

Dispersion. Sprawl and città diffusa



Le Corbusier, a housing dream for 2 millions can threaten the dream

American way of dispersion, or "sprawl"

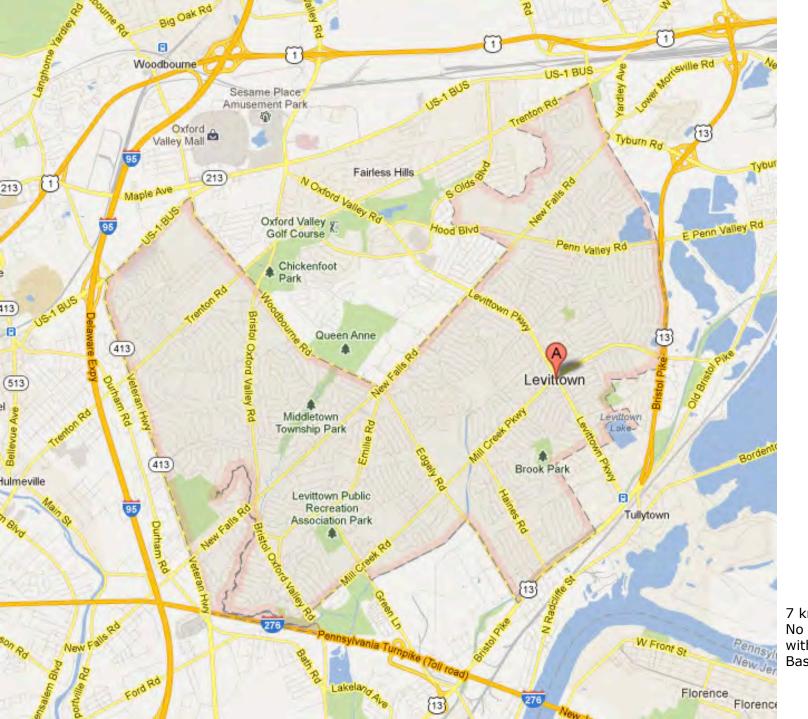


Levittown, PA Standardization to produce a dream for the mass





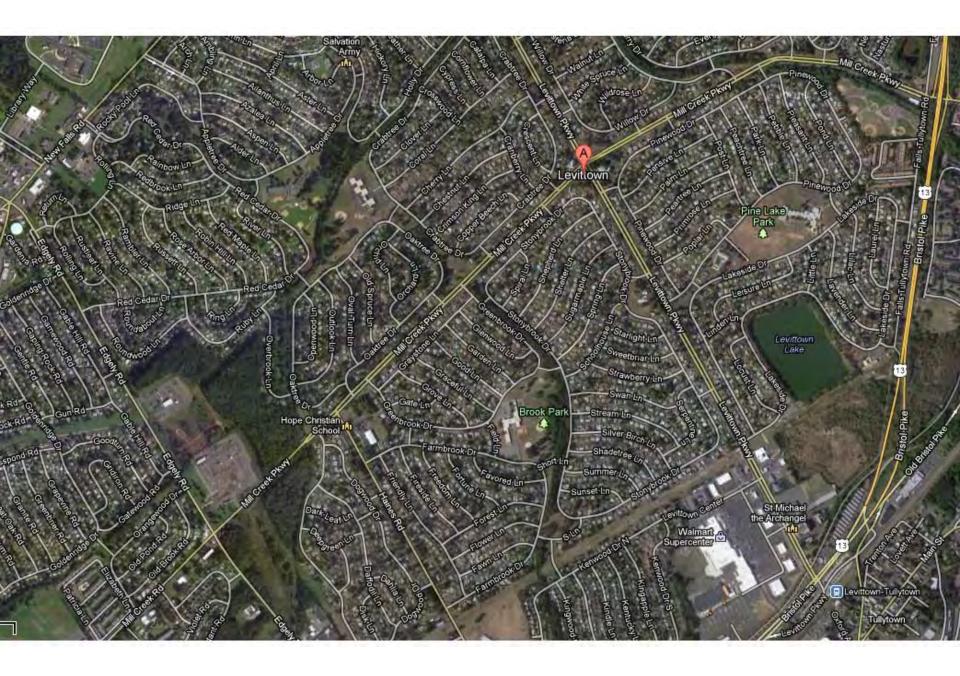
Levittown, PA – **standardized MASS PRODUCTION** the plan, unveiled in July **1951**, went far beyond providing homes for steelworkers. **17,311 houses** between Routes 1 and 13. They would be built cheaply, and quickly. 1 plot: 21 m x 30 m (630 mq)



7 km x 7 km No proximity with existing centers; Basic unit: master block



Levittown, PA Shopping mall





"The Congress declares that the general welfare and security of the Nation and the health and living standards of its people require [...] the realization as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family" Housing Act, 1949

"to **disperse** our factories, our stores, our people; in short to create a revolution in living habits" Federal-Aid Highway Act, 1956

In the 40s the federal government was in the process of developing and implementing a set of policies that would determine American urban development for decades



Lakewood, CA - D.J. Waldie, Holy Land, a suburban memoir, 1996 / "an instant city" of mass-produced working-class houses started in 1953 and in 1960 had already 67.000 inhabitants



This is in no way an informal phenomenon, even though there is no land use planning at a wide scale

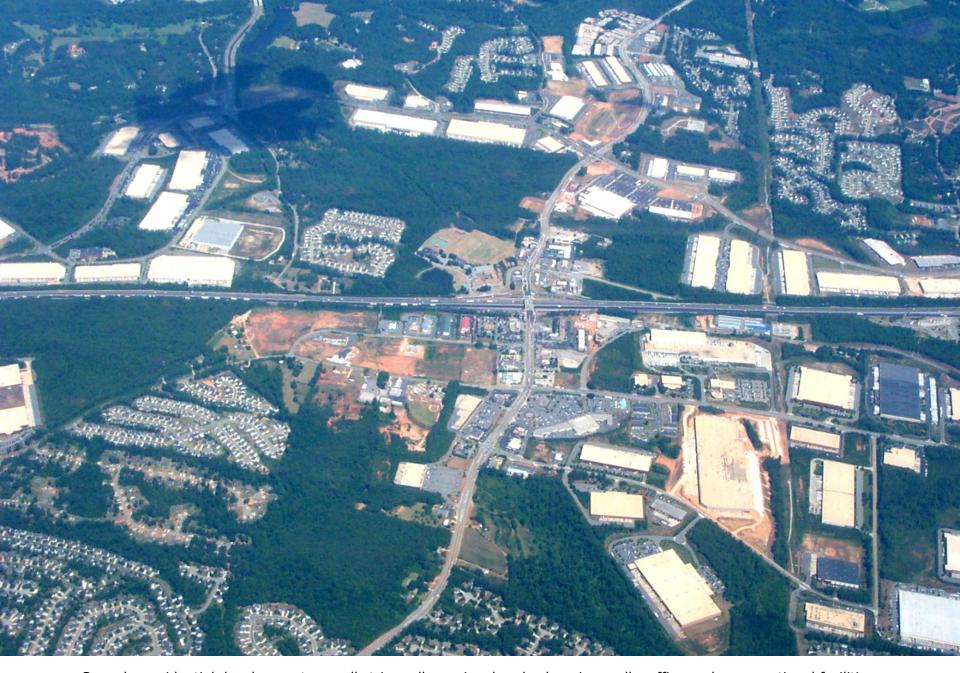
Inhabitants have no previous relation to the site of the settlement.











Sprawl – residential developments, small strip malls, regional scale shopping malls, office parks, recreational facilities city planning tradition in USA is very weak, i.e. consensus on planning, which means to oblige people to follow prescriptions in building on their property, is not popular





the term means:

Sprawl = **description**; the current pattern of growth (city expansion processes, its consequences, models of settlement, reasons why the model is applied)

Sprawl = **evaluation**; sharp negative meaning of what is low density, leapfrog, fragmented and irregularly arranged

Sprawl = **consequences** of development negative cultural, economic, environmental and social consequences



anti-urban ideology: cities are un-American

T. Jefferson: "I view great cities as pestilential to the morals, the health, and the liberties of man."

F.D. Roosevelt: rural land is the "backbone of our nation's efficiency."

Brendan: "I'm not suburban, I'm rural."

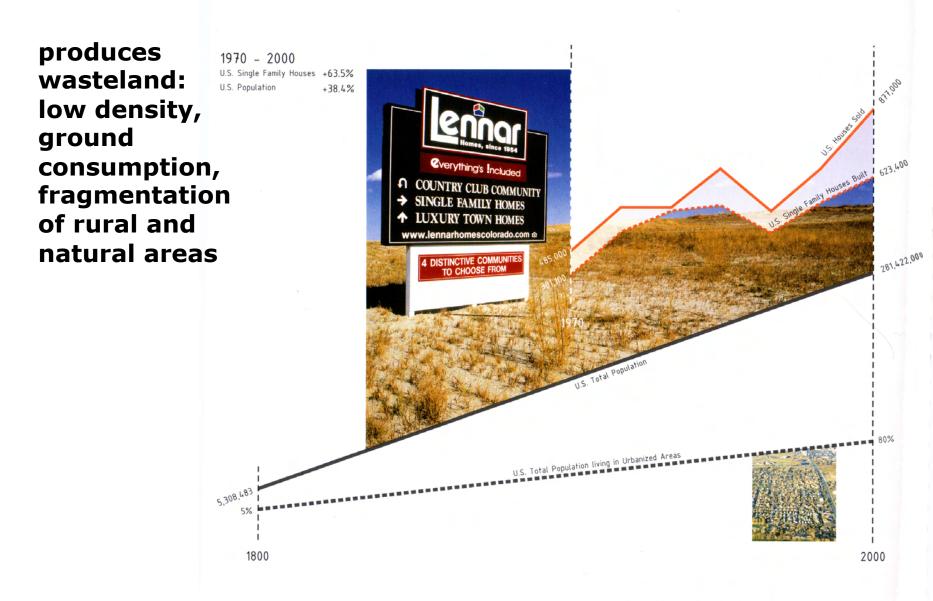
influences behaviour, establishes homogeneous social identity, distroys social asset



Sprawl is a way of life as much as a form of urbanism, it's a mode of socialization (community without propinquity, Melvin Webber, 1963), it's a consumer culture (house as a commodity)

From a popular novel by John Keats, The crack in the picture window, 1956

Woman-wife: dull-witted naging slob (ottusa zoticona e brontolona)
Man-husband: woman-bossed, inadequate, money terrified neuter



2—Landscape Urbanization in the U.S.

Over the past century America's urbanized environments have evolved from dense, vertical, and architecturally dominated places to the horizontal opposite. Single family homes built from 1970 to 2000 grew nearly 64 percent, while population only increased by 38 percent.

4 UNITS PER ACRE





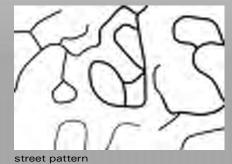
context



neighborhood



plan



on our parton



Kansas City, MO 4.7 units / acre



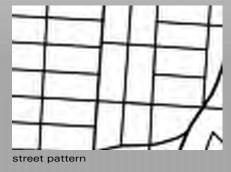
context



neighborhood



plan



Boulder, CO 4.7 units / acre



context



neighborhood



plan

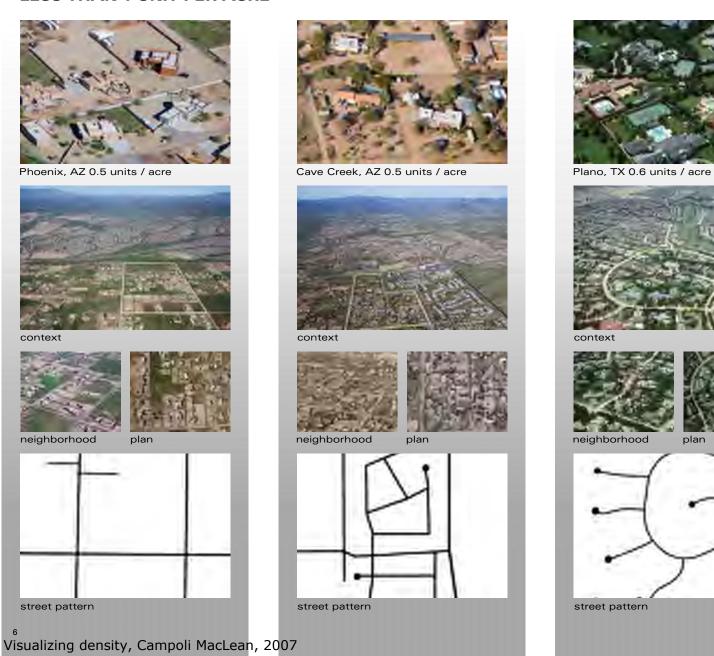


street pattern

28

Visualizing density, Campoli MacLean, 2007

LESS THAN 1 UNIT PER ACRE

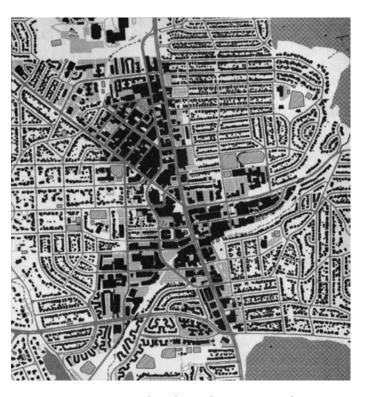


plan

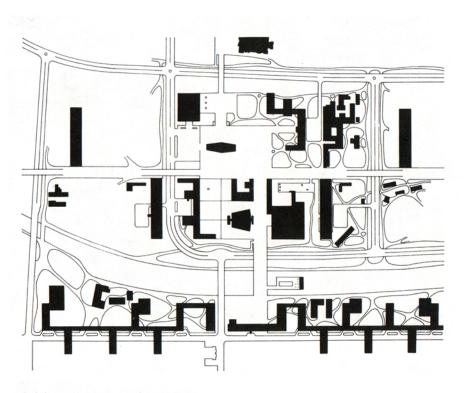
detachment, separation, distance, specialization of uses

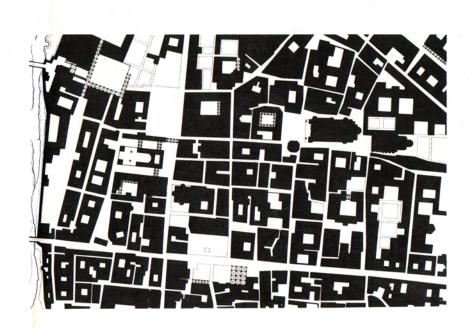


Dispersed suburban business district Rock Spring, Maryland



Compact suburban business district Bethesda, Maryland





Le Corbusier: project for Saint-Dié, figure-ground plan

l'arma, figure-ground plan



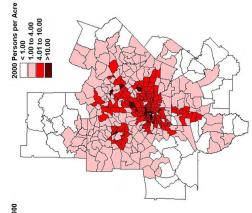
destroys public spaces or common ground



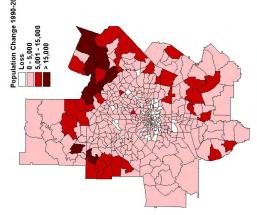


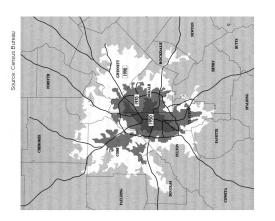
Deserted Housing Detroit, Michigan

Ref #: LS_7310_06



Post-metropolitan





Atlanta metropolitan region

"...the real city at the end of the 20th century could be found there... [...] Atlanta [...] reveals some of the most critical shifts in architecture/urbanism of the past 15 years, the most important being the shift from center to periphery and beyond. No city illustrates this shift, its reason and its potentials better than Atlanta. In fact Atlanta shifted so quickly and so completely that the center/edge opposition is no longer the point. There is no center, therefore no periphery. Atlanta is now a centerless city or a city with a potentially infinite number of centers. In that way Atlanta is like LA, but LA is always urban, Atlanta sometimes posturban."

MODEL OF HIGH ORDER METROPOLITAN **COMMERCIAL CORRIDORS AND CLUSTERS** NEW TOWN RETAIL STRIP CORRIDOR HIGH TECHNOLOGY CORRIDOR OLD TOWN CENTER DOWNTOWN SUBURBAN FREEWAY CORRIDOR DOWNTOWN DOWNTOWN HIGH TECHNOLOGY CORRIDOR DOWNTOWN RETAIL STRIP CORRIDOR AIRPORT SPECIALTY CENTER OUTER BELTWAY

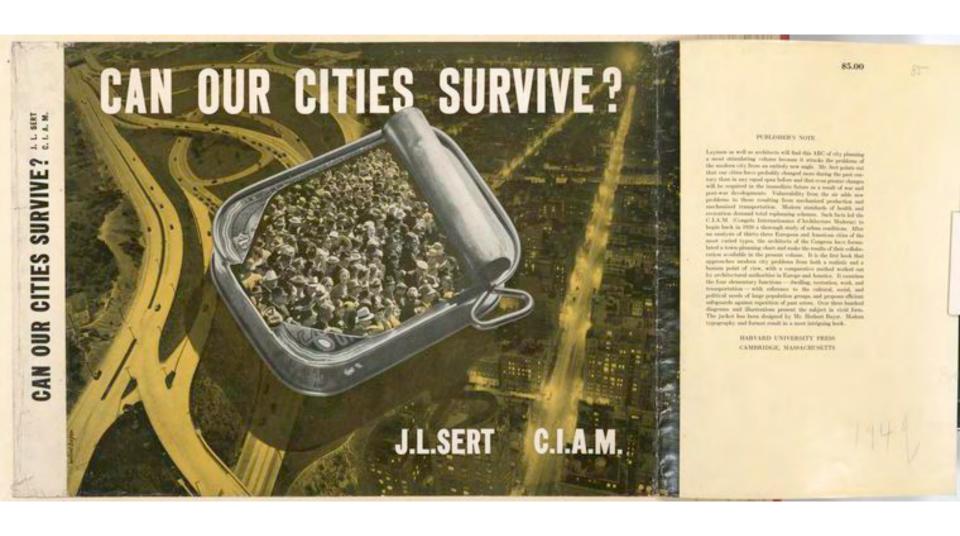
Several types of commercial clusters and corridors provide settings for office, retail, and hotel activity in the polycentric metropolis.

Atlanta edge city: Buckhead Lenox









(Should) our cities survive? an ABC of urban problems, their analysis, their solutions; based on the proposals formulated by the C.I.A.M., International Congresses for Modern Architecture, published **1942** by Harvard University Press bad distribution of functions and **low density large scale decentralisation** (not "sprawl" yet) – such as interminable garden cities, advanced process of civic disintegration, laissez faire strategies

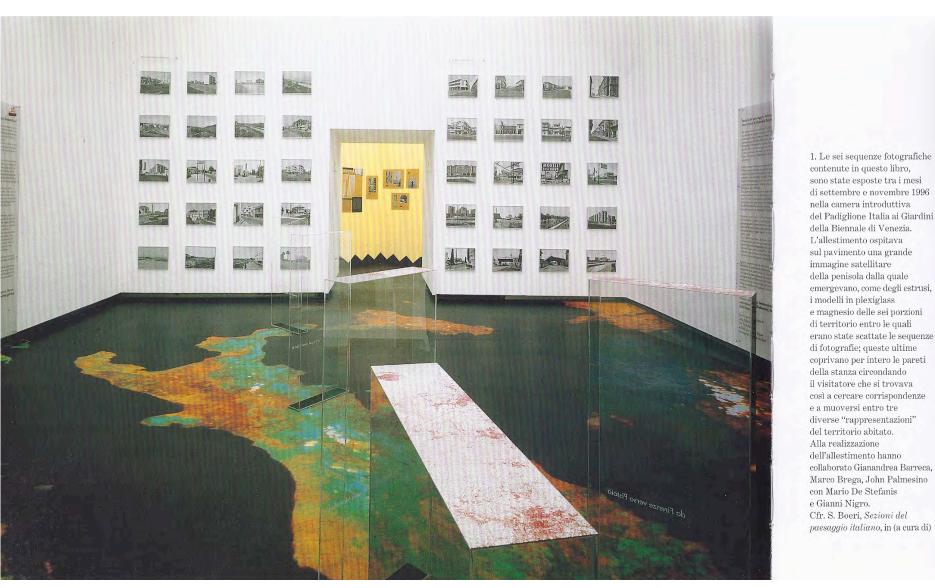
"it is at its best, one of the major **successes** of the American way of life, where it is allowed to exist on its own." LA has **no** density, **no** recognizability of distinct parts, **no** pedestrian dimension, but still offers everything a metropolis can offer.

"suburbia has responded to the changing character of families with more flexibility than critics of the suburbs want to admit. The new city is a city "à la carte", families create their own city out of the destination they can reach."

"a multitude of uniform, unidentifiable houses, lined up inflexibly, at uniform distances, on uniform roads, in a treeless communal waste, inhabited by people of the **same** class, the **same** income, the **same** age group, witnessing the **same** television performances, eating the **same** tasteless pre-fabricated foods, from the **same** freezers, conforming in every outward and inward respect [...]. Thus the ultimate effect of the suburban escape in our time is, ironically, a low-grade uniform environment from which escape is impossible. [...] The end product is an encapsulated life, spent more and more either in a motor car or within the cabin of darkness before a television set."

- mass production (large allotments)
- standardization of housing types and building materials
- national government official support (via mortgages)
- no pre-existing system of urban centers as urban structure
- no previous relation of newcomers with the land
- anti-urban ideology as cultural tradition

Italian (not only...) way of dispersion, or *città diffusa*



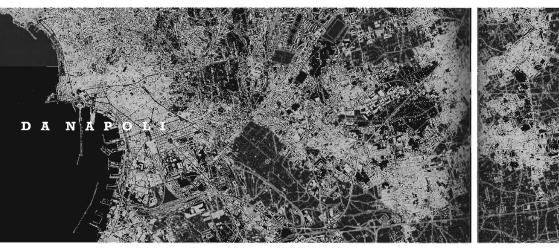
Sezioni del paesaggio italiano, 1996 Biennale di architettura di Venezia, Padiglione Italia, Boeri e Basilico 6 sections 50 km by 12 km, ideal-typical situations of the new Italian urban condition represented by synthetic images, chosen because they have similar characteristics: the historical traditional sequence of urban spaces and order has disappeared

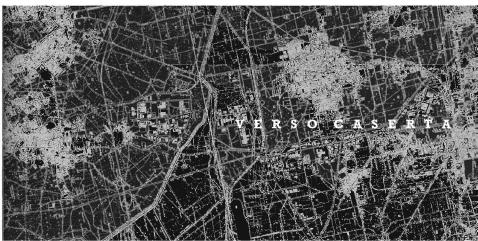
























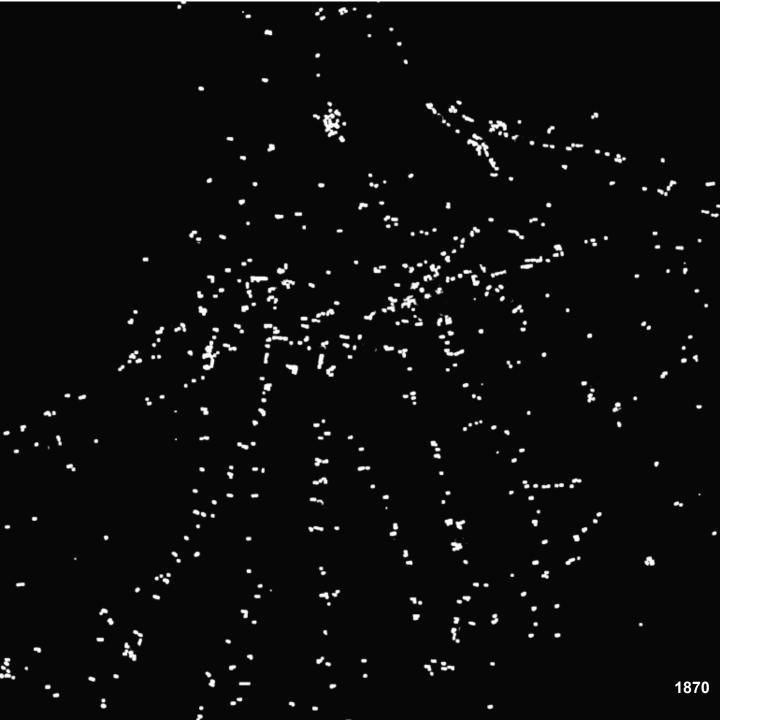


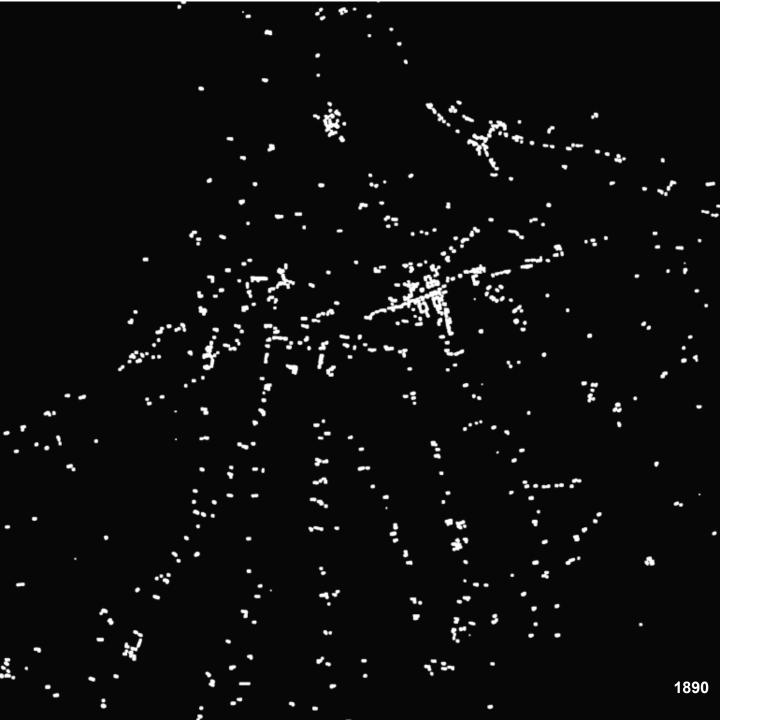


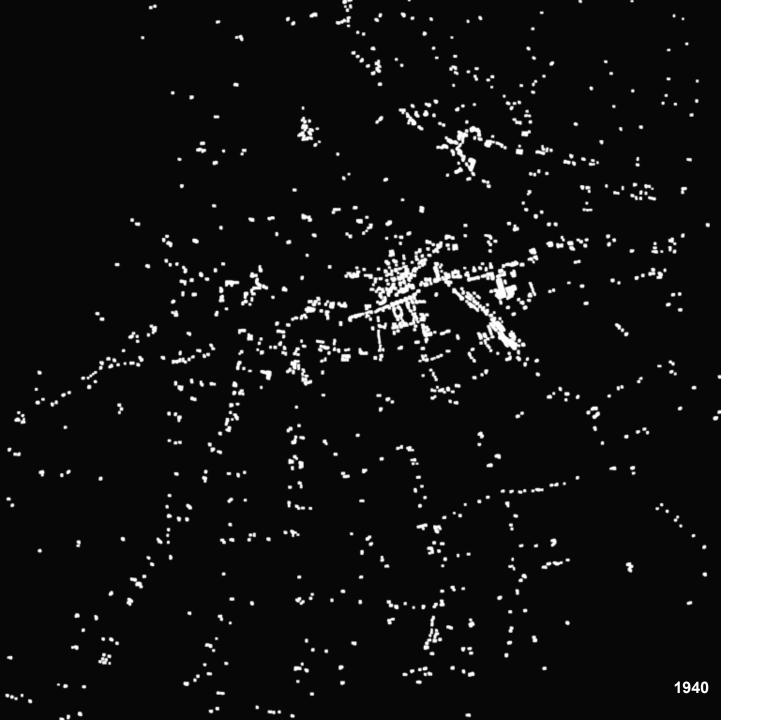


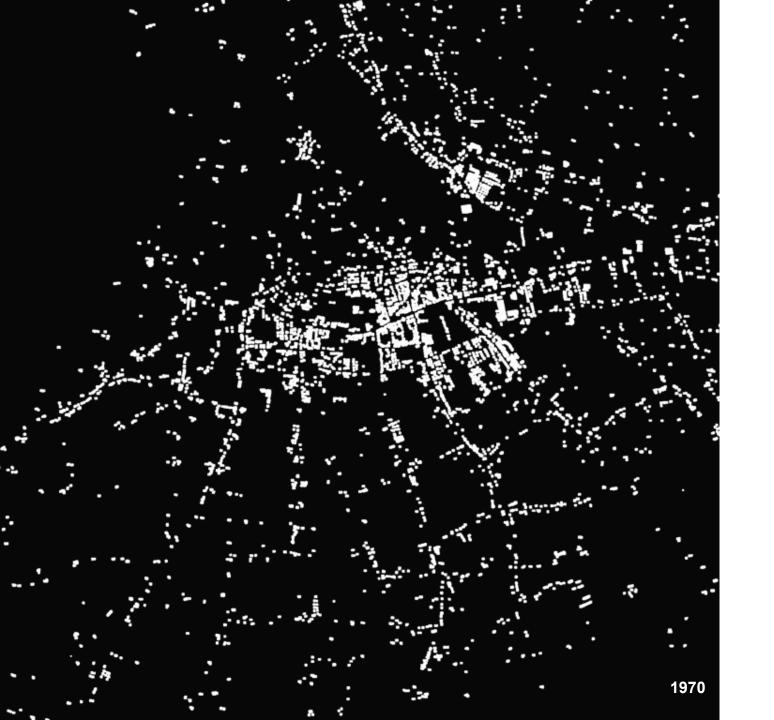


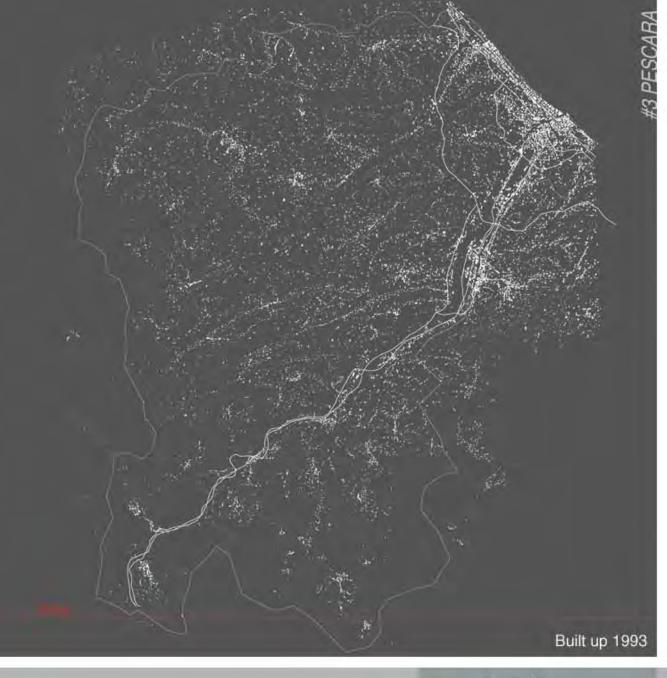
Montebelluna. In the Veneto central region dispersion is an **enduring** characteristic, newly built houses and factories in recent times have led to a densification of this historic dispersion (da Munari e Tosi, New Territories exhibition, Università Iuav di Venezia, 2002)- 1990



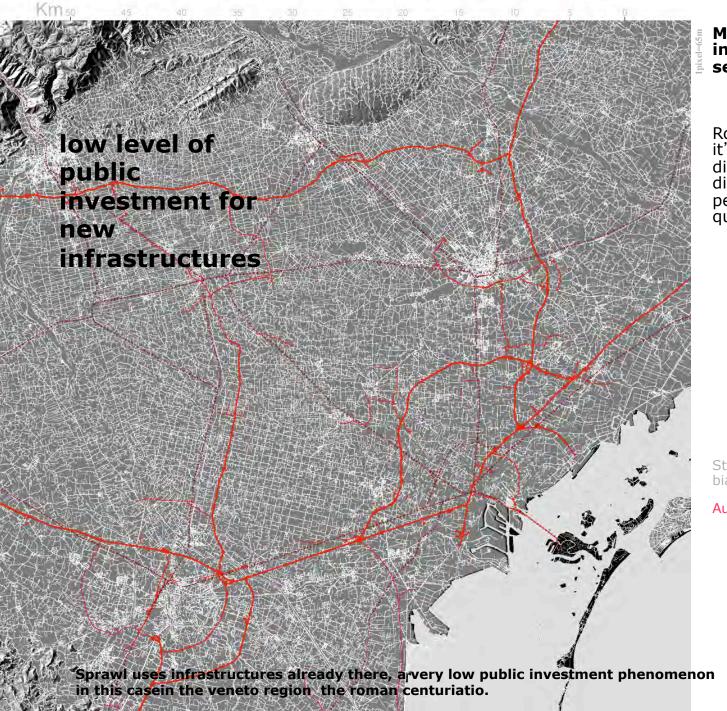








territory

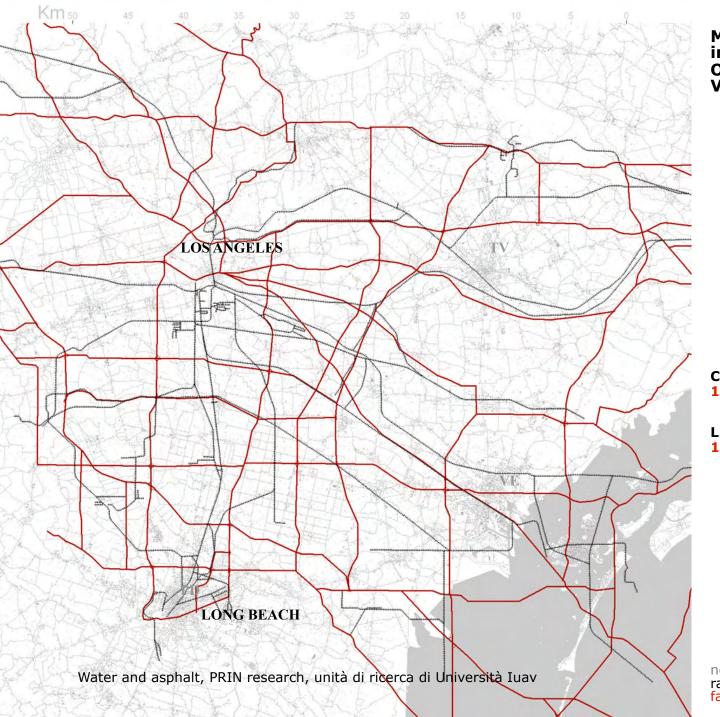


Main mobility infrastructures and secondary roads

Roads are very diffuse but it's difficult to separate different traffic flows (long distance – short distance, people – freight) and to requalify existing.

Strade, strade poderali, strade bianche

Autostrade e superstrade

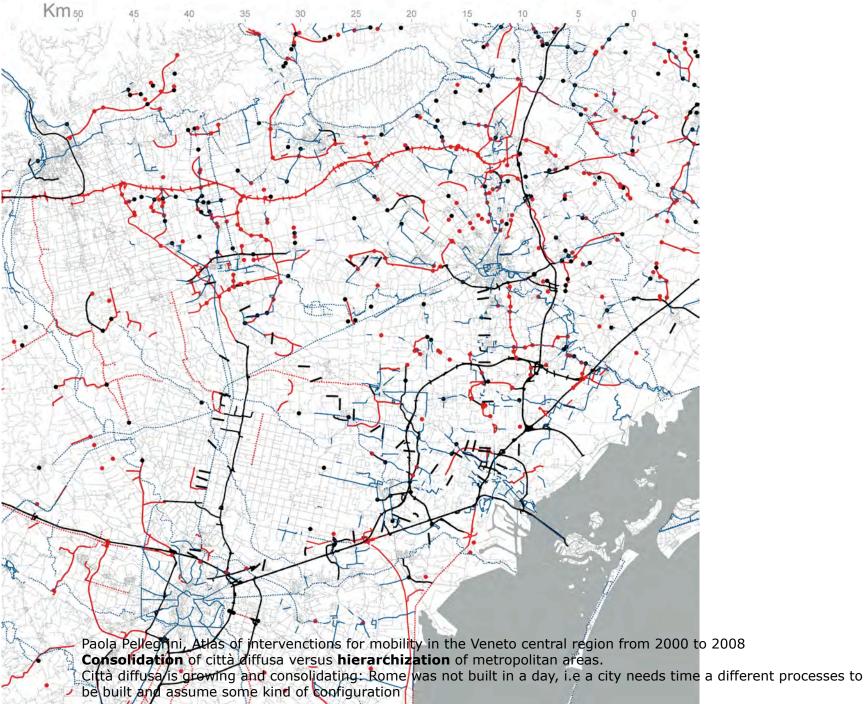


Main mobility infrastructures Overlapping: central Veneto VS L.A. region

Central Veneto 1.900.000 inh.

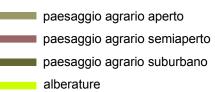
L.A. region 10.000.000 in

net of percolation rail roads fast roads













paesaggio agrario

minimal rationality i.e. limited to what is strictly necessary to guide choices of individual actors

Situazioni: la "periferia" di La Spezia



Situazioni: la "città diffusa" nella Valle della Magra"; S. Stefano

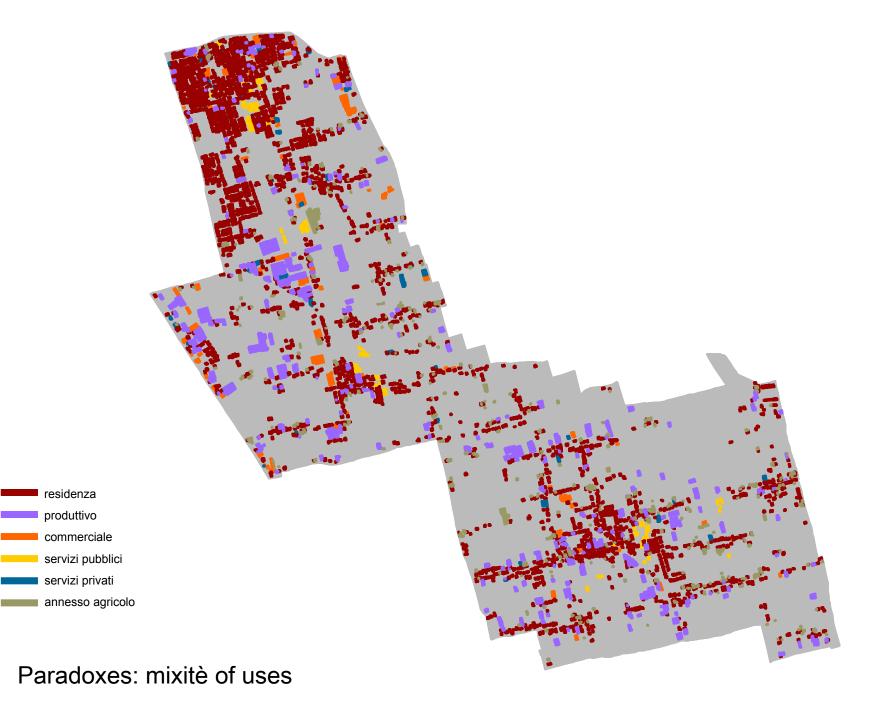


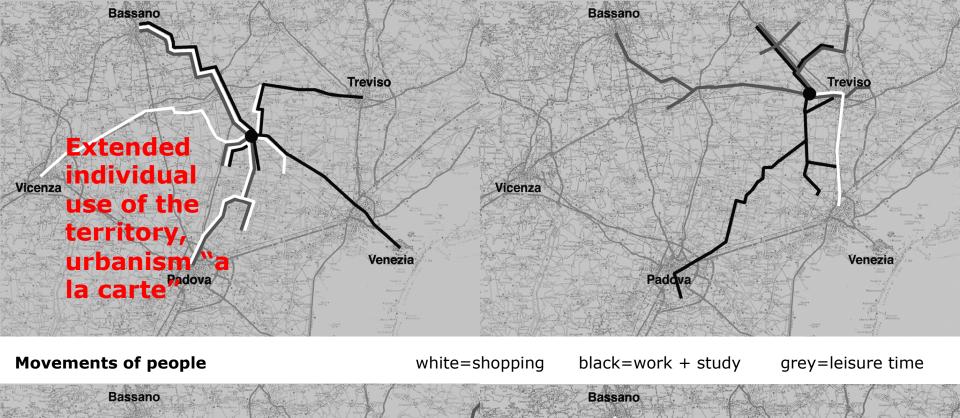
La Spezia Val di Magra plan: comparison between "old style periphery" and areas of dispersion

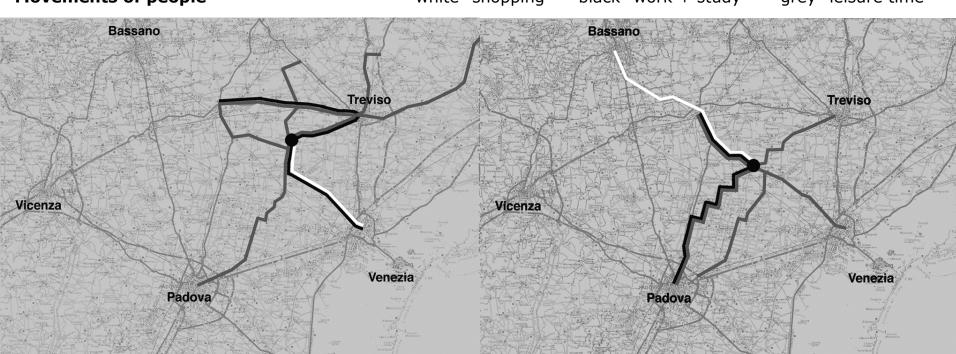
- restructuring of the city (the conventional periphery) - continuity, proximity with the existing urban structure

- single family house, little workshops, but also atopic objects - new organization of territory ESITO DI RAZIONALITA' MINIMALE (minimal rationality i.e. limited to what is strictly necessary to guide choices of

actors; categories are often vague, weak and open)

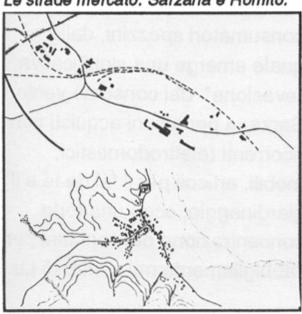




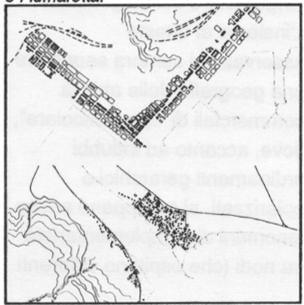


efforts to describe this minimal rationality: recurrent elements, settlement strategies

Le strade mercato: Sarzana e Romito.



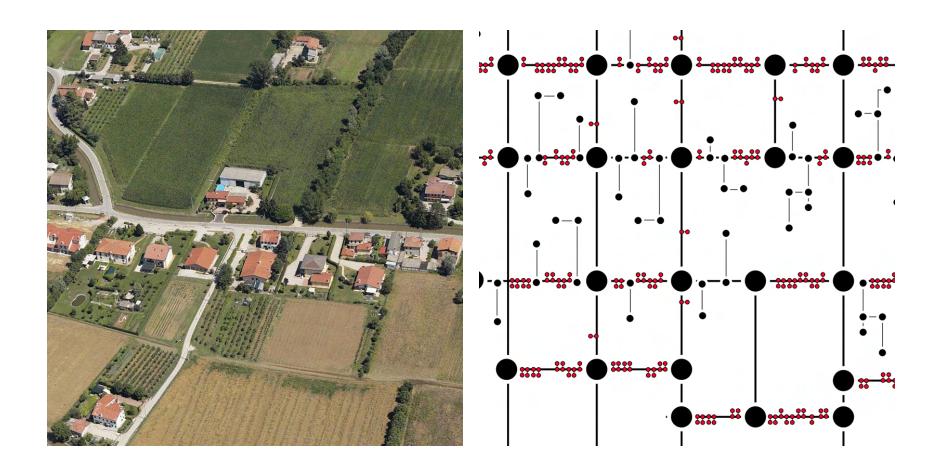
Gli assi commerciali urbani: La Spezia e Fiumaretta.

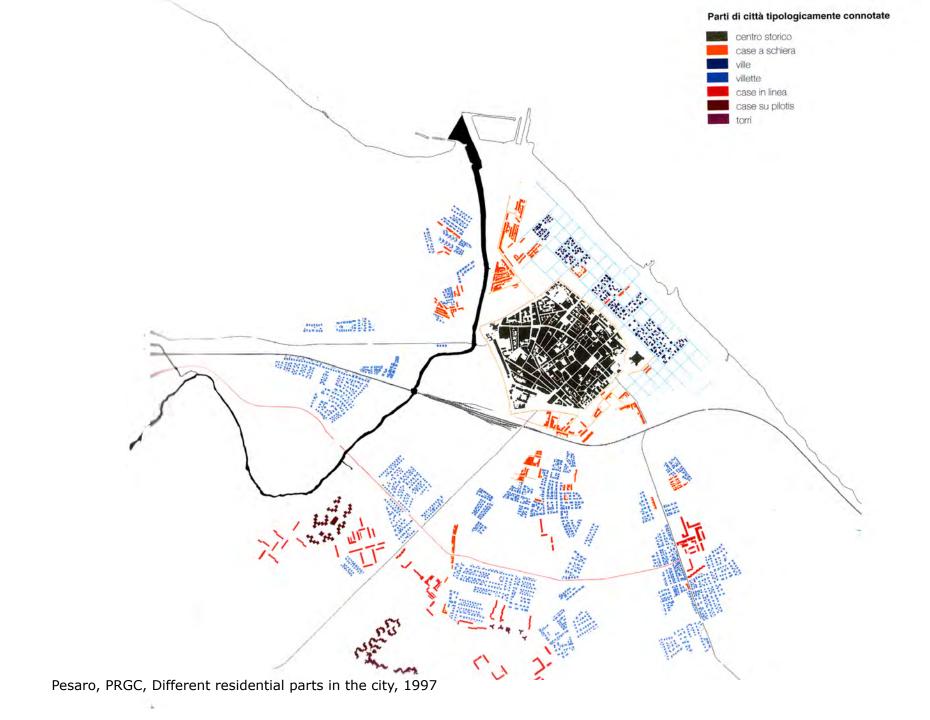


I grandi centri commerciali: Sarzana e l'area ex IP.



Different recurrent elements in città diffusa: market road (strip mall); main commercial axes; large shopping areas







Changes in Milan metropolitan area: (definition of some figures in the metamorphosis processes)

Islands

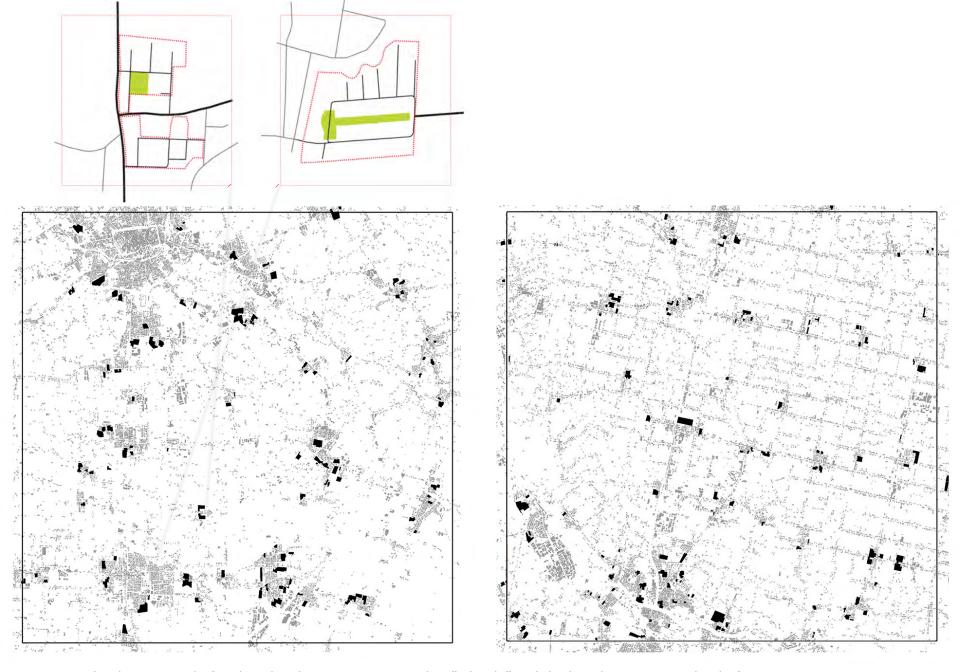
Linear attractors

Hybrid machines

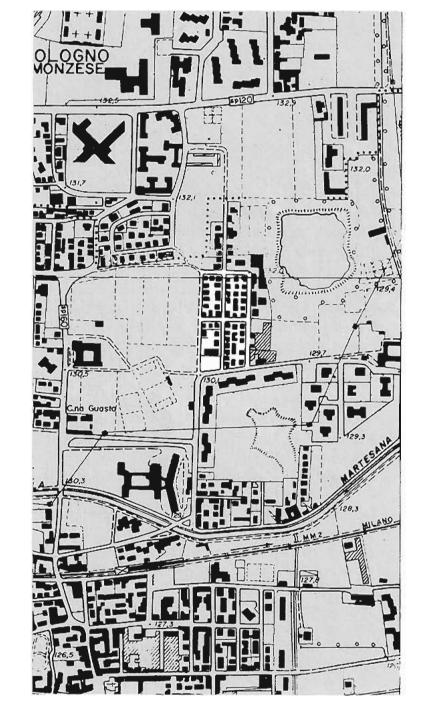
Plugs (tassello)

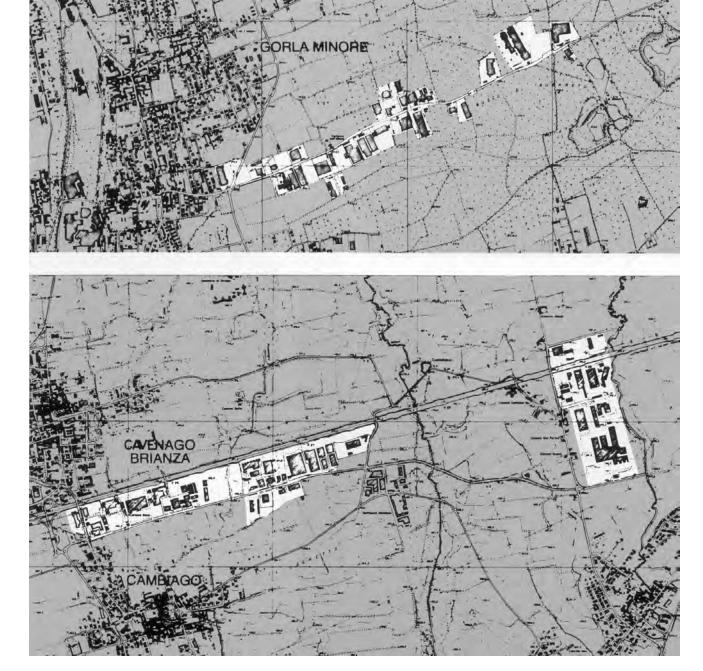


Islands (il magentino): il mutamento per addizioni di porzioni introverse e pianificate di territorio, con reiterazione di di oggetti edilizi simili, Lottizzazioni residenziali introverse a bassa densità



Islands: not single families development anymore, but "islands" with higher density, some kind of green areas, proximity to consolidated dispersed centers





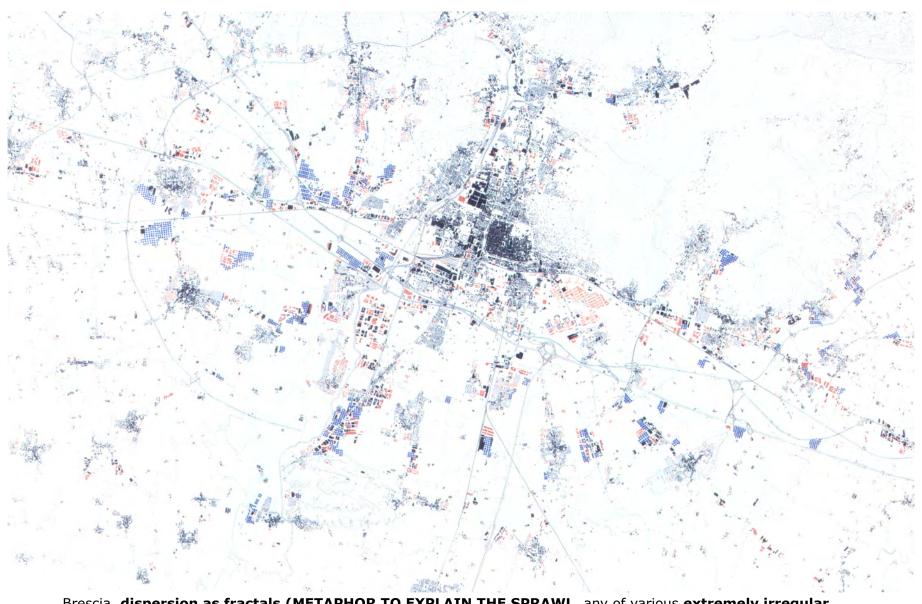
Linear attractors: il mutamento attorno ad un tracciato con sequenze di edifici



Linear attractors: shopping strip (strada mercato)



Prato, PRGC, elements structuring the settlement (also support to dispersion), 1994



Brescia, dispersion as fractals (METAPHOR TO EXPLAIN THE SPRAWL, any of various extremely irregular curves or shapes for which any suitably chosen part is similar in shape to a given larger or smaller part when magnified or reduced to the same size), 1995

new typologies

Lotto occupato da un edificio con destinazione d'uso mista residenziale e produttivo-artigianale.

In alcuni casi l'edificio è l'esito dell'accostamento di una unità abitativa residenziale (una casa unifamiliare) ad un altro corpo edilizio destinato ad attività produttive, che può avere dimensioni e forme molto variabili.

In altri casi l'alloggio è posto al livello superiore, mentre al piano terra e/o a quello seminterrato sono ospitate le attività produttivo-artigianali.

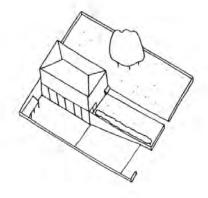
Tanto l'edificio quanto il lotto possono avere dimensioni e forme molto diverse.

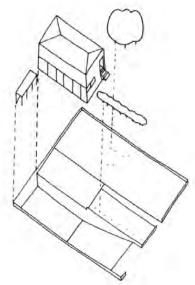
Lo spazio aperto di pertinenza viene utilizzato per le attività legate alla produzione, alla manovra, al carico e scarico delle merci e in parte è sistemato a giardino riservato alla residenza.

A Seregno questo materiale urbano si inserisce puntualmente e in modo diffuso entro i tessuti residenziali.

Attualmente la casa capannone è presente nelle zone B1, B2, B5, B7, BP1 di Piano Regolatore.

Interventi che hanno per oggetto questi materiali sono proponibili nelle zone B2, B5, B7, BP1.





Franco Infussi, Regolamento edilizio di Seregno, guida agli interventi e alla valutazione del progetto, con C. Gfeller, A. Longo, 2002

Casa negozio

Lotto di dimensioni molto variabili occupato da un edificio con destinazione d'uso mista, residenziale e commerciale, in genere a due piani fuori terra. L'alloggio è posto al livello superiore mentre il piano terra è occupato totalmente o prevalentemente dall'esercizio commerciale. Sono presenti anche casi in cui l'edificio ospita più alloggi ed esercizi commerciali; questa configurazione generalmente tende a collocare l'edificio direttamente sul margine del lotto prospiciente la strada. Soprattutto in questi casi i residenti degli alloggi non sono necessariamente i conduttori degli esercizi commerciali.

In tutti i casi questo materiale presenta dei requisiti particolari in relazione all'accessibilità, essendo spesso distinta quella relativa all'alloggio e quella per l'esercizio commerciale.

In alcuni casi il lotto non è recintato (o lo è solo nella parte retrostante, opposta alla sede stradale).

Lo spazio prospiciente la casa, e fra questa e la strada, può essere destinato a parcheggio pubblico o asservito ad uso pubblico.

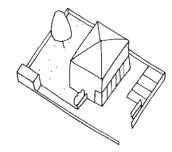
La presenza di uno spazio domestico a giardino dipende dalle dimensioni del lotto.

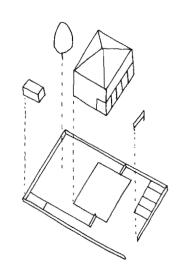
Lo spazio domestico può ridursi al solo spazio di manovra degli autoveicoli. A volte il trattamento a giardino verso la strada è parte determinante per la presentazione dell'attività commerciale e la sua visibilità.

Si tratta di un materiale urbano che a Seregno costituisce una "emergenza" nei tessuti che lo ospitano, sia per l'eccezionalità dello spazio pubblico che lo riguarda, sia per l'immagine che l'edificio propone verso la strada.

Attualmente la casa negozio è presente nelle zone B1, B2, B5, B7 di Piano Regolatore.

Interventi che hanno per oggetto questi materiali sono proponibili nelle zone B2, B5, B7, fatte salve le disposizioni del P.R.G. circa i tracciati tematici.







_stratification + mixed use

tricks 11

Contenitore di medie e grandi dimensioni con grande parcheggio privato

Lotto occupato da un edificio, nella prevalenza dei casi a destinazione commerciale, di dimensioni variabili (fino a 5000 mq. e oltre in alcuni rarissimi casi) e altezza pressoché costante (8-10 m.), e caratterizzato dalla presenza di un ampio spazio aperto destinato a parcheggio e a suo uso esclusivo.

L'edificio, spesso realizzato, in tutto o in parte, con le modalità della prefabbricazione, è collocato in un lotto che a volte non è recintato (o lo è solo nella parte retrostante).

Le modalità di occupazione dello spazio sono di volta in volta diverse e dipendono spesso dalla data di edificazione e comportano rapporti di copertura eterogenei (dal 70 al 50%).

Di solito il lotto è occupato da un solo manufatto; raramente sono presenti altri edifici o strutture edilizie.

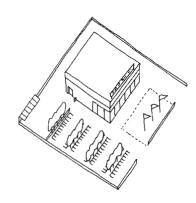
Lo spazio aperto è in buona parte impermeabile, destinato a parcheggio, in alcuni casi ad ospitare esposizioni verso la strada, alla circolazione e alla manovra degli automezzi, al carico e allo scarico delle merci, sul retro.

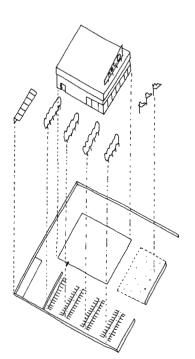
Raramente il parcheggio è alberato e dotato di spazi verdi filtranti distribuiti lungo gli stalli delle macchine.

A Seregno si trova isolato o in aggregazioni lineari con altri materiali urbani lungo le "strade mercato".

Attualmente i contenitori di medie e grandi dimensioni con grande parcheggio privato sono presenti nelle zone BP4 di Piano Regolatore.

Interventi che hanno per oggetto questi materiali sono proponibili nella zona BP4.





Phases in central Veneto region

1. people living and working in the countryside ameliorate their economic condition and build the house they consider best **on their plot**, no matter where it is.

"campagna urbanizzata", family as reference. They use elements of fix social asset (capitale fisso sociale), there as historic heritage.

2a. People leave the city where prices are too high to build the house they consider best and public services are unsatisfactory; these accept also low quality settlements, facing heavy traffic roads and distant from railroad and services.

2b. Re-localization of production.

3. Plans with an incremental attitude to improve infrastructures and to realize and spread equipments that remain under-dimensioned anyhow.

"città diffusa" = some characteristics of urbanity

The "big Brescia" is the result of a massive phenomenon of dispersion and densification: of the subjects, enterprises, settlements; of their dispersion in a wide area that gradually becomes much denser and more consistent. than it has ever been in its history. What has happened in the last twenty years in the Brescia area, as in many other Italian and European regions, it is not only the progressive enlargement of a central city, the addition of new and ever more distant suburbs, the increase of city and its turning into a large metropolitan area. The transformations undergone in Brescia, as in some other Italian and European cities at this time, **build a radical break with the past**, a break that allows us to consider perhaps ended the story of "Brescia modern" and started to get full of unknowns' Brescia contemporary ".

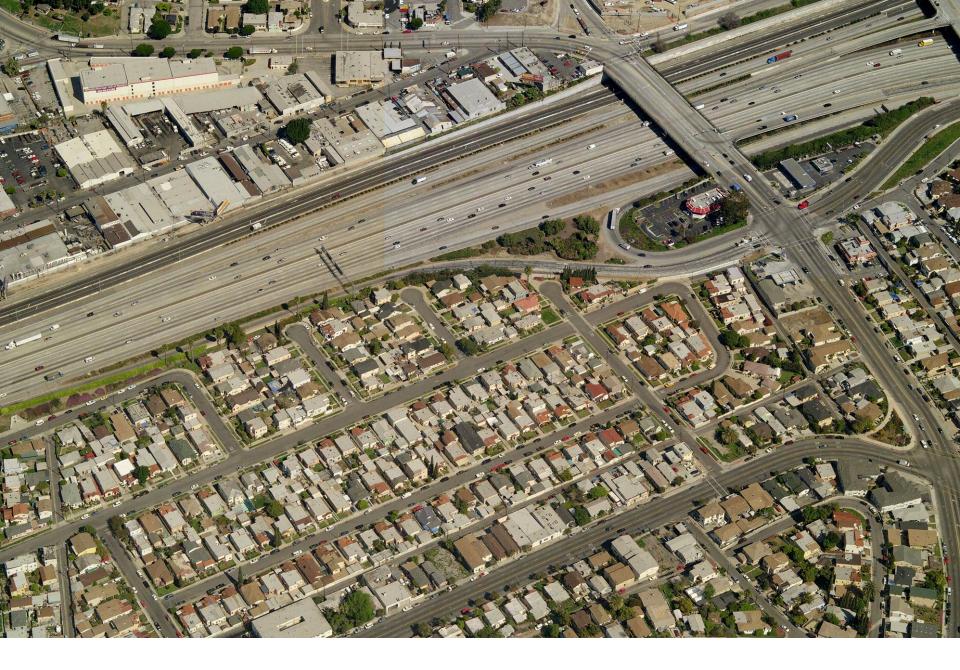
- house by house settlement, often on family rural property - no standardization, but efforts for individual expression - no official policy of support, but discovery of consequences once the process is well established pre-existing system of spread urban centers and infrastructures as support

A new spatial organization of the territory (not an extension of previous conditions)

Question of legitimacy – adfirm a right. Local government allowed micro-additions. No general plan and no infrastructures to guide the development. A new spatial organization of the territory (not an extension of previous conditions)

Question of maintenance: these kind of buildings and these kind of settlements are very expensive to maintain for singles and for collectivity, especially in times of economic crisis.

Question of quantity: many only children and many houses in property: in the future people will own often more than one house, even though probably decaying.



LA, San Bernardino Fwy today: process of densification



Italian territory. Futures without maps

Two alternatives of territorial organization or two possible models are emerging:

- a). Italy as a network (to project urban concentration); that means to increase density along some territorial lines by the effect of an infrastructural policy that concentrate investments in few points and network lines. It's a radicalisation of the 'Short Italy' made by the high speed railway lines; the creation of a central urban plug, in opposition to low density territory.
- b). Italy as a park (to project dispersion); that means to look for a different territorial model, which uses new technologies and news parameters of environmental compatibility, and which is going to an hybridisation of urban and non-urban, giving form to a sort of no-stop city at low density.

The operative models hidden under these two options are at one side the project as construction of some invariants at a great scale, primary elements, stable borders in a context under quick transformation; at the other side the choice of the project as an instrument to give value, to recognize clues of changes that have to be put in a new frame sense. "città diffusa" = some characteristics of urbanity

Low density (extensive, not intensive)

Wide extension (where does the metropolitan area ends?)

No spatial hierarchy (no sub-urbanity)

The only important element is the "home", not home with a collective context

Good connections thanks to a capillar road system (capitale fisso sociale used as possible)

Multidirezionalità of movements

Preferred by not highly qualified people

FORM

- unlimited expansion (consumption of land)
- low density
- discontinuity of settlements and leapfrog development (fragmenting rural and natural areas)
- no land use planning at a wide scale

Issues repeated:

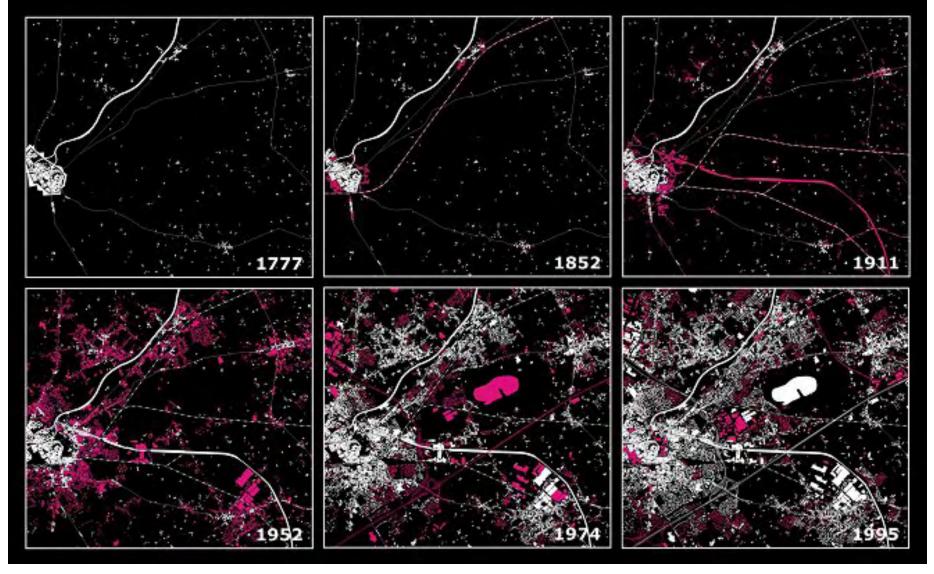
Monolith or diverse social identity? Wasteful fragmentation or democracy? Private commodity or public good? Monotonous conformity or individual comfort? Placeless-ness or place?

MOBILITY

 car driven development and congestion with consequent pollution and time waste

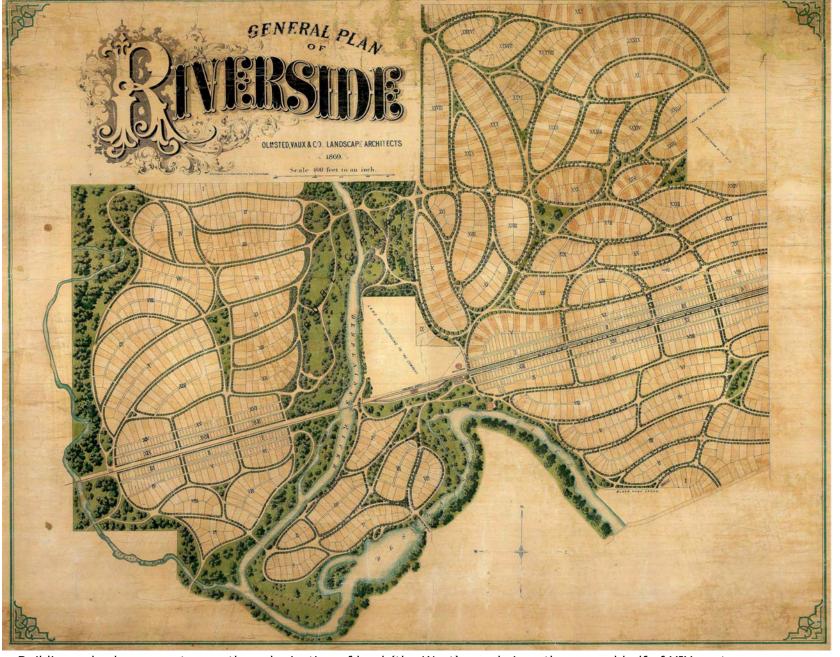
EQUITY

- segregation of land uses and of social classes and of ethnic groups
- no affordable housing provided
- fiscal disparity among municipalities in order to attract newcomers



Evolution of Courtrai, Belgium - Bruno de Meulder and Michiel Dehaene, OSA, 2002 reading along the time scale, the second world war stands out as a structural breaking point after the Second World War we see the emergence of larger 'self contained' patches, both with regard to building as well as infrastructure patterns until 1911 the road pattern still reads as a grid with meshes of different sizes

additional roads built between 1911 and 1995 is inscribed within this historical grid without structurally refining it until the 1950s the built pattern shows a continuous emerging city. ribbon development reaches deep into the periphery the postwar development takes place within the large swaths of open land enclosed by these historical ribbons



Building suburbs was not new: the colonization of land (the West)... and since the second half of XIX century was common... it had to do with a rapid urbanization process and the demographic growth (immigration)

General Plan of Riverside, Olmsted, Vaux & Co. Landscape Architects, 1869, 1600 acre along the Des Plaines River west of Chicago and the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy **Railroad line**, **proximity** to the Loop, a **rural scenic** bedroom community