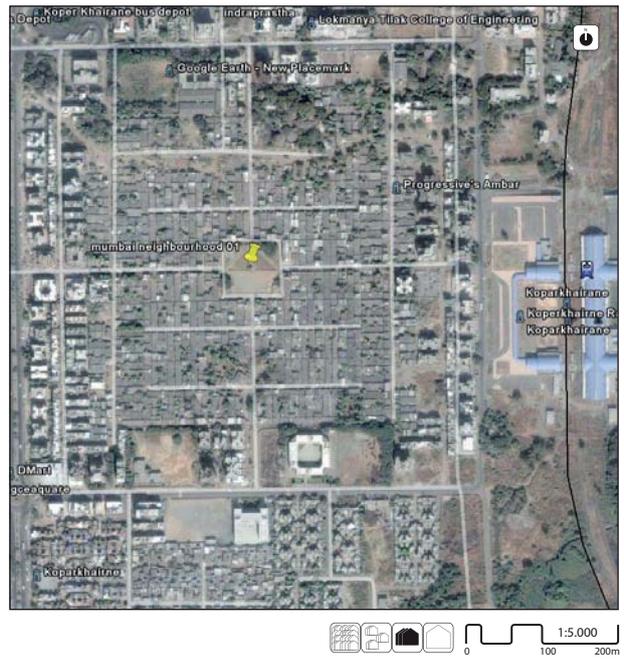
Navi Mumbai /Neighbourhood /Khargar (Gharkul and Spaghetti)
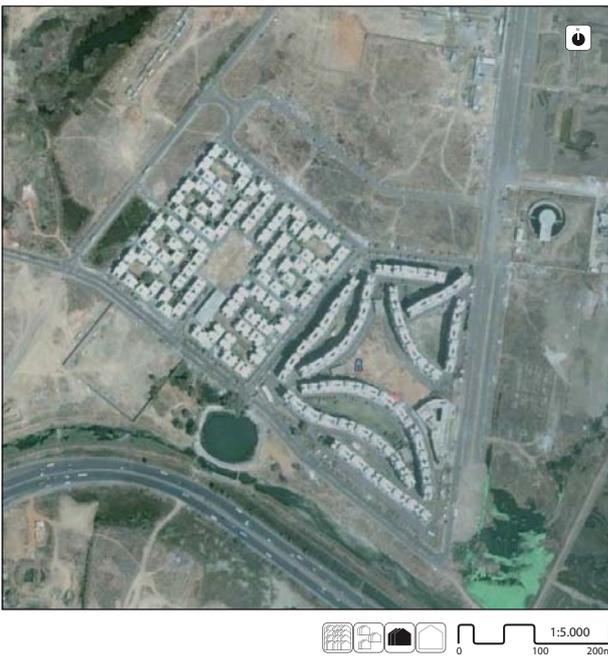
Navi Mumbai /Neighbourhood /Seawoods I

Illustration C-16: Neighbourhood types: L: Turbhe Stores // R: Kopar Khairane (1:10 000) (GoogleEarth, r02.07.09)

L: Gharkul and Spaghetti // R: Seawoods Estates (1: 10 000), (GoogleEarth, r02.07.09)
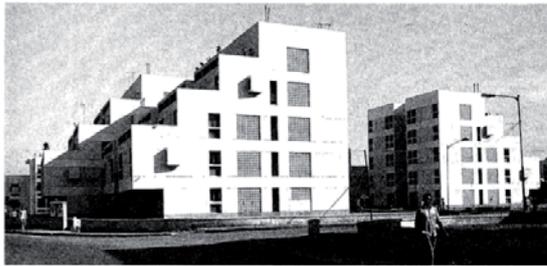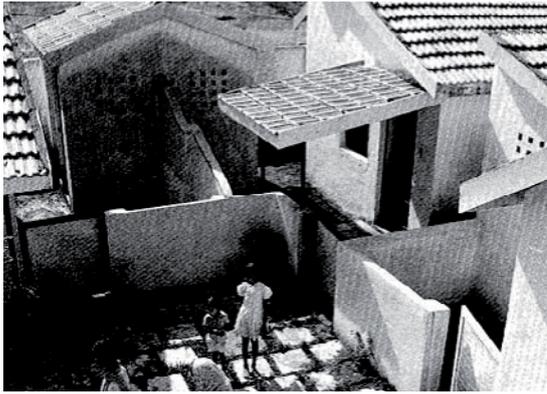
Illustration C-17: Housing types: TL: Artist Village (Correa, 1983; from Correa '99), TR: Belapur Housing (Rewal, 1997, archnet.org, r01.11.09), ML: Middle income Houses (Vashi, 1980s, cf. Correa '99), MR: Low income project Khargar (2000s)
ML: Spaghetti houses (Hafeez, 2008, cf. hafeezcontractor.com, r01.12.09), MR: Ghansoli (Hafeez, 2003), BL: Millennium Towers (Cidco, 2003), BR: Seawoods Estates (Hafeez, 1996)

Navi Mumbai /Node/ Vashi
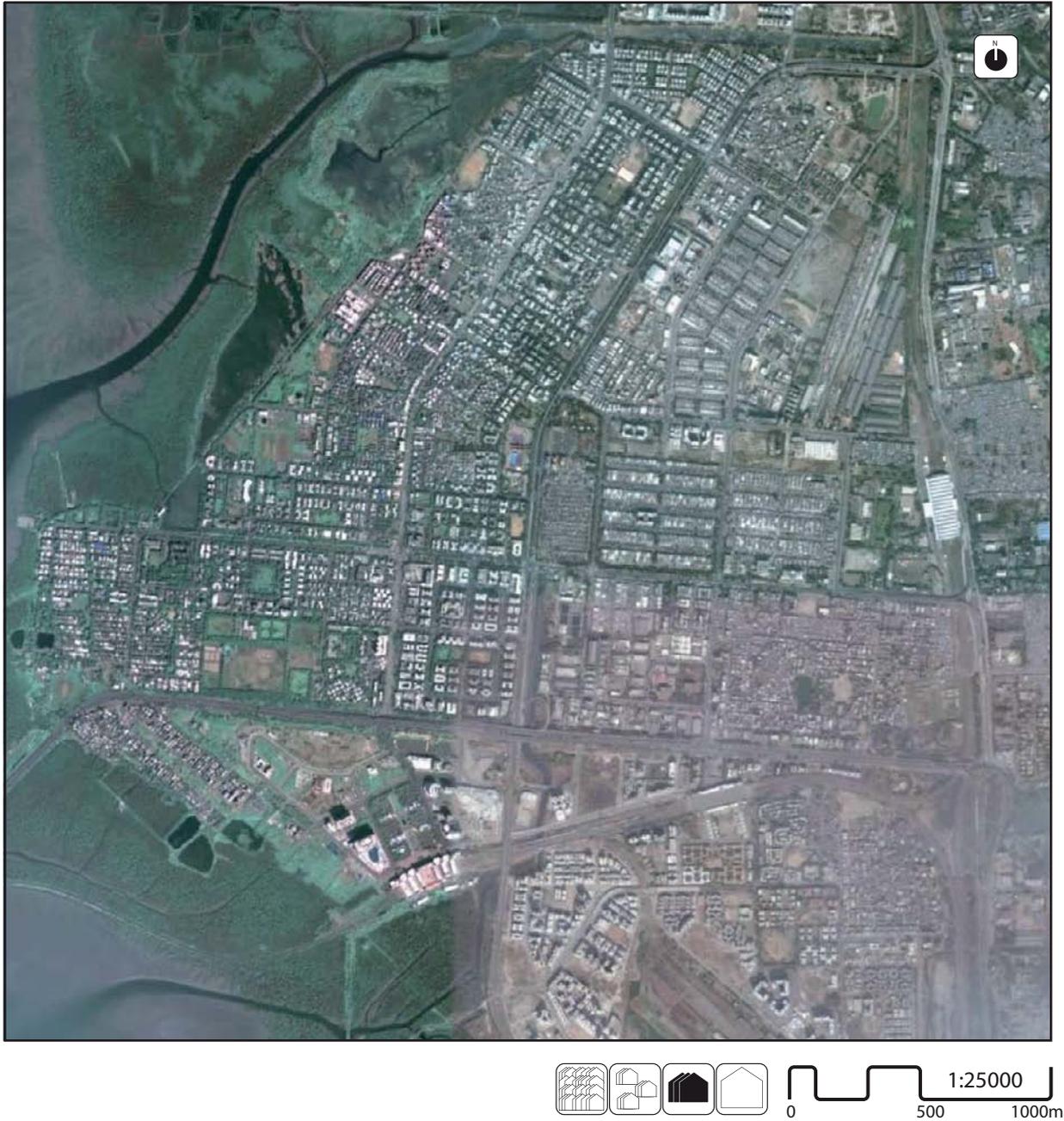
Illustration C-18: Vashi map (1: 25 000) (Based on GoogleEarth, r12.09.09)

Navi Mumbai /Node/ Kopar Khairane and Ghansoli
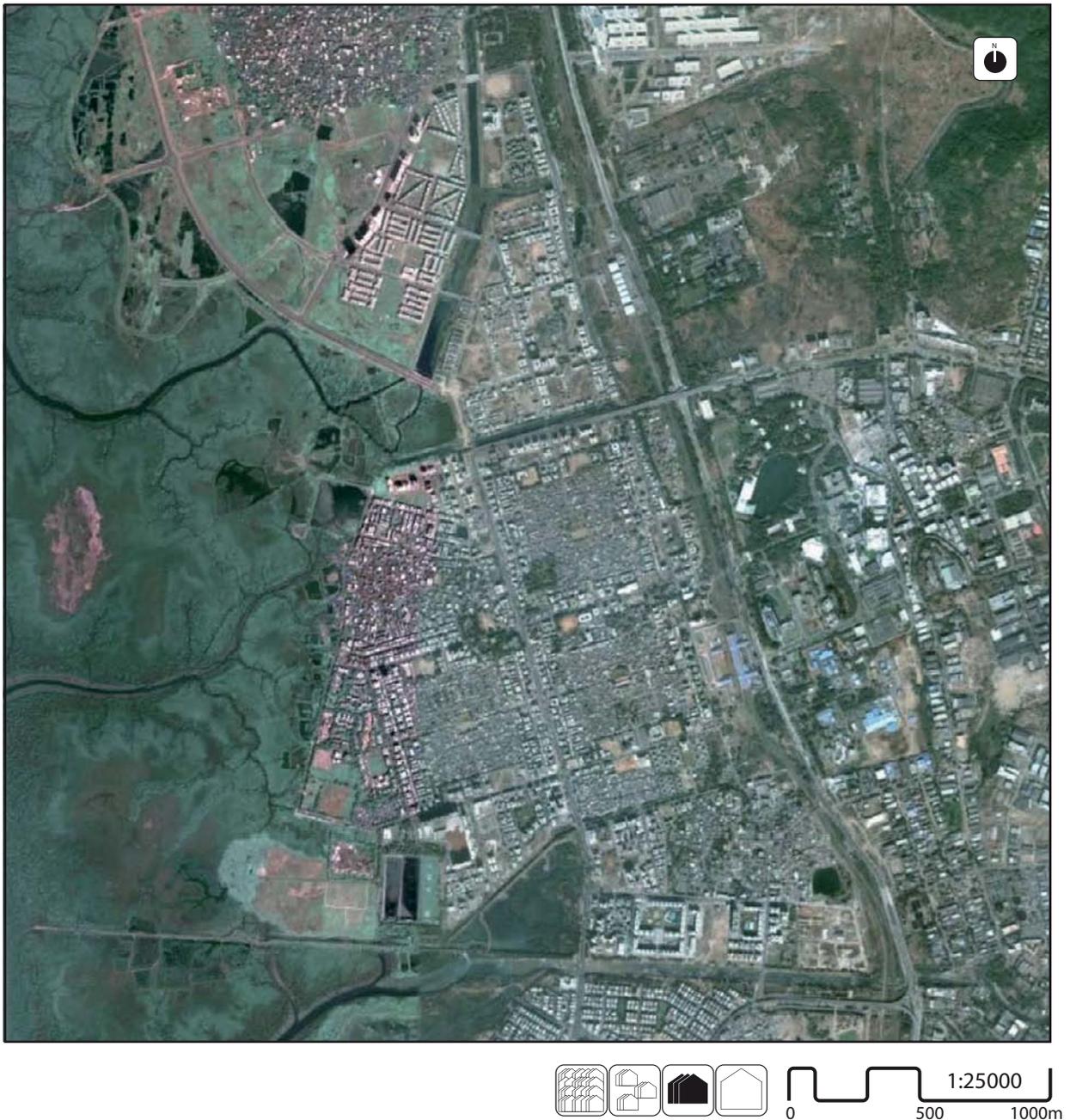
Illustration C-19: Kopar Khairane and above Ghansoli (1:25 000) (Based on GoogleEarth, r12.09.09)

Navi Mumbai /Node/ Khargar (Phase 1)

Illustration C-20: Khargar, Phase 1, 1: 25 000 (Based on GoogleEarth, r12.09.09)
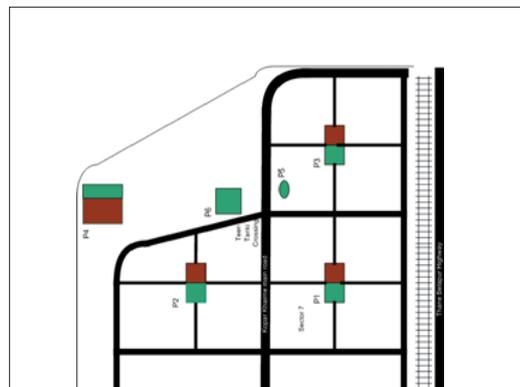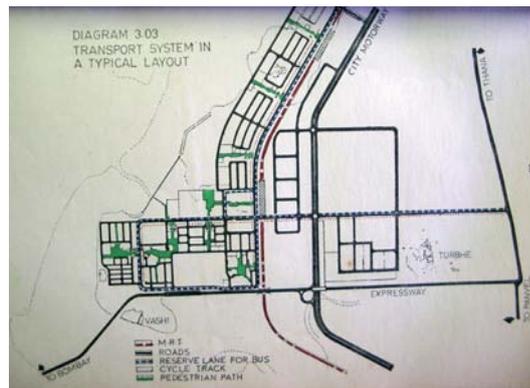
Illustration C-21: Structure diagrams: T: Vashi (Cidco 1973); M: Kopar Khairane (NN, 1986); B: Khargar (Doshi, 1995)

Dronagiri: 1777 ha

JNPT: 300 ha

Kalamboli: 350 ha

Ulwe: 400 ha
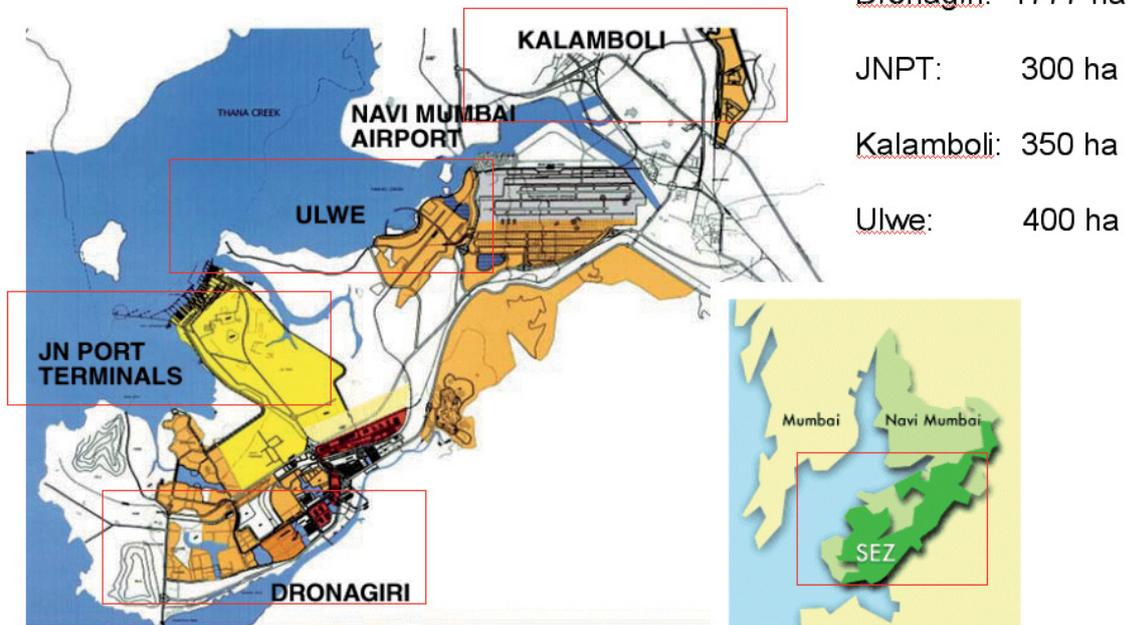
■ Illustration C-22: Navi Mumbai SEZ (nmsez.com, r03.02.2008)

■ C-22b: Village protests against the Maha Mumbai SEZ in 2006
(Cf. www.hinduonnet.com/fline/fl2312/stories/20060630003711300.htm, r12.06.2008)

Navi Mumbai /Neighbourhood /Kopar Khairane (Sector 27)

1:5.000
0   100   200m

RECREATION GROUND

GROUND FLOOR PLAN

①②③ etc indicate building numbers
01,02,03 etc indicate apartment numbers   30.0 M ROAD
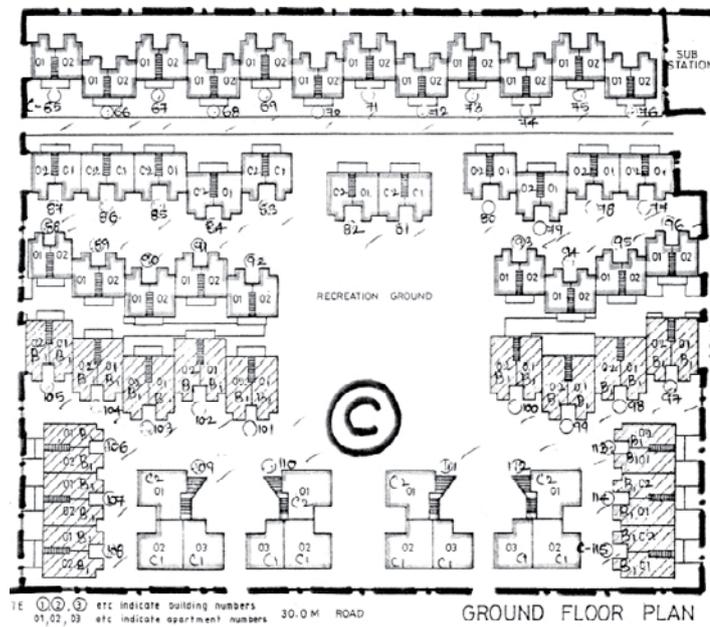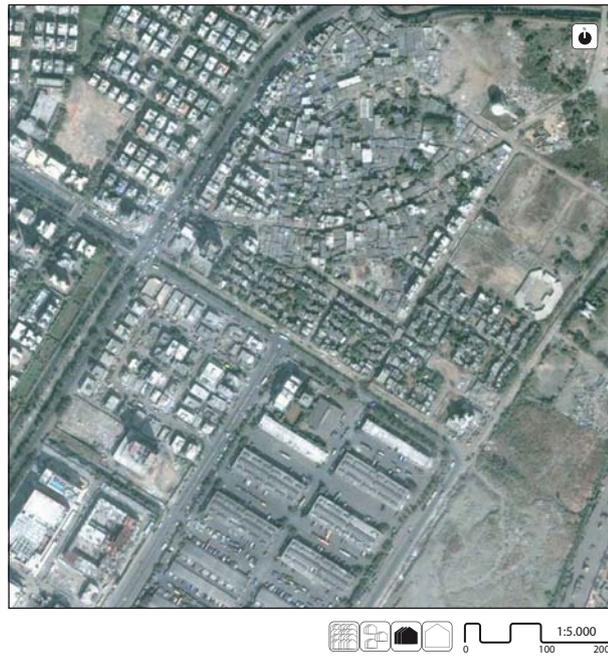
Illustration C-23: DRS scheme in Vashi's sector 26 (Centre of the image, 1: 10000)
(based on Googlemaps, r03.10.2009)

C-23b: Ground plan of a DRS housing scheme block (cf. Adusumilli 2001)

TREND OF POPULATION

Population in Lakhs

Census group	1971	1981	1991	2001
Gr. Mumbai	59.71	82.43	99.26	119.14
Thane	1.71	4.74	8.04	12.62
Kalyan - Dombivli	1.51	5.78	8.20	11.93
Navi Mumbai	1.56	2.50	5.35	11.03

Growth Rate

Census Groups	1971-81	1981-91	1991-2001
Greater Mumbai	3.81	2.04	2.00
Thane	8.13	15.68	5.85
Kalyan - Dombivli*	28.28	4.19	4.55
Navi Mumbai	6.03	11.36	10.26
	4.55	2.87	2.81

* Increase in Kalyan is due to change of census group
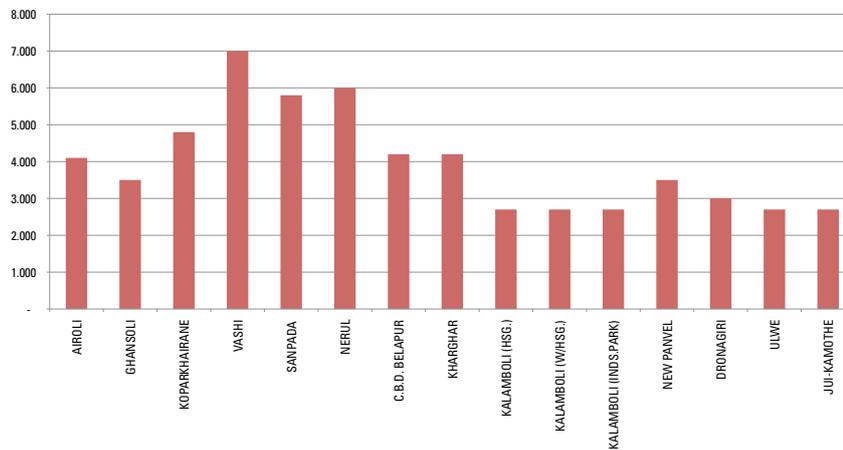
Illustration C-24: Navi Mumbai's population (Cf. Cidco 2005, 1 lakh = 100 000)

Illustration C-25: Reserve prices in the different nodes (own drawing based on Cidco 2005)
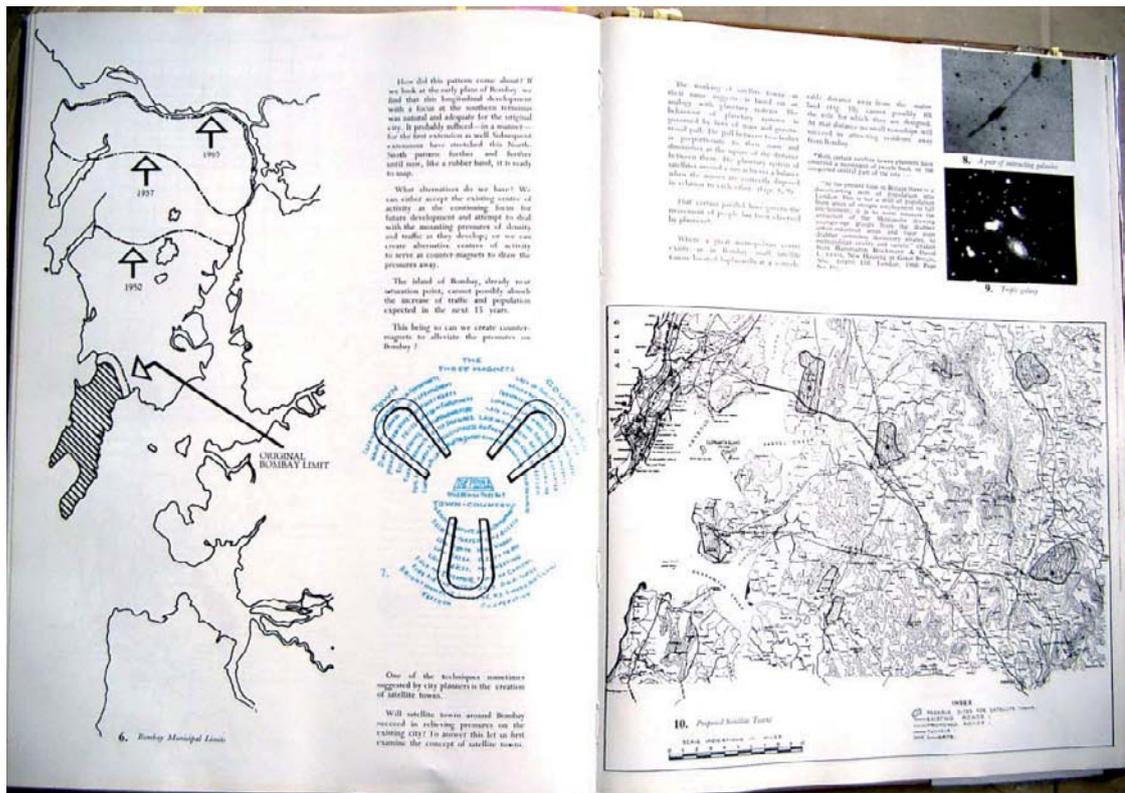
Illustration C-26: Design for the Ulwe Node (Cf. Frampton 1997)

Illustration C-27: MARG's 1965 conceptual drawings for Navi Mumbai (MARG, 1965)
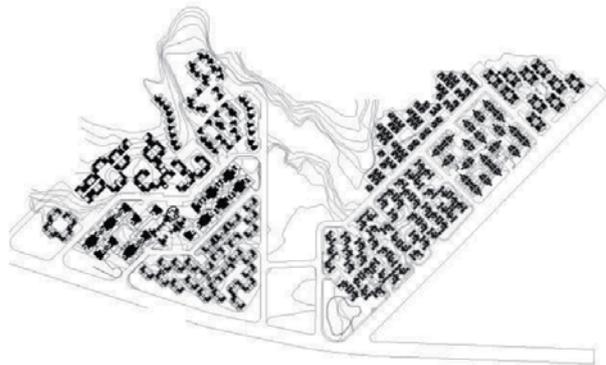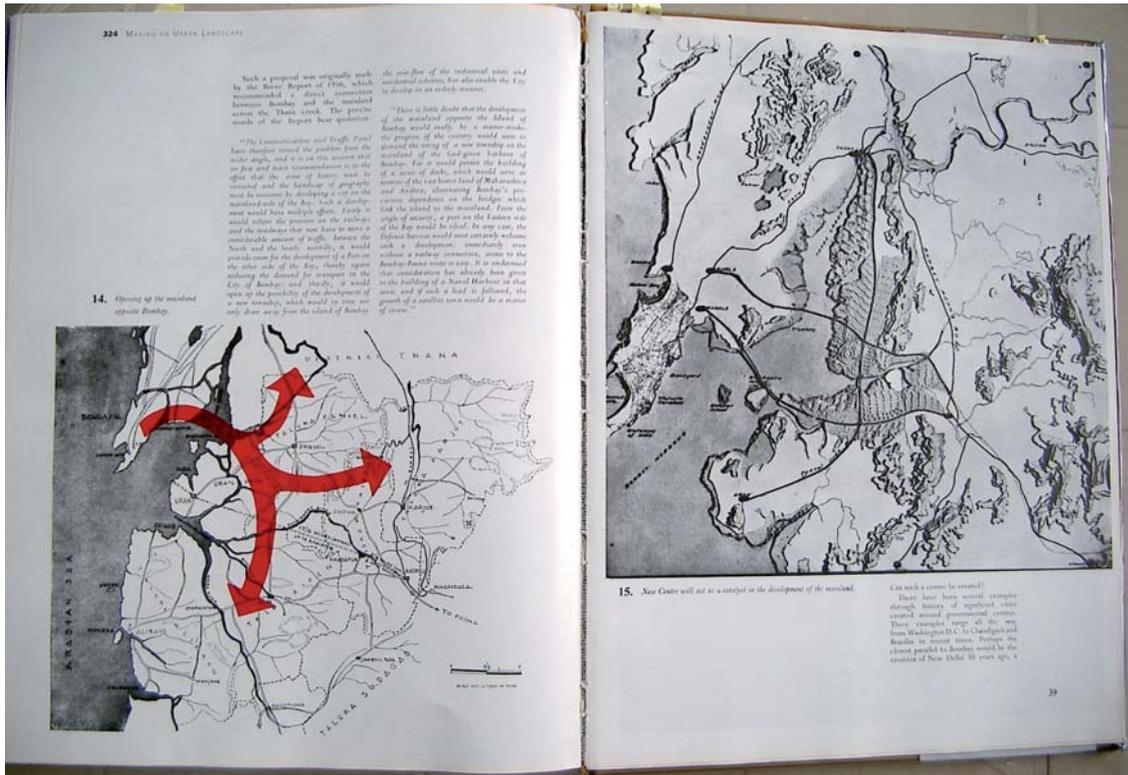
C-27b: MARG's conceptual drawings (MARG, 1965)

Illustration C-28: Belapur Housing Project (Raj Rewal, Cf. archnet.org, r01.11.09)

Illustration C-29: Selected projects of Hafeez Contractor in Navi Mumbai and vicinity (from left to right, top to bottom): Ghansoli LIC housing; British Gas offices Powai; Gharkul lower middle income scheme; Master plan for Hiranandani SEZ; Hotel Rodas Powai; D.Y. Patil Stadium Nerul; Turbhe Railway Station; Nahar's Amrit Shakti Powai (cf. hafeezcontractor.com, r24.11.09)

Illustration C-30: SEZ advertisement, Cidco 2002 (The Economist Vol. 364, No 8291, 13.07.2002: 21)

Illustration C-31: New era monuments: T. and M.: Khargar's Utsaw Chowk
(Cf. Navimumbaipluses.com, r02.10.09)

C-31b: Blueprint of Cidco's new headquarters (hafeezcontractor.com, r02.10.09)
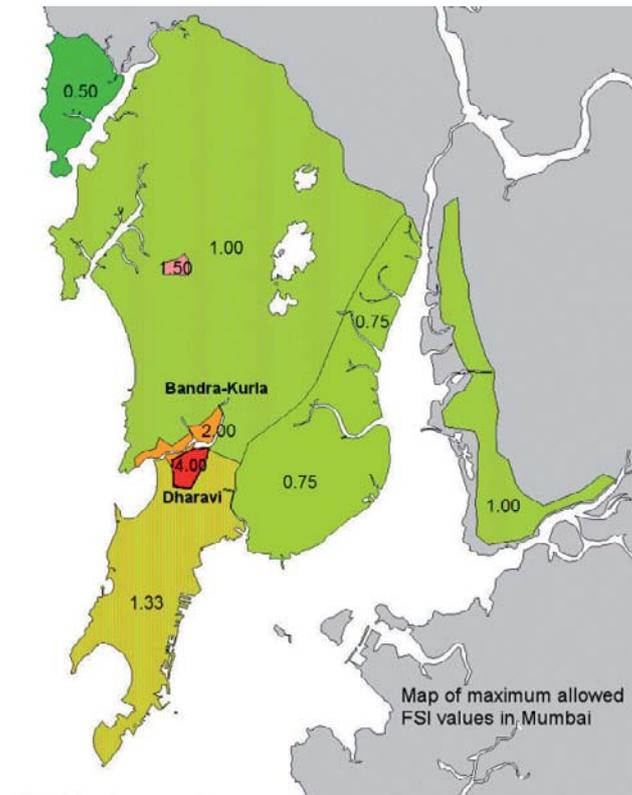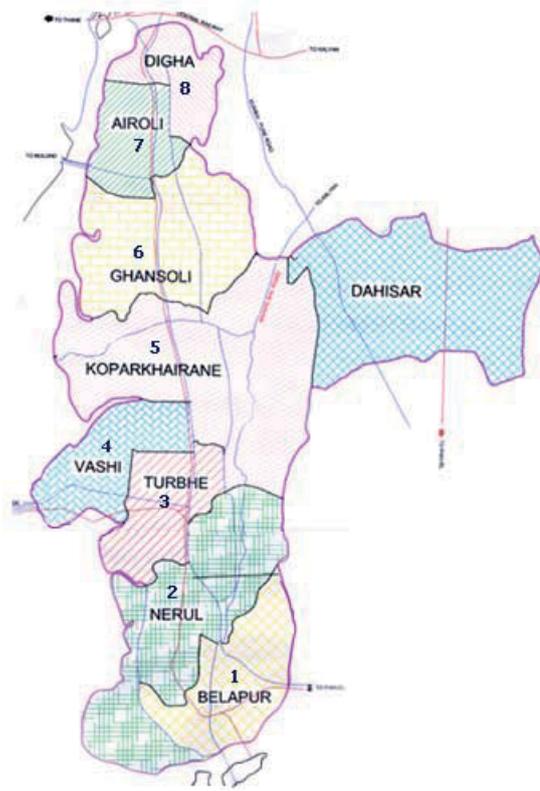
■ Illustration C-32: Political boundaries of the Navi Mumbai Municipal Corporation
(nmmconline.com, r17.02.09)

■ Illustration C-33: Floor Area Ratio (FAR) map of Mumbai (Cf. Bertaud 2004)
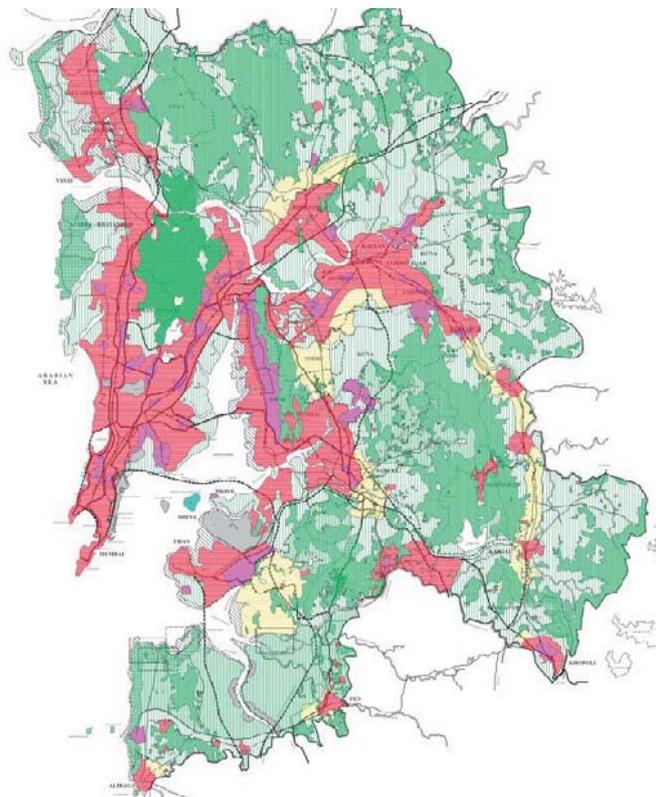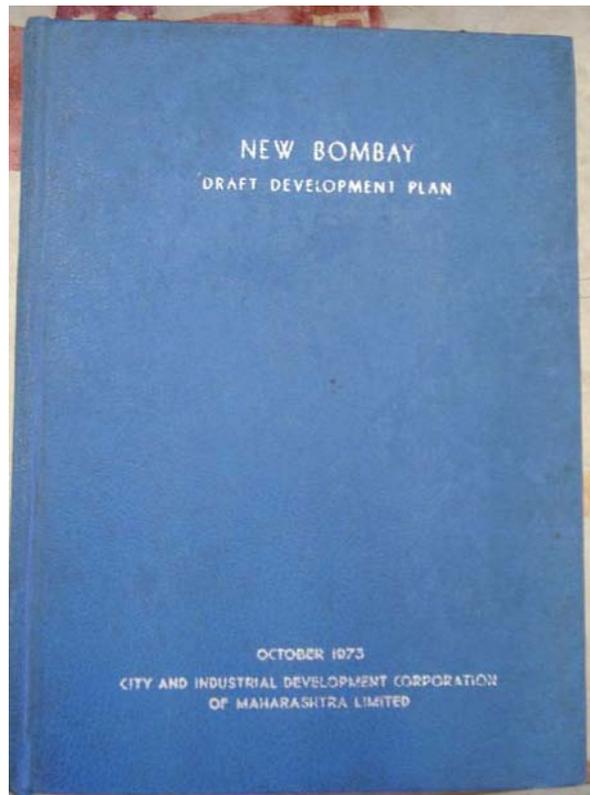
Illustration C-34: Picture of Navi Mumbai's Draft development Plan which is valid to this date (Cidco, 1973)

Illustration C-35: MMRDA's plan of the Mumbai Metro Region illustrating growth patterns along major spines (MMRDA 1999)
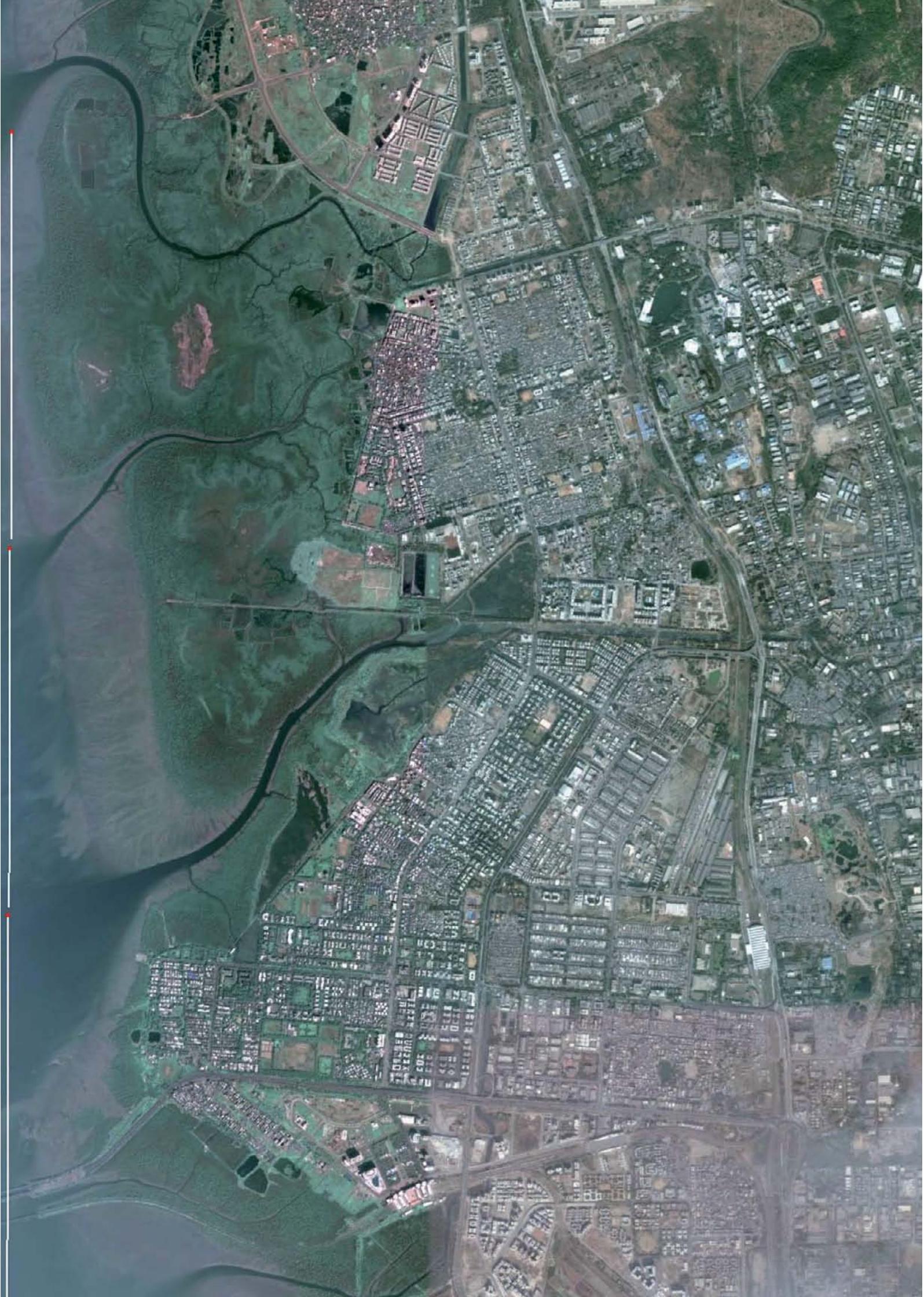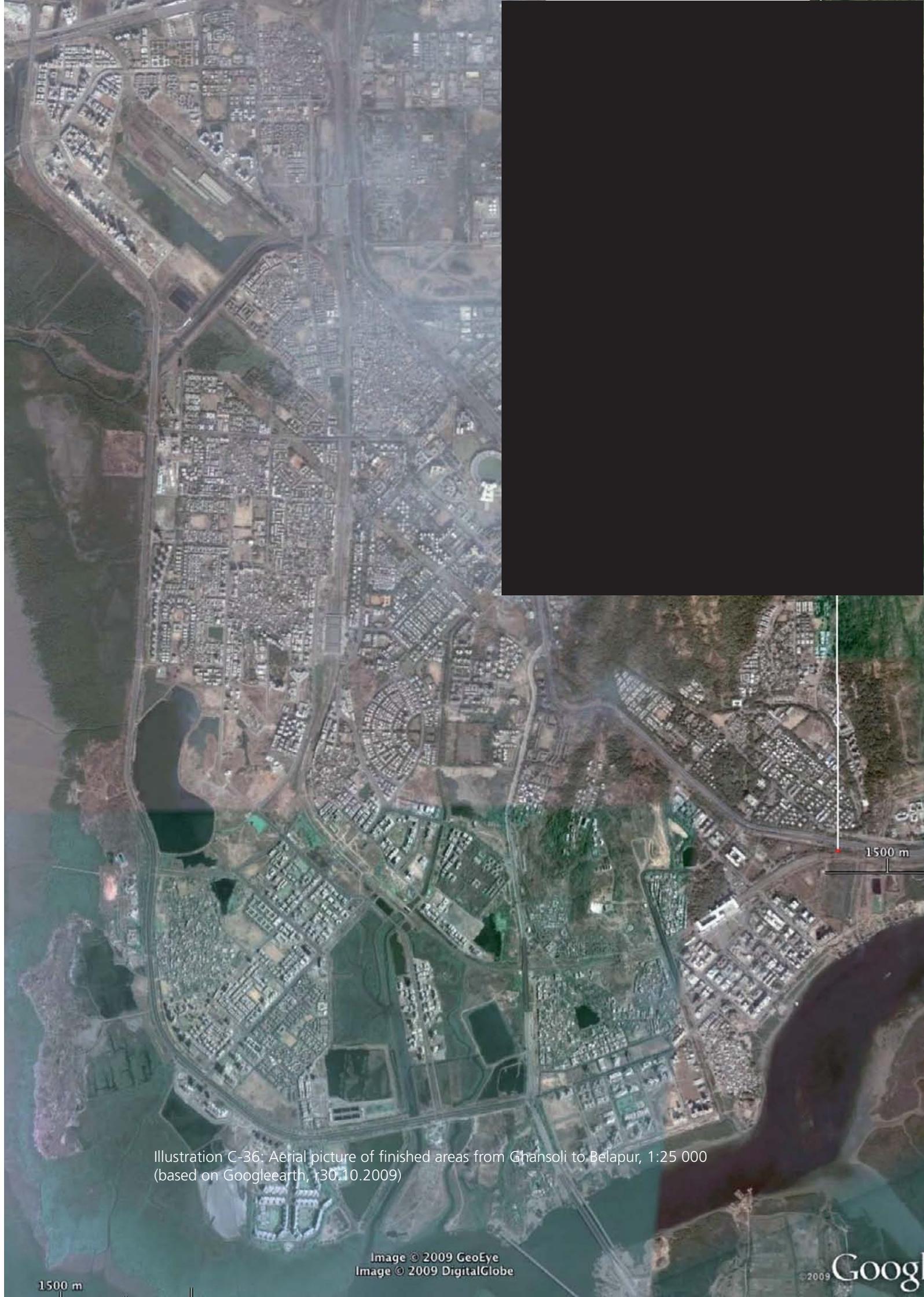
Illustration C-36: Aerial picture of finished areas from Ghansoli to Belapur, 1:25 000 (based on Googleearth, r30.10.2009)

1500 m

1500 m

D. AlphaVille

Q/T–A.08.2
Município de Santana de Parnaíba
DISTRIBUIÇÃO DE RENDA 1991 - 2000

Unidade Territorial	10% mais ricos / 40% mais pobres		20% mais ricos / 40% mais pobres	
	1991	2000	1991	2000
Grande São Paulo	13,8	18,3	9,5	12,6
Santana de Parnaíba	46,8	66,7	30,1	45,0

Fonte: Atlas do Desenvolvimento Humano no Brasil, 2002.

Illustration D-1: Map of Brazil (Cf. cia.gov, r27.10.10.09)

Illustration D-2: Distribution of income in Santana de Parnaíba and São Paulo (IBGE 2002)

Illustration D-3: São Paulo's operative landscape:
A. Infrastructure (cf. urban-age.net, r01.12.09)

B. Socio-spatial fragmentation by the example of Paraisópolis and Morumbi SP
(Photo: Tuca Vieira, fototucavieira.com.br, r19.09.09)

AlphaVille / São Paulo / Region
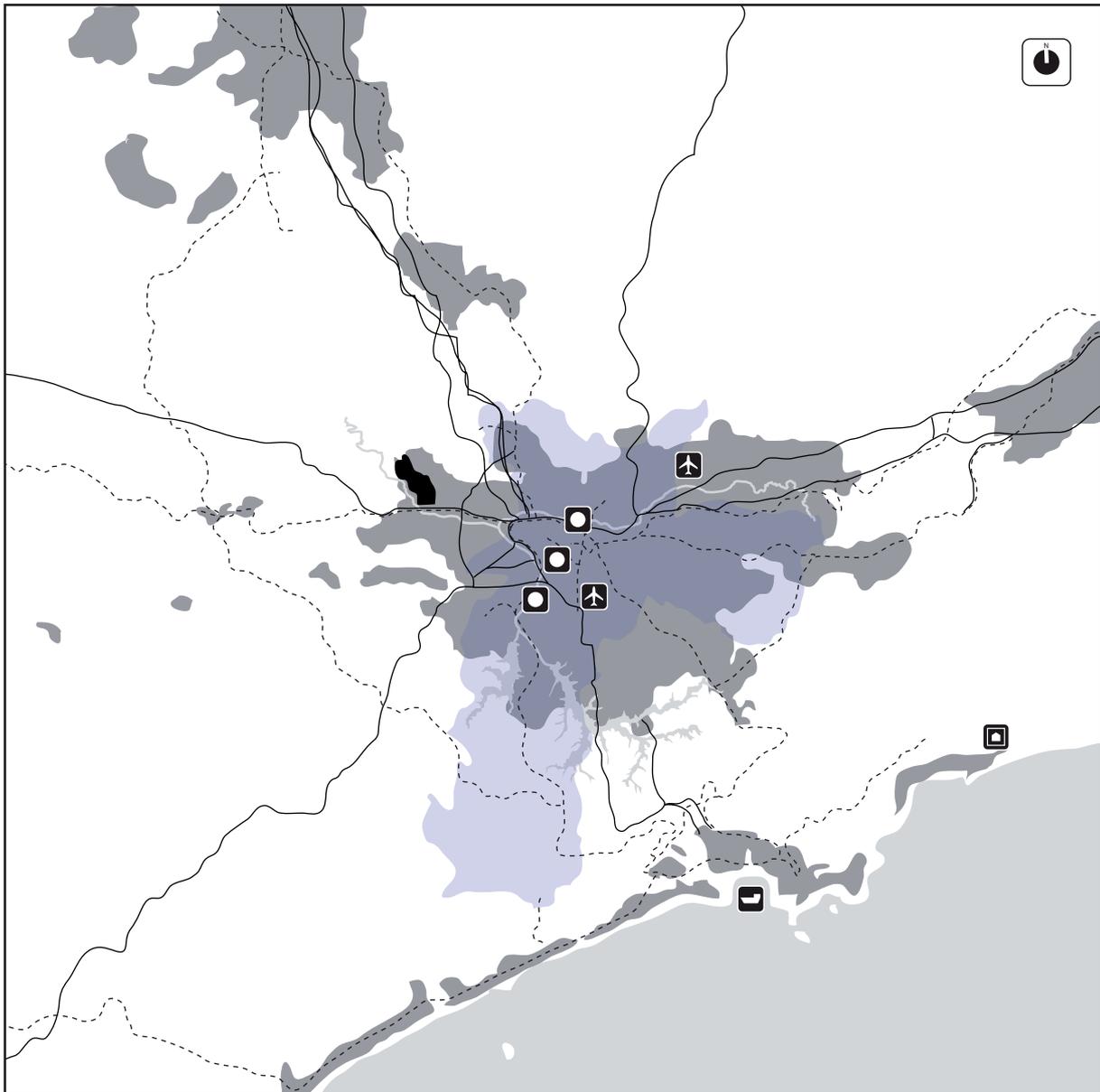
Illustration D-4: AlphaVille-Tamboré's strategic place in the São Paulo's region:
dark = AlphaVille, transparent outline = municipal boundaries (1:1000 000)
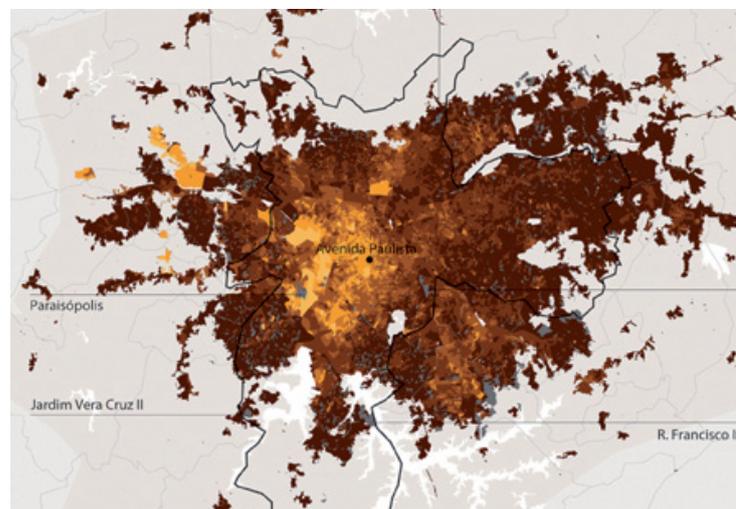
Illustration D-5: São Paulo's 'setor oeste' indicated by ‚AAA' rated offices
(Jones Lang Lasalle 2008)

Illustration D-6: ...and by educational levels. Note the clear demarcation of AlphaVille -Tamboré
(Cf. urban-age.net, r21.10.09)
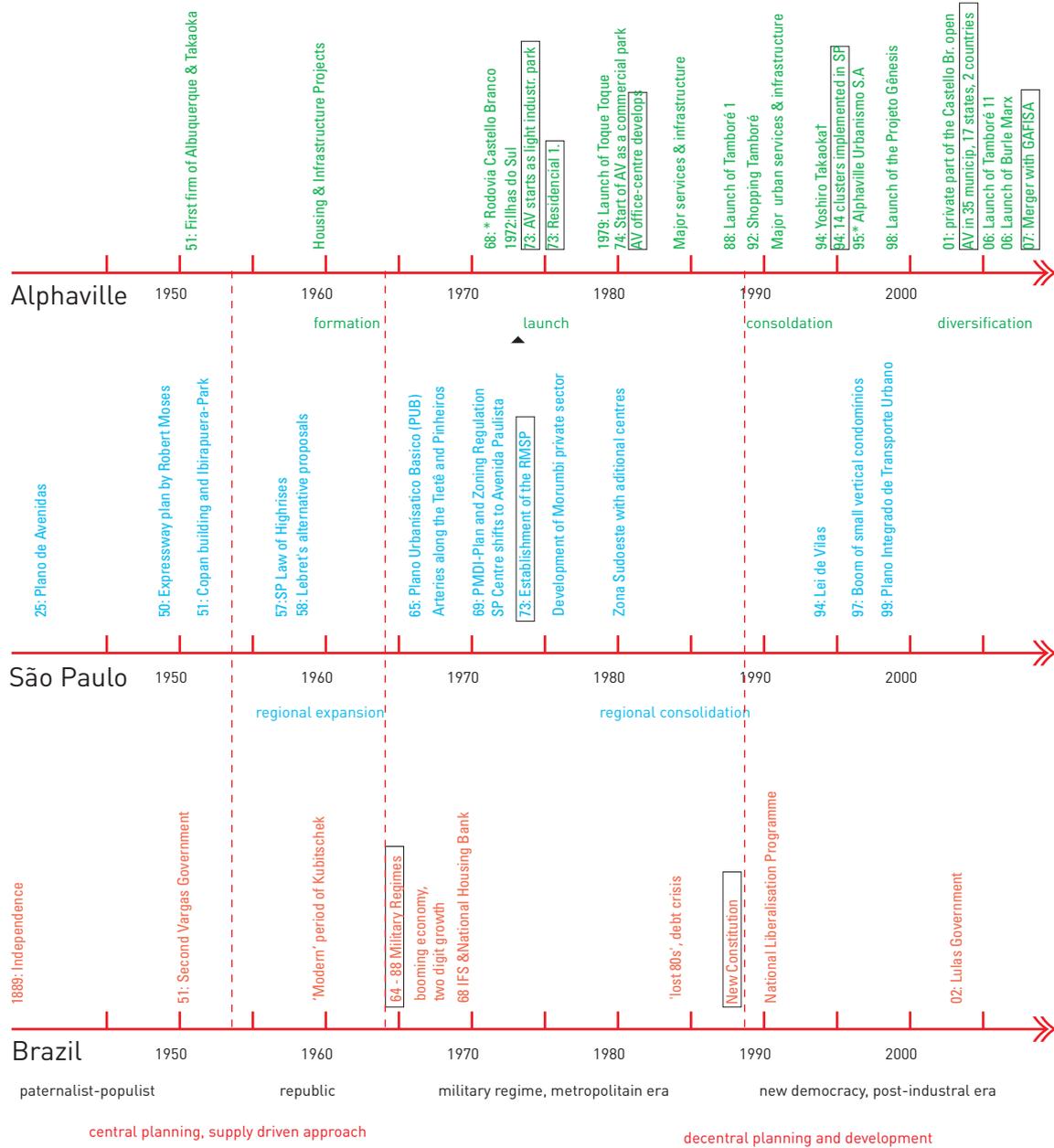
Illustration D-7: Milestone chart: Brazil, São Paulo, AlphaVille-Tamboré

City América

Lapa/
Bela Aliança

Vila
Romana

Pacaembu

Alto de
Pinheiros

Bayaçava

Anhangabaú

Jardim Americá

Butantã

Jardim
Guedalla

Caxingui

Vila Inah
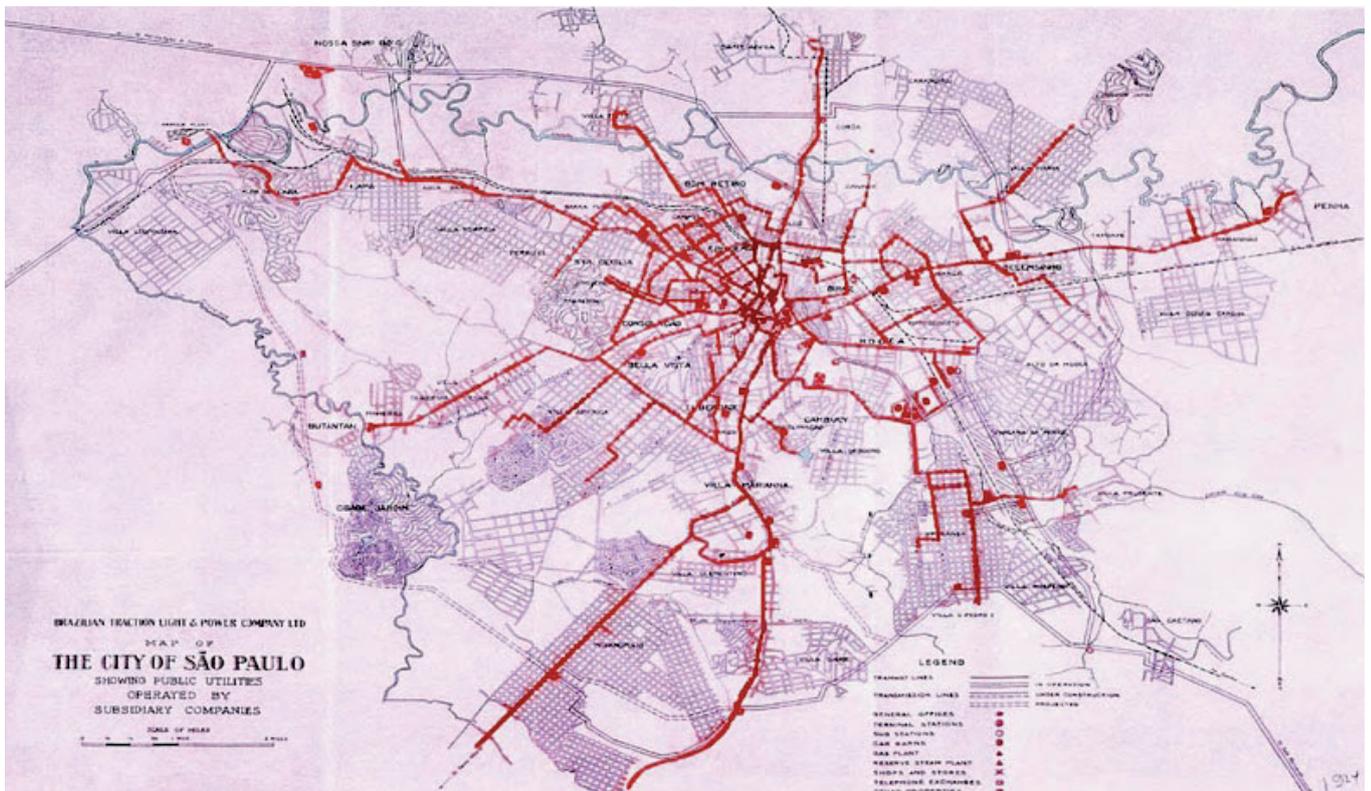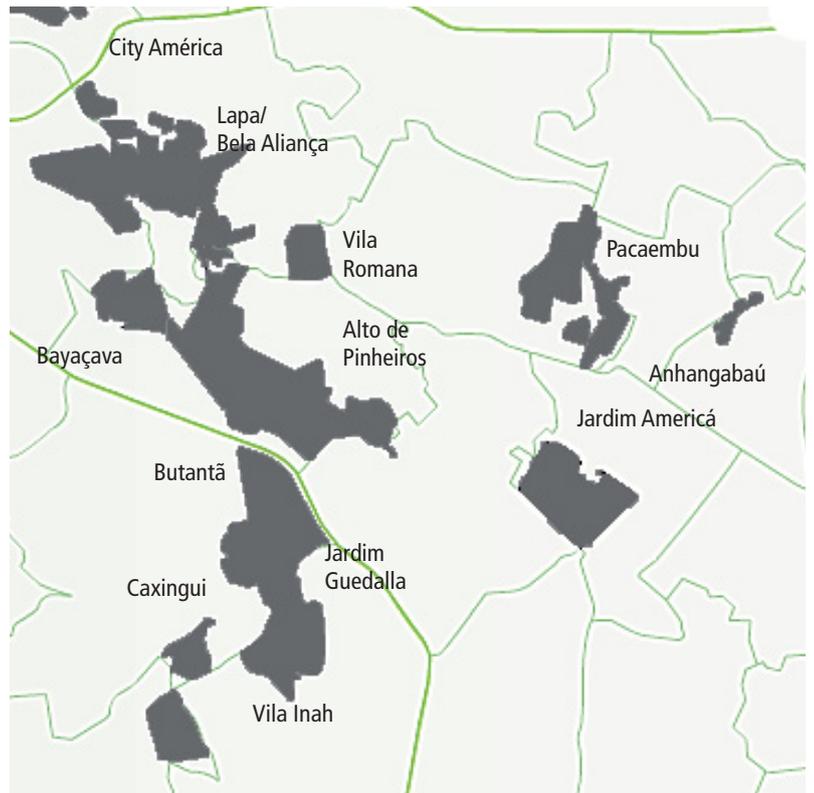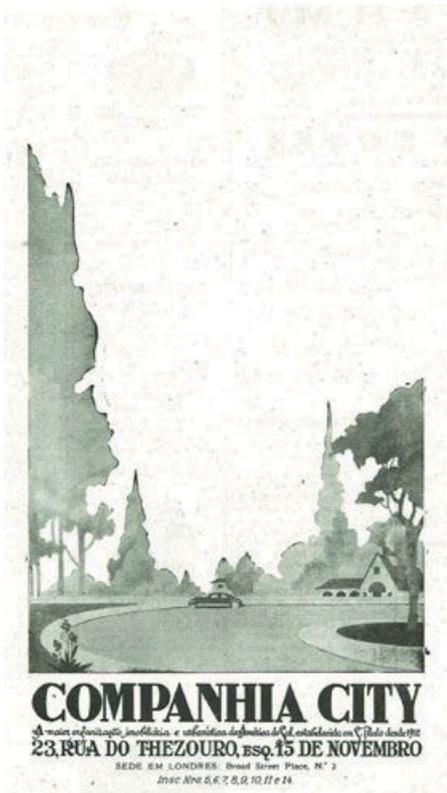
Illustration D-8: CIA. City: L: Advertising suburban life, R: Project map
(cf. ciacity.com.br, r26.10.09)

Illustration D-9: Privately developed utility lines in the 1920s (from Anelli 2008b)

Illustration D-10: Map of Granja Viana (cf. granjaviana.com.br, r07.11.09)

Illustration D-11: AlphaVille's residential 12 and Irvine's Sierra Broadmoor
(own drawing and ULI 1974)
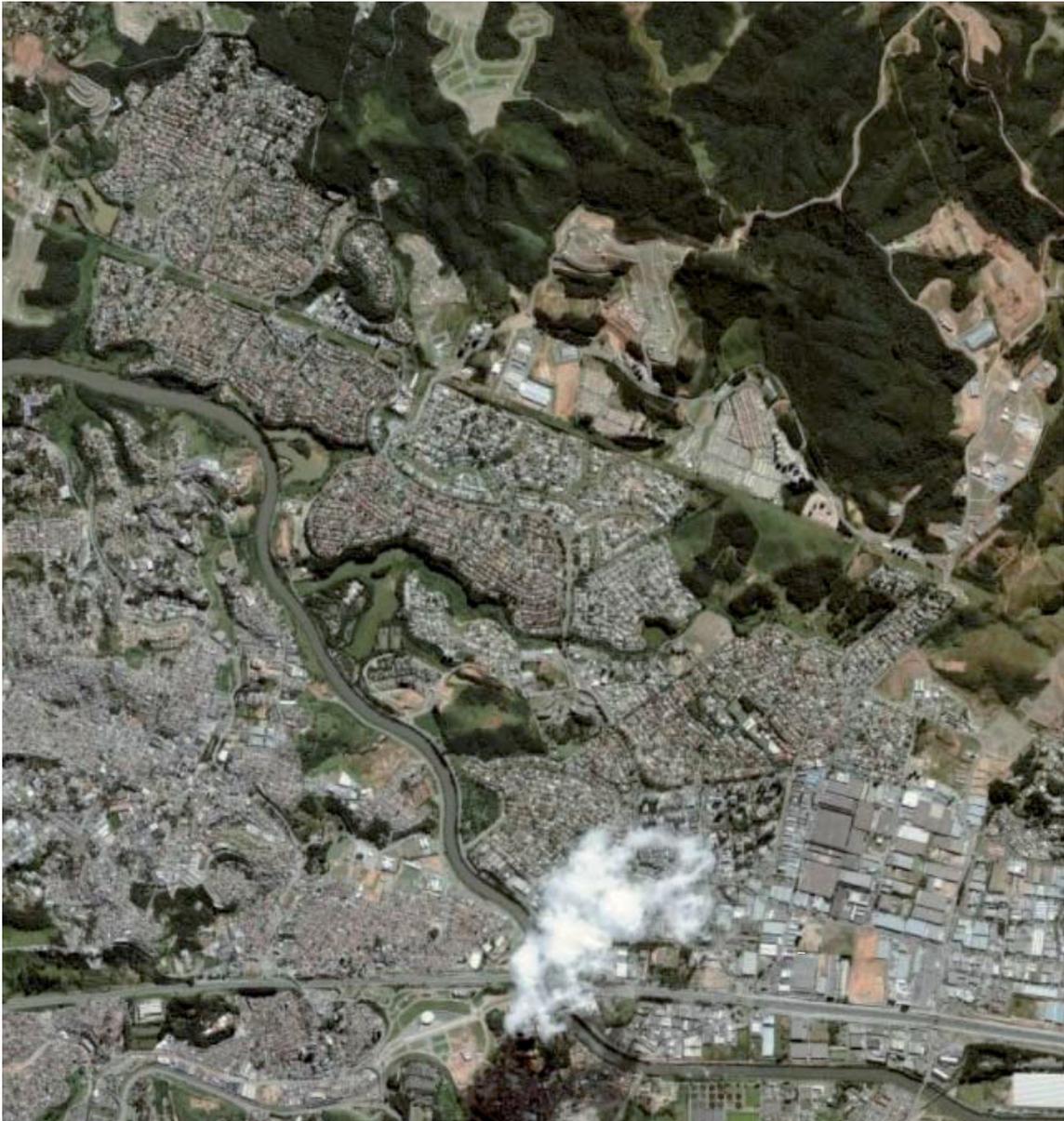
Illustration D-12: AlphaVille-Tamboré: Site and surroundings (Google Maps, r28.10.09)

Illustration D-13: Images of urban landscape in the vicinity
(cf GoogleEarth, Panoramio, r19.11.09)

Illustration D-14: ‚AlphaVille sem padágio' (alternative access map) (Cf. SIA.org.br, r19.10.09)

Illustration D-15: Town-scale map of AlphaVille-Tamboré (1:50 000)
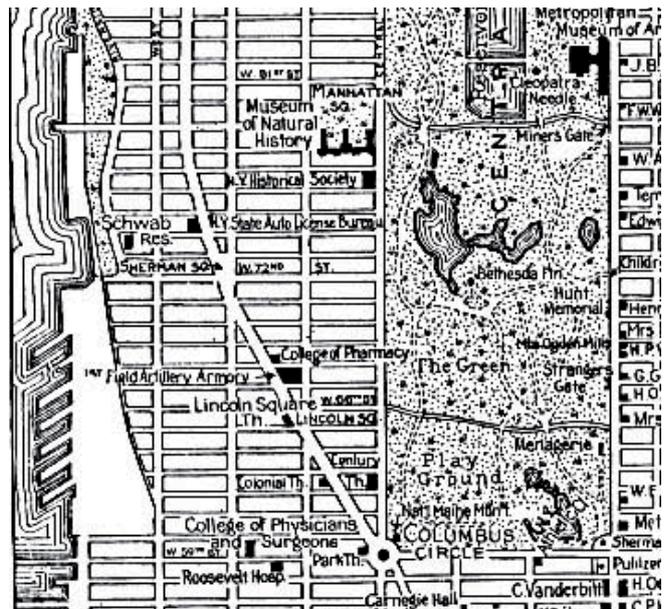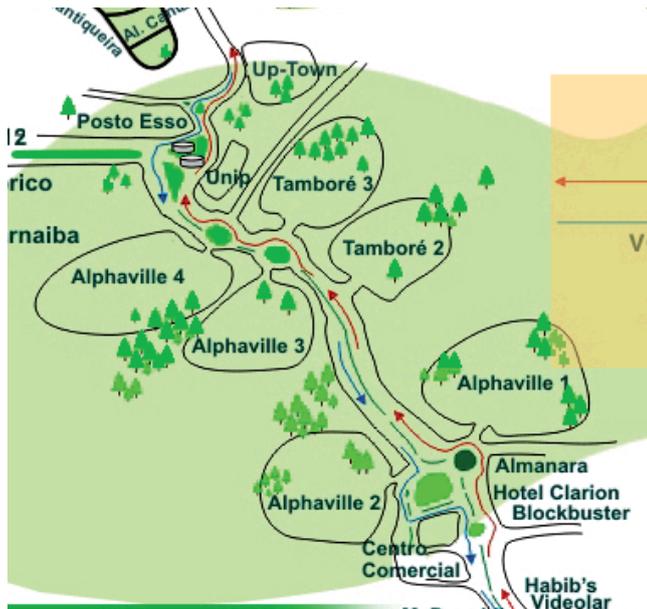
Illustration D-16: Bunch of grapes vs the Manhattan grid
(cf. sar8.org.br, r05.08.09 and lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/manhattan_upper_1920.jpg, r05.08.09)

Illustration D-17: A dual landscape of villas and high rises (2008)
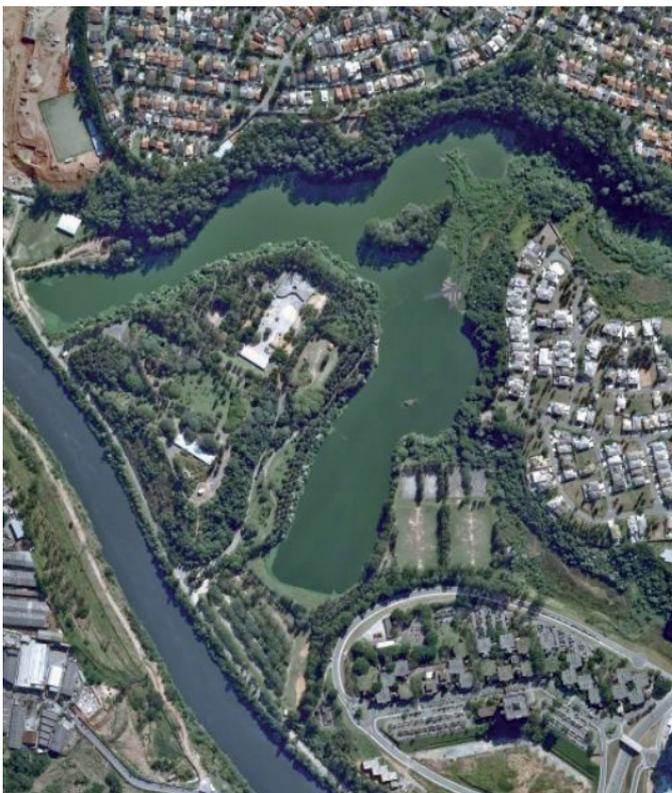
Illustration D-18: AlphaVille-Tamboré's planned superblock schemes
(various promotional mat. from 2009)

Illustration D-19: Secluded location of the Parque Ecológico Tietê (Google Earth, r10.10.09)
Illustration D-20: Example of a ‚portaria criteriosa' (Tambore.com.br, r18.11.09)

Conforme descrito anteriormente neste manual, a edícula pode ser construída sobre a faixa de recuo de fundo, desde que mantenha um recuo de 3,00m de seu beiral ao beiral da construção principal.

Os recuos laterais de 1,50m deverão ser respeitados.
Todo fundo de edícula deverá ser revestido e pintado e a edícula não poderá apoiar-se no muro de fechamento do loteamento.

3.00
Recuo entre edícula e edificação principal

A área de construção da edícula não poderá ser superior a 25% da área da construção principal.

ÁREA CONSTRUÍDA 25% DA ÁREA DA CONSTRUÇÃO PRINCIPAL

12. Restrições específicas às edificações

12.a. Taxa de ocupação

A área construída da edificação principal somada à área da construção da edícula não poderá ultrapassar a taxa de ocupação de 50%.

TAXA DE OCUPAÇÃO 50% DA ÁREA DO TERRENO

12.b. Área mínima construída

A área da construção principal e da edícula, somadas, não poderá ser inferior a 150m².

ÁREA MÍNIMA DE CONSTRUÇÃO 150m2

Illustration D-21: Examples from AlphaVille's guideline brochure illustrating ‚private' norms of building and design (Alphaville Urbanismo, PR material, 2007)

Illustration D-22: Samples of block structures (from right to left and top to bottom): Turn-key houses; individual middle class villas completed; luxury villas under construction, high-rise apartments in the nowhere; commercial centre; old commercial centre; block structures in the vicinity of AV; commercial and industrial park (based on Google Earth 2009)

Illustration D-23: Characteristic urban pattern with main spine in the centre (GoogleEarth, r02.10.09)

Illustration D-24: Characteristic housing typologies from various 'residencials', displaying a variaty of styles and increasing degrees of pre-fabrication (PR and own material, 2009)
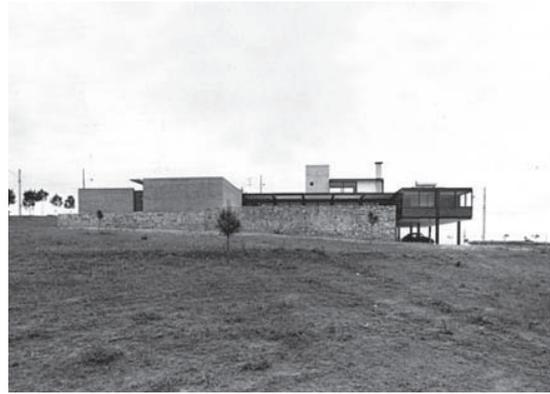
... D-24 cont.: More examples of architectural individualism between nostalgia and modernism (PR and own material, 2009, cf. table 36 in the main text)

praça   serviços   office-park   hípica   capela   ônibus

Plano de massas do boulevard

Master Plan
colaboração: Jaime Lerner Urbanismo

residencial unifamiliar
residencial multifamiliar
boulevard
polo empresarial
comércio e serviço
multifamiliar e comércio
cultura e lazer
turismo
institucional
parque estadual
área verde
interesse paisagístico
via boulevard
via cênica
via arterial
via coletora
via local
traçado proposto

■ Illustration D-25: Map of Tamboré (cf. www.tambore.com.br, r02.10.09)

D-25b: Baroquish entrance ensemble of Tamboré 11 (cf. www.tambore.com.br, r02.10.09)

■ D-25c: Jose Moralez' and Jamie Lerner's initial design of Tamboré's main
axis as an urban boulevard (cf. placedesign.com.br, r28.11.09)

Illustration D-26: AlphaVille's skateboarding culture
(cf. youtube.com/watch?v=DSdb64Vwvt4&feature=related, r12.12.09)
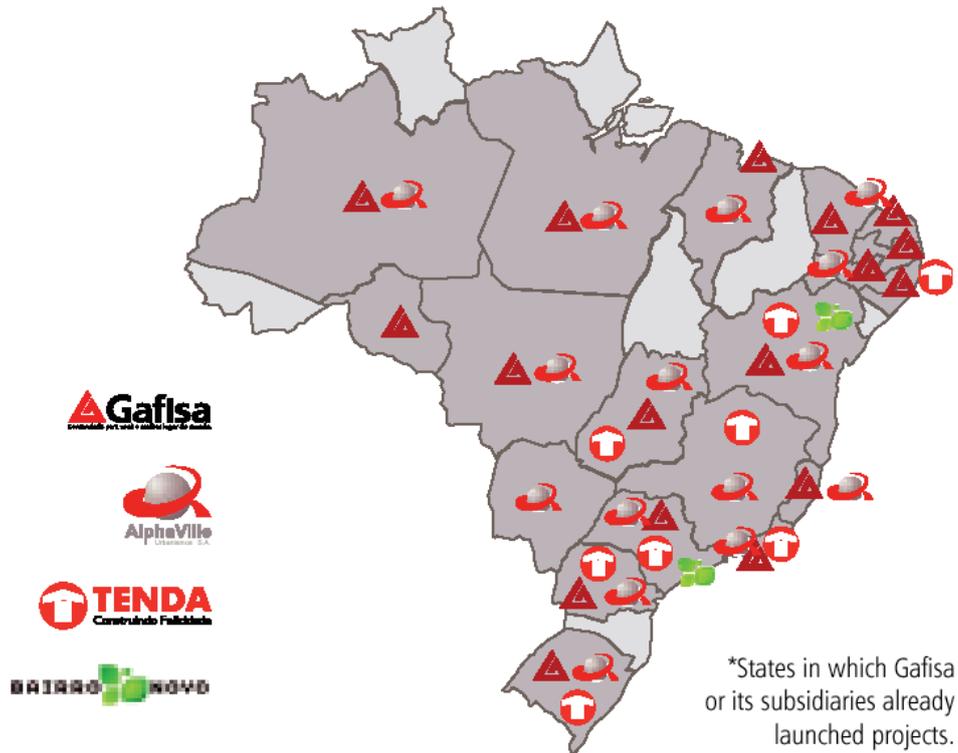
 Illustration D-27: Gafisa's subsidiaries (gafisa.com.br/, r21.05.2009)

 Illustration D-28: Regional diversification (gafisa.com.br/, r21.05.2009)

Competitive Strenghts

Illustration D-29: Diagram of Gafisa's ‚competitive strengths' (gafisa.com.br/, r21.05.2009)

Illustration D-30: Private security as an important strategic element (sia.org.br, r22.05.09)
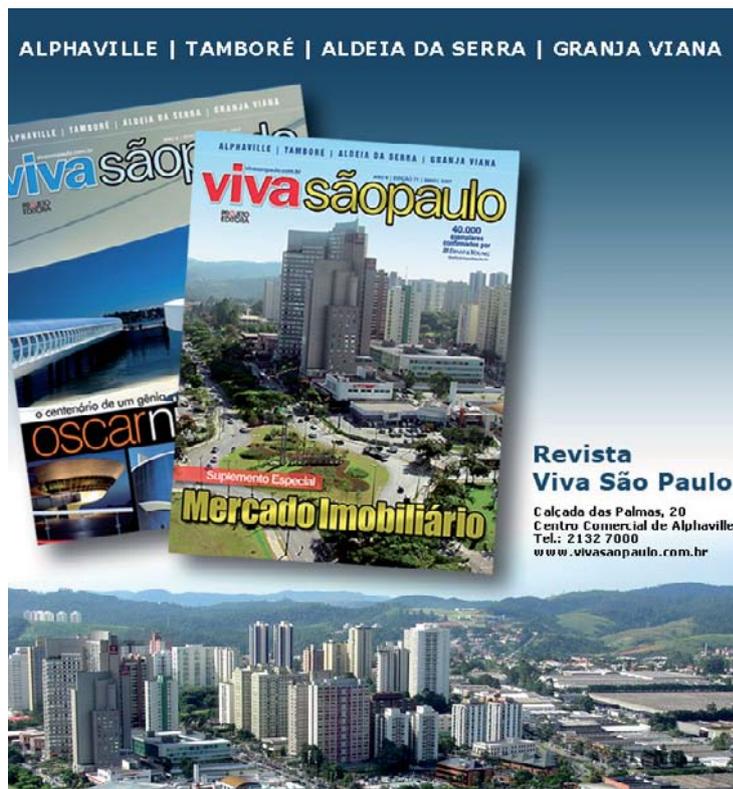
Illustration D-31: Built logo (cf. Darke 2005, at vertigomagazine.co.uk/articles/pdf/Alphaville.pdf, r02.09.09)

Illustration D-32: The Gênesis project as an example of eco-lifestyle-theming
(projetogenesis.com.br, r02.11.09)

Illustration D-33: Lifestyle journal as PR media (Revista Viva São Paulo,
(cf. alphaville.com.br,, r03.12.09)

Illustration D-34: Stock quote GFA (Cf. Yahoo Finance, r02.12.09)

Illustration D-35: ‚Between the walls', travelling the spine (2007)

En route on the Castello Branco Hihgway (2007)

E. Synopsis

	Navi Mumbai	Bumi Serpong Damai	AlphaVille-Tamboré
Context	**STRUGGLES OF PERIPHERAL MODERNISATION** between autonomy and control		
Structure	**IDEALISTIC CLUSTER-CITIES** between public and private		
People	**DAWN OF THE MODERN CONSUMER** between progress and tradition		
Developers	**CORPORATE URBANISM** (process oriented, market driven and strategic) between specialisation and diversification		
Design	**IMAGINEERING** between the abstract and the concrete		
Finance	**LANDSCAPES OF OPPORTUNITY – THIN WALLED** between stability and mobility		
Control	**ENCLAVIC ELITE REGIMES** between formality and informality		
Summary	**NEO TOWNS** and corporate cities		

Illustration E-1: Structural diagram of chapters

USA
Brazil
Indonesia
India

Urbanisation Rate
GDP/capita/ US$
Value Added by Services
Rise of middle classes
Human Development: HDI
Corruption: CPI
Pop. < 2US$/day
GINI (Income)
< 5 mortality rate/1000
Car ownership/1000

Mumbai
Jakarta
São Paulo
Los Angeles

Popmetro/Popcountry
MetGDP/CountryGDP
MetGDP/CountryGDP/pc
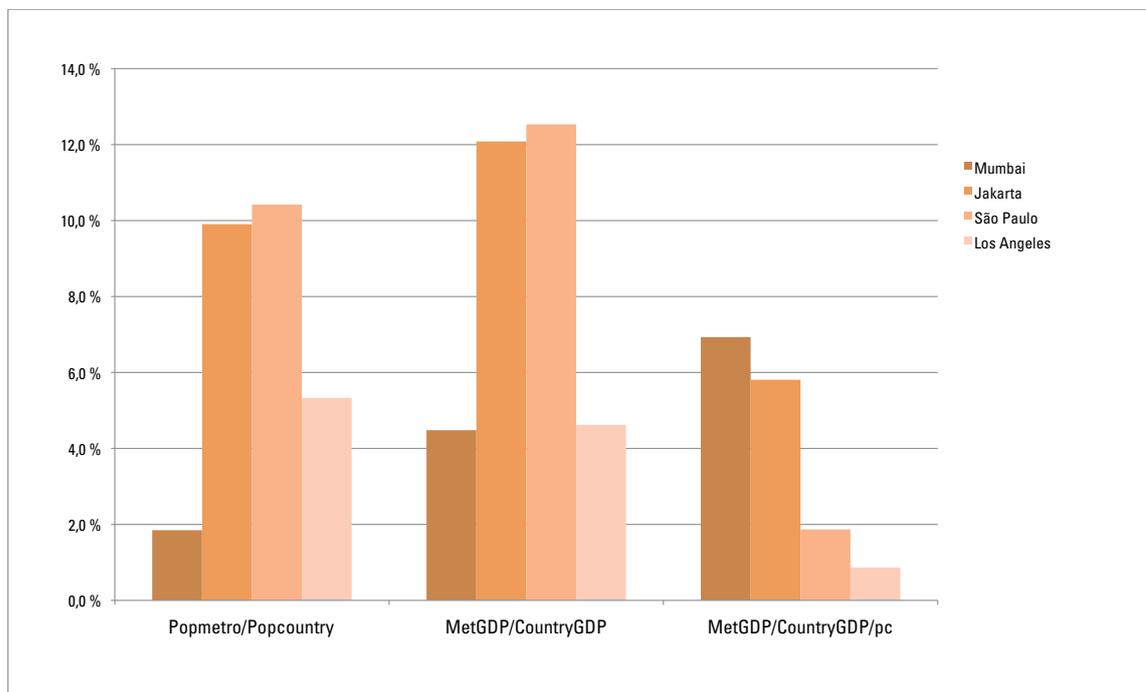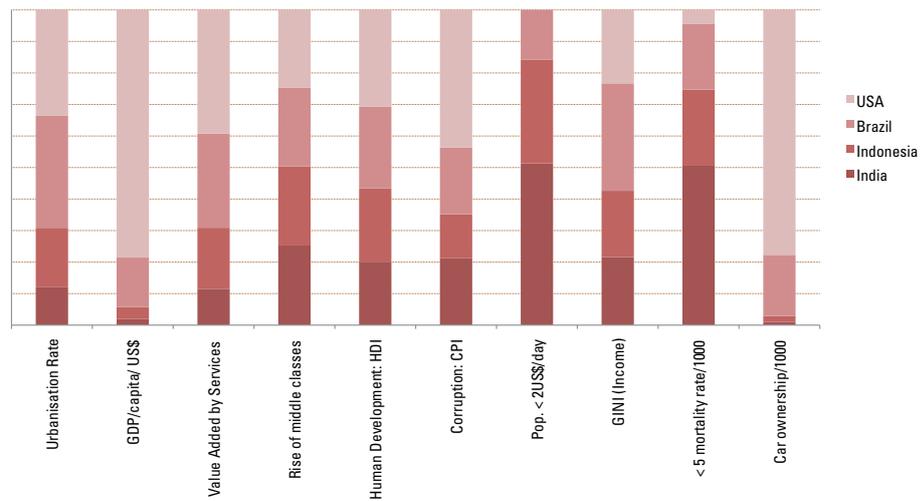
Illustration E-2: Comparing the three countries and the US (generated from A-14)

Illustration E-3: Economic and demographic significance of the three regions and Los Angeles (generated from A-14)
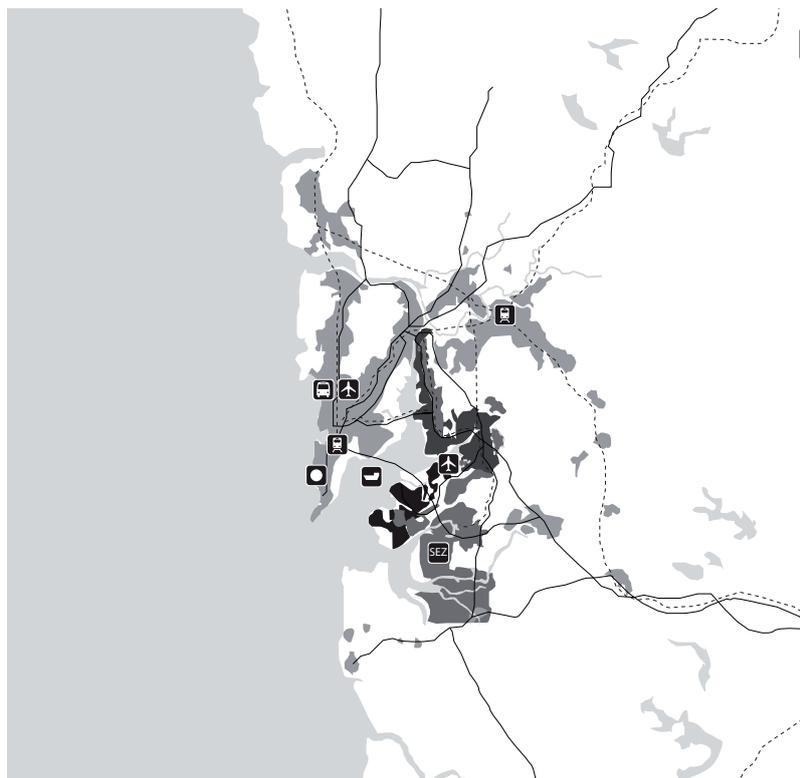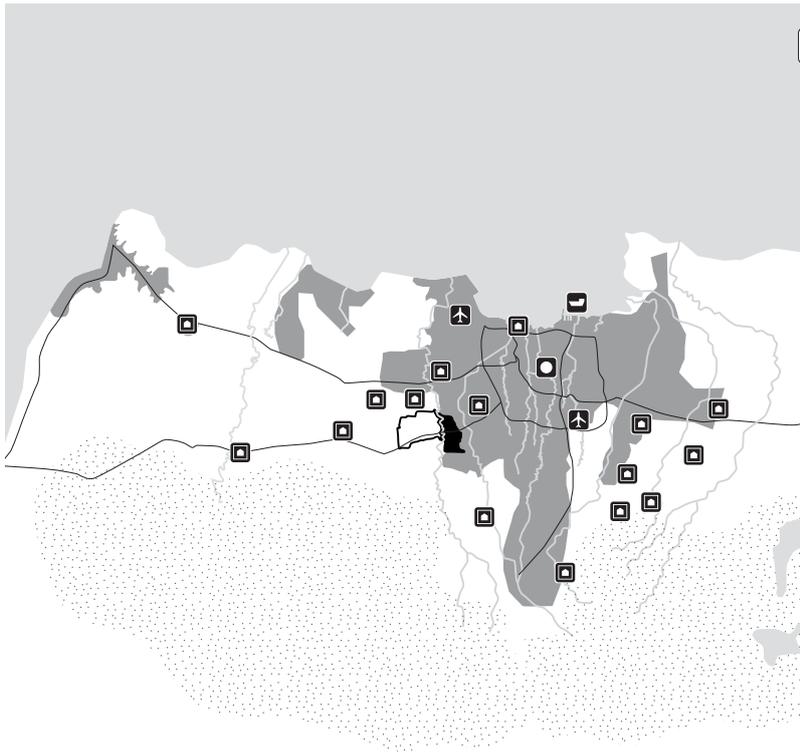
Illustration E-4: Maps comparing the regional context of Jakarta, Mumbai and São Paulo (same scale)
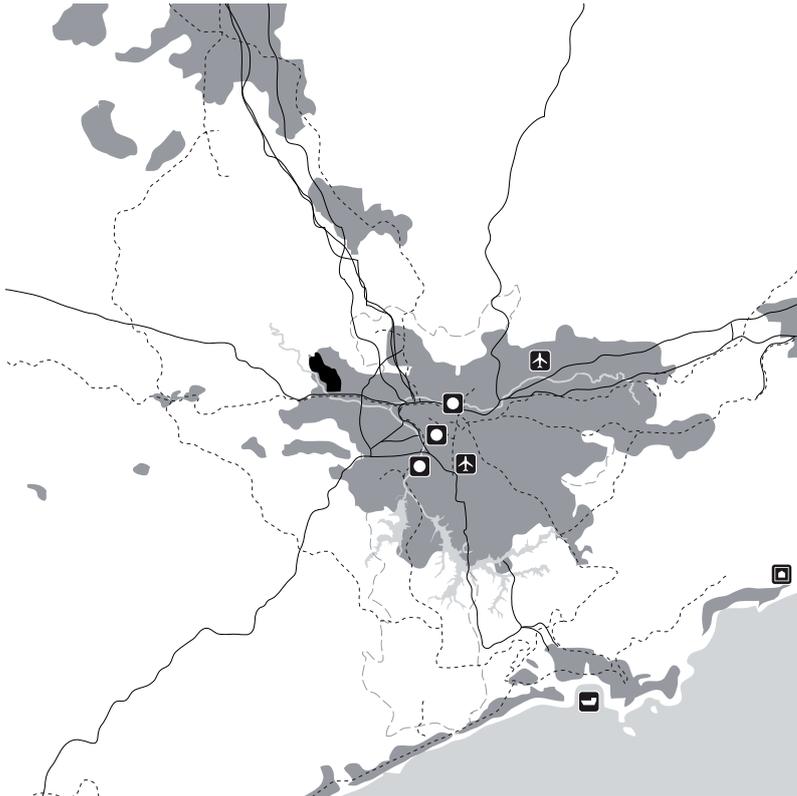
Illustration E-5: Hustle and bustle in the peripheries of Jakarta, 2x Mumbai and São Paulo

Illustration E-6: Three pictures at neighbourhood level:
T.: BSD-De Latinos
M.: Navi Mumbai-Seawoods
B.: AlphaVille-Tamboré 4 (2007-2009)
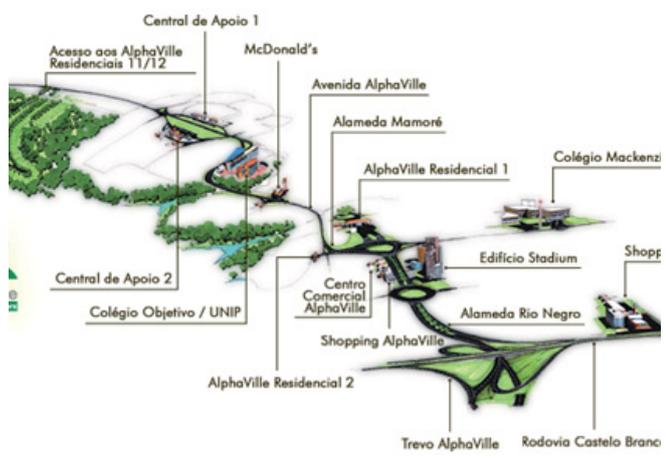
Illustration E-7: Access maps:
T.: Jakarta-BSD (bsdcity.com, r03.01.08)
M.: Navi Mumbai, Sewri Nhava Sheva Sea Link (Mumbai Mirror, May 21 2008)
B.: AlphaVille-Tamboré, Integration of central spine (alhaville.com.br, r02.08.09)

Chart 1 (top): Share of Metropopulation / Share of Metroecomy

- Navi Mumbai
- Bumi Serpong Damai
- AlphaVille-Tamboré

Legend:
- Share of Metropopulation
- Share of Metroecomy

Chart 2 (middle): People/ha

- Navi Mumbai
- Bumi Serpong Damai
- AlphaVille-Tamboré

Legend:
- People/ha

Chart 3 (bottom): Ratio of residents and jobs

- Navi Mumbai
- Bumi Serpong Damai
- AlphaVille-Tamboré

Legend:
- Jobs
- Existing Residents
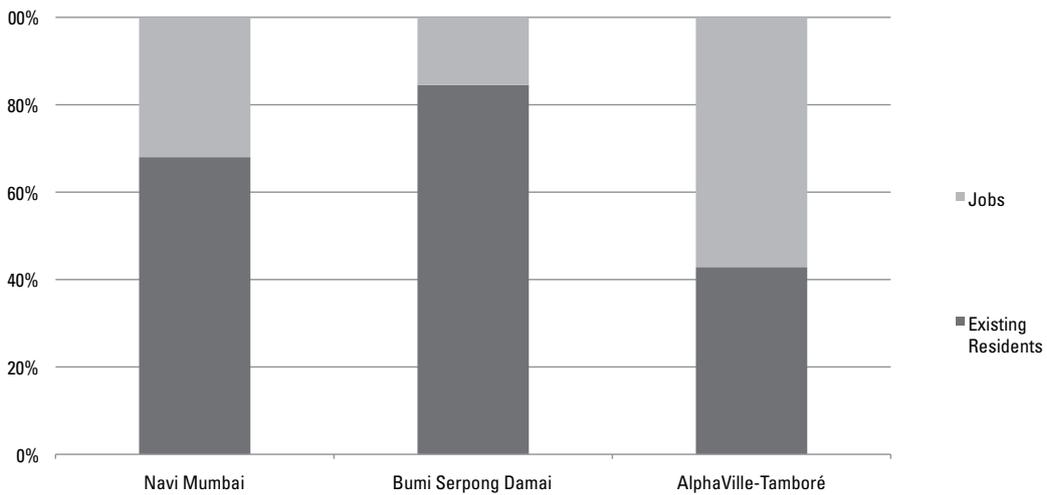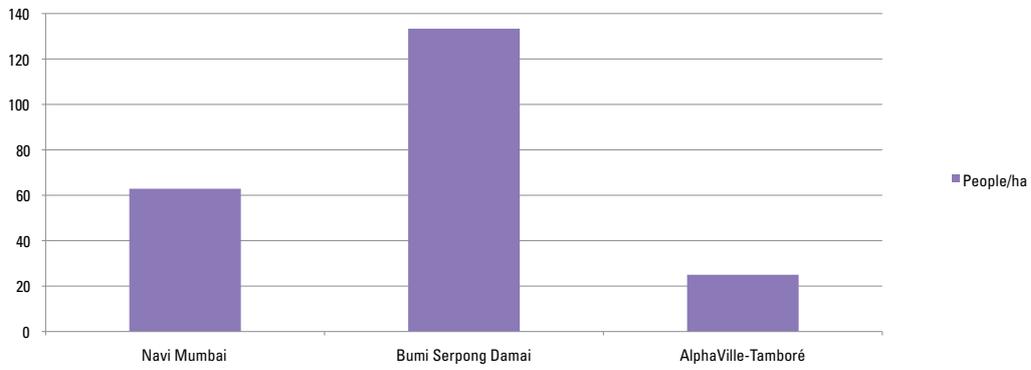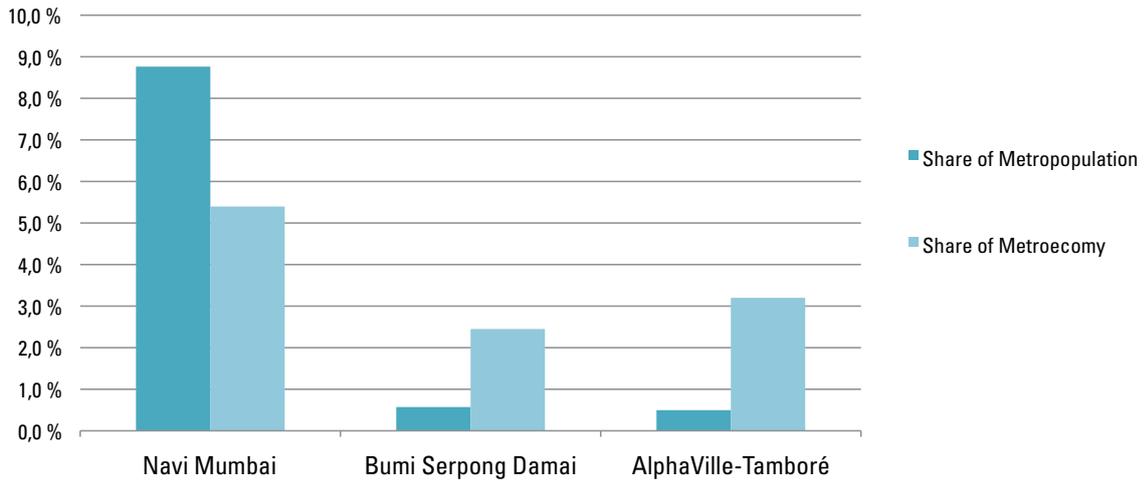
Illustration E-8: Demographic and economic relevance at metro level
Illustration E-9: Densities

Illustration E-10: Ratio of residents and jobs
(all generated from A-15)
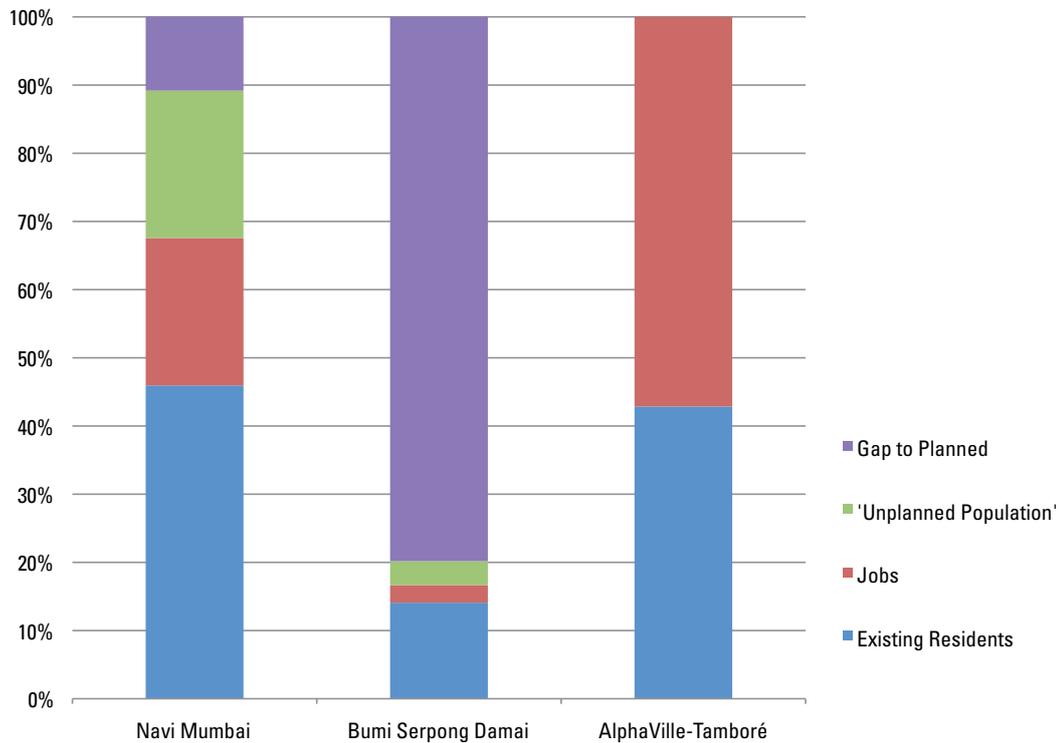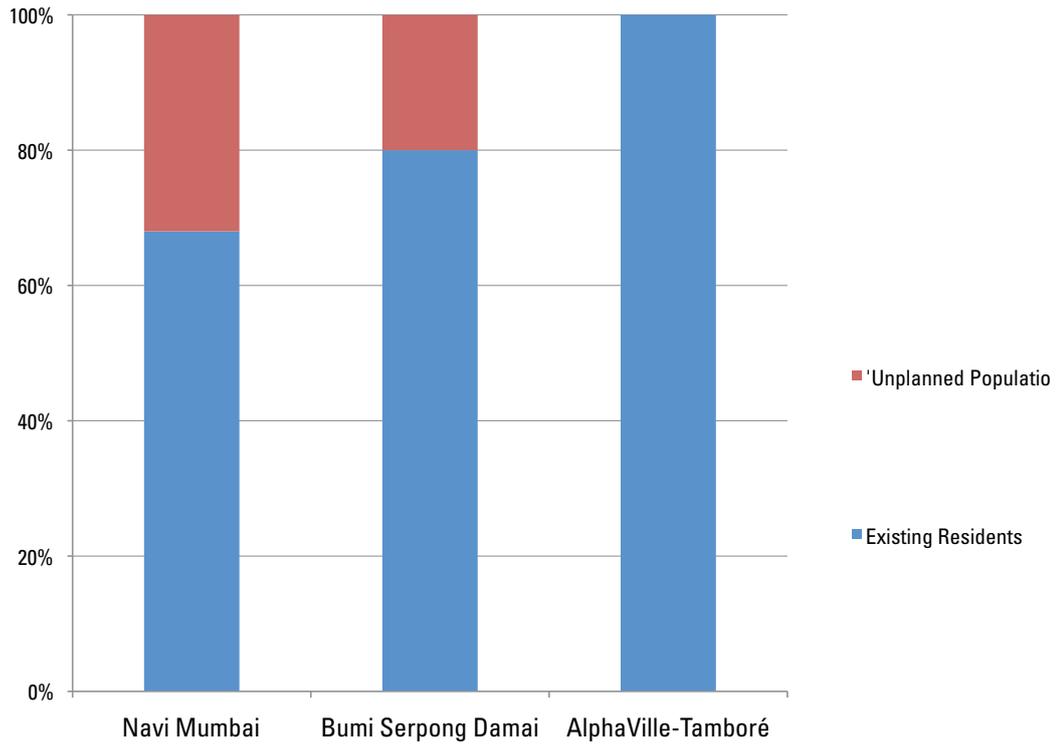
Illustration E-11: Relation of planned versus ‚unplanned' population

Illustration E-12: Major indicators compared
(all generated from A-15)

Illustration E-13: Mishmash of surrounding urban fabric and on-site villages:
TL.: BSD, TR.: NM, M.: AV (all based on GoogleEarth, r01.11.09)

Illustration E-14: Neighbourhood level maps BSD: The Green (www.v2i.com.au/, r03.12.09)
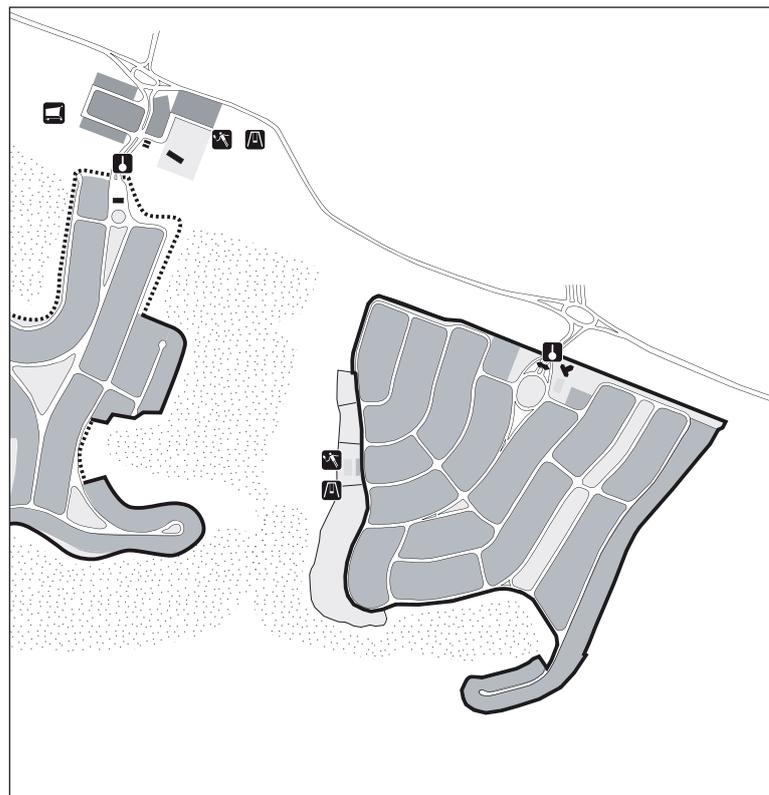
E-14b: Navi Mumbai's Seawoods Estates (Google Earth, r30.10.09)

E-14c: AlphaVille's Residential 12 (own drawing based on Google Earth 07.2007)

Illustration E-15: Major trends pictured: cluster-enclaves, supermonuments, iconisation, indigenous typologies, turnkey-buildings, life-style theming...

From right to left, top to bottom: Themed railway station in NM; Mall & entertainment complex in AV; 'Supermonument' in Citra Raya; Superblock development in AlphaVille, Rule-cased design in AlphaVille; BSD's indigeneous Shophouses, AlphaVille-Tamboré's 'binary' landscape; Cidco headquesrter planned as a Supermonument

Cont. from right to left, top to bottom:
Rationalised efficiency from BSD; Utsaw Chowk monument NM; Historicist theme Villa in BSD; Abstract monument of The Green, BSD; Planned Videolar superblock in AlphaVille; Genêsis as an life-style eco-gated community in AV; Themed public space in Kota Wisata (Jakarta); Iconic design of Spaghetti housing in Khargar NM

(images based on PR material of the respective developers 2006-2009)

16 Townmagnets in
Navi Mumbai

4 Townmagnets in
BSD

6 Townmagnets in
AV-Tamboré
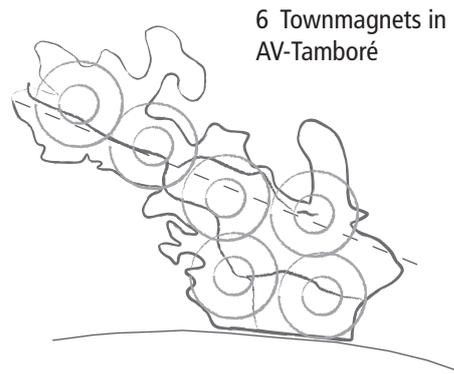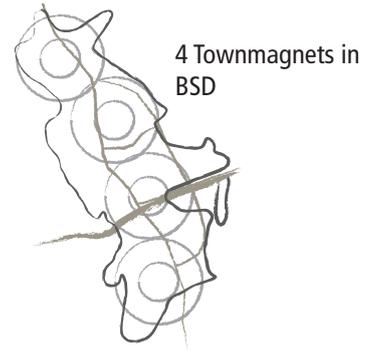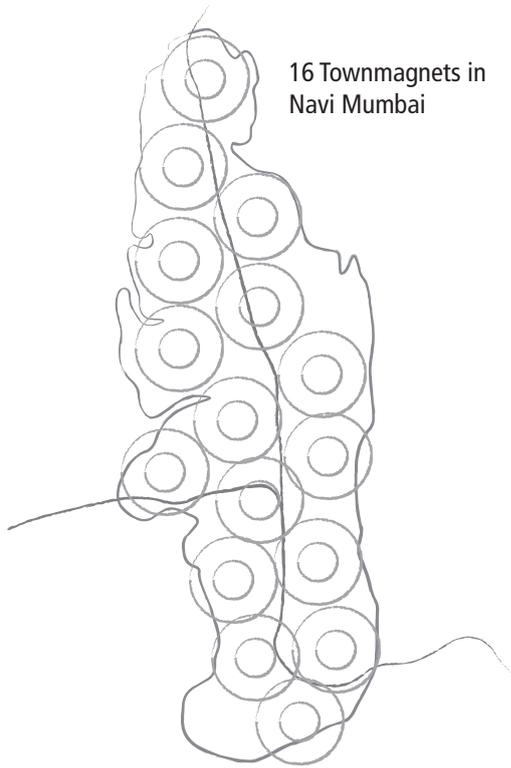
Illustration E-16: Completed project size compared to Howard's Town-Country Magnet (2009)

Illustration E-17: Up-to-date low income projects. L: Khargar (2007), R: BSD (bsdcity.com, r15.09.09)
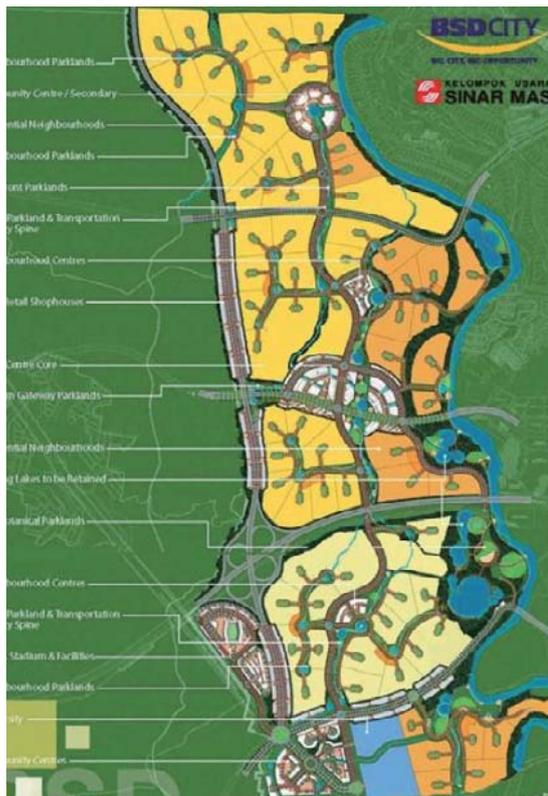
Illustration E-18: Nested structural logic of neighbourhoods compared to Manhattan
TL.: BSD Phase II (bsdcity.com, r12.11.09), TR.: Hiranandani Panvel (hirco.com, r21.10.09)

BL: AlphaVille (Section from sar8.org.br, r05.08.09); MR.: Grapes (www.flabbynot.com/?attachment_id=55, r11.12.09); BR.: Manhattan (lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/manhattan_upper_1920.jpg, r05.08.09)

'THE STAKE HOLDERS'

| DEVELOPERS | THE PUBLIC SECTOR | LENDERS AND LEVERAGE |

CONSULTANTS TYPICALLY HIRED BY DEVELOPER

-URBAN PLANNERS -MARKET ANALYSIS -ARCHITECT -ENGINEER -LAND PLANNER

-LANDSCAPE ARCHITECT -CONTRACTORS -ENVIRONMENTAL CONSULTANT

-TRANSPORTATION CONSULTANTS -APPRAISER -ADVOCATE -ACCOUNTANTS

-REAL ESTATE BROKERS -LEASING AGENTS -MARKETING AND PUBLIC RELATIONS
-PROPERTY MANAGERS

Bumi-Serpong Damai

AlphaVille-Tamboré

Navi Mumbai

Illustration E-19: Main stakeholders of the contemporary urban development
(Masters thesis from JNTU Hyderabad, unpublished)

Illustration E-20: Placement of NM, BSD and AV in the triangular model of civic-corporate-private