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so confidently tell them that they have been had. Is there no hope for successful resistance, no convincing alternative to the scamscapes of exopolis?

For those of us who have the strength left to struggle against their alluring and illusive embrace, stubbornly Modernist modes of resistance and demystification will probably not be enough, for the terrain has shifted too much, the landmarks that anchored our old political maps have mostly disappeared, and the allure and illusion of the new geographies are filled with historically unexpected power. New postmodern modes of criticism and confrontation will be needed.

A beginning might be to understand that it is space, more than time, that now hides consequences from us, that these new geographies are what now push us away from the centers of power, and that this peripheralization is played out at many spatial scales, from those little tactics of the habitat to the strategic discourses of global geopolitics. If we can recapture our critical ability to see the "spatiality" of social life as inherently and instrumentally political, we may be able to take apart those deceptively embracing simulations and reconstruct a different cartography of power than the one now being mapped out inside exopolis.

TREVOR BODDY

Underground and Overhead: Building the Analogous City

Streets are as old as civilization, and more than any other human artifact, have come to symbolize public life, with all its human contact, conflict, and tolerance. One would not have thought, then, that they would be so vulnerable. Yet across North America, downtown streets are now subject to attack, a slow, quiet, but nonetheless effective onslaught underground and overhead, by glittering glass walkways above streets, or tiled tunnels beneath them.

Step from the wind and cold of the street outside into the new urban realm. At the entrance there is the logo for the building, the identi-kit for the isolated empire within, with reminders that what lies beyond is private property—emphatically both private and property. As the glass doors firmly close, the mental realm changes. We are inside, contained, separate, part of the system, a consumer, a peruser, a cruiser—membership has its privileges. Up the escalator, down the stair, along the bricked passageway, numbed by the incessant whirring and the mechanical breeze. Vaguely reassuring icons drift by like freeway signs: the information kiosk; the chain shoe store; the trickling fountain; the food fair garnished in neon. Like George Romero's ghouls in *Dawn of the Dead*, who return to the shopping mall "because that is what they knew in their former lives," the generations raised in suburbia feel at home among the familiar visual and environmental cues of this new downtown realm. Barely audible, snatches of conversation drift in the air—mortgages, promotions, kids, pictures. And the repertoire of body language is equally limited—never a clenched fist, a pas-

sionate kiss, a giddy wink, a fixed-shoulder stride. Pleasantly anesthetized, the new world underground and overhead doesn't seem so new anymore, and its difference from the pace and rhythm of real urban streets seems to matter less and less. Those other, older streets, with their troubling smells and winds and unpredictability, swirl into a distant and wispy memory, as vaporous as the smoke and rain outside.

Over the past decade, new extensions to the city have appeared in downtowns across the continent. In cities as various as Minneapolis, Dallas, Montreal, and Charlotte, raised pedestrian bridges connect dispersed new towers into a linked system; mazes of tunnels lead from public transit to workplace without recourse to conventional streets; people-mover transit systems glide above the scuffling passions of streetbound cities. Grafted onto the living tissue of existing downtowns, these new urban prosthetics seem benign at first, artificial arms and plastic tubes needed to maintain essential civic functions. Promoted as devices to beat the environmental extremes of heat, cold, or humidity that make conventional streets unbearable, they seem mere tools, value-free extensions of the existing urban realm.

They are anything but that. These pedestrian routes and their attached towers, shopping centers, food fairs, and cultural complexes provide a filtered version of the experience of cities, a simulation of urbanity. By eliminating the most fundamental of urban activities—people walking along streets—the new pedestrian systems underground and overhead are changing the nature of the North American city.

There is ample reason to suppose the new downtowns of tunnels and bridges have specific urban and social agendas. As we shall see, they accelerate a stratification of race and class, and paradoxically degrade the very conditions they supposedly remedy—the amenity, safety, and environmental conditions of the public realm. The new pedestrian systems are the logical and necessary corollary to the mounting investment in downtown shopping centers and public infrastructure of the past two decades. As global capital has recombined into increasingly monolithic structures, as real-estate development has come to be dominated by fewer and larger concerns, as interaction between social classes has become more problematic in racially and economically segmented cities, it is inevitable

that architectural devices would have been found to render even the centers of the new corporate North American city sealed, separated, singular.

The particularly insidious quality of what William Whyte has called the "surrogate streets" of the new pedestrian systems is that they introduce a new scale and efficacy to the corporate retooling of the North American city.[1] Where development was once limited by the pattern of land assembly, with the largest unit being the block, the new bridges and tunnels allow the extension of the filtered corporate cities over entire sectors of downtown. Where once streets and sidewalks intervened between the islands of glass and spandrel panel, the new bridges and tunnels continue the same architectural order, and with them, the same socioeconomic order, between blocks. Heretofore streets functioned as periodic reminders and enforcers of the civic domain; the new patterns of city building remove even this remaining vestige of public life, replacing them with an analogue, a surrogate.

Precisely because downtown streets are the last preserve of something approaching a mixing of all sectors of society, their replacement by the sealed realm overhead and underground has enormous implications for all aspects of political life. Constitutional guarantees of free speech and of freedom of association and assembly mean much less if there is literally no peopled public place to serve as a forum in which to act out these rights. Only the myopic magnifying lens of the television camera maintains the demonstration, march, and picketing as a modality of political expression; they have otherwise faded into meaninglessness since the end of the Vietnam War with the shift of urban form and activity. These acts and activities have been displaced over the past decade from the square and main street to the windswept emptiness of City Hall Mall or Federal Building Plaza. To encounter a ragtag mob of protesters in such places today renders them even more pathetic, their marginality enforced by a physical displacement into so unimportant, uninhabited, and unloved a civic location.

The new pedestrian systems are only one manifestation of the principal mode of postmodern urbanism—the analogous city. It is one of the basic observations of postmodern cultural theory, linking Jean Baudrillard with Robert Venturi, that our age everywhere prefers simulation to reality. The postmodern analogous city begins

with what Charles Moore has called the most influential piece of postwar American urbanism, Disneyland.[2] The three-fifths-scale recreation of Main Street America, situated between the technological utopia of Tomorrowland and the mythic past of Frontierland, has increasingly become the accepted model for city building and renovation in both the popular imagination and the professional mindset. It is impossible to imagine the success of the Rouse Corporation's "festival markets" (Faneuil Hall, South Street Seaport, etc.), the conflation of theme park with shopping center in the West Edmonton Mall, or the rustic nostalgia of new towns like Seaside, Florida, without this first and most resonant of the contemporary analogous cities. The controlled simulation of urban life extends to instant suburban "town centers," refashioned metropolitan civic centers, and the ersatz visuals and activities of far too many historic districts. In all these cases, the messy vitality of the metropolitan condition, with its unpredictable intermingling of classes, races, and social and cultural forms is rejected, to be replaced by a filtered, prettified, homogeneous substitute. The decline of metropolitanism as a civic ideal is one of the great underacknowledged cultural trends of the twentieth century in North America, and we are just beginning to glimpse the long-term impact of these less diverse cities. The new pedestrian systems represent only the latest development of the analogous city on one of its last frontiers, the streets of the downtown core.*

Seamlessly sutured into the downtown corpus, these reshaped pedestrian routes not only replace, they transform. Their status as

* A footnote to the rise of urban simulacra is the tale of one of the most respected critics of contemporary urbanism. Jane Jacobs left New York for Toronto in part because the ethnically diverse street life of the Lower East Side she remembered from childhood was disappearing, and in the 1970s Toronto seemed to maintain this street vitality. The situation in Canada's largest city has since deteriorated with the emergence of a nonwhite underclass, a declining infrastructure and school system, and the highest rents on the continent; Toronto has now gone far to repeat those same conditions that prompted her original flight. Sadly, the cornerstones of Jacobsian urbanism—picturesque ethnic shops piled high with imported goods, mustachioed hot-dog vendors in front of improvised streetcorner fountains, urban life considered as one enormous national-day festival—are cruelly mimicked in every Rouse market and historic district on the continent. Contemporary developers have found it eminently easy to furnish such obvious symbols of urbanism, while at the same time eliminating the racial, ethnic, and class diversity that interested Jacobs in the first place, and launched a widespread reconsideration of our cities a generation ago. Jacobsian urbanism has not failed, but succeeded too well—or more accurately a diorama of its most superficial ideas has preempted the public domain.

infrastructure makes their unspoken agendas—to make the city less public in the name of public amenity—all the more frightful. This is the quiet subterfuge of what is underground—immanent, unspoken, deeply insinuated—and overhead—above and beyond criticism, out of view and review, disengaged. In this final turn, the new tunnels and bridges can be seen as irksome metaphors for other processes transforming the North American city. Their conflation and reversal of private and public realms, their very artificiality, makes them an excellent entry to the broader anti-metropolitan forces at work in our cities.

A Short History of the Analogous City

Before there is the analogue, there is the thing itself. Broadly considered, in the Neolithic era there is an astonishing degree of convergence of form for human settlements. Widely separated peoples simultaneously invented not only streets—a vastly powerful cultural innovation—but hierarchical patterns of streets. With the increased concentrations of wealth and political power into imperial systems, the urban grid became the organizing framework in the Babylonian, Roman, Chinese, and Meso-American city. While there are important and fascinating variations, remarkably uniform street patterns had emerged worldwide by the Christian era.

The multilevel human settlement is just as old. The underground dwellings of China, the hillside burrows of Cappadocia, the stacked houses and lanes of the Pueblo cultures are all adaptations for purposes of defense or agricultural development. Yet all these multitiered urban forms use some variation of conventional streets; a two-level movement system—a doubling of streets—is surprisingly rare. The English market town of Chester developed a two-level street system in medieval times because of periodic flooding and the need for building sites within the walled town. Much of it is still intact, and Chester's combination of half-timbered bridges, wattle-and-daub walkways hung on buildings, and hand-hewn stairs to the street below make it disarmingly similar to contemporary raised-walkway systems.

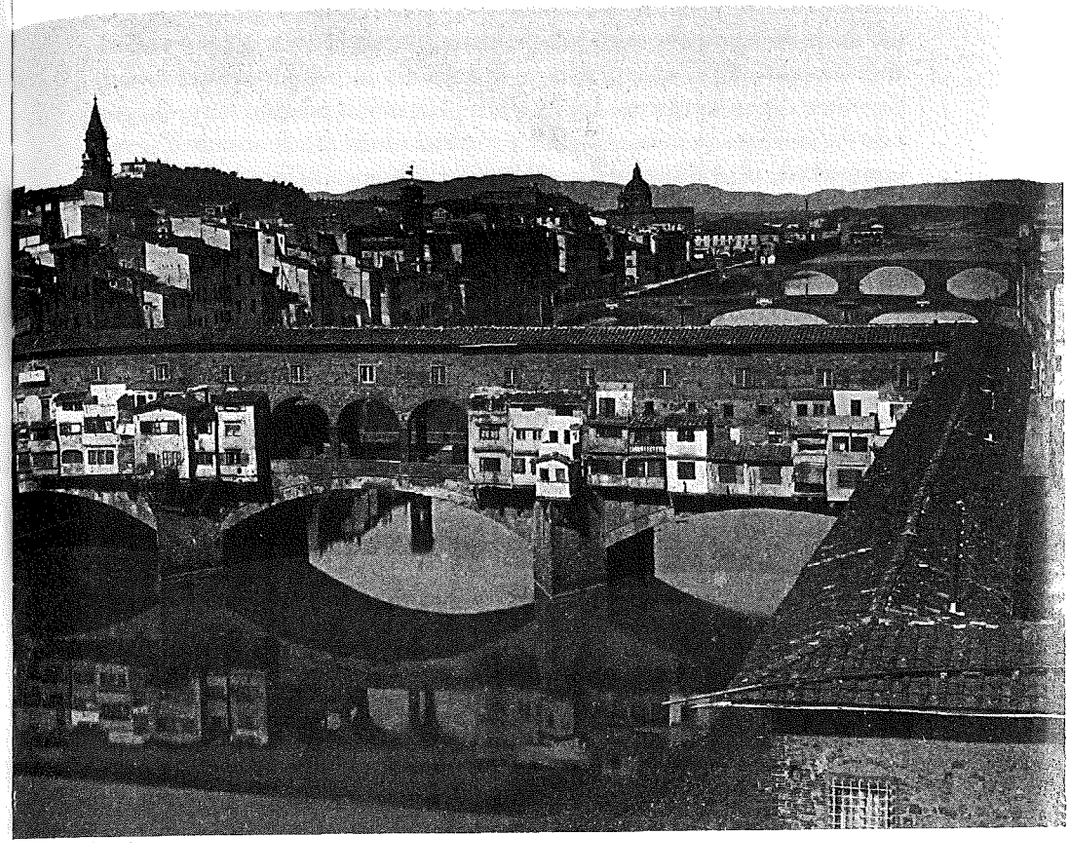
The Italian Renaissance prompted new consideration of the multilevel city, notably in Leonardo da Vinci's 1490 sketches for a civic center. The most famous alternate pedestrian system grafted onto a living city was built in Florence in 1565. Designed by Vasari

for the Medici, the system of bridges and passageways ran nearly a kilometer from the Palazzo Vecchio across the River Arno atop the Ponte Vecchio, and on to the Palazzo Pitti. Presented by Francesco de Medici as a wedding gift to his bride, Johanna of Austria, the *corridoio vasariano* was first intended as a defensive system permitting the family to flee from the center of the city and government to their new Palazzo Pitti when street-fighting broke out between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines.

This system was such a success that the noble families and their hangers-on began to spend time there even when there was no urban insurrection in sight. The *corridoio* was soon handsomely furnished and decorated, and the views from its windows permitted a refined analogue of the urban experience, the sense of being in the city without the clash of classes, the randomness, the smells and confusions of the actual Florentine streets below. To further enhance the atmosphere, paintings were hung on the walls—nearly the first time art was used to permanently embellish a large non-religious interior space. The paintings lining the *corridoio* offered nostalgia, romance, piety, and grandeur as modes of survival—and strategies of evasion—in an urban realm rent by conflict.

For five centuries Paris has been the preeminent urban laboratory, and some of its experiments shed light on the notion of the analogous city. The continuous arcades of the rue de Rivoli created a type of urban space new to France. Providing shelter from the rain in an intermediate realm between shops and street, the many blocks of arcades helped foster the development of the urban bourgeoisie by providing a venue for the conspicuous rituals of consumption and display which are their essential folkways. Today the arcades host a vibrant mix of races and classes, but this was not always the case. At their peak in the eighteenth century, these promenades of fashion and society were as guarded and socially demarcated as any golf resort today. For Zola and Balzac, the view to the arcades, or from them, became a central emblem of the separation of classes. But their openness to the weather and their interruption by city streets proved less than ideal; footmen had to carry ladies of station from corner to corner across the threatening and messy streets.

The next development of the analogous city was the covered shopping arcades built in the early nineteenth century in every



Leopoldo Alinari

Ponte Vecchio
Florence, Italy

major European city. This refined the idea of a pedestrian system lined with exclusive shops, completely eliminating exposure to the public street and the natural elements. By the 1860s a plan called the Crystal Way was proposed for London, which would bring together the underground railway, a pedestrian passageway, shops, offices, and residences, all under a continuous glass arcade. Never completed, it prefigures the modernist schemes of a century later. In his novel *Palais Royal*, Richard Sennett explores a theme that has been central to his writing, the social segregation of urban space, accomplished in this case by the new covered arcades in Paris and London:

> The arcades have spread their tentacles throughout modern Paris, radiating from the Palais-Royal to the north, east and west. The Passage des Panoramas, the Galerie Vivienne, the Galerie d'Orléans: these have become glass capillaries of the city. London has its Burlington Arcade, its Royal Opera Arcade; more primitive in construction than many of the iron and glass creations in Paris, yet also triumphs over water and cold. The fabricator of arcades may . . . point with pride to his glass roofs which keep out smut and smoke. He invokes fashion: a lady in the Galerie d'Orléans promenades without fear that her dress will be grimed. He invokes more serious advantages: an infant in his perambulator breathes easily in an arcade, without choking on coal dust. Man, far from suffering at the hands of blind Nature, laughs at its terrors. The arcade nullifies cold, its brilliant lighting erases night; man admits into this architecture of control only that what is pleasing—tropical plants, for example, to decorate the corridors of his life under glass. [The arcade's] light and airy canopy suggests only peace, its aisles only the most refined intercourse, the precincts enclosed here containing objects made with the most devoted care.[3]

When Baron von Haussmann built the great boulevards of Paris, it was one of the largest physical upheavals in any European capital short of war. In fact, much of the impetus, rationale, and managerial wherewithal for their construction was military. Though Haussmann and his sponsors certainly had other motives—the improvement of traffic, the connection of monuments and key streets, the need for relief from the squalor and overcrowding of inner Paris—military concerns were paramount. A mounting series of urban insurrections, climaxing with the events of 1848, led to proposals for new boulevards as a practical means to deploy armies rapidly throughout the city. The new boulevards would have the additional benefit of slicing problematic inner-city neighborhoods into more manageable units, and would create a plethora of desirable new building sites. By the 1870s, an increasingly wealthy Paris presented, along its bold new boulevards, a continuous face of middle-class jollity and frivolity. Haussmann's work can be seen as the first class-driven "theme-parking" of a major metropolis—a key precedent for new techniques of scenographic reassembly of urban components.

Throughout all these stages, the city remained tied firmly to the single ground level. Curiously, the construction of underground and elevated railways in the major European and American cities in the late nineteenth century, though it led to increased housing and commercial densities, did not at first create interest in the multilevel city. The existing ground-based streets continued to serve, superbly, as the horizontal pedestrian system. None of the elevated transit systems—whether the El in Chicago, the urban railways of Berlin, or elevated sections of subway systems in London, Paris, and New York—sparked extensive new retail levels or an alternate pedestrian system in the air. Except for certain major stations, the same is true of underground rail systems. Until well into this century, extended tunnel or bridge systems for purely pedestrian movement were surprisingly rare. There are simple but powerful reasons for this: the investment in street infrastructure (lighting, buses, fountains, businessès, signs) and the enduring cultural attraction of street-oriented activity was such that the separation of walker from traffic seemed foolish and wasteful.

With new building technologies and skyrocketing values of urban land, ever-larger buildings appeared throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. And it is in these buildings that the multilevel arcade made its appearance. One example is Moscow's immense GUM department store, covering an area of several city blocks. Inspired by Milan's Galleria Vittorio Immanuele III, GUM surpasses the model, with numerous bridges connecting continuous walkways at various levels under a glass canopy, rather than Milan's single retail level integrated with surrounding streets. GUM, in turn, anticipated and inspired other multilevel downtown shopping precincts, such as Toronto's Eaton Centre.

Another influential multilevel construction was Rockefeller Center, designed and built in the late 1920s and early 1930s. While it incorporates the Manhattan urban grid, and its public spaces are exemplars of civic tolerance and amenity, in many ways it broke with the city that surrounds it. The subterranean shopping concourse served to link the various buildings to each other and to the subway below, but also rendered the complex more islandlike. Early accounts of Rockefeller Center announce the possibility of spending a day there working, shopping, and dancing without once venturing outdoors; half a century later, this notion of spending a day in a downtown mixed-use complex without once encountering a real urban street is finally banal. The undeniable success of Rockefeller Center's sunken plaza and the spaces off Fifth Avenue must not obscure the reality that it served as the prototype for the corporate makeover of North American downtowns, a makeover that relies heavily upon isolated multifunctional islands linked by pathways underground and overhead.

Not until well into the twentieth century did an urban theory evolve that actively promoted separating pedestrian movement from conventional streets. By this point the motorcar was having a deleterious effect on even the historic centers of European cities, and, in the spirit of the antihistoricism of the era, entirely new ways were sought to move about the city. Previously, the Garden City and City Beautiful movements in urban planning had advocated separating pedestrian zones from other traffic, but stratification of uses was seldom proposed or needed, given the densities involved. The multilevel city turned up more often in popular fiction and art than in professional literature. Visionary illustrations showed sweeping roadways connecting the tops of skyscrapers, with imagined aircraft clotting the sky above; the set designs of Fritz Lang's *Metropolis* and Alexander and Vincent Korda's *Things to Come* created multilevel dystopias on film. Emerging reality was only a bit less spectacular: Grand Central Station (under construction from 1903 to 1919) drew Park Avenue up a ramp from the south and across 42nd Street, swung it on raised roadways around the windows high above the station's main concourse, and projected it to the north, built on piers over the New York Central's split-level trainyards; it funneled pedestrians through its tunnels, ramps, stairways, balconies, and two levels of concourses from subway or

sidewalk to train or taxi, shop or bar, ticket window or waiting room, or to one of the three major hotels that rose over its wings —a massive, autonomous early exemplar of that numerously replicated gray elephant of the analogous city, the megastructure.

By the late 1920s, this separation of pedestrian movement from motorized traffic on streets had become a cornerstone of the urbanism promoted by the Congrès Internationale d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM), and most notably by Le Corbusier. In *Towards a New Architecture*, Le Corbusier recommends removing pedestrian movement—and much else—from the ground plane. "Short passageways in the shape of bridges above the ordinary streets," he proposed, "would enable foot traffic to get about among these newly gained quarters consecrated to leisure amidst flowers and foliage."[4] Le Corbusier's dislike of the hurly-burly of streets is well known, and formulating a more rationalized alternative became the generative idea of his urbanism, pursued in books such as *La Ville Radieuse* (1935) and projects ranging up to and including the Unité d'Habitation.

His Ville Contemporaine of 1922, for example, promoted a rigid vertical zoning of vehicular, pedestrian, and even airplane movement. The unlikely juxtaposition of soaring office and apartment towers, biplane landing strip, multilaned freeway, idyllic cafés, and pedestrian bridges in the same utopian landscape went surprisingly unquestioned, no doubt in part because of the machine-gun polemic of Le Corbusier's text, which simultaneously describes the inevitability and the desirability of such a new urban realm. Crucial to these urban schemes is their rigid vertical zoning, which goes hand in hand with the rigid separation of land uses on the urban plane proposed by the architect. This link between horizontal and vertical zoning is, as we shall see, essential.

With CIAM and Le Corbusier proselytizing for them, alternate pedestrian systems became central to postwar reconstruction efforts in Europe. Traffic was banned in all-new pedestrian districts in Rotterdam, while bridge and tunnel linkages saw limited application in Germany and Britain. But given the urgency of postwar rebuilding and the capital cost of constructing an alternative movement system, these efforts remained tentative; the rationalized, complete systems envisioned by the CIAM planners were never implemented in the centers of war-ravaged European cities. Or more accurately, in *Western* European cities, because the later re-

building of Eastern Europe would be carried out almost entirely in a simplified-to-the-point-of-parody version of CIAM urban ideals, including notions of pedestrian-grade separation. Only with the rise of the British New Town movement of the 1960s did heavy public investment in pedestrian infrastructure merge with a modernist urbanism in the Corbusian mode. At Cumbernauld, Thamesmead, and elsewhere it became standard practice to include a wholly or largely pedestrian core, linked by bridges and walkways to the surrounding housing estates, with traffic and service and support functions woven in between the areas.

Meanwhile on this continent, architects and planners had been infected with Euro-envy.[5] Dormant for half a generation, Euro-envy exploded during the late 1940s and early 1950s, with the publication in popular and architectural magazines of gleaming modernist shopping precincts and ribbed phalanxes of housing projects in the recently bombed-out centers of Western European cities. Just as the destruction of cities by natural disaster exerts a powerful attraction for visionary architects and planners, the bombed districts of European capitals promised them commissions and the freedom to rewrite the past—both of which excited Euro-envy in the postwar generation.

With the heady gas of modernity everywhere, North Americans spoke loudly and lustfully of the shining new potential for European and Japanese cities, and longed for a strategy that would allow them, too, to build massive, boxy projects at the very center of town. This hyper-modern desire, when coupled with the Dickensian virtues of slum clearance, resulted in a similar transformation of cities on this continent. Present, too, was a scarcely disguised racism among planners and politicians, who sought to eradicate the most vocal—and visible—pockets of nonwhite inner-city life (which had grown enormously as blacks migrated from the South to the defense plants in the North and on the West Coast). All of these factors came together under the rubric of urban renewal, and its widespread application produced the first large-scale alternate pedestrian systems in North America.

That the practice of urban renewal never measured up to its theory hardly mattered; virtually every major city on the continent was to see a large inner-city neighborhood razed. This professionally and academically legitimated destruction of living sectors of

the city was inevitably accompanied by a gleaming modernist rendering of allées of towers and plazas promoted in a whirl of civic boosterism. This frenzy of critique, demolition, and proposition was almost everywhere followed by a long and increasingly nervous wait for the supposedly inevitable moment when the private land market would begin to fuel the transformation. In the name of urban renewal, the leveling and clearing continued unabated for decades, even extending into the 1970s in cities such as Calgary and Montreal. There as elsewhere, the magic fingers of the self-correcting urban land market never appeared, and hoped-for private development in the now-emptied blocks never materialized, except in a pathetically few special cases. Sensing an embarrassing void, politicians of every stripe promoted these desolate zones for public or nonprofit buildings. Since their tax-generating capacity had already been reduced to zero, these uses became a means of cutting losses.

The renderings of soaring towers now forgotten, city after city filled its urban-renewal zone with cast-concrete city halls, aluminum-ribbed school-board headquarters, monolithic convention centers, and YMCAs. The long queue for the unemployment office like as not formed beneath the offices of some grandly named but nonetheless doomed redevelopment agency. Because of the memory of the slums that once stood on these lands, because of the inevitable remnant of a threatening nonwhite neighborhood a few blocks away, and because of the suburban mindset of those now returning to the inner city, internal links to connect and protect these new citadels of civic virtue seemed increasingly desirable. Sometimes traffic was banned and a mall was created, a forlorn zone of skateboarders and nervous commuters. More often, though, tunnels and bridges joined the new buildings. Effectively set apart in a quasi-public zone, the freshly housed bureaucrats could proceed with the business of networking and careering without the messy sights and sounds of the city they had been hired to serve.

Without conscious will or plan, then, a new urban order had been established in an area that had long resisted it. By default, in response to the abject failure of urban renewal, the first larger-than-block-scale change in the fabric of Downtown Everywhere had been accomplished. It was now possible to circulate through whole sectors of downtown on quarry tile and indoor-outdoor carpet, never encountering the sobering realities of concrete and as-

phalt; to walk from office to agency to restaurant under silkscreened banners waving in the pale wind of climate-controlled regularity; to approximate shopping-mall and home-and-school life in the heart of even the darkest downtown.

Inside the Analogous City I: The Skyways of Minneapolis

Minneapolis was the first major city to propose elevated walkways—locally called skyways—throughout the downtown, and to include them in urban-planning negotiations. They were first suggested in the 1959 Central Minneapolis Plan, which also proposed the construction of the Nicollet Mall and a variety of other downtown improvements. Climate was not a factor in these early discussions; rather the plan argued the modernist case for efficiency and circulation, seeing the elevated pathways as a means of improving the civic mechanisms of Minneapolis. But as the first bridges were built in the 1960s and plans for the system became more ambitious, the rationale for skyways shifted—the efficient movement of pedestrians, separated from vehicles, became less important than the avoidance of extremes of climate. This shift coincides with the construction of the first enclosed suburban shopping malls in the Twin Cities. While generations had managed to use the windswept streets of this city famous for some of the coldest winters on the continent, Minnesotans now flocked to the new malls. Until the arrival of the enclosed mall, the street had been the unquestioned locus of commercial activity. After it, Minneapolis and St. Paul, like so many other cities, began the unhappy process of attempting to recreate the environmental, social, and commercial character of the shopping mall in their formerly unchallenged downtowns.

As the bridges were built one by one, a true pedestrian network emerged among the key downtown projects. After some initial arm-twisting by civic officials to get things started, developers in Minneapolis were increasingly drawn to the skyway concept, with the enticement of the extra rents to be generated from two-level retail coverage throughout the downtown and the zoning bonus of increased office space above. While prosperous and corporate Minneapolis allowed the private sector to build most of its skyway system, smaller and poorer St. Paul, not wanting to be outdone,

built its bridge and corridor links with civic funds. Architecturally, the imagery of the two systems is different: the bridges of Minneapolis extend the cladding, color, and design quirks of the adjacent buildings over the street; those in St. Paul repeat a standard design again and again. It is an open question whether the public monotony of St. Paul or the private-sector hodgepodge of Minneapolis is more visually offensive; in either case, the bridges block views and light, and have forever changed the quality of downtown streets in the Twin Cities. It was once possible to look up and down Nicollet Mall, writes Judith Martin of the University of Minnesota:

> Today, two skyways cross the mall; a third one is being built in connection with City Center. Placing these bridges overhead will radically change the Mall. The ability to gaze down a street, even an ordinary downtown street, is an important way of orienting ourselves. Increasingly, the skyway connections across the downtown streets are hindering us in this process. They also destroy street-level views of buildings.[6]

When Johnson and Burgee's Crystal Court opened in the IDS Center in 1973, Minneapolis gained what Calgary and many of its other subsequent imitators lack—a major indoor space that lends openness and grandeur to the skyway system. At noon in winter, at any rate, the Crystal Court is one of the few interior plazas of its era and type to combine visual variety with amenity. It is not a glorified lobby or mere extension to a shopping center, but the indispensable hub of the skyway system, and a pleasing alternative to more conventional outdoor urban places.

Throughout the 1970s the Minneapolis system was extended in fits and starts, with most major downtown towers eventually connected to the pattern of bridges and walkways. With few exceptions, the second-level retail spaces never achieved the rents of ground level, and no skyway-linked interior plaza constructed since has matched the elegance of the Crystal Court. The bridges of the late 1970s and early 1980s were narrower, darker, and less well-detailed than those of the first cycle. As with most urban-development prototypes, the skyway had attained the status of the formula, and the formula was reduced to its essentials. With the

onset of the 1982 recession, expansion ground to a halt, leaving many of the bold predictions made for the skyway unfulfilled.

At the same time, back on terra firma, street culture was changing. Even a state as liberal and affluent as Minnesota saw huge shifts in the quality of life. The litany of changes in the 1980s is familiar: the virtual collapse of federal housing programs under President Reagan; the unforeseen side-effects of community-release programs for the insane and infirm; the gradual whittling away of the continuities of the welfare state during a recession. All these conspired to radically change the street culture of this Midwestern metropolis. Crime rates rose and a new generation of urban professionals started to fear the downtown streets. More and more often, they had to run the disquieting gauntlet of babbling people in cardboard shanties as they dashed for the skyway entrance.

In reaction to the worsening social climate, the skyway system became something it was never intended to be: a fortress, a filter, a refuge. While the skyways had previously been policed only informally, security firms now received increased contracts to post officers whose purpose was to subtly dissuade the poor, infirm, black, native Indian, or mentally ill from entering the skyway system without explicit and closely monitored business. More than ever, the skyway system became the preserve of the middle class, and the downtown streets outside were left to the walking wounded, the urban casualties of Reaganomics.

In any public discussion of skyway bridges and other manifestations of the analogous city, we are confronted with the metaphoric use of climate and the interior. Americans and Canadians are notoriously unable to talk publicly about race and class. Precisely because these realities contradict civics-class homilies in both countries, North Americans resort to quiet codes and comforting metaphors to mask those urban factors they most fear. Europeans from Tocqueville to Baudrillard have often remarked upon our inability to admit race and class as active issues in the public realm, and to mask them in rhetorical camouflage. The immense appeal of "climate protection," at both conscious and subconscious levels of public debate, is that it can serve as a convenient code word or marker for other factors—principally race in the United States and class in Canada. Today, when we talk of protecting our citizens from the extremes of climate with new downtown bridges and

tunnels, what is actually being promoted is more social than meteorological. People now say they're "never going shopping downtown in winter" in exactly the same tone they use to say they're "never going into that neighborhood anymore." The proposition that one is incapable of venturing into the climatic void is powered by the same sensibility that locks car doors from the inside at certain intersections—no doubt en route to the local ski hill. Crime, poverty, and the disquieting clash of race and life-style have become environmental—they have extended to become the virtual ideas of "climate" or "openness" themselves—and nothing less than an environmental barrier will render things inhabitable. With the new urban skyways and tunnels, fear has been rendered architectural.

Both climate as metaphor and interioricity as symbol extend the antiurban bias of North American culture—outlined by Leo Marx in *The Machine in the Garden*—to new frontiers. No longer are just the seedy areas of downtown to be avoided; as crime and urban problems spread to every part of the city, even the streets around the commercial, office, and institutional core are threatening. In the current environment of drugs, crime, and festering race relations, "being inside" becomes a powerful symbol for being protected, buttressed, coddled, while "being outside" evokes exposure, isolation, and vulnerability. In an increasingly blighted urban landscape these code words become loaded, bearing meanings far beyond their prosaic origins. The symbolic power of bridges and tunnels in the discourse of public space is such that, though their purpose and promotion are couched in seemingly neutral terms, their very physical properties pander to some of our deepest fears. It is an unspoken terror for many white middle-class Americans to be surrounded by hostile blacks in an open street, or in the case of Canadians, to be accosted by abusive, panhandling urban Indians. We will go to considerable lengths to avoid these zones of potentially frightening friction outside, and the urban passageways of the analogous city are the solutions proposed by too many cities.

By the mid-1980s, increasing race and class stratification, in combination with a revived economy, sparked a new boom in skyway construction. Like other cities in the heartland, Minneapolis now confronted a largely benign but visually offensive street population that had previously only been obvious in cities on the coasts and the Great Lakes. The people of the Twin Cities reacted by

retreating into their skyways as never before. Two forms of policing kept the skyway system a haven of middle-class propriety: formal, by police officers at key entrance stairs and security guards in lobbies, and informal, through the visual codes and cues indicating that anyone not dressed appropriately or behaving in an acceptable manner was unwelcome.

In Minneapolis there are still large and happy lunch-hour crowds outside on fair summer days, and there one is tempted to believe that the skyway system has had little impact on ground-plane street life. But by 2:30 P.M. these crowds have disappeared, the supposed safety in middle-class numbers having vanished, leaving the street plane as firmly in the hands of the underclass as on any January afternoon. Despite the evident changes both overhead and below, the Minneapolis skyway system is still almost exclusively defended along climatic lines—protection from the heat and cold, a quasipublic infrastructure for the sake of convenience and nothing more. But it is clear that it is a refuge not just from the elements, but from the social climate. With the symbolically resonant and convenient code language of climate and exposure, a new city has been quietly laminated onto the core areas of Minneapolis and St. Paul. Architect Jaquelin Robertson sees the skyways as needless and ill-designed continuations of the suburbanization and privatization of downtowns throughout the country:

> Ironically, for a city with skybridges, Minneapolis has missed all the joy of bridges. . . . Blind decisions [about urban infrastructure] will continue to create a dreadful, hopelessly inefficient sprawl. They will further the privatization of space, of which the Minneapolis skyways system is one example. The notion of the public realm in the American city has all but vanished. The moment that we abandon the street for an enclosed, controlled, second level, we have furthered that privatization and have removed the citizen farther from his city.[7]

The Minneapolis–St. Paul experiment has been emulated by many cities. Charlotte, North Carolina, is home to one of the most appalling applications of the skyway concept, the aptly named "Overstreet Mall." Even the usually pleasant urban analyst William H. Whyte is compelled to call down the Charlotte system; in *City* he notes that the Overstreet Mall has created a virtual spatial apartheid

in the city, with middle-class whites above, and blacks and poor people below.[8] Perhaps missing the point, or at least dulling it, Whyte insists that these groups "get the best of it" with their isolated inhabitation of the ground plane.

This same spatial apartheid is apparent in Detroit and other cities that have applied the concept. Radiating from Renaissance Center are the spokes of protected glassed walkways, connecting to a monorail drifting emptily around the squalid remnants of a once-great metropolitan center. The discontinuity between the metallic separateness of the Renaissance Center and the city it was to save is all too apparent. Inside the hermetic bridges and atria of the New Detroit, one is struck by the very conservative and very expensive clothes worn by young black men, even those who are clerks, messengers, and trainees. One soon starts to wonder whether the overdressing is a survival strategy, the entrance ticket to the new fortified urban encampments. Even Miami, with its warmer climate, is increasingly opting for grade-separated bridges and a monorail in its downtown, to spare tourists and suburbanites any encounter with the Latino street life immediately below. And in San Francisco, where protection from climate is surely not a factor, the bridges and walkways of the Embarcadero Center have brought new customers and vitality, as Market Street increasingly becomes the refuge of the infirm and nonwhite. The skyways of this new generation make the quiet subterfuge of the Twin Cities system seem benign by comparison.

Inside the Analogous City II: Calgary's Plus Fifteen

Modeled closely on the Minneapolis skyways, Calgary's Plus Fifteen has surpassed its predecessor to become the world's largest off-the-ground pedestrian network. The system is named for the height of its midblock passageways and bridges, fifteen feet above the ground.[9] First proposed in the late 1960s in a report by Montreal architect Ray Affleck, working with Calgary urban designer Harold Hanen, the system was inspired by theories and projects of Le Corbusier, a variety of Team Ten projects, and early reports on the Minneapolis skyways. The Plus Fifteen, like analogous pedestrian systems elsewhere, was first rationalized along climatic lines,

a means of making it possible to avoid Calgary streets during the annual six months of Canadian winter.

Calgary's high water table and unstable soils meant that underground tunnels were never an option. The first bridges—almost entirely paid for with municipal funds—linked public buildings in an urban-renewal district. As in Minneapolis, these early bridges displayed remarkable architectural variety—covered or open, acrylic domes or brick walls, controlled climates or simple windscreens.

Under Hanen's direction as key planner for the City of Calgary, the Plus Fifteen was formally incorporated into downtown urban-planning policy. Unlike the Minneapolis skyway system, the Calgary system was publicly owned and open twenty-four hours a day from the start. The first objective was to link the two major downtown department stores, Eaton's and the Hudson's Bay Company. At first, office-density bonuses were approved for towers that included walkways and bridges. By the mid-1970s, private developers were required to build Plus Fifteen bridges in their projects, and to contribute to a fund to finance missing links in the system. By the early 1980s, this fund permitted the city to construct missing walkways and bridges, making for a much more continuous system, and Calgary surpassed Minneapolis as a city of bridges in the air.

A major lubricant for the rapid completion of Plus Fifteen was the 1970s oil boom. As the headquarters for the Canadian energy industry and as the site of branch headquarters for multinationals, Calgary grew faster than any other medium-sized city in North America in the late 1970s and early 1980s. In 1979 more square feet of office space were built in Calgary than in New York and Chicago combined. The Plus Fifteen's first bridges and passageways were located in the urban-renewal zone in Calgary's east end; the second wave went up in the western reaches of the core, and this area too was soon crowded to capacity. As new corporate headquarters, speculative office towers, and retail and hotel complexes filled in the remaining central zone, the entire system had become linked by the early 1980s. Today, virtually every major building is connected, and the square mile of downtown Calgary completely interlaced with bridges and passageways.

As with most metropolitan building schemes on this scale, there were some unintended consequences. The bridges blocked views west towards the Rocky Mountains, highly prized as a symbol of

the active outdoor life so cherished in Calgary, host to the 1988 Olympics. Moreover, the bridges have truncated the formerly continuous street space into a series of discrete and uncomfortable half-block urban "rooms" and have reduced sunlight and increased wind velocities at ground level, all of which further encourage citizens to flee the streets for the Plus Fifteen, even in temperate seasons when streets were previously abuzz with pedestrians. Once begun, the Plus Fifteen took on a life of its own, creating the very social and environmental effects it intended to mitigate.

Of course, here as elsewhere, the bridge system undermined the vitality of the streets. It is a tribute to the "peace, order, and good government" so beloved by Canadians that the entire Plus Fifteen system remains open twenty-four hours per day, inconceivable in most American cities. From arrival in a high-rise parking structure in the morning through the dash to the deli at coffee break, shopping at lunch, and the afternoon doctor's appointment, the middle and managerial classes are able to accomplish their daily rounds totally within the hermetic seal of the Plus Fifteen: happy to avoid the ground plane on all but the most irresistible summer days. Unbearable winter days, of course, make the Plus Fifteen even more desirable; during the severe winter of 1980, Calgary's prostitutes moved from the streets to the bridges and passageways near the major hotels. Predictably, there was a public hue and cry, and the local police were required to leave their beloved cruisers and go on foot patrol for the first time in years, in order to restore propriety inside the above-ground system.

By 1985, as a result of Plus Fifteen's success, the last major outdoor pedestrian space in downtown Calgary, the historic Stephen Avenue Mall (Eighth Avenue), was in serious decline, its businesses failing, its surviving denizens ever more haggard. When a light rail-transit system opened along the adjacent Seventh Avenue, it drew the secretaries, students, elderly, and service workers away from the Stephen Avenue Mall, further stratifying a formerly integrated city. The mall was left to the urban none-of-the-aboves: the unemployed and never-employed, the dopers, bikers, punks, urban Indians, and drifters—which in turn has accelerated business closings, transforming a once-vibrant street into a forlorn strip. Predictably this, in turn, has sparked ever-more-desperate gestures: a hulking new mirrored City Hall at the east end of the mall; a saccharine New York–designed Olympic Plaza; sweetheart deals

with developers to despoil its western flanks with more ungraceful, sun-blocking towers.

Today, downtown Calgary is dominated by the Plus Fifteen system. The ground plane is given over to traffic movement as it never was before. There is little doubt that the modest success of the extensive Plus Fifteen–level retail areas has been at the expense of the quantity and quality of retail activity at ground level. At first, the glittering tubes and canopied bridges above promise a new urban realm, the newest of New World cities, but upon arrival at the top of the escalator or entry stair, its emptiness and antiseptic air disappoint. There are winter gardens, craft galleries, and an endless cycle of shops, but there is little cause to think the analogous realm overhead aspires to the state of streets, or the companion conditions of urbanity.

Because shopping and strolling have been siphoned onto this higher plane, the streets give little evidence, even at noon, that this is one of the densest downtown cores of any medium-sized city on the continent. On a winter day the social stratification is complete, except for the joggers of this fitness-obsessed city, their bright clothing giving their sorties past the glass barrier the appearance of the extra-vehicular activities of the Apollo program. The clean, air-conditioned, tasteful, managed, unsurprising corridors, bridges, and shopping complexes of the Plus Fifteen have a surfeit of what Jan Morris has identified as the most insidious and deadly Canadian vice—"niceness."[10]

Inside the Analogous City III: Montreal's Underground

The underground city in North America evolved much the way the overhead one did, with Montreal assuming Minneapolis's role. The Montreal system began with a single project, and an architecturally enlightened one at that—Place Ville Marie (PVM). Conceived by developer William Zeckendorf and designed by Henry Cobb and I. M. Pei, Place Ville Marie and its underground shopping concourse had an enormous impact on Montreal, and on Canadian urbanism as a whole. Opened in 1962, the cruciform tower contained as much office space as had been built in Montreal since World War II. Zeckendorf's original concept for the Montreal project included 150 boutiques and restaurants, placed underground to make room

for the large formal plaza above. The topography, the adjacent structures, and a former commuter rail line beneath the site lent even more rationale to the underground plan.

Mayor Jean Drapeau was keen to make Place Ville Marie the hub of downtown redevelopment, and helped negotiate tunnel connections to the Queen Elizabeth Hotel and to the major commuter train station. Shops would line this active pedestrian route from rail station to Place Ville Marie, and on to the major shopping axis, rue Ste. Catherine. Looking ahead towards a World's Fair and a rubber-wheeled subway system, Mayor Drapeau considered PVM the first of his "*grands projets*," which included the 1976 Olympics and the wholesale transformation of central Montreal—in most cases for the worse. Working closely with the mayor, the planner and traffic engineer Vincent Ponte proposed an underground pedestrian network radiating from the Place Ville Marie. Once the Drapeau-Ponte plan was in place, projects then being planned, such as Place Bonaventure, were designed to include connections to the PVM concourse. The overall plan was aided by topography: downtown Montreal lies on a sloping plane between Mount Royal and the St. Lawrence River; the slope makes extensive excavations necessary for all projects, and makes some understreet connections easier. Ponte saw Montreal's underground city as "more than a pedestrian thoroughfare; it will be an environment that people may enjoy all day long."[11] The mayor, Ponte, Pei, and the associated architects found their precedent for Place Ville Marie in Rockefeller Center. As the concept of a complete and autonomous urban realm was promoted, the New York example was invoked time and time again.

Pei's designs for the PVM shopping concourse set a high standard. The generous pedestrian areas, the design-controlled signage and storefronts, the reflective interior materials, and the ingenious light wells contribute to an airy and open quality. The underground concourse at Place Ville Marie has been a continuous commercial success, with its high-end retailers, its captive population of commuters heading north from the train station, and, not least, the concentration of Quebec's largest corporations—and highest discretionary incomes—in the elegant tower above. The continued success for over twenty-five years of the shopping concourse at Place Ville Marie is a tribute to the forward-looking ideas of Zeckendorf and Drapeau, but even more to the architectural finesse of

Pei and his Montreal design associates. While many of the architect's concepts have been compromised in a recent renovation of the public spaces and concourses, many more remain. Here, as in Philip Johnson's Crystal Court in Minneapolis, it is clear that original and considered architectural design can be a beneficial investment, underground as overhead.

Because of a huge investment in the new subway system, each new cycle of downtown development through the late 1960s and early 1970s had its tunnel connection to a transit stop, and its cluster of commuter-related shops. But the election of the pro-independence Parti Québecois government in 1976 put a halt to most large private downtown development for nearly a decade. The Montreal underground system was left a discontinuous series of connections radiating out from subway stops, not the hoped-for continuous network of knotted connections.

By the mid-1980s Quebec separatism had been rejected in a public referendum, the new government had veered to the right, and downtown development resumed with a vengeance. In this latest cycle, the underground pedestrian network became truly continuous, rivaling the streets above. A key north-south linkage was constructed under the city's major east-west shopping street, rue Ste. Catherine, and several more are planned. New tunnels connected previously isolated segments, and east-west paths proliferated to the point where much of the corporate core of downtown Montreal could be traveled without ever venturing outside. Both underground at the metro and concourse levels and in multileveled complexes above, there was a veritable explosion of retail space in downtown Montreal, so much so that the city is now seriously overboutiqued. Today, it has been estimated that over a third of all retail and office space in downtown Montreal is directly linked to the metro and the underground city, including "1.7 million square meters of office buildings, 1,400 boutiques, two department stores, 3,800 hotel rooms, 11,500 parking spaces, three concert halls, two rail stations, and numerous housing units."[12]

The more recent additions to the Montreal system apply few of the beneficial lessons of Place Ville Marie. Light wells are seldom incorporated now; materials are cheaper and public spaces less generous. Sporadic funding and the extreme boom-bust cycles of the Montreal real-estate market mean that some sections are undersized and others oversized, to accommodate structures that will never be built. As in the skyway systems, an urban calculus evolved that reduced the underground city to its most essential elements, in the process eradicating its verve and character. The most controversial recent project is Les Promenades de la Cathedrale, a part of the Maison des Coöperants office complex. Here Christ Church Cathedral, a dour but much-loved Gothic Revival church on rue Ste. Catherine, was elaborately pinned and reinforced, and a shopping center was constructed *underneath*, where the crypt had been. In an inversion of the sales of air rights that have made some of the richest congregations in Christendom richer, the church was paid well for the real estate underneath and around its nave. To sweeten the deal, the developer provided a flashy Bible store on the retail concourse; leather-bound scriptures can now compete with clothes and knickknacks in the subterranean marketplace.

Adding architectural insult to urban injury, the new retail zone mimics the spatial order and structural detail of the stone church above. One can now sit in the food fair of Les Promenades with an Orange Julius and an order of Polynesian PoPo balls and gaze upward to the gothic arches hung like scenographic stalactites from the ceiling, pale postmodern echoes of the actual church above. With the eye following the tracery, trefoils, and buttresses, one can contemplate the spiritual lesson of Les Promenades de la Cathedrale: the house of worship as marketing hook. Welcome to the analogous city. The demolition of the church above now must surely follow to complete the cycle.

As in Calgary and Minneapolis, the parallel city in Montreal has had some unintended effects. Street-level pedestrian activity has been reduced on north-south streets where underground passages provide an alternative. Rue Ste. Catharine, though, the major east-west shopping street, has proven itself amazingly resilient, vital even at the height of a Canadian winter. This is the one place in Montreal where all races, all classes, and both poles of this linguistically divided city meet in a happily frenetic parade. Yet while the sheer number of pedestrians is as high as ever, the social and economic makeup of the throngs still walking at street level has changed. Increasingly, Ste. Catharine is a street for those who pass through downtown, rather than those who live or work there.

Not surprisingly, the underground city is altogether a less free-thinking zone than above. When the provincial government banned

English-language signs in an attempt to bolster cultural identity for francophone Quebec, the independent merchants along rue Ste. Catharine risked jail terms by promoting their businesses in the proscribed language. The merchants of the underground city, however, quickly conformed to the new laws, bowing to pressure from shopping-complex owners and retail-chain management, who wanted to avoid confrontation. The mechanisms for social enforcement underground in Montreal are not nearly as obvious as those in Detroit or Minneapolis, but just as effective; many of the shopping centers linked to the underground city, writes Montreal urban planner David Brown,

> effectively screen clientele by keeping a watchful eye out for "undesirables" and "undesirable activity." Occasionally these definitions may go so far as to embrace all non-shoppers and all non-shopping activity. Observations and interviews indicate that people who would like to spend a little time relaxing in these centres must adopt a "resting from shopping" attitude when seated. Even then, the guards at many locations are instructed to move people along when they have sat for more than fifteen minutes.[13]

With residents and office workers increasingly drawn to the parallel analogous city (though only to shop), the ground level, exposed to the climate, is left to casual visitors, desultory shoppers, hangers-on, the young, and the restless. The residual vitality of Montreal's streets has been such that the middle class has not yet been scared away from its most important streets, but one could easily imagine a scenario of rapid decline, particularly if a prolonged recession or rising Quebec nationalism exacerbates social stresses and if additional tunnels provide a more continuous alternative for walkers.

Toronto and Edmonton have also opted for underground cities on the Montreal model, but they are not nearly as extensive. Toronto's civic authorities quickly sensed the unease in the new world underground, and in the early 1980s canceled public subsidies and planning policies promoting them. Edmonton has hedged its bets by switching in the 1980s from underground to overhead Pedways, in keeping with the jumbled architecture and urban planning in that city. Planners and critics in both cities argued that without at least periodic visual connection to the sun or to conventional streets,

disorientation is a real problem in the new analogous city, not soluble through design alone.

Meanwhile the recent decline of Toronto's most important north-south street should stand as a warning for the future of Montreal's Ste. Catherine. Over the past decade Yonge Street has gone from lively boulevard to a tawdry series of stratified urban zones with sobriquets like "corporate core," "rough trade," "boys' town," "up-market," and "highway out of town," and whose spatially separated populations mix less than they did. The new Torontonians are a wholly disaggregated series of social, racial, class, and sexual subtypes, without the possibility of contact, divided by occupation, bylaw, habit, or default. Welcome to the tidy but separate rooms of the analogous city.

Perhaps because it is not as rich and obsessed with "world-class" status as Toronto, Montreal is the exception to this sad new rule about the incompatibility of diverse populations in even the most even-handed and just of North American cities. The analogous cities created by bridges and tunnels have been an underestimated means by which the North American city has been spatially zoned into separated and contained populations. It will one day be seen that the rent-a-cop on the concourse effectively zones social space as much as any land-use control, minimum lot size, or municipal edict. An expression of suburbia in the very heart of urban life, the analogous city removes the most powerful, monied, and articulate classes from downtown streets just when their attention and support are needed most.

Luckily, the spread of the analogous city is limited by the extraordinarily high investment it requires, usually provided directly or indirectly by governments. A key reason why there are more urban experiments overhead than underground is that bridges are cheaper than tunnels.[14] An underground city like Montreal's makes economic sense only if a major cycle of intense downtown development is tied to the construction of a subway system; tunneling and underground construction costs are simply too high to consider it otherwise. Since Los Angeles is the only major North American city planning a new heavy-transit system, Montreal is likely to be the most complete exploration of the underground city we will see.

Resisting the Analogous City

In contrast to the assertive symbolism of the theme park, the festival market, or the ersatz town center, the analogous urbanism of the underground and overhead city at first seems quiet, benign. Yet it has the same roots, and its long-term effects may be more profound than those more obvious targets of debate on the New North American City. Skyways and tunnels are at the forefront of one of the most important urban processes of the 1990s: the suburbanization of downtown. One reason for their widespread acceptance has been that these new passageways have been presented, and broadly accepted, as mere technological fixes to avoid the extremes of climate or to ease walking. With tunnels and bridges now connecting heretofore isolated islands of new development, retail dollars tend to be spent within the network, rather than outside. More destructively, marginal social groups and political activity have been quietly excluded from what now passes for the public domain, and monoclass, monoform, and decidedly monotonous hermetic archipelagos have been created—all in the name of escaping the blazing summer sun or the blustering winter wind. Under the guise of convenience, we are imposing a middle-class tyranny on the last significant urban realm of refuge for other modes of life, other values: downtown streets.

The new tunnels and bridges act like the beltways and bypasses that now ring every major metropolis on the continent; they are all a movement system, independent of conventional streets, linking work with shopping with recreation. Like the freeways that slashed through the cities thirty years ago, these pedestrian networks are rationalized in public discussion as infrastructure pure and simple, an amenity for all that will not significantly change the city. With the advantage of hindsight, we now know that the interstates and beltways were anything but value-neutral "mere infrastructure"; their impact on nonwhite and inner-city neighborhoods was and is disproportionately destructive. Political allegiances and connections shaped their location and construction, and they effectively subsidize the flight of the middle classes from cities to exclusionary-zoned fortresslike suburbs—what they avoid is as important as what they connect. Now, what the beltways and interstates accomplished at the regional scale is being replicated in miniature in the

new analogous city of tunnels and bridges—they are extensions of the same sociopolitical processes, the same civic ideologies.

The filtering away of the middle classes from downtown streets removes the last zone of physical contact for the increasing diversity of ethnic and racial backgrounds, life-styles, and values in our cities. The rapidly evolving cultural space of television, computers, and the new communication technologies will never replace the information and economic system which is the vital public street. With climate the code word, and the offensiveness of poverty and epidemic crime the immediate issues, it will become increasingly easy for other cities to follow the lead of Minneapolis, Calgary, and Montreal towards the unintentional—but real—stratification of their social composition.

Dallas is a case in point, demonstrating these disturbing trends in the evolution of the analogous city. The key planner for the Dallas system of bridges and tunnels is the very same traffic engineer who helped propose Montreal's underground city—Vincent Ponte. The *éminence grise* of the analogous city, Ponte went so far as to propose banning pedestrians from parts of Dallas because "one of the chief contributing factors to traffic congestion is crowds of pedestrians interrupting the flow of traffic at intersections."[15] The solution, according to Ponte and other proponents, is to displace virtually all pedestrian activity into the simulated urban realm overhead and underfoot. The problem with the Dallas system is the spatial injustice it has done to the city. While one might try to explain away the social and racial separation of Charlotte or Calgary as the minor inconveniences of small and self-correcting cities, to see it on the scale of downtown Dallas brings the metaphor of spatial apartheid home: the nonwhite, the socially nonconformist, or the politically dissenting are unlikely ever to be allowed to install themselves in the quasiprivate domain of the city's elevated and underground shopping concourses.

Armed with the technocratic rationale of Ponte and an earnest army of civic engineers, traffic-department bean-counters across the continent record the number of cars to clear right turns per green light, building the case for new pedestrian bridges and tunnels. Bridges proliferate in Houston, Denver, and Winnipeg. Baltimore, Cleveland, Boston, and other cities have joined the experiment, or are about to. The reversal in the 1980s of two

decades of improved urban amenity will only increase pressure for the construction of the analogous city, because too many of us—especially at the highest level of corporate and political life—have lost faith in the possibility of a socially diverse, multiracial, tolerant, public urban realm. Architects and planners, blinded by their skills and goaded by short-term objectives, have only too readily acquiesced to the analogous city.

It may yet become apparent to all that in losing the social forum of the traditional street to the new analogous city, something important is forever departed. A zone of coexistence, of dialogue, of friction, even, is necessary to a vital urban order; either we must return to the streets, or the analogous city must become more like the real city and the real streets from whence it came. Already, there is evidence of strategies of subversion, and one can never underestimate the potential of urban populations to associate where, when, and with whom they choose, especially where architectural symbolism, security guards, and signs tell them not to. The prostitutes on the Calgary bridges and the overdressed young black men in Detroit are not failures of the analogous city, but harbingers of its possible redemption through use by those who were first excluded. As outside pressures mount, the fantasy of germ-free suburban life maintained within the antiseptic analogous city cannot be maintained, even as the concept of the suburb itself becomes more complex, recombinant, recondite.

Many of the current political and social forces changing the North American city are almost inevitable, the glacial movements of an increasingly icy urban polity. But there is nothing inevitable about the analogous city. Dependent upon large public subsidy, the analogous city is vulnerable to public influence. We must start to question the motives of cities and citizens who find themselves suddenly incapable of dealing with climate, even while they praise the lively street culture of sweltering Cairo, rainy Milan, gloomy London, or icy Stockholm. We should sound alarms at all radical urban interventions that portray themselves as "just" infrastructure, because they have too often proven anything but "just" that. Where the analogous city has been built, we need to find ways of opening it up to a complete and representative citizenry—even to those who threaten, avow causes, or cannot or choose not to consume. We should not sacrifice the life of the polis, that most ancient benefit of the culture of western cities, with meek excuses about

private property rights and the desires of people to associate with their own kind.

Recall the Medici gazing from the *corridoio vasariano* onto the fighting in the Florentine streets below. We must, civic and virtuous people all, resist the temptation to fancy ourselves the new Medici, with our continuous sealed walker's highways to art gallery, shopping center, health club, and other splendid palaces of refuge. We must not let our commissioning of grandiose civic centers blind us to life in the surrounding precincts; we cannot build our city of art and poetry alone. We must quit the splendid surroundings of our new bridges to return again to the streets, with all their hectoring danger, their swirling confusion, and their muddled vitality. Or else we must do all we can to bring the culture of the street into the new realm, however dangerous or messy this might be. To do less is to accept a substitute, to live an analogue.

VARIATIONS ON A THEME PARK

The New American City and the End of Public Space

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To Joan

Contents