HC ON THE MOVE

‘For the first time in history more of the world’s citizens will be living in the city than in rural areas, the United Nations Population Fund recently predicted. The 21st century man is an urban man. The urbanisation of the world is taking place at an unprecedented rate. Every week there are a million new urban dwellers. That’s about 180,000 per day. And it is a growth that according to the UN is irreversible.’

source: NOS Journal, De Lonkende Stad [The Beckoning City], August 16, 2007

This publication is the first of a series that Expodium, platform for young art, will be bringing out. Two times a year you can expect a book in which diverse facets of urban development will be discussed and investigated. The publication that you now have in your hands reports on the course of ‘Jewel of the... HC on the move’, which began on February 11, 2008, and is ending with the exhibition Just what is it that makes that thing so different, so appealing?

Expodium is a platform that stimulates, produces and shows the latest developments in the field of the visual arts. In our annual program we respond to urbanity and contemporary urban developments. Every half year we form a vision on urban situations with a group of young artists, from an autonomous reflection.

It is self-evident that the impulse for expansion in cities around the world is a very relevant issue for visual artists to be responding to. The social consequences of large-scale urban projects are part of the territory. What does the city mean for people today? In his book Welkom in Megapolis (2008), Jan–Hendrik Bakker already says that ‘modernisation and globalisation have radically altered urban life in the past fifty years. So much so, in fact, that we have to ask ourselves if we stand on
the eve of a megapolisation that will make the very space we live in a scarce consumable one, with all the consequences that entails. But cities want to expand, grow larger, have a more ambitious and cosmopolitan atmosphere. Also in The Netherlands city governments and project developers feel the hot breath of a united Europe breathing down their neck. Their cities must win a place on the European map, or at least give that impression. And thus they build office towers, VINEX neighborhoods, shopping centres and stations.

Utrecht is no slouch when it comes to large-scale urban development. The city has an identity crisis, and fears are getting lost in the European context. In 2002 the residents of Utrecht had a chance to choose in a referendum between two visions for redevelopment of the area around their central train station (version 1 and version A...). It became clear that the residents of Utrecht were primarily keen on having a small-scale, picturesque city, easy to get around in. Utrechters spoke in favor of lots of green space, quiet, having things at walking distance. But when we look at the plans that are going to be realised, we see a different picture being sketched: a cinema complex that is to be the largest in Europe, office buildings that must attract international firms, a train station with the atmosphere of a major airport terminal, and a completely renovated shopping heart that can easily handle 45 million visitors a year by the time it is finished. In addition the new Leidsche Rijn residential development must provide living space for an additional 80,000 residents of Utrecht. In 2007 Utrecht had 289,000 residents. In the course of 2008 this will probably already top 300,000, and by 2017 the number will exceed 350,000. The prognosis is that in 2022 one quarter of all Utrechters (about 100,000 people) will be living in new homes. What image of a city belongs with population growth of that sort?
Expodium focuses on this urban development of Utrecht, in order to place the findings from that study in a larger national and international context. Each year a concrete aspect of the development is chosen in order to explore it in greater depth. In 2008 that subject is an investigation of Hoog Catharijne. This shopping centre was the first of its kind in The Netherlands when it was opened in 1973. Never before had concrete been used in building on such a scale, and it was there that Dutchmen and women became acquainted with a parking garage for the first time. People flooded in from outside Utrecht to admire this futuristic looking building. The interior had lots of marble, seating of hardwood or red plastic, and planters. The highpoint of the interior was undoubtedly the Clarentuin, roofed with a regular ceiling of pendent red constructions. In addition there was a tropical garden with birdcages that produced exotic sounds, olive trees and a bronze fountain with a marble basin that looked like a small pond.

During the construction and soon after its delivery, there were however so many adjustments being made that the original intentions of the shopping centre were never realised. Over the years the center was further altered, resulting in the original concept being even further weakened. In time, the glory of Hoog Catharijne became a thing of the past.

There are however still remnants of the original ideologies behind Hoog Catharijne to be found. The first half year of our program focused on these forgotten jewels of the shopping centre. What do they still tell us about the vision of the architects, and how do they relate to the plans for the new shopping centre? The findings from this search for the old ideologies are being visualised in the exhibition that is taking place in Hoog Catharijne.
Each round of research begins with a general orientation to the subject. Based on that, experts with a special expertise in fields that are related to the theme (for instance, architecture, urban planning, visual art, graphic design and sociology) are invited to enter into conversation with the artists, and to share their experience with this group.

Then follows a period in which events are organised (for instance, a presentation, an activity, safaris through the bowels of Hoog Catharijne, or a discussion evening).

The experts involved in this project – and who also have texts included in this publication – are Dr. Hans Buiter (researcher in History, Technology and Philosophy, Eindhoven Technical University), Prof. Dr. Luuk Boelens (engineer and endowed professor in Urban Planning, University of Utrecht), Gert-Jan Dousi (project director at Corio, the owner of Hoog Catharijne) and Saskia Sassen (Lynd Professor of Sociology, Columbia University New York, and Member, The Committee on Global Thought).

We wish to thank them for their inspirational input for our group of artists, who were able to develop their work on the basis of the knowledge they obtained. And of course we extend our thanks to the artists, Tilmann Meyer-Faje, Edward Clydesdale Thomson, Eric von Robertson, Hendrik-Jan Hunneman and Sebastiaan Verhees, for their wonderful cooperation and enthusiasm.

Thomas Clever and Gert Franke have done a tremendous job with this publication and with the posters and flyers that they designed. Our thanks also go to Regina Kelaita for making photographs and films. We wish to thank Bojan Fajric for the presentation of his project on the Boska shopping centre in Banja Luka, Bosnia. Michael Klinkenberg has always been a valuable force for Expodium with regard to the technical operations and production.
We are grateful to Don Mader for the translations and editing of the English texts. Huib Haye van der Werf, Rob Dettingmeijer, Frank van Oort and Mr. K.F.G. Spruit: warmest thanks for your involvement in the project and the substantive discussions we had about it. Without the good will and cooperation of Corio/Hoog Catharijne, this project could never have taken place. We understand now a bit more of what was intended in 'Why people buy'. Further, we wish to thank our volunteers for their dedication and enthusiasm. Our thanks are also extended to Aorta, the Utrecht architecture center, for their cooperation in realising the ‘safaris’ through the crypts of Hoog Catharijne.

Bart Witte
Luc Janssens
Our demands on the furnishing of public space change all the time. Research bureaus go through a lot of trouble to calculate the taste of the consumers in the future. Project developers sketch beautiful colour pictures of cheerful squares with fountains, that later become sources of annoyance (urban decay, tedium, security problems, etc.). What was plunked down somewhere in the recent past must often make way again for something new, which in turn is praised with almost the same starry-eyed arguments.

The developments in the city centre of Utrecht are no different from those in other cities. City planners are constantly fiddling with a new identity. In Amsterdam, why must the bollards that were once placed everywhere in such profusion now disappear completely? There is a tendency that can be observed in many places around Europe, for people to aspire to an identity from the past. Modernistic buildings are demolished to make way for something new that pretends that it has been standing there for a longer time.

What is wrong with the once so innovative architecture that has beautified the picturesque city centres? Does the new ‘old’ jacket that is being put on fit well with the image of the institution or company involved?

What does an American clothing label have in common with the Dutch VOC, as Bataviastad in Lelystad suggests? Why does a chic clothing store in the Kalverstraat decorate its display windows with style elements from the squatters’ movement?

When Hoog Catharijne – the most modern shopping centre of The Netherlands – opened its doors, the stores in it emphasised in their advertisements that they had been trading for 45, 50 or 75 years. Did they want to make it clear that they were not as fresh and new as the shopping mall to which they had moved?

Why must there always be a change of course? In my staged images I want to follow out the logical consequence of the dreams that moved the builders in the 1960s and ’70s. With the croquette seller’s bicycle that I peddled around on through Almere last year, I brought to life the artist’s impression that must have appeared on the billboards that attracted the first residents to Almere. The Concrete Souvenir Shop is my answer to what I believe Hoog Catharijne stands for.

Concrete is neat!
WHATH'S NEW ABOUT ‘NEW HOOG CATHARIJNE’?
HANS BUITER

When the central shopping precinct of Hoog Catharijne opened in September, 1973, the interest was overwhelming. Radio and TV and the press devoted lots of attention to the largest post-war construction project in a city centre in The Netherlands, while in Utrecht and its environs free door-to-door newspapers were distributed. Even before the official opening the public thronged in to admire the shopping mall! they experienced as the height of luxury, with its gleaming floors and tropical plants. At the same time, the center was the target of fierce criticism, and thousands of people demonstrated against the project on the evening it opened. Together, these events set the tone for its future. Since its opening the center has drawn millions of visitors and been a great commercial success, but at the same time it has been a bone of contention. Nobody appears neutral with regard to the shopping and office complex around Utrecht’s station.

In 1982, with a cluster of offices on the Smakelaarsveld, the last part of the project was delivered. Just four years on, the first plans were being crafted for a new approach to the area. Now, 22 years later, the whole area is actually going to be fundamentally rebuilt, under the title ‘New Hoog Catharijne’. In the early 1960s the initiators of Hoog Catharijne needed only four years to get politics and the major landowners in the area behind their plans. The decision-making process of the last two decades, slow as the proverbial molasses in January, is a still contrast with the rapid process surrounding the birth of the center. Why the difference?

Hoog Catharijne was the brainchild of the Utrecht construction company Bredero, which in the 1950s had opened branches in Iran, New Guinea and Australia. It was through Bredero’s Australian daughter that they came in contact with the concept of the shopping mall, as it had been developed in the US by the architect Victor Gruen. Bredero built its first shopping and office centre near a station in Melbourne. In terms of the location, they diverged from Gruen’s example; his malls were built primarily on the edges of cities. From the moment Bredero established Empeo, a project development arm in The Netherlands, they also proposed building such malls here. The firm first tried to interest the city of Amsterdam in parking garages to accompany the proposed renewal of Amsterdam’s Central Station. But the Amsterdam Department of Public Works rejected their approaches. They believed they could manage urban mobility through the construction of subways against it, while a majority of the City Council and the national government blocked the implementation of this plan. Against this background, Bredero’s initiative to expand the city centre beyond the historic urban heart, to build parking garages and radically reform the traffic structure around Central Station was a godsend for the politicians. Moreover, there was the promise that the whole project would not cost the city a penny. The city would buy up or expropriate the parcels in the area at its expense, but then lease the land to the residents and Aldermen to fill in the city moat and replace it with a ring road – part of a plan for Hoog Catharijne. The Council expected that the realisation of Hoog Catharijne would provide an enormous stimulus for the city’s economy. The plan had been launched at just the right moment. For some time after the city limits had been expanded in 1954, nearly doubling its area, Utrecht had been struggling to build post-war urban residential extensions, and to expand its centre. Previous plans to site new offices and stores on the Leidsche Veer, or in the north end of the city centre, had run into difficulties. A plan by the Mayor and Aldermen to fill in the city moat and replace it with a ring road – part of a more comprehensive traffic plan by the German mobility expert Feuchtinger – had turned into a dead end. A substantial majority of the residents had banded together against it, while a majority of the City Council and the national government blocked the implementation of this plan. Against this background, Bredero’s initiative to expand the city centre beyond the historic urban heart, to build parking garages and radically reform the traffic structure around Central Station was a godsend for the politicians. Moreover, there was the promise that the whole project would not cost the city a penny. The city would buy up or expropriate the parcels in the area at its expense, but then lease the land to the project developer for a fixed annual rate. Bredero would itself take on the costs, and financing of the project. In this respect Hoog Catharijne was a historic predecessor of the PPI (Public-Private Initiative) – that show-piece of the 1980s and 1990s – par excellence.

A year later the Utrecht City Council voted almost unanimously to accept the plan for Hoog Catharijne. The Council expected that the realisation of Hoog Catharijne would provide an enormous stimulus for the city’s economy.

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In 1964 the municipality, Bredero and Dutch Railways signed the contracts making the realisation of the project possible. Subsequently Utrecht’s Jaarbeurs exhibition center and convention center – which at that time had facilities on the Vredenburg and the Croeselaan – was involved in the project.
It was agreed that the Jaarbeurs would move entirely to the Croeselaan, where Bredero received a commitment from the Ministry of Defense that they would turn over the barracks. This meant that the site of the Jaarbeurs hall on the Vredenburg would be freed up for the construction of stores and a concert hall.

In 1967 the construction of the new city centre began with an insurance company’s building on the Catharijnesingel, but most of the activity initially took place at the back of the station, on the Croeselaan. The first mile-stone was reached in 1970 with the opening of a pedestrian bridge over the railway tracks to a spanking new Jaarbeurs, with parking garages, and the Beatrix Theater. The functionalist architecture and the conspicuous use of concrete provoked mixed reactions. The later expansions of Hoog Catharijne were therefore less stern and involved more use of colour.

Beginning in 1971, the 19th century neighborhood around the station was demolished, while the construction of the central pedestrian bridge over the Catharijnesingel was started, and offices and apartments began to rise. With that, the existing plaza in front of the station, with its cafes and terraces, and the station itself, designed by Sybold van Ravenstein, became history. In its place came a bus station, and above it the taxi ranks. The demolition of so large a part of a city centre caused a sensation. The rising concrete skeletons of the offices, residential towers and stores gave many passers-by a very different impression than that created by the perspective drawings published a decade before. The moment that the results of the plans that had been made then became visible, public opinion in the city swung around.

There had been considerable discussion about the way in which Hoog Catharijne would be connected with the heart of the city. The Vredenburg-Achter Clarenburg-Mariaplaats-Springweg thoroughfare (which on the drawings had been depicted as an urban expressway, complete with overpasses) had already generated resistance. When medieval houses on the Achter Clarenburg were found to be in the way, and were subsequently declared national monuments by the Netherlands Department for Historical Conservation, its realisation became problematic. Arguments by Bredero that the connection was necessary for access to Hoog Catharijne produced no result. The City Council scrapped plans for the thoroughfare in 1970. At that time a start was made on filling in the Catharijnesingel where it ran through Hoog Catharijne, followed by a part of the Weersingel. The Minister of Culture, Recreation and Social Work, Marga Clompé, had granted permission for this in 1968, on the condition that the city would leave the rest of the old moat unmolested. The Minister also announced that the rest of the city centre was being declared a protected historical area. As of 2008 there is a committee busy with preparations for erecting a statue of her.

There was also considerable fuss about the realisation of the planned concert hall on the Vredenburg. Despite opposition from Bredero, the City Council ultimately decided to have an ‘egalitarian’ music centre built, for its place came a bus station, and above it the taxi ranks. The demolition of so large a part of a city centre caused a sensation. The rising concrete skeletons of the offices, residential towers and stores gave many passers-by a very different impression than that created by the perspective drawings published a decade before. The moment that the results of the plans that had been made then became visible, public opinion in the city swung around.

It was just such a ‘living room’ feeling that the designers also tried to evoke inside Hoog Catharijne. Immediately inside the main entrance from the Vredenburg the Clarenburgplein was designed, a patio with two floors of shops, benches around the edges, and a fountain complete with olive trees and subtropical plants. Deeper into the complex, another internal plaza surrounded with terraces was created on the Radboudtraverse. For it Hoog Catharijne Inc. purchased the renowned cafe-restaurant Noord-Brabant, moved it to Hoog Catharijne, and rechristened it Hoog-Brabant. Above the stores a third level was created as a special ‘sautering’ zone for urban sophisticates, complete with a cabaret theatre. Locating a cinema on site was also intended to make the complex more multifaceted.

The team responsible for the interior design traveled to the US in order to get a good grounding in the presentation of shopping malls there. The trip provided the inspiration for the materials to be used and for the furnishings of the corridors in the mall. Considerable effort was invested in giving the whole an atmosphere of the height of luxury. It was precisely this luxury that made such an impression on the public which flooded in to see the mall.

Nevertheless, since it opened in 1973 Hoog Catharijne has always had a surprisingly bad press. In the 1970s it was the losses that the municipality was suffering on the land leases that drew attention. In addition, there were complaints about the inhospitable impression that the project made at street level. In particular, the service streets under the project and the station drew fire. Hoog Catharijne Inc. found itself confronted with unexpected problems in its management of the project. The shopping mall very quickly became a hangout for drug addicts and what were called ‘Hoog Catharijne kids’, and the furnishings in the corridors and internal plazas became the object of vandalism. The management company hired a private security firm and installed surveillance cameras. Shutting the complex at night was not an option; the city would not permit this, as it was the only access to the train station. The cameras and surveillance agents were initially fiercely controversial because of the invasion of privacy involved. Actions in which the camera lenses were painted over, and demonstrators disguised themselves as Zorro, protesting against the ban on wearing clothing that obscured the face in the mall, were the result.

But as a shopping centre, Hoog Catharijne very quickly became a great success, drawing visitors from a wide area. The prognoses from the 1970s about the viability of such shopping centres were confirmed. Presently the complex draws 35 million visitors a year. In 1982 Bredero and co-owners Friesch-Groningsche Mortgage Bank sold the complex to the ABP pension fund. Current plans for the mall include completing the complex, adding a casino and Mothercare, and on the Vredenburg a Music Palace, with more stores and offices. The website ‘New Hoog Catharijne’ provides the inspiration for the materials to be used and for the furnishings of the complex. This means that in its history Hoog Catharijne has had only two owners.

Over the coming decade Hoog Catharijne and its vicinity will be fundamentally altered. Water will be returned to the Catharijnesingel, the Jaarbeurs terrain will gain a casino and a mega-cinema, and the Vredenburg a Music Palace, with four auditoriums, will replace Herberzberger’s two hall music center, and still more stores and offices will be built. The website ‘New Hoog Catharijne’, larded with beautiful perspective drawings, already offers a foretaste of the future. But it is an open question to what extent the drawings there reflect a future reality. They are impressions, atmospheric images, not designer’s plans. Moreover, there is the question of just how much the renovation of Hoog Catharijne that is now at hand will change in character. After all, the structure of the area, with its shopping centre five-and-a-half meters above ground level, remains the same. Hoog Catharijne has a certain toughness, that consists not only of the concrete used, but also the constancy of the flood of pedestrians through it, and ownership relations. Just as the architectonic adaptations from the 1970s in fact succeeded in making the original design less clear, more amorphous, while not fundamentally changing it, I expect that the interventions planned now will once again make the image of the center less clear, without essentially altering it. The big question is whether ‘New Hoog Catharijne’ will not prove to be Hoog Catharijne 2.1.
"B&W staat voor Beton en Winst
Voor Bredero en Woningspeculatie
Bij B&W staat de woningzoekende
Op het tweede plaatsje."
HENDRIK-JAN HUNNEMAN

Hunneman explores the boundaries between the visual arts, architecture and theater. His unerring sense of scale and his recontextualisation of architectural concepts heighten the confusion arising from the absence of clear purpose to these stairs and walls. This further refers to the sense of detachment evoked by modern architecture and urban development.

The materials used by Hunneman (colourful industrial plastics, wall paneling, concrete and white-coated hardboard) have a chic but everyday look. By combining this look with large, lucid forms closely integrated with architectural concepts, he manipulates the visitors’ experience of the environment.

For the work in Hoog Catharijne Hunneman uses a surrealistic image—a fairy tale told by a young girl. You can hear the fairy tale after closing time at Hoog Catharijne. **When the shops are closed the walkways of Hoog Catharijne become transfer corridors.** They lead people from the center of Utrecht to the train station and from the station to the city centre. The fairy-tale imparts life and moderates the loneliness.

2030

Text Ding Ding
Translation to Dutch Esther Krop
Voice Milou Hunneman
Concept Hendrik-Jan Hunneman

She, sheathed in silver silk, with shoes of crocodile leather and purse of woven gold.

A gust of cold air greets her as she enters the building of green glass. The glow of fine jewelry and the reflection from radiant-cut diamonds bathes the mall in orange light. A breath of Chanel floats around her as if created especially for her coming.

She takes the escalator, drawn step by step towards the source of the perfume. She looks around her, confident and calm.

He, blue eyes deep-set, shining like stars in the night sky, blond hair falling in curls to his shoulders. In his suit of dark green linen, he is every bit a gentleman. Fanning a dozen sample cards he stands serenely in front of his perfume counter. It is close by the escalator, next to the copper knot.

She stops.

Passing a card before her, he gently asks, ‘How are you doing?’ She smiles her secret smile and turns towards one of the aisles in the mall.

Between racks of designer gowns and rows of perfect accessories she glides through a forest of luxury labels. Chinese silks encrusted with sequins sparkle under the warm orange light. The fragrance of the perfume clings to her. The image of the salesman haunts her being.

She turns back.

She sees him now, head down, making his way down a long corridor, typing a text message on his cell phone. He is oblivious to his surroundings—and oblivious to her and the sudden yearning in her heart. From the light he disappears into the corridor.

She, sheathed in silver silk, with shoes of crocodile leather and purse of woven gold, through a film of blurring eyes…The corridor leads to departure gate 2030.

In shopping malls all over the world, mysterious passageways lead travelers to the year 2030. People going to 2030 all have the same intent. Because in the year 2030, things change. It is where everything begins... and ends. Nobody really knows if it’s true, because nobody has ever come back.

Except me.
flows
Norberg introduced his concept in 1979, it went back to the ancient Romans’ *genius loci*. Compared with the functional approach to the city, he regarded the urban morphologies and topologies of flows, with their own unique character, history and identity. In that sense places would give mankind an idea of real living, which would be more than just somewhere to stay. They would again give mankind an emotional attachment, added social value and extra cultural-economic quality. It would be the task of architecture, urban design and planning to articulate and express that kind of meaning.

Since then, this call has been given a significant boost not only within the architectural and urban realms, but also far beyond. For instance, one may think not only of the practices of Oriol Bohigas, Josef Kleihues, Bernardo Secchi and others, but also of the historical theories of Fernand Braudel, Auke van der Woud, and Geert Mak; or the recent political, economic and planning discourse around ‘Place Matters’. It is argued that due to the ongoing *globalisation* of infinite and global networks, the uniqueness, specialty and identity of specific places will also grow in importance too. Thus the adage should be ‘think global, act local’, and vice versa.

However valuable and true these efforts might be, they also often forget that this is only half the truth, and not even the most innovative half of it. Because, alongside the analog, a *digital reality* has also developed. In addition to the symbolic, architectural and cultural significance of the urban nodes, urban networks and layered spatial fields have also developed as a social, economic and political phenomenon. In other words, next to the geography and topologies of places, a kind of *morphology* and topology of flows has also developed too, with its own driving forces, its own meaning and cultural-economic significance. In that sense Nigel Thrift, Ash Amin, Stephen Graham, Patsy Healey and others have already called for a relational approach to geography, in which places and human activities are thought of not so much in direct relation to a fixed, Cartesian environment, but above all in relation to other connected places and leading actors. Place is not only structured by its longstanding morphological development, and also by the leading (f)actors present, more and more operating in a *global connectivity,* in light of that, next to the tradition of città analoga, a new kind of typology and approach which supports the growing world of flows and networks is also called for.

**THINKING ABOUT PLACES**

With *L’Architettura della Città* (1966), in the second half of the last century, Aldo Rossi again put the concept of archetype in the center of urban interest. Compared with the functional approach to the city, he regarded the urban mainstay as architecture. However architecture was not seen as a construction, but as a creation fully integrated in the life of its citizens. But (the fixed landscape, the eco-duct, the Las Vegas and La Defense models) and four design areas (the road, verge, field and sequence), making up the prospect of road users. But also in other areas in The Netherlands, in public policy documents, one can recognise a design revival of infrastructure and *mobility*. As part of the project *Roads to the Future* the Ministry of Transport and Water Management examines ‘fun highways’ and possibilities for what they call ‘living in the fast lane’. And as part of one of the major national projects by the Dutch Government Architect, Jo Coenen and later Mels Crouwel, several urbanologists made ‘flow-plans’ for the High Speed Line, major highways and important *infrastructures*. Moreover, many urbanologists and architects are now fascinated by what are called infra-*ecologies*, flow-ecologies, highway landscapes, inhabited bridges and soundwalls. And last but not least, to stop the ongoing suburban sprawl the Dutch Ministry of Housing, Environment and Planning again proposed a new policy to preserve existing landscapes alongside highways.

But having gotten this far, it is striking that – despite the seeming opposite – the disciplines of space and geography and those of movement and *flows* always remain external to each other. Civil engineers and logistics experts use their own typology (merge in transit, cross-docking, just-in-time delivery, one-stop shopping, etc.) and their own *mobility* modi (individual–collective, fast-slow, mono- or multimodal), while at the same time the *mobility* designers mentioned above develop their own language. Similarly, I can not help thinking that the whole idea of *mobility* ethics and the associated typologies and design areas still remain tied to the geography of place and a Cartesian sequence of important and cultural–historic meaningful places. The references to collective memory and historical analogies per transport corridor (the Couperus, Erasmus and Rembrant routes, etc.) confirm that. As a result actual Dutch design of highways, infrastructure and nodes is still caught in the old and traditional schools of the genius loci. The same goes for Neufelding’s *Antwerp–Ring–Design*, or the proposals of Güller and Güller for infrastructures.
in The Netherlands and Switzerland. Here, nodes and networks should provide something of significance, character and identity in an increasingly gray and non-place floating world.

Without claiming to be exhaustive or have the final answer, I would like to introduce some ideas which might overcome those deficiencies. As a counterpart of the archetype and the genius loci, I would like to talk here about the mobitype and genius fluidi. My proposition is that we might proceed more fruitfully and gain more interactive insights in additional network architecture, working up from these developing ideas in the next future.

THE MOBITYPE

I have already written about mobitypes previously. Like the archetype, I defined a mobitype as a model which refers to a primeval form and original example of construction of mobility or the space of flows. It refers not so much to the mode of transport sec, but rather to the relationship between transport and movement and the spatial arrangement of the conceptual thinking about this. That relationship – and I want to stress this before hand – especially took off from the beginning of the 19th century, at the time when the industrial revolution provoked a huge acceleration and massification of movement. During the past two centuries it developed in such a way that nowadays it has also its own conditional effect on spatial development. In that more recent history of the theory and spatial planning for traffic and transport one can in principal consider these six mobitypes. These include theoretical ideas and proposals which especially deal with the impact of waves and mobility for: a) the spatial layout of an urban field, b) along a line or c) on the nodes themselves. At first these theories and proposals worked in a more or less stationary, long-term idea of space and time. Once optimally equipped for the car, train or plane, they could serve the functional and aesthetic needs of people on the move. Nevertheless, recently there are also ideas that do more justice to the highly dynamic nature of flows. Like the previous ones, they are also oriented to a spatial field, along a line or to a specific node. But ultimately they also provide a much more diverse and variable image. They can be schematised as follows:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIELD</th>
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<td>FIXED</td>
<td>DRIVE–IN</td>
<td>STRIP</td>
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<td>DYNAMIC</td>
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<td>MOBITYPE</td>
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THE DRIVE–IN

The drive–in is in fact the principal type, the individual’s most basic form of mechanical transport. The automobile originally promised us unprecedented freedom, adventure and innovation. That story began with the construction of the first railway lines, but got only a good start with the introduction of the automobile and construction of the first motorways, ‘Released from switches and rails,’ Paul Morand wrote, ‘the horizon itself spreads again in front of us. Free and alone at the wheel of the machine, we can re-use the empty spaces between our cities.’ That is precisely what happened in the last century, in extento. Urban sprawl and its principal mobitypes – the drive–in house, movie, theater, shopping mall, restaurant, motel, etc. – in fact mark the full surrender of mankind to the promise of total freedom and individual mobility. In the meantime the disadvantages are also now known: noise, ecological degradation, congestion, morning and evening stress, rising oil prices, geopolitical rivalries, an epidemic of violence and death, as well as growing social exclusion. This has not kept contemporary architects and urbanists from promoting these mobitypes again. The designs in the context of Living in the Fast Lane (which involve living on, above or below highways), MVRDV’s highway landscapes (where the city suites itself to and between asphalt strips), VDVW’s design for the Mandelabrug Arnhem (where one lives and works and under bridges), etc., can be regarded as contemporary variations of the drive–in. They are stuck in this mindset because they think we cannot live without the car, despite the fact that it obviously does not provide what was originally promised.

THE CARAVAN

The caravan seems to offer a way out of this stalemate, because this mobitype combines the band–jumping escapism and excitement of travel with the security, privacy and closeness of one’s home. Therefore it promises less commuterism, less pollution, less stress. Moreover, here traditional ideas of living and new ideas on mobility are literally and figuratively merged. Since the final decades of Western society, somewhere during the mercantilist revolution, this kind of traveling was almost exclusively reserved for gypsies, market vendors, circus–workers, immigrants, etc. With the growing need for recreation and tourism, however, it has taken off in other sectors of society too. Between 1880 and 1910 a tour in a horse drawn replica of a gypsy caravan was a favorite holiday in England. With the mass production of the automobile around 1920 our society also adopted the ‘motor home.’ Since then it has attracted the attention of progressive architects such as, for instance, Yona Friedman, and later Constant Nieuwenhuis and the architect collective Archigram, designed large-scale three-dimensional space–frames in which living, working and facilities units could be temporarily plugged in, whether in a fixed and stable, or a walking, moving infrastructure. Both variants are currently receiving renewed attention, the first not only as camper vans for the growing group of senior citizens, but also in the form of mobile offices, large auto vans equipped with fax, mobile phone, laptop, TV, etc., or vans for traveling kitchens and care & cure, and the second in the sense of time–sharing structures for the growing group of translocal and transnational communities, which is to say communities made up of seasonal workers, expatriates, students or other temporary inhabitants of specific places.

THE STRIP

The strip, the third spatial prototype of the mobile society, is in fact the spatial effect of increasing mobility. According to Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown, the strip consists almost entirely of graphic characters. In these terms the traditional notions of an archetypical urban layout (of streets and squares as rooms and corridors like those in a building, but bigger) can’t cope anymore with the increased speed of a mobile society. According to Venturi and Scott Brown, a new doctrine is needed to provide clarity to the moving citizens; public characters for the benefit of structuring the flow, private signs for the temptation to consumption. To move through Las Vegas is to move through an extremely large texture of characters and symbols. In fact these ideas go back to Otto Wagner, Walter Cunt Behrendt and Pieter Hendrik Berlage, etc., who favored the collective building block above the individual villa, partly because of the increasing speed of society. The more natural and recreational variant of this is the parkway of Moses and Olmsted. In this respect current ideas about the strip are more stratified and superimposed, influenced by the multi–mediated culture of TV zapping, computer–serving
and multi-tasking. A kind of new visual experience is emerging, for which large fixed characters at a distance are no longer suitable. Therefore as an alternative to the declining attractiveness of the strip, in recent years downtown Las Vegas developed The Freemont Street Experience as a major commercial entertainment landscape, with a daily sound and light show of more than 2 million changing light-movements. The disclosure happens now with trolley-bus and on foot from an enormous parking garage at distance.25

THE CRUISE

As with the caravan, the cruise puts the strip on the move. The current cruise ship is now in fact three times as big as the Titanic and has the same recreational value as any amusement park.24 Traveling is here a destination in itself. That phenomenon has been rediscovered in the cruise ship of the 21st century, not only for tourist passengers, but also for leisure, shopping, convention and the business market. In this sense other modes of traveling still lag far behind. In the course of the last century rudimentary incitements were also present in Wagon Lits Rail, Pullman Bus and VIP Airline traveling.26 It was indeed a Golden Age of Travel. In comparison to that (and with exception of large ships), nowadays concepts such as cost reduction, punctuality, logistics, marginal exploitation revenues, traffic capacity, etc., seem to prevail. However, this does not alter the fact that we travel more often and longer than ever.28 Moreover there is also an increasing need to evolve the journey from wasted time into quality or working time. The growing introduction of walkmen, mobile–tv and cinema, iphone, Blackberry and others serve those needs. Along with that, the new double stack Airbus could possibly serve as a new kind of cruise, meeting and shopping experience in the sky.29 Buses could serve growing multi-medial needs.30 And finally, the studio associated with the cruise ship is now in fact three times as big as the Titanic and has the same remarkable history.31 In a wonderful essay of the genius fluvii, the Nittofabriek in Yamagata (1964), the leisure center Hawaii Dreamland (1967) and the Nagakin Capsule tower in Tokyo (1972).32 However, these were all fixed buildings, where one could take a little break in the increasingly hectic round of everyday life. Today more mobile variants of the cocoon exist, like the Head Cocoon (2000) and Cocoon Chair (2000) by the artist Jennie Pineus,33 or the flexible working cocoon by the students of the Technical University of Liberec.34 It is still wait an implant of a mobile variant of the cyberhelmets (with three-dimensional video, laptop and mobile phones), which would put us on a new level of fluid interconnected mobility.

THE GENIUS FLUVII

In this sense many mobitypes are being developed right now. They are a welcome complement to the classic archetypology, and express a material conceptualization of our own independent power, to see, hear and interact at a distance (television, telephone, tele-matica, etc.). The cocoon or capsule in fact facilitates that condition. This could be an area in which we withdraw, as in a phone booth or a video cabin, to exclude any disturbance from the surrounding area. Also you can think here of tools like video–glasses, a discman, or headphones. The cocoon is therefore also more and more a regular part of and equipment for our lives. In fact this goes really matter whether it is at a standstill or in motion. Due to the new mobile devices we increasingly see, hear and interact at a distance (television, telephone, tele-matica, etc.).
EDWARD
CLYDESDALE
THOMSON

I have a passion for observing, perhaps even a fetish. My recent work has been exploring the small-scale political consequences of this passion. Searching for a language of conceptual photography; experimenting in the arena in which meaning is formed, not only in the mental, but also the physical relations between viewer and image.

Starting to work in response to Hoog Catharijne, my initial reaction was to begin to investigate, through a process of photographing on location, repeatedly visiting, trying to formulate a standpoint, to extract a point of interest. After the first day photographing, it was apparent that this would lead me nowhere. After the first day photographing it was apparent that this would lead me nowhere. After the first day photographing it was apparent that this would lead me nowhere. After the first day photographing it was apparent that this would lead me nowhere. After the first day photographing it was apparent that this would lead me nowhere. After the first day photographing it was apparent that this would lead me nowhere. After the first day photographing it was apparent that this would lead me nowhere. After the first day photographing it was apparent that this would lead me nowhere. After the first day photographing it was apparent that this would lead me nowhere. After the first day photographing it was apparent that this would lead me nowhere. After the first day photographing it was apparent that this would lead me nowhere.

HC initially seems generic, like so many other non-spaces, devoid of the traces of durational occupation, the kind of traces I love to work with. Certain objects and situations almost beg to be photographed; they exude the possibility of visual pleasure and seem to demand you to photograph them. For me there were none of these in HC however photographing a situation almost always bestows importance up on its subject. My reaction was not to photograph. There was nothing that grabbed my attention and nothing I wanted to highlight. Secondly when I was photographing I did not feel comfortable. The guards questioned me about permissions, it is not allowed to photograph without one, and the passers by seemed irritated by me. When photographing in public space I always seem to cause a spectacle. People stop and stare, both at me, and what I am photographing. They ask questions, some are interested, others annoyed.

Does a photograph have the power to take some degree of ownership away? Could this rule be down to a question of ownership of space and the power of the photograph?

HC is clearly a private space that has public responsibilities. Its position between train station and city centre has forced it to execute social functions. This along, with the HC’s attempt to mimic the appearance of public space, I think has blurred the line between public and private. An idea began to form around utilising the spectacle that photographing creates to test these questions.

Hoog Catharijne’s interior of hard surfaces and photographs denies the possibility of a visible history of occupation, while illustrating an illusionary form of inhabitation. The photographs exude visual pleasure. They are seductive. Beautiful people in beautiful clothes lining the walls. But to me, the photos seem to cancel each other out in a cacophony of colour and form. But why do they cancel each other out? Are there just too many images or is it something deeper, to do with the hermeticism of the illusion they display? As I pass by these images, I can be attracted by the women they show, or the image of a life I would like to lead, but there never seems to be a way to imagine my way inside the illusion. The life shown is complete, and I stand on the outside looking in. The images reiterate a hierarchy of unachievable desire and keep the viewer in an outside position. Ownership and control of the illusion remaining with the image. The images reiterate a hierarchy of unachievable desire and keep the viewer in an outside position. Ownership and control of the illusion remaining with the image. Can an image be introduced that allows the viewer to take control of the illusion by participating in the creation of narrative, braking with a hierarchical construction of visuality?

Unwilling to photograph on location, I began working in my studio, experimenting with creating images of objects. Deliberately choosing objects that were not historical artifacts, where there was little agency or depths in their associations. But choosing objects that were pure display, mostly sweets, ice creams and decorations. I bought these objects and returned to my studio, placing them on my table and experimenting with arranging them in compositions. Taking these objects into my messy studio environment immediately created a contrast between their bright colourful display and my studios stained, messy and plane interior. The images float in between categorisation. Part of their agency I believe is through the obviousness of their staging. Part of their agency I believe is through the obviousness of their staging. Part of their agency I believe is through the obviousness of their staging. Part of their agency I believe is through the obviousness of their staging. Part of their agency I believe is through the obviousness of their staging. Part of their agency I believe is through the obviousness of their staging. Part of their agency I believe is through the obviousness of their staging. Part of their agency I believe is through the obviousness of their staging. Part of their agency I believe is through the obviousness of their staging. Part of their agency I believe is through the obviousness of their staging. Part of their agency I believe is through the obviousness of their staging. Part of their agency I believe is through the obviousness of their staging.

I would like to thank Maurice Brandts, Noud Smeets and the students of the Fotovakschool Rotterdam for their collaboration in workshop ‘Thank you for not photographing’.

After my first day photographing I returned home disgruntled, my approach had seemingly achieved nothing. However soon I began to realise that perhaps this opened up a new way of engaging with HC. In every image there is an agency of power through observation and display. Photography is forbidden in HC yet there are photographs displayed everywhere. Why?

It seems slightly odd at first that you are not allowed to photograph in HC. It feels like public space and in public space we feel we have the right to photograph. On the street you would not think twice about snapping a shot. If there was a situation of trauma, like a car crash, it might not feel so bad to photograph it from a distance, but doubts would certainly start to creep in. Would you go close up and take a image: of one of the mutilated victims hanging from the wreckage? Probably not, and I think this has to do not only with empathy, but with the power a photograph exerts on a situation.
RE-ASSEMBLING THE URBAN
SASKIA SASSEN1 –DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIOLOGY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

In this essay, I approach the L.A.–Chicago debate by repositioning the issue of area-specific structural constraints and visual orders as intermediary variables. This leads the discussion to two considerations that in turn reposition the meaning of the common differences attributed to Los Angeles and Chicago. First, a focus on the particular implications of translocal processes for an area allows us to establish that agglomeration and dispersal might both be part of a given firm’s or sector’s chain of operations and that they might be distributed across different types of geographic areas. The main implication for a comparison of the L.A. and Chicago models is that it makes problematic the notion that geographic dispersal à la L.A. is the new spatial form corresponding to today’s new economy, and agglomeration à la Chicago belongs to an earlier modernity. The second focus is on the limits of homogenisation and convergence in urban landscapes as explanations in comparative studies. I recode these homogenised landscapes—the hyperspace of global business—as an infrastructure: they are necessary but indeterminate in that they can be used for different purposes. This shifts the emphasis to what inhabits that built environment. A key underlying economic dynamic I find in my research is that the global economy thrives on the specialised differences of countries, regions, and cities. But it does need homogenised standards (e.g., of production, of financial reporting, of accounting, and the like), and, I add, it also needs standardised built environments.

Periods of rapid transition have heuristic potentials. The velocity of change itself makes legible novel patterns. When the object of study is cities or more generally urban regions, legibility is even more pronounced insofar as the material reality of buildings, transport systems, and other components of spatial organisation are on the surface, so to speak. Further, when rapid transformation happens simultaneously in several cities or urban regions with at least some comparable conditions, it also makes visible the diversity of spatial outcomes that may result from similar novel dynamics. That variability opens up the analysis to the intermediate variables through which they are represented by the L.A. and Chicago models, I am interested in disassembling these types of wholes into various components and their analytic consequences. This is more promising than a straight comparison of these models if the aim is to understand how the urban is getting reassembled today.

Focusing on the distinction between spatial form and underlying dynamic opens up the analysis to the intermediate variables through which they are articulated and contests the notion that spatial form is sufficient to understand the underlying dynamics. That is to say, diverse spatial outcomes may result from such intermediate variables as area-specific constraints on the scaling and spatialising of the same particular dynamic rather than from some new intrinsic, postmodern urban form. Path–dependence eventually sets in, further confining the options for future spatial outcomes and potentially raising the divergence between two urbanised areas as a function of path–dependence rather than the underlying dynamics. Once a distinct spatial form is produced, even though conceivably stemming from a similar underlying dynamic, it will have its own effects on outcomes. This is perhaps best exemplified by the contrasting logics for real estate profitability evident in the original real estate development of Chicago and L.A.

An emphasis on intermediate variables questions the easy opposition of Chicago versus L.A. as models of urbanism representing, respectively, the old and the new economy, and more generally the old and the future phase in the evolution of urban form. One critical but easily overlooked variable when comparing formats such as the L.A. and Chicago models is that complex translocal economic processes comprise diverse geographic moments, notably agglomeration and dispersal. We need to know where a particular area fits in such multi–sited processes. Just describing the spatial organisation of an area does not allow us to get at such deeper economic dynamics embedded within spatial organisations, so as those represented by the L.A. and the Chicago model, are likely to contain both sites of agglomeration and dispersal, including possibly the sites for a given firm or sector present in both areas. And they may contain predominantly one of those sites (for instance, dispersal in the L.A. region and agglomeration in Chicago), again including possibly the same firm or sector.

These types of analytic distinctions frame my examination of the L.A. and Chicago models. I organise my discussion in terms of the L.A. model’s core proposition that it reflects the urban form of today’s new economy (and more), whereas the Chicago model reflects that of an older economy. Given space limitations, I cannot do a parallel critique of the foundational propositions in the Chicago model, but I have done that elsewhere (Sassen, 2000). Further, rather than dealing with E. W. Burgess’s concentric circles model (Park et al., 1925), I will confine the discussion to the centrality of agglomeration as an organising dynamic in the Chicago model. Finally, in a tradeoff between detail and space, I will not be able to deal with the cultural and social issues raised respectively by the L.A. and the Chicago model, though they are important to both.

The first section focuses on the analytic implications of recognising the presence of translocal processes in a city or urban region, and hence the need to understand which moment of that process corresponds to the area under examination—for instance, the moment of agglomeration or that of dispersal. Here we can think of spatial organisation and spatial dispersal as two extreme forms, with a whole range of intermediate forms. The second section examines the limits of homogenisation and convergence of urban landscapes as indicators of the similarities and differences of the two areas under investigation. Similar-looking built environments may contain very different types of operations; alternatively, very different built environments may contain similar operations.

WHEN TRANSLOCAL PROCESSES SHAPE URBAN FORM

Translocal chains of operations are increasingly common for many firms and for entire economic sectors. Establishing which moment of that chain is located in a given area becomes important in the specification of that area. One set of familiar categories through which to establish this is agglomeration versus dispersal of a firm’s operations, a distinction well attuned to the variables proponents of the L.A. model use in characterising respectively the Chicago and L.A. models. Translocal processes are especially part of globalised firms and economic sectors, though I have found that they are also evident in firms that operate in national contexts. Since the L.A. model posits a new urban form arising out of novel dynamics, a focus on globalised firms and sectors is one way of getting at the question of novel dynamics and spatial form. We can think of global firms as an extreme case, a sort of natural experiment for exploring urban form and new economic dynamics.
The evidence shows that globalised firms and sectors contain both agglomeration and dispersal moments in their spatial organisation. Dispersal might be at a regional, national and global level, and agglomerations might vary sharply in content as well as in the specifics of the corresponding spatial form—for instance, Chicago’s financial center and L.A.’s Hollywood or Northern California’s Silicon Valley. A focus on the presence of such translocal chains of operations helps us situate the specifics of a city, a metropolis, or an L.A.-type region in a far broader systemic condition, one that might include both points of sharp agglomeration and of sharp dispersal.

In my own research I found that the most globalised and innovative firms were characterised by the fact that agglomeration is itself a function of dispersal. That is to say, the more globalised and thus geographically dispersed a firm’s operations, the more likely the presence of agglomeration economies in particular moments (the production of top-level headquarter functions) of that firm’s chain of operations. It became one of my core theses in specifying the global city model. For the purposes of this essay, it underlines the fact of a single dynamic with diverse spatialisations (i.e., both agglomeration and dispersal). This is critical, given the proposition in the L.A. model that metropolitan or regional spatial dispersal is the new, postmodern urban form that captures novel economic (and other) dynamics; in contrast, Chicago-style agglomeration is then represented as belonging to an older economic phase—the modern city.

One way of specifying some of this empirically is to establish whether agglomeration economies, particularly as a function of the geographic dispersal of the operations of a firm or sector, matter for understanding the spatial organisation of the L.A. region. That is to say, at least some of the spatial dispersal evident in the L.A. region may well be linked to points of agglomeration either in the same or another region—possibly including Chicago(2). I would add that we need the equivalent type of analysis for Chicago, both the city and the larger metro region, because the Chicago model is predicated on an older notion of agglomeration, one shaped by the weight of core inputs and by transport costs. The L.A. model according to Dear (2002) posits that agglomeration economies have ceased to be a locational determinant in the new economy and hence a marker of urban form. However, the work on L.A. by Scott (Scott and Soja, 1996; Scott, 2001), Storper (1997), Christopherson (2005), Soja (2000), and others presents analyses that diverge to variable degrees from that of Dear.

To organise the argument one might posit as a hypothesis—possibly as a counter-factual—that the underlying new economic dynamic is the same in significant and indeed in growing segments of each region even as spatial form diverges. This would then engage the thesis that the L.A. model represents the spatialising of a new dynamic that makes itself legible in the Los Angeles landscape, and thus that the geographic dispersal at the heart of the L.A. model captures a whole new economic phase that is reshaping urban form.

One counterpose the hypothesis that the more an urban region is being shaped by the new economic dynamics, the more spatial organisation will involve agglomeration economies precisely as a function of geographic dispersal of economic activities under conditions of systemic integration—and it will do so whether the scale is regional, national, or global.

Although this is a type of agglomeration economy I found in my research on global cities, it can also be applied to national and regional scales. Let me elaborate briefly on the hypothesis, alluded to earlier, that I derived from this finding, namely, that the greater the capacities for geographic dispersal a firm can evidence, the higher the agglomeration economies it is subject to in some of its components (Sassen, 2001; 2006a). It is the most specialised functions pertaining to the most globalised (i.e., geographically dispersed) firms that are subject to the highest agglomeration economies at specific sites of their space of operations. The complexity of the functions that need to be

produced, the uncertainty of the markets such firms are involved in, and the growing importance of speed in all these transactions is a mix of conditions that constitutes a new logic for agglomeration; it is not the logic posited in older models, in which weight and distance were seen to shape agglomeration outcomes. In contrast, the new dynamics of dispersed and localised operations give rise to the thesis that the new economy is a strategic knowledge economy, wherein the whole is more than the sum of (even its finest) parts. I call this an urban knowledge economy, urban because it is more than the sum of the knowledge represented by the professional firms and professional experts. The city adds another dimension that can be thought of as the outcome of complexity: complexity of dispersal. That movement of knowledge and key capabilities involves a strategic knowledge economy, which in turn is a crucial policy question. In my current research I have added yet another variable, organisational complexity, to explain the importance of such agglomerations for the most advanced sectors. It is the fact that organisational complexity allows firms to maximise the benefits they can derive from the new digital technologies, thereby further underlining the importance of agglomeration to the new economy (2005, 2006a). Further, the capabilities for global operation, coordination, and control contained in the new information technologies and in the power of transnational corporations need to be produced, serviced, ‘debugged’ through specialised cultural work, and ultimately also designed and invented. By focusing on the production of these capabilities we add a neglected dimension to the familiar issue of the capacity of the new technologies to neutralise distance and place and to enable dispersal of just about all functions, as made emblematic in the L.A. model.

A third key dynamic that articulates dispersal and agglomeration is that the more headquarters actually buy some of their corporate functions from the specialised services sector rather than producing them in house, the greater their locational options become. Among these options is moving out of global cities and, more generically, out of agglomerations. This is an option precisely because of the existence of a networked specialised producer services sector (subject to agglomeration economies) that can increasingly handle some of the most vital corporate functions, such as top-level headquarter functions. As the headquarters moves to a low-density, geographically dispersed area can easily be misinterpreted as not being subject to agglomeration economies when in fact it is, but indirectly—through the outsourcing of some of its most complex, highest-order headquarters functions to the specialised service sector in one or another global city. This second dynamic is that the more major corporate clients buy components of their top-level headquarters functions from the specialised corporate services sector, the more sensitive to agglomeration economies of this sector. This sector needs to be a state-of-the-art, networked knowledge economy, capable of producing a global service and of absorbing the growing uncertainty and risks facing their corporate clients as these go global.

It is precisely this specialised capability to handle the global operations of firms and markets increasingly embedded in this networked state-of-the-art service sector that distinguishes the global city production function in my analysis; it is not the number of corporate headquarters of the biggest firms in the world, as is often suggested. Silicon Valley exhibits parallels to this. These are intense agglomerations that are very much part of the new economic phase, particularly its most advanced sectors. This contests the key proposition of the L.A. model on urban form and the new economy. But it does not contest the actual facts since the L.A. region contains several notable specialised agglomerations.
Interpreting what is novel about the Los Angeles region would then entail analytic rescalings that allow us to capture the possibility that some of L.A.’s spatially dispersed geography is actually articulated with sites evincing agglomeration economies, sites that might be within the L.A. region and/or beyond. I should add that in my reading, many of the density points in the L.A. region do not represent this type of agglomeration economies. For instance, the corporate office district in Orange County is more akin, though vaster, to an office park in metropolitan Chicago or New York. These evince urbanisation economies—the advantages of sharing critical infrastructures and routine services as well as particular types of labor markets. But beyond that, these firms do not need each other much, signaling few if any agglomeration economies. We might say the same thing about much of the residential and commercial real estate development sector, one that has historically thrived on dispersal, with urbanisation economies perhaps one of the few disincentives to dispersal. In contrast to Hollywood, the L.A.–Long Beach Harbor economy or Northern California’s Silicon Valley represent the new types of networked spatial forms that bring high-level agglomeration economies to firms as a function of the added management complexities associated with the dispersal of a broad range of their operations.

The available evidence, and there is plenty of it, indicates that key factors shaping the spatial organisation of leading firms are operative in both the L.A. region and in older urban areas such as Chicago and New York. But it all looks so different. Upon closer examination we might also say that it is perhaps to some extent a question of coding. What is coded as multipolarity in the L.A. region gets coded in Chicago and New York as ‘relocation to the outer metropolitan area or beyond.’ At the same time, dense concentrations of the most innovative and globalised sectors subject to agglomeration economies are present in L.A. as well as in Chicago and New York, but their contents are quite different. Diverse economic histories, path dependencies, and contents hamper the legibility of possible similarities in underlying dynamics (e.g., see Conzen, 2006, on historical trajectories of scaling in Chicago). Rescaling the Chicago area to incorporate the entire metropolis, and the Los Angeles region to include subregional micro-agglomerations, gets us only so far in analytically neutralising the diverse histories and contents of each region. But it is essential work for specifying whether or not the new dynamics reshaping the urban condition necessarily spatialise according to the L.A. model–dispersal and multipolarity. Moving from the scale of the city to that of an urbanised region alters the analytics.

UNDERLYING DYNAMICS AND SPATIAL FORM

Comparative analyses rely on similarities and differences to make their point. How these are specified, then, is critical. When it comes to the urban, the visual order is easily one such specification. Contemporary urbanisation is often seen as marked by a homogenising of the urban landscape, due to commercialisation; this is especially so in the case of global cities and global regions due to the intensity and rapidity of urban reconstruction in such areas. The L.A. model of urbanisation as specified byDear has a far more explicit engagement with the visual order than the Chicago model, but also in the latter there is an implied visual order. Further, in the case of global city analyses, the velocity of changes in the urban landscape makes that visual order far more explicit even when not quite as dominant as in Dear’s L.A. model.

My key argument here is that the common notion of the homogenising of the urban economic landscape misses a critical point. It misses, or obscures, the fact of the diversity of economic trajectories through which cities and regions become globalised, even when the final visual outcomes may look similar. Out of this surface analysis based on homogenised landscapes, comes a second possibly spurious inference, that similar visual landscapes are a function of convergence. Both propositions—that similar visual landscapes are indicators of both similar economic dynamics and of convergence—may indeed capture some of the visual fact, but key conditions are not captured, and in fact are rendered invisible by such notions. Hence we cannot assume that such inferences from the visual order always hold. This then also problematises the proposition that the L.A. model represents the new urban spatial form and, more specifically, visual order arising out of what are today’s new dynamics, including prominently economic dynamics.

What led me to question the prevailing homogenisation and convergence theses was the research comparing Chicago and New York. It is common to see Chicago as a late-comer to global city status because of its agro–industrial past. Why did it happen so late—almost 15 years later than in New York and London? It is easy to assume that Chicago had to overcome its agro-industrial past, which put it at a disadvantage compared to old trading and financial centers such as New York and London. But I found that Chicago’s past was not a disadvantage. It was one key source of its competitiveness advantage. The knowledge economy that developed to handle the needs of its agro–industrial regional economy gave Chicago a key component of its current specialised advantage in the global economy. While this is most visible and familiar in the fact of its preeminence as a futures market built on pork bellies, it also underlies other highly specialised components of its global city functions. The complexity, scale, and international character of its agro–industrial complex required highly specialised financial, accounting, and legal expertise, quite different from the expertise required to handle more standardised in-service exports, finance trade, and finance on finance. (For some initial elements see Greene et al., 2006; Madigan, 2004). Other sectors are, clearly, also critical to the advanced service economy of today’s Chicago (Clark, 2003; Lloyd, 2005; Greene, 2006); some of these have developed as a result of this particular core knowledge economy (e.g., the expansion of professional firms and households, high-end components of the hotel and restaurant sector, and of the cultural sector).

The histories of major civic urban regions matter in today’s global economy because there is a globally networked division of functions. This fact is easily obscured by the common emphasis on inter-city competition and by the standardisation (no matter how good the architecture) of built environments. Because financial, legal, and accounting experts in Chicago had to address in good part the needs of the agro–industrial complex, the city today has a specialised advantage in producing certain types of financial, legal, and accounting instruments. But for this specialised advantage to materialise it entails repositioning that past knowledge in a different set of economic circuits. It entails, then, disembedding that expertise from an agro–industrial economy and re–embedding it in a ‘knowledge’ economy—that is to say, an economy where expertise can increasingly be commodified, function as a key input, and, thereby constitute a new type of intermediate economy (Sassen, 2001; Thrift, 2005). Having a past as a major agro–industrial complex makes that switch more difficult than a past as a trading and financial center. This, then, also partly explains Chicago’s “lateness” in bringing about that switch. But that switch is not simply a matter of overcoming that past. It requires a new organising logic that can revalue the capabilities developed in an earlier era (Sassen, 2006b). It took making to execute the switch.

Recovering this specialised advantage linked to a city’s specific economic history also brings to the fore a key argument made by Peter Taylor (2004; Taylor et al., 2004) about cities that derive their significance from their location in global networks rather than only position in a hierarchy.
## Winkelcentrum Hoog Catharijne

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Value</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>x 10.000 m²</td>
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<td>x miljoen/jaar</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aantal winkel bezoekers</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netto geschatte waarde Hoog Catharijne</td>
<td>x 10 miljoen/jaar ('07)</td>
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</tbody>
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### Huuroptrekken

- **Huurprijzen Hoog Catharijne**: x miljoen/jaar ('02)
- **Netto geschatte waarde Hoog Catharijne**: x 10 miljoen/jaar ('07)

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*Indexeconomy/commerce*
To recover this particular specialised advantage, one akin to a positional good, we need empirical research on the intersections of regional locations and functional activities (Taylor, 2004; Taylor et al., 2004). It also points to the fact that the “global network comprises multiple, often specialised networks. I have found this to be the case with financial markets: once we disaggregate the global capital market into its multiple specialised financial markets, it becomes clear that there are several specific networks of cities in play. A city like Chicago dominates some of these financial circuits but is a fairly minor player in others. This opens up a whole research agenda that takes us beyond city rankings. The aim is to recover the more complex city networks that are a strategic infrastructure for the global operations of markets and firms, and on which a variety of other types of actors and networks can build, such as global civil society actors, alternative cultural circuits, transnational migration networks, and so forth, even as these also build their own distinct city networks (Sassen, 2006b).

Through its particular type of past, Chicago illuminates aspects of global city formation that are far less legible in cities such as New York and London, which did have very large manufacturing components but were nonetheless dominated by predominantly trading and banking economies. Chicago’s history points to the mistake of assuming that the characteristics of global cities correspond to those of such old trading and banking centers. A second issue raised by the Chicago case is that while there are a number of global cities today with heavy manufacturing origins, many once important manufacturing cities have not made the switch into a knowledge economy based on that older industrial past. Along with Chicago, Sao Paulo and Shanghai rank among today’s major global cities with particularly strong histories in heavy manufacturing. But most once-important manufacturing cities, notably Detroit and the English manufacturing cities, have not undergone the type of switch we see in Chicago, Sao Paulo, and Shanghai. This points to the importance of thresholds in the scale and diversity of a city’s manufacturing past to secure the components of knowledge production I identify in Chicago’s case—specialised servicing capabilities that could be dislodged from the organisational logic of heavy manufacturing and re-lodged in the organisational logic of today’s so-called knowledge economy.

The economic trajectory and switching illustrated by the case of Chicago contests the thesis of homogenisation on two levels. One concerns what it takes to become part of leading sectors. It is not simply a question of dropping that past and converge/homogenise on the headquarters–services–cultural sector axis. Critical is executing the switch described earlier—whatever might be the specifics of an area’s past. The other concerns the meaning of homogenised landscapes. It becomes critical to establish the particular specialised sectors that might inhabit that homogenised landscape. This qualifies the convergence thesis. There is a kind of convergence at an abstract systemic level, but at the concrete, material interface of the urban, the actual content of the specialised services that inhabit that built environment can vary sharply.

From here, then, my proposition that critical components of the homogenised/convergent urban landscape frequently presented as today’s quintessential urban visual order are actually more akin to an infrastructure for the advanced sectors. The critical question becomes what inhabits that “infrastructure.” Looking similar does not necessarily entail similar contents, circuits, and moments of a process. This illustrates the thesis that different dynamics can run through similar institutional and spatial forms, and vice versa. The substantive character of convergence in the global city model is not the visual landscape per se but its function as an infrastructure; and, above all, it is the development and partial importation of a set of specialised functions and the direct as well as indirect effects this may have on the larger city, including the visual landscape that functions as a necessary infrastructure—state-of-the-art office districts, commercial and housing areas, airports, and so on. This is yet another indicator of the growing distance between people and technical domains that is one of the features of some of the most developed economic sectors, even when these are the most demanding of talent. One does this to the other (Sassen, 2006b).

An important background structural trend evident in all reasonably working economies is the growing service intensity in the organisation of all economic sectors, including rather standardised and often nonglobalised sectors. Whether in mining and agriculture, manufacturing, or service industries such as transport and health, more firms are buying more producer services. Some of this translates into a growing demand for producer services in global cities, but much of it is in demand for such services at the headquarters and professional centers, albeit often less complex and advanced versions of those services. The growth in the demand for producer services is then, in my analysis, a structural feature of advanced market economies. What globalisation brings to this trend is a sharp increase in the demand for complexity and diversity of professional knowledge. It is this qualitative difference that leads to the heightened utility of spatial agglomeration in global cities compared to other types of urban areas. But the basic structural trend is present in both types of areas. It is then a mistake to assume, ipso facto, that the higher growth rates of producer services in urban areas other than global cities reflects decline and/or the departure of producer services from global cities. It is actually in good part the result of growth of these services throughout the national economy. The lower growth rates evident in global cities compared with other cities should not necessarily be interpreted as losses for the former, but rather as the latter entering this new structural phase of market economies. Looking at it this way recodes some common interpretations of growth and decline.

The growth of this intermediate economy across diverse urban areas amounts to a kind of structural convergence that explains emergent spatial patterns even when the sectors thus serviced are radically different. A mining firm, a transport firm, and a software firm all need to buy legal and accounting services. To some extent these services may be produced in the same city and in similar environments, even though they are feeding very different economic sectors of the larger economy.

What underlies this locational and spatial outcome is structural convergence: regardless of economic sector and geographic location, firms are buying more of these services. This convergence does filter through spatial organisation and the visual order. It does account for key patterns evident in cities small and large, notably the growth of a new type of professional class of young urbanites and the associated high-income gentrification and growth of the cultural sector. What is problematic is the proposition that the L.A. model represents the spatial organisation of the new economic phase. Very old economy sectors such as transport and mining are also feeding the growth of the intermediate economy. A descriptive representation of spatial organisation (one which not all L.A. schoolers would accept, most notably Soja, [2000]) can do without these deeper structural facts—but the proposition that this is the spatial organisation of the new economic phase cannot. Nor can such a proposition overlook the consequences of the multiplication of translocal processes and how this affects the meaning of local spatial form, as discussed in the first section of this essay.
CONCLUSION: REASSEMBLING URBAN FRAGMENTS INTO NOVEL FORMATS

Subjecting the Chicago and L.A. models to analytic disassembling unsettles key propositions of each model. Given space constraints, in this essay I used one of the major propositions of the L.A. model to organise my analysis. It is the claim that the L.A. model represents the spatial form of the new economy, and is therefore the urban form of the future. This claim asserts that the L.A. model is, thus, much more than the representation of one possible spatial form. I organised my discussion in terms of a series of analytic issues that can help us explore whether the current economic phase is one that produces L.A.-type regionalisation and multipolarity and does not include the Chicago agglomeration model. My framing of the issues leads to an emphasis on the need for more analytical elaboration of these two models.

Given the organising proposition of the L.A. model, one analytic pathway into these questions is to examine whether agglomeration might also be a feature of the Los Angeles region, and, more foundational, a feature of the new economic phase, especially in its most advanced sectors. Therefore, we need to posit at least hypothetically that a core dynamic of the new economic phase as per the L.A. model spatialises its dispersal moment in the L.A. region and its agglomeration moment in Chicago or New York. The same process (of the new economy) may spatialise different moments of its trajectory in each, the city or the region. To specify each area we need to understand what moment of a firm’s (or a sector’s) chain of operations is actually located in a given space. A given area—whether city or region—can contain moments of agglomeration and moments of dispersal depending on the process one focuses on. This type of disassembling of an area’s contents is one way of engaging the L.A. model given its emphasis on dispersal as the new spatial form versus agglomeration as the old urban form represented by the Chicago model. It also reduces the risk of reifying spatial form by positing a one-to-one relation between form and underlying dynamic.

Distinguishing (or recognising) the agglomeration and dispersal moments of a firm’s operations makes legible the diverse spatialities that might inhabit a given geographic terrain. But only some of these may be evident, or be captured in standardised interpretations. A fully-blowen Chicago model à la Burgess—one not universally admired—might indeed keep us from understanding that there are other dynamics at work, even in Chicago, producing spatialities that diverge from the Burgess model. Conversely, it is quite possible that there are spatialities in the L.A. region that respond to the Chicago model but are not easily recognisable given both the dominant spatial organisation of the region and its now common representation oriented toward capturing precisely that dominant form.

Introducing the possibility that a given format—whether the Chicago model or the L.A. model—might be one moment of a multi-sited process, brings to the fore the question of the boundary. Rescaling can make legible, respectively, Chicago’s regional dimension and L.A.’s subregional micro-agglomerations. Thus although Chicago thinks itself a city, critical components of its economy inhabit a larger metropolitan geographic terrain and constitute what have been designated as L.A.-type spatialities. And while L.A. thinks itself a vast region, critical components of its economy correspond to Chicago-type spatialities marked by concentration. Finally, if our concern is to capture the translocal processes within which both Chicago and Los Angeles are partial geographic moments, closure at a city or regional scale both become problematic, in turn making the distinction of city versus region somewhat less meaningful.

Turning to global economic processes, the specific contents of the global located in Chicago may diverge considerably from those of L.A., yet both may be part of new regionalised sectors. A networked system is likely to contain multiple specialised differences, some of which might spatialise in similar ways while others might not. And agglomeration may be a critical variable in very diverse localities. The agglomeration of specialised corporate services and highest-order corporate headquarters functions is the critical component of the economic production function of the global city, which is to be distinguished from the contents of the Silicon Valley’s advanced. All three are part of the global economy and exhibit a spatial form marked by agglomeration, but they have radically different contents and are located within very different global circuits. All three are also marked by dispersal of many of their operations. The interactions between their agglomeration and their dispersal moments can encompass one or all of these scalings—regional, national, and global. Closed formats such as those represented in the L.A. and Chicago models are analytic disassemblings in order to incorporate some aspects of these types of scalar interactions and spatial forms.

A refinement based on such scalar and formal interactions concerns the built environment of a region or city. One step here is to distinguish between the formal aspects of today’s built environments for new economy sectors and the actual economic activities they contain. In the second section of the essay I argued that the emphasis on convergence and homogenisation of these state-of-the-art built environments is misleading and that we need to specify in far greater detail what they contain. Similar-looking landscapes may contain very different types of operations and very different moments of a firm’s multi-sited processes.

This type of elaboration also allows us to capture the ways in which the specialised economic history of an area can be critical to the development of its specialised advantage in the global economy (or state-of-the-art national economy). The specialised differences among cities within national economies and across its contents between Silicon Valley and Hollywood, or between the financial districts of New York and Chicago. One step here is to distinguish between the formal aspects of today’s advanced economic sectors. Under these conditions, convergence and homogenisation of the built environment becomes an envelope, a standard applied to potentially very different economic contents.

I recode these homogenised landscapes—the hyperspace of global business—as an infrastructure, and they are necessary but indeterminate in that they can be used for different purposes. This shifts the emphasis to what habits that built environment. A key underlying economic dynamic I find in my research is that the global economy thrives on the specialised differences of countries, regions, and cities. But it does need homogenised standards (e.g., of production, of financial reporting, of accounting), and, I add, it also needs standardised built environments that function as infrastructures that can accommodate all those highly specialised economic differences. The state-of-the-art built environment is akin to a globalisation of standards.

These analytic disassemblings of possibly reified conceptual formats should inhabit that built environment. A key underlying economic dynamic I find in my research is that the global economy thrives on the specialised differences of countries, regions, and cities. But it does need homogenised standards (e.g., of production, of financial reporting, of accounting), and, I add, it also needs standardised built environments that function as infrastructures that can accommodate all those highly specialised economic differences. The state-of-the-art built environment is akin to a globalisation of standards.
Hoog Catharijne was the modernist dream of Utrecht. Like a lot of their contemporaries, the architects, engineers and politicians involved with Hoog Catharijne were thinking of designing a building that was equipped for a new society (or at least a new market), where the new standards of living would come together, delivered by the lucrative, family-orientated postwar consumer world; where the recreational, commercial and professional areas could mix; where the crossover of progressively innovative and highly functional architecture would create an environment to stimulate modernity and commerce.

The closed-off character of the building was important for the works I have developed. Hoog Catharijne is a place designed to keep one inside. The most strategic move was made by directly attaching it to the Central Station and placing it between the station and the city centre of Utrecht. By using these existing flows of commuters and leading them right into the commercial areas before they reach their destinations, Hoog Catharijne was assured of a large clientele. One disconnects with the outside world quickly in the narrow corridors where only a few windows are placed. What does a building like that say about the time in which it was built? What do all the changes to the building say about the last three decades since it’s been in use? Hoog Catharijne is, for example, an interesting mix of seventies style design and nineties style security adjustments, symbolised in the large horizontal concrete plates and vertical steel fences.

— The black and white photographs (Untitled, 2008) show the architecture of Hoog Catharijne, and they are layered with distorted drawings of a beehive structure. The beehive is actually part of the building (the Radboudkwartier), and is a symbolic form of democratic organisation and equality. The distortion is intended to illustrate whether there was a demand for this place in the first instance, and whether the original, slightly utopian intentions of the architects have gone out of sync with reality.

— The oil painting (Grensgevallen nr. 7, 2008) shows three figures squatting below a shutter. The generic architecture of shopping areas creates a landscape of either activity during the day or deadness after closing time, to be switched on and off. For years Hoog Catharijne was used as a shelter by the homeless and junkies of Utrecht. The generic identity of these places creates an anonymity that attracts people to shop during the day, as well as providing safety and a shelter for the homeless at night. In recent years, Hoog Catharijne decided to sweep Utrecht’s underclass from its marble floors. For the happy shopper, what isn’t visible isn’t there.

— The collages (The Master Plan, 2008) are made from materials such as tin foil and sandpaper, used as the decoration of the facades, and are framed with fluorescent lights like advertisement billboards. They show an almost autarkic building, introverted and hardly accessible, presented by the lights as a purposeful ideal.

— Finally, the painted portrait (Directeur, 2008) presents Jan de Vries, Esq., Hoog Catharijne’s initiator, former owner and director of Bredero, the concrete company that built the mall.
After more than 17 years I have visited Bosnia. On the way to Mostar, where initially my project was suppose to happen, I stopped in Banja Luka to visit relatives like I used to do in childhood for summer holidays. Upon arrival in Banja Luka I was immediately overwhelmed and the course of my project's trajectory changed for good. I decided to stay and do the project in Banja Luka. The fact that I never reached Mostar somehow became irrelevant. I have encountered a physical space that preserved images from my childhood in some kind of stop-frame.

Off course, the outline of the city itself has changed as I expected it would in the course of time. But it was as if the most important landmark of the former life of the city, a monument to the self-management system of former Yugoslavia, stayed untouched. It was precisely the encounter with the department store Boska that profoundly changed the course of my project. I felt a certain urge to document this status quo before the inevitable flux of time makes it disappear and blend into reality. The absurd race with time began. Perhaps the change was about to start, and you could feel suspense in the air.

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Boska is just a department store, a public space open to all citizens of Banja Luka, but it seemed like I was the only person who was taking notice of the former life of the city, a monument to the self-management system of former Yugoslavia. Staying untouched. It was precisely the encounter with the department store Boska that profoundly changed the course of my project. I felt a certain urge to document this status quo before the inevitable flux of time makes it disappear and blend into reality. The absurd race with time began. Perhaps the change was about to start, and you could feel suspense in the air. Boska is just a department store, a public space open to all citizens of Banja Luka, but it seemed like I was the only person who was taking notice of the former life of the city, a monument to the self-management system of former Yugoslavia. Staying untouched. It was precisely the encounter with the department store Boska that profoundly changed the course of my project. I felt a certain urge to document this status quo before the inevitable flux of time makes it disappear and blend into reality. The absurd race with time began. Perhaps the change was about to start, and you could feel suspense in the air.

Boska was built as a cutting-edge department store and today it is one of the last existing shopping malls (still not privatised) that belonged to the chain of the Yugoslav department stores. It represents concrete megastructures inspired by American “shopping mall” architecture from the ‘60s, designed without any direct formal relationship to the local heritage. It was part of the larger project called City Centre 1 that was commissioned after the big earthquake that happened in 1969.

Before that, there was a residential building on the site called Titanic (obtained the name because of its length), built a short while after the Second World War. The earthquake was quite strong and there were casualties, while most of the building was destroyed. In 1978, on the 5th of December, the new department store Boska was opened on that very place.

Today this place is like a time vortex, where almost everything remains the same as it was 30 years ago, though there are few shoppers and very few goods. Probably that is why most of the citizens of Banja Luka speak about Boska as some kind of ghost.

But on the other hand, the people who still work in Boska refer to it with lots of passion and happily remember the ‘glory days’ when the department store was fully functional. These saleswomen haven’t received any salary for the last 18 months, due to the failed attempts of privatisation. Most of them are middle-aged and have worked there for many years, practically all of their lives. Hence they became one of the key subjects of my research: they still arduously turn up every day, put on their washed-out lemon-yellow uniforms and pretend that they are selling something.
Eric von Robertson works under the conceptual framework of CARL – The Center for the Advancement of Recreation and Leisure. As Robertson says, ‘CARL is a destination, a way of locating and re-routing the world around us, through a process of excursions and sculptural prototypes.’ These prototypes are tossed into a series of field studies that travel between remote and urban landscapes – place where a large inflatable cushion of air is uncontrollably swept through the streets, to a pack of stray dogs sporting custom designed textiles that offer new routes and intersections for ‘City Guides’. As CARL’s excursions continue to meander through the ‘Lost caves of St. Louis’ or across deserted islands in the Maldives, these places and misadventures become models in tourism and personally reflected souvenirs in the pursuit of recreation and leisure.

**SURVIVAL POINT**

**Traversing the ‘Knot’**. Upon arriving by train in Utrecht I find myself caught in a tangled wash of pedestrian traffic, being cut off, skipping stride to avoid the oncoming wall of congestion. In this situation it’s essentially a question of gaining some sense of orientation, of locating myself in relationship to a space or existing elements that maintain some continuity for the entire layout. With this in sight I kept returning to an existing sculpture by the artist Shinkichi Tajiri: a large vertical tube twisted into a knot. This work seems to lend a clear definition for the space and functions, as it was probably intended to – as a landmark or central meeting point.

**Revisiting the rest area**. What is difficult to grasp and which remains invisible behind this ‘knot’ today, is a complete rest area with high tropical palms and adjoining hardwood benches. These are the kind of spaces that provide an inhabitable atmosphere and visually distinguish the site. When malls begin occupying city centres or defining the roots between public transit hubs, consideration should be taken to provide more than the average shopping experience. This means creating environments that are compelling, legible and publicly accessible.

**Weathering the Storm**. It happens a few times a season. A severe storm closes all transportation terminals over a wide region and you’re stranded. There you are, ticket in hand, with no idea how to get where you’re going or what to do in the interim. In summer it can be hurricanes, heavy rains, thunderstorms or high winds that delay travel plans for days, but every season has its natural disasters.
Index
new identity
NEW HOOG CATHARIJNE
G.J. DOUSI – PROJECT DEVELOPER

The redevelopment of Hoog Catharijne is at hand. With its largest European retail project, Corio is adding 35,000 m² of retail space and 20,000 m² of leisure and hotel/restaurant/cafe space. In the coming years, consumers and retailers will see a new piece of the heart of Utrecht arise, says Gert-Jan Douisi, Project Developer for Corio Real Estate Development and manager of the redevelopment of Hoog Catharijne. ‘At last we have a place in a city centre where there is space for large store units for international retailers.’

The renovation of Hoog Catharijne has been hanging over the political landscape of Utrecht as an unfulfilled promise for three decades now. In the late 1970s there were already voices calling for the beautification of the shopping centre. In the 1990s the long-discussed Utrecht City Plan fell through. Behind the scenes the parties involved (the city of Utrecht, Corio, Dutch Railways and the Jaarbeurs) could not agree, which in 2000 led to the collapse of plans to deal with the station area. Under the direction of the City of Utrecht the parties picked up the thread again in 2001.

‘Of course, in 2001 we were glad to see that things were beginning to go somewhere. The plan for the large-scale demolition of Hoog Catharijne and a temporary shopping centre would, however, have cost us too much money. For too long we would be able to rent too little shop space, and that would result in a faltering cash flow. We have therefore agreed with Utrecht on a definitive plan to redevelop New Hoog Catharijne in phases. First we will build The Vredenburg, with 7,000 m² in retail space and 78 apartments. Only after that, we will begin with the demolition and new construction of the Entrance Building. Retailers who temporarily must move out can then be accommodated in The Vredenburg. We’re happy, and the retailers and consumers are also happy.’

Of course Corio finds that the dated Hoog Catharijne is in desperate need of renovation. But in the chorus of complaints, the positive sounds from Corio are unjustly being drowned out. ‘By today’s standards, the present shopping centre is perhaps not a particularly beautiful example of architecture, and naturally one must agree with that. But with that it is often forgotten that Hoog Catharijne has been a gigantic commercial success. Many retail chains have their best results in The Netherlands from their location here in this shopping centre. Of the ten most heavily visited stores in The Netherlands, six are here. At peak hours stores in Hoog Catharijne can bring in 1,300 euro per square meter. Having this shopping centre in this location in the heart of The Netherlands, in one of its most beautiful cities, at the busiest public transport hub, is as good as having gold in your hands.’

‘Presently the Catharijnesingel is a six-lane motorway, and as such is a physical barrier between Hoog Catharijne and the center of Utrecht. Where cars presently drive by, the City of Utrecht will restore the water, with a promenade, a green zone and a large terrace. The water runs right under the Stadskamer that we are going to develop. In this two storey, transparent glass building there will be stores, leisure businesses and cafes and restaurants. It will be an ideal place to hold events. This is where we will connect the ground level of the city centre with New Hoog Catharijne. Stronger yet: this now unpleasant location will actually be a part of the city centre itself. The Stadskamer is thus a crucial component in our plan.’

The fear that traffic in the city centre will seize up if the six-lane highway disappears is unfounded. ‘That big highway is not necessary for handling traffic flow well. The six-lane highway right through the center is a legacy from the megalomaniac urban development of the 1960s. The City of Utrecht later changed its mind about that. A couple hundred meters further up, the highway turns into a two lane street. On the station side of the water there will be a two lane street, and that is enough for the traffic.’

‘In its broad outlines, the retail concept for the new Hoog Catharijne is already there. But it doesn’t make much sense to be too specific about what is going to happen in five years. Existing anchors such as Media Markt, V&D and Albert Heijn will stay. An important new segment will be large shop units of 1000 to 1500 m² for international retail chains. All research indicates that both retailers and consumers want large stores like that in the city centres. Because of the small streets and blocks in Dutch city centres there is often no room for them there. Now we have a place in the city centre for the large stores of international retailers. That puts us out in the lead, ahead of the other big cities that also want to facilitate the large retail chains.’

‘The new Hoog Catharijne will not be competing with the city centre. It will become a part of that city centre. There are even retailers in the centre who want an extra branch with us. Many of the large chains are not afraid to have a both a branch with us and one in the city centre. There are more than enough interested parties. For the past six years Corio has been in constant conversations with potential renters. We want to give the large chains space on two floor levels, in the new Entrance Building, and on the top of the existing Radboud Building. We want to provide access to these large store units through the stores in the new pedestrian street, an A1 shopping area.

‘On the Nieuwe Stationsstraat we are also creating a new shopping area which Corio will actually own. This will be a four floor shopping area with only loading docks and traffic. Utrecht wants to create something lively there, and thus we can turn it into shopping functions.

‘The development process up to now could have run much longer. But Utrecht has decided to take on the role of director, and it appears that that has been a good move. Where in the past, during the Utrecht City Project, all the parties first talked about the whole area, now Utrecht has negotiated with each party separately about its own area.

Now it’s time to quickly move on to putting the plans into execution. Particularly the statutory process focusing on obtaining permits now deserves attention, and for the city that is a major task.

‘Corio’s role as investor and developer together is also crucial in the relocation of renters. To some degree we have already arranged how we will deal with the problem. In recent years we have already agreed with new renters about what is going to happen when the reconstruction begins. In the case of many other stores, such as those who will be moving to The Vredenburg, we already know what we are going to do. That is the advantage of being the owner, retail investor and developer. If we were only the developer, we could never have reached these agreements so quickly and easily. However long it takes, we remain 100% committed.’
JUST WHAT IS IT THAT MAKES THAT THING SO DIFFERENT, SO APPEALING?
TIMANN MEYER-FAJE
20.10.1971/Born in Oldenburg/Germany

Education
2002-2004 Sandberg Institute Amsterdam
1996–2000 VAV, Gerrit Rietveld Academie

Artworks and performances
Dag van het Veen, lecture performance at Zangsporen, CBK – Utrecht. www.dvhte.nl
Bluff wakkie, performance and installation at Over het IJ Festival Amsterdam. Buurtroknet, Museum De Paviljoens Almere: www.buurtroknet.nl

2006 Duitsland ist sexy, performance with the youth choir Classic Frogs, Sugarfactory,Amsterdam.
Rembrandt thuis, magazine produced for Mercury in Retrograde, De Appel Amsterdam Plaza Maria, exhibition of future sceneries of the artist-residence place Hotel Mariakapel, co-production with Steffen Maas and Mark van den Heuvel, Mariakapel, Hoorn. Seine Welt, publishing and distributing a boulevard magazine about the German writer Friedrich Schiller, 13. Internationale Schillerstage, Nationaltheater Mannheim Universiteit-Ulrichsberg solo performance as a University in a small village, Festival der, Mühlenviertel rural Austria: http://fm4.orf.at/connected/200775
Eröffnung der Unibibliothek, reconstruction of the visit of the first German-FDR President Theodor Heuss in Giessen (Germany) for Tag des Denkmals.

2005 Nah und gut, curating and performing the exhibition in cooperation with Nils van Beek, Artwalk Amsterdam: www.artwalkamsterdam.nl Das Portrait einer lebendigen Stadt, video contribution for “Op Schoot” festival, Hedah - Maastricht. Radioartejump, participation radio broadcast initiated by Federico Fusi, Centraal Museum Utrecht. (February - March)

2004 Nomads In Residence, research in a new neighbourhood in order to develop a site specific event for Bureau Beyond Utrecht. (June – July)
Nederland leeft met sloop! Billboard campaign for houses slated for demolition in Den Haag – Transvaal for Optrek – Transvaal. (June)
http://www.optrektransvaal.nl/project4faye_extra.htm
Giessen erträgen, tour guide in bag, co-production with Inge Günther and Jörg Wagner: http://www.aku-netz.de/akku-pro-ertraegen.htm


2002 Geschwindigkeitstafabrik, Radio life on stage, Kulturtage Oldenburg.
Rund um die Herz-Jesu Kirche, guided tour, Kultursommer Rheinland-Pfalz, Koblenz
Junge Wege zur alten Grostraction, Guided tour, Transeuropa Festival Hildesheim. Schnell und Billig, staging a holiday trip, Diskurs Festival Giessen.
Milleu & Wetenschap, Park of the Future, Amsterdam.

2001 Erlangen Lebt, guided tour in Erlangen, ARENA Festival.

1999 In production Huistijl de luxe, artwork in hospital building Ggnet Doetinchem, courtesy SKOR

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Best wishes,

Dr. Duria Pyrkin, Chief Curator
ERIC VON ROBERTSON

Born in Kansas/USA/1976
Lives and works in Amsterdam/The Netherlands

Education
1999–2007 Sandberg Institute, Amsterdam, Netherlands
BFA Sculpture, Kansas City Art Institute, Kansas City, USA

Solo Exhibitions
2007 Center for the Advancement of Recreation and Leisure, W139, Amsterdam
2004 Prototypes – Excursions – Observations, Paragraph, Kansas City, USA
2002 Prototypes for Recreation, Bemis Center for Contemporary Arts, Omaha, USA
2001 JOPPA, an arbitrary collection of shoddy material, Telephone booth, Kansas City
2000 Personal Recovery Area, Cranbrook Academy of Art, Bloomfield Hills, USA

Group Exhibitions
2008 Every Man for Himself/God Against All, White Flag Projects curated by Hesse McGraw, St. Louis, USA

Video Screenings
2007 Architecture Biennale Rotterdam, KunstHal, Rotterdam, NL
2006 Poetry & Art, International Festival, Schouwburg, Rotterdam, NL
2005 Poetry & Art, International Festival, Schouwburg, Rotterdam, NL
2004 Earth Seen from the Moon, Cesare Manzo Gallery, Pescara, Italy
2003 Hype, Pallas De Tokyo, Paris, France
2002 Make Your Own Pun, Guild and Greyshkul, New York, NY

Residencies
2007 European Ceramics Work Center ‘s Hertogenbosch, Netherlands
2006 Georgia Here We Come, Erfors/GEO AIR, Tbilisi, Republic of Georgia
2005 Basis, Artists, organised by Dijkmans/Osterholt, ‘s Hertogenbosch, Netherlands
2004 Foundation B.A.D., Rotterdam, Netherlands
2003 Bemis Center for Contemporary Arts, Omaha, USA
2002 One, the other Painting, W139, Amsterdam, Netherlands

Grants/Commissions
2008 Sense and Sensitivity, Multi–Avond, TENT, Rotterdam, NL
2006 Viewing Club, Secession Wichtelgasge, Vienna, Austria
2005 Sign to Eutopia, Sign gallery, Groningen, Netherlands
2004 Field Codes 2, multiple venues, Kansas City, USA
2003 Urban Culture Project, Bank studios, Kansas City, USA
2002 Reconn – screen, Oude Kerk, Amsterdam

Lectures/workshops
2007 One Minutes, video workshop, Unicef, Manila, Philippines
2006 All Roads Lead Back to You, Expodium, Utrecht, Netherlands

Exhibitions
2007 W139, Amsterdam, Time Out
2005 De Ateliers, Amsterdam, White Cube

Publications
2007 W139, Amsterdam, Time Out
2005 De Ateliers, Amsterdam, White Cube

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SEBASTIAAN VERHEES
Born 1982/Lives and works in Berlin

Education
2001–2007
HKU School of Arts, Utrecht
KHB Weißensee Academy, Berlin
De Ateliers, Amsterdam

Selected group exhibitions
2008
48 Stunden Neukölln, Hobrechtstrasse studios, Berlin
2007
Art Rotterdam and Art Amsterdam, represented by Buro Empty
Koninklijke Schildersprijs 2007, Gemeentemuseum, Den Haag
2006
Dood aan de Elite, P/:///AKT, Amsterdam
Koninklijke Schildersprijs 2006 Gemeentemuseum, Den Haag
2005
Hard Copy, Academiegalerie, Utrecht
Jungle, Meflabriek, ’s–Hertogenbosch
2004
Leichte Massaker, Monbijou studios, Berlin
Fama Fluxus Mythos Beuys, Städische Galerie, Sindefingen

Solo exhibitions
2007
Wave your arms – Arm your waves, Buro Empty, Amsterdam
Sebastiaan Verhees, Centraal Museum, Utrecht
Offspring 2007, De Ateliers, Amsterdam (catalogue)

2006
Memory is a Motherfucker, De Ateliers, Amsterdam
Hit and Run, Academiegalerie, Utrecht (with Ilvina Landzbergas and Jonathan Plante)
Adoption, De Ateliers, Amsterdam (with Simon Hemmer)

Grants
2005–2007
Scholarship to attend De Ateliers
2007–2008
Startstijpendium from the BKVB Foundation

EDWARD CLYDESDALE–THOMSON
Born 11.06.82/Dundee/Scotland

Education
2006–2008
Masters in Fine Art
Piet Zwart Institute
Rotterdam, The Netherlands

2002–2003
Erasmus exchange
Royal Academy of Fine Art School of Architecture
Copenhagen, Denmark (Both semesters passed)

2000–2004 Bachelor of Architectural Studies
Mackintosh School of Architecture, Glasgow School of Art, Glasgow, Scotland. (B.Arch, honours selected)

2000
Fine Art Foundation Year
Krabbesholm Højskole, Skive, Denmark

Permanently
1994–1999
Dollar Academy
Dollar, Scotland

Solo Exhibitions
2007
Observing Construction, NEST, Netherlands Architecture Institute (NAi) Rotterdam, The Netherlands

2006
Tracing changes, Schloßmuseum, Quedlinburg, Germany
Influence, Gelegenheiten, Berlin, Germany

2005
Cells st. peter’s seminary Permutationen
Superhorst, Berlin, Germany

Group Exhibitions
2008
My Travels with Barry, MA Graduation Show
Tent, Rotterdam, The Netherlands.
Just what is it that makes that thing so different, so appealing?, Expodium, Utrecht, The Netherlands
A Walk in The Park, Kunstvlaai, Amsterdam, The Netherlands

2007
This is how it must feel to be there,
Pakhuismeesteren, Rotterdam, The Netherlands

2005
Permutations, Burgers Close Gallery, St.Andrews, Scotland

Performances
Thank You for Not Photographing, Hoog Catarjine, Utrecht, The Netherlands

Employment
2005–2006
Architectural assistant
Oda Pälmke Architekten, Berlin, Germany

2005
Artist’s assistant
Erik Steinbrecher, Berlin, Germany

2004–2005
Architectural assistant
Elder & Cannon Architects, Glasgow, Scotland

2002
Architectural assistant
Walker & Pride Architects, St.Andrews, Scotland

Awards
Glasgow Institute of Architecture Commendation

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Amin, Ash & Thrift, Nigel: Cities

Dreier, Peter e.a.: Place Matters; luuk boelens p.32–p.41

Mobitypes; in Stedebouw en Designing Holland; Inspiring

see Monolab, van Bergen et al

Bhalotra, Ashok e.a.: Overstappen

Casteren van Cattenburch, Iris et al:

Lynch, Kevin en Apppleyard, David:

Giedion, Siegfried: Mechanisation

place; in: European Planning Studies 7/2–1999

St. Lawrence 2001

zug. Darmstädter

architettura, Electa, Milaan 1979

2001–2007

infrastructures; Zürich, Switserland

Spatial impact of transport

Hague, September 2001

Netherlands, The Hague 2000

Culture and Science: Architecture

Building Art, Delft 9 October 2002

inaugural lecture at the facultyn of

projects of Kevin Lynch Cambridge

in Banerjee, Tridib et al: City sense

Sensuous criteria for highway design;

Press, New York 1948

Theophile Gautier cited in Dethier,

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30   see the art projects of Ton Maiton

concerning ecological and nature

busses.

see Kierm, Mark & Schwartz,

High Speed Trains - contours for an art and cultural programme high Speed Lines, Utrecht 2000

see Theophile Gautier cited in Dethier,

Jean et al: Le Temps des Gares,

Centre Georges Pompidou/Centre de Création Industrielles, Paris 1979

Meyer, Han: De stad en de haven - stedebouw als culturele opgave; in: Rotterdam, Barcelina, New York, Paris; Uitgeverij Jan van Aakel, Rotterdam 1998

Ito, Kurasaki & Chiba, Matsugai

Railway stations and local Communities in Japan; published in: Japan Railway & Transport Review 29, August 2001

Lynch, Richard: The drive-in, the supermarkat and the transformation of commercial space in Los Angeles; The MIT Press, Cambridge/Massachusetts/London 1999

Kassarda John: Planning the Aerotropolis; published in Airport World October-November 2000

Kurakawa, Kisho: Capsule Manifest; published in: Heymen, Hilde e.a.: A Dat is architect - stedekunst en de twintigste eeuw; O10 uitgeverij, Rotterdam 2001,


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17   Norberg-Schultz, Christian:

Genius Loci: Das authentische bauen – die Authentische Architektur, Electa, Milano 1979

18   vgl. Heidegger, Martin, Sein und Zeit

Wonen Denken; lecture on 5 augustus 1951 within the Darmstädter

Gepräche 11, published in dutch by

augustus 1951


21   see Keers, Geurt: Multiple Living; in Stedebouw & Ruimtelijke ordening 5, The Hague 2000

22   Giedion, Sigfried: Mechanisation takes command; A contribution to an honour history, Oxford University Press, New York 1948

23   Lynch, Kevin en Appleyard, David: Sensuous criteria for highway design, in Banerjee, Tridib e.a.: City sense - Theorie en praktiek van stedebouw en spatial impact of transport infrastructures; Utrecht 2000


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28   Le Moine, 1991


21   see for instance

16   Morand, Paul op citato in Anne

Lambirch: De gegevelde eeuw, in Dynamic City, Fondation pour l’architecture, Brussel 2000

17   see for instance Frank. Lloyd Wright Roadsocrisy City, e. Pfeiffer, Bruce Brooks: Frank Lloyd Wright -

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Williams, Heathcote: Autochthoon; Jonathan Cape, London 1991

18   see White, Roger B.: Home on the road - The motor home in America, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington/London 2000

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