迎接下一个1956[①]

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摘要…

景观都市主义（Landscape Urbanism）针对传统都市设计在一系列城市发展中面临的困境展开批判，它意味着城市发展的另一种选择，为现代城市化提供了一种具有文化影响力、生态知识和经济可行性的新形式。本文从某种潜在的反历史角度进行叙述，以此来说明城市设计（Urban Design）如今所面临的困境。这样就提出了复兴一种现代主义规划的可能，至少是复兴主张利用景观充当城市、经济和社会秩序的媒介这一分支。

关键词…

景观都市主义；城市设计；1956

过去10年间，景观都市主义逐渐兴起，它批判了传统城市设计的学术思想和专业实践，并取代了以往的"新都市主义（New Urbanism）"。传统城市设计显然已无力跟上城市高速变化的步伐，也无法化解北美和多数西欧国家在以汽车为主导的现代都市化过程中出现的横向发展特征，景观都市主义因此而展开批判。同样，传统的城市设计策略也无法应对非工业化之后所遗留下来的环境状况，在这种情况下，城市对生态的呼声渐高，设计文化作为城市发展的一个方面也被人们摆在日趋重要的位置。本文和其他场合提及的有关景观都市主义的论述饶有趣味地揭示出这样一个曾最终被否决的提议：即哈佛大学的城市设计最初可能被纳入景观设计的范畴内。对于约瑟·尤伊斯·塞尔特（José Luis Sert）在哈佛对城市设计的最初表述的一种解读是，他想在哈佛建筑学院内创造一个跨学科体系。然而，城市设计作为环境营造中诸多设计学科的交叉点的潜力还有待发掘。针对这样的情况，景观都市主义用现代主义的规划理念和几个成功模式，对环境和社会的期望给出了关键而有历史根据的重读。本文从某种潜在的反历史角度进行叙述，以此来说明城市设计如今所面临的困境。这样就提出了复兴一种现代主义规划的可能，至少是复兴主张利用景观充当城市、经济和社会秩序的媒介这一分支。

在有关城市设计起源的诸多重要论述中，埃里克·芒福德（Eric Mumford）认为它随国际现代建筑协会（CIAM）而产生的观点尤其值得一提，因为对建筑师、城市规划师和跨学科的各个院系而言，它扩展了对这一具有国际意义的话题的认知。芒福德的论述为一些更为当代的叙述提供了有用的背景材料，这包括埃里克斯·克雷格（Alex Krieger）对这一领域的总体概述，他认为这是当代行业所应关注的问题。克雷格的文章详细列举了塞尔特（Sert）系统表述该领域的多重动机，并提醒人们哈佛会议上提出的很多问题，这些问题针对的是涉及城市的各个设计学科内部和彼此之间所存在的潜在关系。其中最有争议的一个问题就是有关景观在城市设计中的角色与地位，这个问题在今天仍然非常重要，并对哈佛大学1956年会议上提出的城市设计概念的起源问题具有主要意义。

1956年，也是北美最成功的现代主义规划项目之一——底特律拉法耶特公园（Lafayette Park）住宅区交付委托的一年。 这一城区改造项目是"底特律计划"的一部分。这项计划与随之展开的工程向人们展示了上世纪中期城市构建的崭新形式，这源于如下认识：即城市形式由景观塑造。拉法耶特公园住宅区项目并未得益于当时学术界所关注的热点，即其后流行的"城市设计"概念。相反，它源于由来已

久的特定场地应用理论，即路德维希·希尔伯塞默（Ludwig Hilberseimer）提出的城市规划（City Planning）理论。在底特律城将被有计划地长期废弃并最终衰退的情形下，希尔伯塞默和他的同事密斯·凡德罗（Mies van der Rohe）、阿尔弗雷德·考德威尔（Alfred Caldwell）以及芝加哥开发商赫伯特·格林沃尔德（Herbert Greenwald）探索出可获得经济、生态和社会可持续性的新模式。希尔伯塞默为拉法耶特公园住宅区所作的规划属于实体规划，仍与城市建设的空间和形式有关，并不需要利用当时刚刚萌芽的超学科的理论形式——城市设计。这个项目的空间组织形式建立在希尔伯塞默在其著作《新区域格局》中所提出的原生态规划建设理论上。该书阐明了一种崭新的空间秩序，这一秩序与北美城市化中的经济、生态和社会条件相称。

希尔伯塞默主张倡导一种强调生态进步、社会参与并有着文化影响力的城市建设实践，在此，景观在即将到来的美国城市离心化过程中充当了城市秩序的媒介。拉法耶特公园住宅区是希尔伯塞默唯一建成的规划项目，它代表了一段崭新的历史，在这一时期，景观已经成为构筑城市秩序的主要决定因素。希尔伯塞默的规划及其为美国城市所描绘出的种族融合、阶级融合的清晰远景取代了先前由包括佐佐木英夫（Hideo Sasaki）和维克多·格鲁恩

（Victor Gruen）在内的一个设计小组所实施的计划，他们两人也参加了哈佛城市设计会议。

这两个相互对照的事件差不多同时发生，这就为城市设计理论的形成提供了另一种可能的历史选择。这是事实，即便我们忽略这件事：在任命格罗皮乌斯（Gropius）为系主任之前，哈佛大学建筑系曾邀请密斯担任领导职务。如果密斯和希尔伯塞默那时选择前往剑桥，而非芝加哥任教，那么我们在此讨论的城市设计的历史可能会被完全改写……我有点偏题了。

当然，所有这些不同版本的历史——已经出版的权威叙述、我的简短的反历史描述以及所有那些未成文的可供选择的历史叙述——都与城市设计在当前辩论中的定位息息相关。这50年来围绕城市设计所形成的论述至少分为3个不同的主题。

首先，有些论述把城市看作可凭经验观察和历史探究的对象，这包括建构当代城市化的论述和多种多样的城市历史。彼得·罗（Peter Rowe）的城市设计方法与之密切相关。他的设计方法根植于对城市化及其附带现象的经验观察，以及严肃的历史学研究。其他论文则从城市设计的专业实践和被设计领域内的城市规划者、政策制定者等专业人士所印证实的所有工具性实践出发进行论述。大多数资料在这一主题所提供的标准范围内。一些资料则是将城市设计作为一个学术专业或教学法的主题。

《哈佛设计学》杂志编辑威廉·桑德斯（William Saunders）主持的研讨会对城市设计在建筑教育和设计文化中的不同地位的简略子集进行了概述，但又不可避免地把许多针对城市设计问题和议题的不同范围的讨论合并起来。这种结合可能是必然的，尽管偶尔会产生混乱，而我认为这种格局自这一学科领域创立伊始以及1956年的哈佛会议本身开始就已经存在了。

显然，在有关城市设计概念的形成中，其中一个尤其持久而不衰的方面就是它始终致力于针对壁垒森严的各个学科的传统定义进行论述。这对现代读者有很强的启示作用，因为它与目前北美的设计教学和专业实践中跨学科体系的流行趋势明显不同。有几所设计院校最近已经打破了建筑和景观设计之间的学科差别，还有一些院校可授予双学位，或设置混合注册课程[2]。这种向知识分享和合作教学的转变趋势在一定程度上是为了适应专业实践日趋复杂的交叉学科和综合学科形势。毫无疑问，这些实践都是为了应对当代大都市环境下出现的机遇和挑战。

从这个角度说，这些有关城市设计历史及未来的会议记录和近期研讨与众多知名设计院校中出现的学科非专业化计划显得有些矛盾。各城市及其所赞助的学术项目并不重视传统的学科界限。在这方面，设计学科也不例外，最近很多知名设计师呼吁在不同的设计学科间建立新的跨学科体系[3]。针对这一话题，费·穆萨维（Farshid Moussavi）认为应在各设计学科之间内部形成更广泛的多学科性和身份流动性，这一提议及时而睿智。

从现有材料中得出的另一个结论是，在城市设计研讨中出现了某种趋势，即通常为了巩固加强某一特定观点，或为之寻求更广泛的支持，往往要诉诸鲜明的道德和伦理立场。因为建筑和景观设计日益受到名人文化、城市设计行业所换取的文化资本及其产生的拜物化商品的影响，所以城市设计似乎内化了诸多责任和义务，而这原本就包含在专业实践自身中。可以预见，城市设计可能会成为设计学科的良知，它已经引发了很多讨论，这些讨论围绕带有多重道德需要的城市设计展开。

通常围绕社会和环境问题而引发了一些考虑，认为设计专业人员有责任考虑和关注愈发难以定义的一类公众。在可持续性教学的语境下，这类人群的范围已经扩展到包括未来世代的流动的全球消费者，其结果必然导致城市设计在日益工具化和底线驱动的全球经济中充当道德制高点。因此，当今有关城市设计的一个解读是，与其说它为塞尔特所设想的具有"城市思想"的建筑师和景观设计师提供一个超学科平台，不如说是给那些被排斥在主流学科语言之外的边缘化学科创造一定的空间。这需要把城市设计解读成一些设计专业通过超越学科界限来实现的超越自我，如果没有城市设计，这些专业只能在设计专业内部升华。

对这些文献还有另外一个更为乐观的解读，它建立在共识的基础上。城市设计作为当前的热点话题，仍然享有特殊的学术权威，并可将建筑环境的经验描述作为形式的、文化的或者历史的构建来介入。这是非同小可的战略资产，不应与规划中长久奉行的有关政策、程序、民意的理解相混淆。相反，历史上对于城市状况的可读性经验描述和建筑形式的最佳范例都是把城市设计作为持续的热点话题重新审视的最坚实的基础。

这种过度矫正中最直接和最有问题的一个方面在于它在设计文化和公共程序之间所形成的对抗性，它替代了城市规划或设计领域中更为合理的社会地位的构建。为了取代后现代都市疗法中的没完没了的民意征询，我主张重新
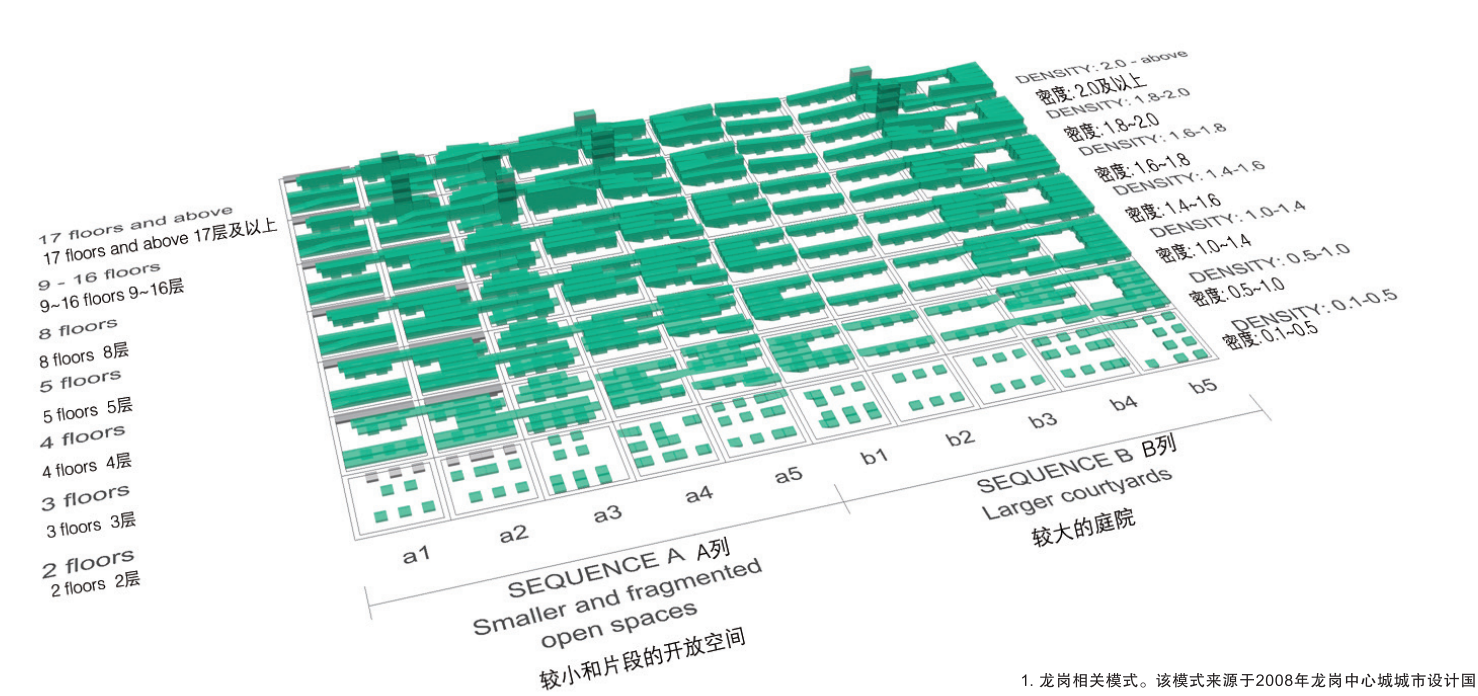
括鲁道夫·马萨道（Rodolfo Machado）和玛格丽特·克劳福德（Margaret Crawford）的主张和看法，前者以充足的理由和清晰的表述提出在各个设计学科的专业知识基础之内形成"公认智慧"，后者提出"日常都市主义"，希望通过对城市社区、身份认同和生活体验的公正描述实现社会正义。

不幸的是，近年来，大量有关城市设计的相对温和的对策和关注都被指向可以说相对边缘的事物，它们在当代都市文化中日显脆弱。在此，我要强调其中最明显、最脆弱的3项。

首先，近年城市设计最具争议性的一个方面是它出现了与反动的文化政治和新都市主义的怀旧情绪相适应的趋势。虽然知名的设计院校都巧妙地与19世纪出现的这种最坏的情形保持了一定距离，但太多的城市设计实践应该为此负责，不应该为了奢求什么建筑梦想，而牺牲城市居者的福祉。这通常表现为在承认建筑形式的相对自主性的同时，夸大城市密度的环境和社会效益。我主张城市设计不应过于关注构建早已失落的城市密度黄金时代的虚幻图景，而是着眼于如何营造我们生活和工作在其中的城市环境。

其次，太多的主流城市设计实践为了迎合富人的目的地消费而热衷营造富于观赏性和感受性的城市环境。有鉴于曼哈顿正日渐成为富人和特权人士的案居地（这很大程度上由最近几个城市设计的项目促成），纽约市长迈克尔·布隆伯格（Michael Bloomberg）在最近的一次政策演讲中，把纽约称为"高端产品，甚至或许是奢侈品"[4]。我赞同迈克尔·索金（Michael Sorkin）的观点，他认为城市设计应超越固有偏见，即偏好曼哈顿主义、倾向追求代表奢华生活方式的城市密度和精英聚居模式。最后，城市设计在各设计学科和城市规划之间所扮演的起到沟通作用的历史角色也已替代了社会因素，用于公共政策的制定和实施。虽然一些设计院校最近恢复了城市规划，这是重要但迟来的更正，但有可能会矫枉过正。其危险不在于设计学会充满很多有关城市文化和热点问题的学术讨论，而是规划程序及其学科设置会使他们自身重新成为只关心国家政策和城市法律而排斥设计和当代文化的孤立体。

思考上世纪中期流行的现代主义思潮中广大的中产阶级的意见。尽管重提希尔伯塞默与现代都市主义代表人物的观点并无挑战，但其好处在于，这是生态理念及社会活动家的实践与高层次的设计文化相调和的一个先例。希尔伯塞默在他的职业生涯中只设计了一个规划项目，这一事实说明该模式的困难性，但也同样显示了其活力和功效。当我们集体抛弃了现代主义者的都市主义时，我们就无法再了解在美国仅有的一段短暂的历史时刻，那时曾经出现过以社会进步、生态知情为特征的规划实践。

这让我再次想起拉法耶特公园住宅区和1956年，那一年，由于新政和美国国家福利制度的实施，出台了很多最佳实施计划。拉法耶特公园住宅区的一个成功之处在于，正当大多数美国人准备离开城市，向往郊区生活之际，它为美国城市描绘出一个阶级和种族融合的前景和未来。最终这成为1956年哈佛会议上有关城市设计的承诺，尽管该承诺尚未实现。如果城市设计再次把相关资源投入到应用历史知识和经验描述的城市形式及其附带现象上，那么会在多数美国人的生活和工作方式中找到更加充足的证据。

构成城市设计文化的大多数因素都产生于费城和剑桥之间的一条狭窄的城市稠密地带，而多数美国人都生活在中北部人口密度逐渐稀少的郊区地带。在对当代城市设计进行重新审视时，这一困境的核心体现在围绕罗伯特·布鲁格曼（Robert Bruegmann）充满争议的著作《城市蔓延简史》所发表的至少3篇相互争得又时而对立的书评上，它们最初出现在《哈佛设计杂志》（HDM）的同一期（虽然只是在线阅读）。《哈佛设计杂志》接受布鲁格曼的作品并任人评说，这表明对于布鲁格曼提出的城市设计的经验分析这一理论的价值缺乏一定共识，同时也显示出它对刚刚创立的城市设计的论述所形成的暗含威胁。

其中一个威胁是人们逐渐清楚地意识到，城市设计已经在很大程度上放弃了最初的梦想，即理顺多数北美人居住和工作地所在的城市秩序。事实上很多欧洲城市正在日益仿效北美城市的经济和空间特征，这个问题与国际关于城市设计的讨论关系重大，特别是大量有关城市设计的历史都集中在对欧洲城市风格模式或引入北美城市的论述上。

正是在城市设计尚未实现自己的承诺和潜力的语境下，景观都市主义在过去的10年中出现了。在历史定义的城市设计的广泛基础内，

景观都市主义代表着另外一种选择，它将理论的连续性和具备生态知识的规划实践的理想整合起来，同样，也了解高端设计文化、当代城市发展模式和公私合作模式的复杂性。朱利娅·泽涅克（Julia Czerniak）的观点充分说明了景观都市主义的这一潜力，她认为景观设计所关注的焦点目前已"从外观转向表现"。她还在文中援引了塞巴斯蒂安·马洛（Sebastian Marot）的作品，这同样值得关注。最近，马洛提出了一个连贯的理论框架，把景观都市主义与当代建筑文化结合在一起[5]。

为配合这一理论，马洛还提出"郊区化"和"超级城市化"的概念，这有望消除城市设计与建筑文化之间的历史隔阂。马洛以超级城市化概念来说明当代建筑文化对超程式的建筑干预很感兴趣，这种干预可以替代传统城市环境下的人居混杂和多样性。他所提出的郊区化是用来描述在人口密度减少的情形下景观都市主义者的一个基本设计立场。在郊区化和超级城市化之间，日常都市主义坚持生活体验的背后因素是不可减少的（并且根本而言是无法设计的）。同样，景观都市主义为北美人所处的生态和经济环境应该对城市设计的模式和方法有所启发，并且已经发展出了一整套适合在

1. 龙岗相关模式。该模式来源于2008年龙岗中心城市设计国际招标方案，是建立在城市各相关因子关系上的计算机模拟模型。

1. LONGGANG relational model. The model is a work plan from 2008 Urban Design Competition for Central District of Longgang. It is a computer simulation model based on relations of urban relevant factors.

远近郊区和快速城市化的背景下运作的模式。

鲁道夫·马萨道认为"景观都市主义产生的形式尚未完全出现",这种说法无疑是公正的。同样,我们也可以公正地说,景观都市主义仍然是未来几十年内最具影响力的城市设计形态。这一角色非同小可,因为景观都市主义为现代城市化提供了一种具有文化影响力、生态知识和经济可行性的新形式,替代了城市设计中一贯流行的对传统都市形式的怀旧情绪。以下事实就是明证,即很多国际知名的景观设计师都在一些大型城市发展规划提案中担任主设计师,在这些提案中,景观提供了一定的生态功能、文化权威和品牌认同。在这些景观都市主义者的实践中James Corner Field Operations景观设计事务所和阿德里安·古兹(Adriaan Geuze)领导的West 8事务所的案例堪称典范。Field Operations景观设计事务所的费城特拉华河滨水地区和悉尼东情人港重建项目,以及West 8事务所的阿姆斯特丹内港项目和近期的多伦多中央滨水区重建项目,都是对景观都市主义实践的有力说明。

以城市密度、向心性和城市形式的易读性为特征的欧洲模式正日渐式微,我们大多数人生活和工作的环境都选择在郊区而非城市,有更多葱茏的植被而非满眼的钢筋水泥,有更完善的基础设施体系相连而不闭塞。恰在此时,景观都市主义应运而生,这也非巧合,它对城市设计的批判最活跃、最成熟。在这种情形下,景观都市主义为城市设计理论的更新提供了模式和方法。这是我们在未来50年和下一个1956年式的革新到来之前所关注的热点。■

(申为军 译,钱瑾 校)

The Other '56 [①]

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Abstract…

The critique launched by landscape urbanism has much to do with urban design's perceived inability. Landscape urbanism has come to stand for an alternative to offer a culturally leavened, ecologically literate, and economically viable model for contemporary urbanization. This essay offers one potential counter-history as a narrative to illuminate the present predicament of urban design. In so doing, it proposes a potential recuperation of at least one strand of Modernist planning, the one in which landscape offered the medium of urban, economic, and social order.

Key words…
Landscape Urbanism; Urban Design; 1956

Landscape urbanism has emerged over the past decade as a critique of the disciplinary and professional commitments of traditional urban design and an alternative to "New Urbanism." The critique launched by landscape urbanism has much to do with urban design's perceived inability to come to terms with the rapid pace of urban change and the essentially horizontal character of contemporary automobile-based urbanization across North America and much of Western Europe. It equally has to do with the inability of traditional urban design strategies to cope with the environmental conditions left in the wake of deindustrialization, increased calls for an ecologically informed urbanism, and the ongoing ascendancy of design culture as an aspect of urban development. The emerging discourse of landscape urbanism as chronicled in this book and other venues sheds interesting light on the ultimately abandoned proposal that urban design might have originally been housed in landscape architecture at Harvard. One reading of José Luis Sert's original formulation for urban design at Harvard is that he wanted to provide a transdisciplinary space within the academy. But urban design has yet to fulfill its potential as an intersection of the design disciplines engaging with the built environment. In the wake of that unfulfilled potential, landscape urbanism has proposed a critical and historically informed rereading of the environmental and social aspirations of Modernist planning and its most successful models. This essay offers one potential counter-history as a narrative to illuminate the present predicament of urban design. In so doing, it proposes a potential recuperation of at least one strand of Modernist planning, the one in which landscape offered the medium of urban, economic, and social order.

Among the many noteworthy contributions on the origins of urban design, Eric Mumford's location of urban design in the wake of CIAM is due particular mention, since it extends knowledge on that topic of international significance for architects, urbanists, and academics across disciplines. Mumford's history provides useful background for several of the more contemporary accounts, including Alex Krieger's thorough overview of the field as a contemporary professional concern. Krieger's essay recounts Sert's multiple motives in formulating the field and reminds readers of the innumerable questions raised at the Harvard conferences on the potential relationships within and between the various design disciplines with respect to the city. Among those questions was the contentious one about the appropriate role for landscape within urban design, a topic of no small import today and of central significance to the origins of urban design as articulated at Harvard in 1956. 1956 was also the year that one of North America's most successful Modernist planning projects was commissioned: Detroit's Lafayette Park urban renewal, the results of the "Detroit Plan". That plan, and the project it promulgated, offers an alternative history of city-making at mid-century, one emerging from an understanding of urban form as shaped by landscape. Lafayette Park did not benefit from the efflorescence of academic attention that would come to be known as urban design. Rather it accrued from the site-specific application of long-standing theories of city planning as formulated by Ludwig Hilberseimer. Hilberseimer and his colleagues Mies van der Rohe and Alfred Caldwell conspired with Chicago developer Herbert Greenwald to produce a model of economic, ecological, and social sustainability in the context of Detroit's long-planned obsolescence and ultimate entropic decay. Hilberseimer's planning project for Lafayette Park offers an example of physical planning still concerned with the spatial and formal aspects of city-making, one not yet in need of the nascent supra-disciplinary formation called urban design. The project's spatial organization was based on Hilberseimer's proto-ecological planning constructs in *The New Regional Pattern*. This publication articulated a new spatial order commensurate with the economic, ecological, and social conditions of North American urbanism.

Hilberseimer's proposal called for an ecologically progressive, socially engaged, yet culturally leavened practice of city building in which landscape afforded the medium of urban order for the coming decentralization of United States cities. Lafayette Park represents Hilberseimer's only built planning project and illustrates an alternative history in which landscape emerges as the primary determinate of urban order. Hilberseimer's plan and its explicit vision of a mixed-race, mixed-class future for the American city replaced the plan previously executed by a team including Hideo Sasaki and Victor Gruen, two participants in the Harvard urban design conferences.

The concurrent historical alignment of these two contrasting events affords a potential alternative history for what came to be urban design. This is true even if we do not recall that Mies was approached about the leadership of architecture at Harvard prior to the appointment of Gropius. The history of urban design as recounted here would be a very different one had Mies and Hilberseimer chosen to spend their academic exile in Cambridge instead of on the south side of Chicago . . . but I digress.

Of course all these histories—the authorized one published here, my brief counter-history, and all the potential unwritten alternatives—have everything to do with positioning urban design in the current debates. The discourse around urban design at fifty conflates at least three potentially distinct subject matters.

First are those accounts and arguments describing the city as an object of empirical observation and historical inquiry. This includes the construction of contemporary accounts of urbanization as well as various urban histories. Here Peter Rowe's approach to urban design—grounded in the empirical observation of urbanization and its various epi-phenomena, augmented by serious historical scholarship—is particularly relevant. Other essays take as their point of departure the professional practice of urban design and the gamut of instrumentalized practices evidenced by a range of professionals from planners and policymakers through the design disciplines. This subject matter affords the normative ground for most of the material. Also present are a few contributions focused on urban design as an academic discipline or pedagogical subject.

The roundtable discussion moderated by *Harvard Design Magazine* editor William Saunders provides an overview to a shorthand subset of the various positions available for urban design within architectural education and design culture but necessarily conflates discussions of urban design across a broad spectrum of issues and agendas. Perhaps this conflation (and the occasional confusion it affords) is inevitable, yet my suspicion is that it is a format inherited from the origins of the field and the 1956 conference itself.

One particularly enduring aspect of urban design's formation evident here is the ongoing investment within its discourse to traditional definitions of well defended disciplinary boundaries. This is particularly revealing for contemporary readers, since it contrasts markedly with recent tendencies toward a cross-disciplinarity within design education and professional practice in North America. Several design schools have recently dissolved departmental distinctions between architecture and landscape architecture, while others have launched specifically combined degree offerings or mixed enrollment course offerings. This shift toward shared knowledge and collaborative educational experience has come partly in response to the increasingly complex inter- and multi-disciplinary context of professional practice [②]. And those practices have undoubtedly been shaped in response to the challenges and opportunities attendant on the contemporary metropolitan condition.

From this perspective, these proceedings and the recent discourse around urban design's histories and futures read as ambivalent toward the project of disciplinary despecialization found in so many leading schools of design. Cities and the academic subjects they sponsor rarely respect traditional disciplinary boundaries. In this respect, the design disciplines should not expect to be an exception, and many leading designers have called recently for a renewed transdisciplinarity between the design disciplines [③]. On this topic Farshid Moussavi's call for greater interdisciplinarity and fluidity of identity within and between the design disciplines is timely and intelligent.

The tendency has emerged within discussions of urban design to invoke an explicitly ethical or moral position, often to bolster support or claim a broad mandate for a specific point of view. Since architecture and landscape architecture have come to be increasingly driven by celebrity culture, the cultural capital it trades in, and the fetishized commodities it produces, urban design seems to have internalized a host of responsibilities and concerns historically housed within the professional practices themselves. The role of urban design as a conscience for the design disciplines is a perhaps predictable outcome, but it has the effect of charging many of the discussions surrounding urban design with multiple moral imperatives.

Most often these considerations are invoked around social and environmental subjects, asserting the responsibility of the design professional to consider and care for an increasingly hard-to-define set of publics. In the context of sustainability, these publics have been extended to include future generations of mobile global consumers, and the effect has been to render urban design as a moral high-ground within an increasingly instrumentalized and bottom-line-driven global economy of and for design. Thus one available reading of urban design today is that rather than offering the super-disciplinary platform for "urban-minded" architects and landscape architects envisioned by Sert, it affords a space for disciplinary subjects marginalized in the mainstream discourse of those fields. This recommends a reading of urban design as a super-disciplinary super-ego for subjects otherwise sublimated within the design professions.

Another more optimistic reading of the assembled material is available based on a point of general consensus. Urban design as an ongoing concern continues to enjoy a privileged academic authority and access to the empirical description of the built environment as a formal, cultural, or historical construct. This is no small strategic asset and should not be confused with planning's longstanding commitment to the description of policy, procedure, and public opinion. Rather, the historically literate empirical description of urban conditions and the best exemplars of built form are among the firmest foundations for the reconsideration of urban design as an ongoing concern. This admittedly modest circumference for the field could comfortably encompass Rodolfo Machado's reasoned and articulate call for "received wisdom" within the specific knowledge base of various design disciplines while equally accommodating Margaret Crawford's call for "everyday urbanism" and its implicit expectations of social justice through equitable description of urban community, identity, and lived experience.

Unfortunately, far too much of urban design's relatively modest resources and attention have been directed in recent years toward arguably marginal concerns that read as increasingly vulnerable in contemporary urban culture. Among these, I will focus on three of the clearest and most vulnerable.

First, by far the most problematic aspect of urban design in recent years has been its tendency to be accommodating to the reactionary cultural politics and nostalgic sentiment of "New Urbanism." While leading design schools have tacked smartly in recent years to put some distance between themselves and the worst of this 19th-century pattern-making, far too much of urban design practice apologizes for it by blessing its urban tenants at the expense of its architectonic aspirations. This most often comes in the form of overstating the environmental and social benefits of urban density while acknowledging the relative autonomy of architectural form. I would argue that urban design ought to concentrate less attention on mythic images of a lost golden age of density and more attention on the urban conditions where most of us live and work.

Second, far too much of the main body of mainstream urban design practice has been concerned with the crafting of "look and feel" of environments for destination consumption by the wealthy. About the ongoing consolidation of Manhattan as an enclave of wealth and privilege (largely facilitated through the best recent examples of urban design), New York Mayor Michael Bloomberg recently referred in

a policy speech to New York as "a high-end product, maybe even a luxury product[4]." I would second Michael Sorkin's call for urban design to move beyond its implicit bias in favor of Manhattanism and its predisposition toward density and elitist enclaves explicitly understood as furnishings for luxury lifestyle. Finally, urban design's historic role of interlocutor between the design disciplines and planning has been too invested in public policy and process as a surrogate for the social. While the recent recuperation of urban planning within schools of design has been an important and long overdue correction, it has the potential to overcompensate. The danger here is not that design will be swamped with literate and topical scholarship on cities, but that planning programs and their faculties run the risk of reconstructing themselves as insular enterprises concerned with public policy and urban jurisprudence to the exclusion of design and contemporary culture.

The most immediate and problematic dimension of this historical overcorrection has been an antagonism between design culture and public process as a surrogate for the construction of a more legitimately social position within urban planning or the design fields. In lieu of endless public consultation as a form of postmodern urban therapy, I would argue for a reconsideration of the broad middle-class mandate of mid-century Modernism. While a recuperation of Hilberseimer or other protagonists in Modernist urbanism is not without its challenges, the potential benefit is a precedent for an ecologically informed and socially activist practice reconcilable with high status design culture. The very fact that Hilberseimer built precisely one planning project in his career is testament to the difficulty of this model, but equally points to its viability and efficacy. As we have collectively abandoned Modernist urbanism, we have lost access to the only brief moment in American history in which socially progressive, ecologically informed planning practice was available.

This brings me back to Lafayette Park and that other '56, the year which evidenced the best laid plans of the New Deal and the American welfare state. Among the successes of Lafayette Park was that it could imagine a mixed-class, mixed-race future for American cities precisely at the moment that most Americans were beginning to leave the city in favor of the suburbs. Ultimately, this is the promise, as yet unfulfilled, of urban design as described in 1956. If it were to recommit its resources to the historically informed, empirical description of urban form and its epi-phenomena, urban design would find ample evidence in the way that most Americans live and work.

Much of what constitutes urban design culture is produced in a thin band of urban density between Philadelphia and Cambridge, while most Americans live in suburban settings of decreasing density across fly-over country. The centrality of this dilemma for contemporary reconsideration of urban design is attested to by the no less than three competing and occasionally contradictory book reviews of Robert Bruegmann's controversial *Sprawl: A Compact History* that appear in the same HDM issue (although on-line only) where these essays first appeared. The relative lack of consensus on the value of Bruegmann's empirical analysis for urban design and the implicit threat that it represents to the urban design discourse as presently constructed are evident in the reception of Bruegmann's work in HDM and available for all to interpret.

Among those threats is the increasingly clear sense that urban design has largely abandoned its original aspiration to articulate urban order for the places where most North Americans live and work. Given the fact that many European cities are increasingly emulating the economic and spatial characteristics of North American cities, this is an issue of no small relevance to discussions of urban design internationally, particularly since so much of the history of urban design has been focused on the importation of European models of urbanity into North American cities.

It is in the contexts of urban design's as yet unrealized promise and potential that landscape urbanism has emerged in the past decade. Landscape urbanism has come to stand for an alternative within the broad base of urban design historically defined. Incorporating continuity with the aspirations of an ecologically informed planning practice, landscape urbanism has been equally informed by high design culture, contemporary modes of urban development, and the complexity of public-private partnerships. Julia Czerniak's account of landscape architecture's recent shift of concerns "from appearance to performance" says much about this potential. Equally, her invocation in these pages of Sebastian Marot's work is equally deserving of mention. Marot has recently formulated a coherent theoretical framework to correlate landscape urbanism with contemporary architectural culture[5].

Marot's paired theories of "suburbanism" and "superurbanism" promise a potential reconciliation of urban design's historical estrangement from architectural culture. Marot formulated superurbanism to account for contemporary architectural culture's interest in hyper-programmed architectural interventions as a substitute or surrogate for the traditional mix and diversity of urban milieus. He articulated suburbanism to describe an essentially landscape urbanist practice of design in the context of decreasing density. In between the sub- and the super-, everyday urbanism persists as an irreducible (and ultimately undesignable) subtext of lived experience. Similarly, landscape urbanists have argued that the economic and ecological contexts in which most North Americans live ought to inform our models and methods of urban design and have developed a menu of modes suitable for working in suburban, exurban, and rapidly urbanizing contexts.

It would certainly be fair to say, as Rodolfo Machado does in these pages, that "the form produced by landscape urbanism has not yet fully arrived." It would be equally fair to say that landscape urbanism remains the most promising alternative available to urban design's formation for the coming decades. This is in no small part due to the fact that landscape urbanism offers a culturally leavened, ecologically literate, and economically viable model for contemporary urbanization as an alternative to urban design's ongoing nostalgia for traditional urban forms. The clearest evidence of this is the fact the number of internationally prominent landscape architects are retained as lead designers of large scale urban development proposals in which landscape offers ecological function, cultural authority, and brand identity. Among these examples of landscape urbanists one could site the practices of James Corner/Field Operations and Adriaan Geuze/West 8 as exemplary. Field Operation's projects for the redevelopment of the Delaware River Waterfront in Philadelphia and Eastern Darling Harbor in Sydney are indicative of this line of work, as are West 8's projects for the Inner Harbor in Amsterdam and their recent projects for Toronto's Central Waterfront.

It is no coincidence that landscape urbanism has emerged as the most robust and fully formed critique of urban design precisely at the moment when European models of urban density, centrality, and legibility of urban form appear increasingly remote and when most of us live and work in environments more suburban than urban, more vegetal than architectonic, more infrastructural than enclosed. In these contexts, landscape urbanism offers both model and medium for the renewal of urban design as a relevant concern over the coming half century and in advance of the next '56. ■

NOTES
①An earlier version of this article was published in *Urban Design*, ed. Alex Krieger and William S. Saunders (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2009), 227~236.
②Many design schools in North America have recently revised their disciplinary structures or launched new programs to effectively house programs in landscape architecture without departmental distinctions between the disciplines of architecture, landscape architecture, and urban design. Among these are the University of Virginia, the University of Toronto, and the University of Texas at Austin.
③Over the past decade a number of design schools have articulated explicitly multi-disciplinary degree streams, concurrent degree programs, certificate programs, or inter-disciplinary coursework within and between architecture, landscape architecture, and urban design. Among these are the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Virginia, and the University of Toronto.
④Michael Bloomberg, Mayor of New York, economic policy speech, January 2003. The full quote is available at http://www.manhattan-institute.org/html/cr_47.htm, accessed April 7, 2007: "If New York City is a business, it isn't Wal-Mart—it isn't trying to be the lowest-priced product in the market. It's a high-end product, maybe even a luxury product. New York offers tremendous value, but only for those companies able to capitalize on it."
⑤Sebastien Marot, *Suburbanism and the Art of Memory* (London: The Architectural Association, 2003).