

community pattern they replaced, nor did they respond to the social relationships that gave meaning to community existence. Zoning legislation had the effect of separating functions that had often been integrated. Discrete districts segregated living space from working space. Isolated 'superblocks' formed by urban-renewal plans closed off historic streets, drastically affecting the scale of the city. Abstract notions of compatible uses created urban areas that could no longer accommodate physical or social diversity, and that therefore were no longer truly urban. Both zoning and urban renewal substituted functional for spatial order and failed to recognize the importance of spatial order to social function.

Privatization of public space

The sanctity of private enterprise has also contributed significantly to lost space in our urban centers. While the economic health of a city strengthens its downtown, it also creates a heavy demand for floor space in the center, thereby pushing toward the vertical city. A byproduct has been the appropriation of public space for private expression. Each site is seen as a place for 'image' buildings as a potential corporate flagship. The very idea of modestly fitting into the collective city is antithetical to corporate aspirations and the chest-beating individualism of the American way.

We have transformed the city of collective spaces into a city of private icons. Regulations intended to define the broader urban vocabulary and to govern individual projects are regularly waived if they do not suit the whims of the particular developer. The continuities of streets are broken by ill-placed buildings, height ordinances are frequently violated, and varied materials and facade styles compete stridently for attention. The city becomes a showplace for the private ego at the expense of the public realm.

In cities of the past, the designs for streets, squares, parks, and other spaces in the public realm were integrated with the design of individual buildings. 'Standards for the integration of architecture and urban spaces were set by the patrons and builders of the Renaissance—that model society architects should take as their most important precedent.'⁴ But in the modern city, each element is the responsibility of a different public or private organization, and the unity of the total environment is lost. Various development and urban-renewal projects are, by and large, put together separately, without an overriding plan for public space. The result is a patchwork quilt of private buildings and privately

appropriated spaces, usually severed from an historical context.

As government has become more departmentalized and private interests more segregated from public, the feeling that there is a framework of common concern has been lost. Competition between a fragmented system of government decision making, bureaucratic regulations, community participation, and the sacred cow of private money, together with a mayoral scramble for limited federal tax dollars, has made a shambles of the orderly interrelationship of a city's buildings, open spaces, and circulation. Further, the institutional neglect of the public realm is a monumental problem both because of minimal investment in maintaining public space and a general lack of interest in controlling the physical form and appearance of the city. In any redesign of urban space the conflict between public good and private gain must be resolved.

Changing land use

The final major cause of lost space has been the pervasive change in land use in most American cities over the past two decades. The relocation of industry, obsolete transportation facilities, abandoned military properties and vacated commercial or residential buildings have created vast areas of wasted or underused space within the downtown core of many cities. These sites offer enormous potential for reclamation as mixed-use areas, especially since the exodus from the inner city seems to be reversing. The obsolete shipping or rail yard frequently occupies a desirable waterfront site. The abandoned warehouse, factory, or wholesale outlet may have attractions as centrally located, architecturally interesting, and relatively inexpensive housing. Vacant land can be temporarily used for productive urban gardens, commercial horticulture, or neighborhood playgrounds. For the developer, advantages in reusing such sites are obvious; however, the contribution that well-conceived spatial changes might make to the urban fabric of the entire city offers social advantages that go far beyond those of economic gain.

Redesigning lost space

The five factors we have discussed—the highway, the Modern Movement in architecture, urban renewal and zoning, competition for image on the part of private enterprise, and changing patterns of land