HISTORY URBANISM RESILIENCE

VOLUME 01

Ideas on the Move and Modernisation

17ᵗʰ IPHS Conference ▪ Delft 2016

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International Planning History Society Proceedings

The International Planning History Society (IPHS) is dedicated to the enhancement of
interdisciplinary studies in urban and regional planning history worldwide.
The 17th IPHS Conference was held in Delft, The Netherlands, from July 17 to 21, 2016.
The conference theme 'History – Urbanism – Resilience' inspired contributions investigating
a broad range of topics in planning history: modernisation, cross-cultural exchange,
and colonisation; urban morphology, comprehensive planning, and adaptive design; the
modern history of urban, regional and environmental planning more generally; destruction,
rebuilding, demographics, and policymaking as related to danger; and the challenges facing
cities around the word in the modern era.

Convener
Carola Hein, Chair, History of Architecture and Urban Planning, TU Delft

This series consists of seven volumes and one Book of Abstracts. The seven volumes follow the
organisation of the conference in seven themes, each theme consisting of two tracks and each
track consisting of eight panels of four or five presentations. Each presentation comprises an
abstract and a peer-reviewed full paper, traceable online with a DOI number.

PREFACE

Conferences are unique moments of academic exchange; international gatherings allow people from around the world to interact with a scholarly audience and to learn about diverse theories, academic approaches, and findings. Proceedings capture these emerging ideas, investigations, and new case studies. Both the conference of the International Planning History Society (IPHS) and its proceedings place presentations from different continents and on varied topics side by side, providing insight into state-of-the art research in the field of planning history and offering a glimpse of new approaches, themes, papers and books to come.

As a collection of hundreds of contributions, proceedings are a unique form of publication, different from both peer-reviewed journals or monographs. They are also an important stepping stone for the authors; along with the conversations held at a conference, they are opportunities for refining arguments, rounding out research, or building research groups and the presentations they are often stepping stones towards peer-reviewed articles or monographs. Having a written track record of the presentations and emerging research provides allows conference participants to identify and connect with scholars with similar interests, to build new networks.

Many conferences in the history of architecture, urbanism, and urban planning don't leave an immediate trace other than the list of speakers and the titles of their talks; the International Planning History Society (IPHS) has long been different. The first meeting in 1977 has only left us a 4-page list of attendees, but many of the other conferences have resulted in extensive proceedings. Some of them, such as the conferences in Thessaloniki and Sydney have resulted in printed proceedings, while others are collected online (Barcelona, Chicago, Istanbul, Sao Paolo, or St. Augustine). These proceedings form an exceptional track record of planning history and of the emergence of topics and themes in the field, and they guarantee that the scholarship will be available for the long term.

The conference call for the 17th IPHS conference in Delft on the topic of History – Urbanism – Resilience received broad interest; 571 scholars submitted abstracts. Of those proposals, we accepted 439, many after revisions. 210 authors went through double-blind peer review of the full paper, of which 135 were ultimately accepted. The proceedings now contain either long abstracts or fully peer-reviewed contributions. We are currently establishing an IPHS proceedings series, digitizing earlier paper versions, and bringing electronic ones into one location. We hope that the IPHS Delft proceedings and the whole series will be both an instrument of scholarly output and a source for research and that they will contribute to further establish research on planning history throughout the world.

Carola Hein, Convener
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CONTENTS

Entangled Histories of Cross Cultural Exchange 247

Global Connections 249

Change and Exchange of Planning Ideas in Latin America 267

Cross-Cultural Juxtapositions, Collaborations and Confrontations in Urban Form   307

Cross-Cultural Dimensions of Urban Green Space and Community Mapping   323

Planners' Portrait Gallery   333

Cities of Multiple Identities   369

Ideas on the Move and Modernisation

Keynote

THE MODERN PLANNING HISTORY OF EAST ASIA: A BRIEF GUIDE FROM THE JAPANESE PERSPECTIVES

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INTRODUCTION

Three years from now in 2019, we will celebrate the 100th year of Japan's City Planning Act ("Old Act," 1919). The Old Act was the Japanese positive response to western modern planning, which was developed in western Europe and north America in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and was gradually spreading all over the world.

Japan was the first nation in East Asia which systematically responded to this spreading process (Watanabe 1993) and, after establishing the Old Act system in the Japanese homeland, spread it in turn to the neighboring countries and regions in the process of imperial expansion. This "dual spread" is a very interesting topic particularly to comparative planning researchers.

In this presentation, we plan to draw a rough sketch of the spreading process of western modern planning in East Asia from the viewpoint of Japan, as it was a crucially important spreading channel from the west. There were, however, another such channels to East Asia, especially to China. As planning history studies are now growing in China, we have to keep our eyes open to them if we are going to have a comprehensive planning history of East Asia.

With this limitation in mind, we present some crucial research points and highlights in order to raise interests in East Asian planning history, particularly for external researchers. Therefore, we have tried to develop many stimulating research questions, hoping to see the IPHS become a forum of international exchanges in a really productive manner.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In the late 19th century, Japan made its international debut into the world of imperialism as the government of the "Great Japanese Empire." In the early 20th century, the Japanese Empire expanded its colonial outer territory into the countries and regions in East Asia. The expansion lasted until the end of war in 1945.

Thus, it was the Old Act planning system, with some predecessors, of the Japanese homeland that spread into the outer territories. So our questions are: "How was the Old Act planning system different from the western modern planning system?" "Which part of the outer territories did the Old Act system spread to?" "Was the planning system there the same or different from that of Japan, and why?" "What happened there in postwar days?" All these questions lead to a more crucial question: "Can we recognize a kind of 'East Asian model' in terms of planning systems?"

The outer territories were classified as follows (Watanabe 2016):

1   *Owned territory:* Taiwan (1895, from Qing-China), South Sakhalin (1905, from Russia) and Korea (1910, by annexation);
2   *Leased territory:* Liaodong Peninsula, or Kwantung and the South Manchurian Railway land (1910, from Qing);
3   *Mandate:* The former German colonial islands in the Pacific (1919, from League of Nations);
4   *Occupied territory:* French Indochina and many other areas (1941 onwards, by occupation); and
5   *Puppet state:* "Manchuria" (1932, by proclaimed independence).

In around 1942, the outer territories covered such wide areas as: part of the Aleutian Islands to the east; Manchuria, Kwantung Leased Territory, Korea and South Sakhalin to the north; Burma and Thailand to the west; and Taiwan, Dutch East Indies and Mandate islands to the south. In 1945, Japan's defeat in the war resulted in the entire loss of these areas.

In terms of planning history, a planning system for the Japanese colonial administration existed in Taiwan for 50 years, and in Korea for 35 years. As discussed later, such planning systems survived the end of colonialization and became the legal basis of those countries' own postwar planning systems. In this sense, we place a special emphasis upon the planning history of Taiwan and Korea (the postwar South Korea).

Manchuria imported a modified Japanese planning system and built colonial cities during the 12 years of its existence. After the war, however, it was taken over by the Chinese government (Republic of China and later People's Republic of China), and the Japanese colonial planning system was completely abandoned. Because of this discontinuity, we will not deal with Manchuria in this presentation. However, as there are good research works on Manchurian planning history (Koshizawa 1978; 1988) and, as urban space there survived until now as the legacy of colonial planning, we probably need to study Manchurian planning history further with new research interests and theoretical frameworks. This is also true with Kwantung (Goto 2015).

In this context, we have to mention that the historical study of modern Chinese city planning is a very important and interesting research area. In the modernization process, some coastal cities were affected by the western powers and some cities in Northeast (Manchuria area) by Russia. The planning systems of the Republic of China and of the People's Republic of China must have had different impacts from abroad. So our question is: "How did Chinese modern planning develop under, and often against, western modern planning?" All these topics are waiting to be carefully studied, and some works are being published (Fu 2015).

As for other outer territories, the existing research works report that systematic planning administration hardly existed, and that the present planning system is completely disconnected from the colonial one. Therefore, we will not discuss these areas, although there are some interesting research works on South Sakhalin (Itani 2004) and the Mandate Pacific islands (Ono et al. 2002).

V.01 P.014   **Shun-ichi J. Watanabe**
THE MODERN PLANNING HISTORY OF EAST ASIA: A BRIEF GUIDE FROM THE JAPANESE PERSPECTIVES

TOC

In the following discussion, we will focus mainly upon Japan (Watanabe 1993; 2010; Ishida 2004), Taiwan (Watanabe 2006b; Goto 2014a) and Korea (Goto 2014b; Wada 2014).

OLD ACT PLANNING SYSTEM

The first Japanese general law of city planning that was institutionalized after the western modern planning model was the City Planning Act of 1919, often called the Old Act. It inherited many elements of its predecessor of the Tokyo Urban Improvement Ordinance of 1888. The Urban Improvement program tried to physically remodel the premodern castle town of Edo into the modern imperial capital Tokyo, just like Haussmann's Paris.

The planning style of the Urban Improvement program was a simple one. The land areas for future urban infrastructure such as streets and parks were marked on the official map and, as a result, the government built them one by one, while private building actions on the marked areas were prohibited. Thus, the basic nature of Urban Improvement was a systematic program of "urban engineering works" of individual public facilities rather than "city planning," which tries to plan, build and maintain the urban area as a whole.

The Urban Improvement program, however, left two important elements in the Old Act planning system. The first was the concept that the most important function of city planning is to build urban infrastructure, especially streets, rather than to plan, build and maintain a physical living environment, which we here call "Construction Orientation." The second is that city planning is basically the job of the central government rather than the local government, and that decisive planning powers should be in the hands of administrative bureaucrats rather than the legislature or citizens. This second element can be here called "Centralized Bureaucracy." Thus, Construction Orientation and Centralized Bureaucracy were borne here and grew up into a more sophisticated style in the Old Act system.

The Old Act has provided many of the planning tools of modern planning, though failing in importing the concept of master planning, which was not yet well developed even in the western countries at that time. As for land-use controls, the Old Act institutionalized the Zoning system for the first time in Japan. The implementation of the Old Act revealed, however, that land-use controls were weakened by politically strong landowners, who wanted to use their own land at their own desire, under as little regulation as possible.

As for the construction program, the Old Act system created Land Readjustment programs, mainly for suburban development, and strengthened the infrastructure construction system of the Urban Improvement program. In prewar days, city planning was generally considered as a construction program itself, although central government subsidies for urban facilities were much limited. Thus, city planning had little policy-making nature, and became a matter of construction engineering.

The Old Act planning system was first applied to the six largest cities, including Tokyo and Osaka, and later to smaller cities all over the country. The planning profession, however, did not exist at that time. So all the planning policies and expertise had to be developed and decided by a handful of bureaucrats of the Home Ministry, which was responsible for planning administration. The Ministry dispatched its bureaucrats to local governments where planning works were actually done, and often held seminars where they taught city planning to the local government bureaucrats. This "one-way" stream of planning expertise is typically characterized by the fact that the Home Ministry prescribed the nation-wide and pre-set uniform standards of planning administration, and asked the local government to follow them automatically. In this way, the policy-making nature of city planning was weakened, and it became a matter of administrative procedure.

PREWAR PLANNING SYSTEMS IN TAIWAN

The colonization of Taiwan started in 1895, and the Taiwan Government-General was established in Taipei. Four years later, the Government-General issued the first planning legislation in the form of an Order that was a general rule to regulate the land and buildings in the designated areas for the Urban Improvement project. A total of 51 Urban Improvement plans were created in the whole of Taiwan between 1895 and 1937 (Huang 2000: 154). Thus, the planning function was used as a tool to secure land for future urban infrastructure construction.

In 1932, the Government-General announced an urban Plan, which was to cover more than 9 times of the then urbanized area of Taipei. The planned population in 1955, or 23 years later, was 600,000 against the 260,000 existing population at that time. The street network was planned to cover the entire Taipei basin. Thus, a large-scale street network planning was successfully introduced.

In 1936, the Government-General promulgated the Taiwan City Planning Order, which was roughly a combination of the Old Act, Urban Building Act (1919) and Land Readjustment program. The main purpose of this Order was to assist the colonial government in securing a vast amount of land needed for Taiwan as a logistics base for the Empire's expansion into the Pacific region. Now, the planning system enabled the government to acquire urban land on a large scale. The planning system under this Order was maintained and extended to 72 cities until the end of war in 1945 (Chang 1993: 43). Most of the planned future street lines were legally kept and became the basis of infrastructure provision even after the war.

PREWAR PLANNING SYSTEMS IN KOREA

In 1910, the Japanese Empire made Korea her second colony and the Korea Government-General was established in Seoul. In 1912, the colonial government introduced the Urban Improvement program from the homeland. The first Plan designated the improvement of 31 streets by broadening, straightening and paving the former narrow streets in the midst of the historical Lee dynasty's capital of 500 years. During the following 17 years, the actual construction works were carried out in Seoul, building about 21 kilometers of streets in total (Sohn 2004: 71). Here again started the planning practice and tradition of street construction as the main function of city planning.

In 1934, the Government-General promulgated the Korea Urban Area Planning Order by combining the homeland's Old Act, Urban Building Act and Land Readjustment program. The Order gave great powers to the Government-General for the compulsory purchase of land for large-scale Land Readjustment projects. In fact, the Order was hurriedly made in order to secure the land for building the new harbor city of Najin on the Sea of Japan, which was to provide direct transport connection between Manchuria, created two years before, and the homeland Japan. Eventually, this Order was applied to a total of 43 Urban Areas before the end of war in 1945.

In Taiwan and Korea, actual planning practice was centered on such government construction works as street building and Land Readjustment. Land-use controls were often carried out only in areas resided in predominantly by Japanese immigrants. In short, colonial planning was heavily oriented toward government construction works. Thus, the planning style of the combination of Construction Orientation and Centralized Bureaucracy worked quite well in the colonial situation, or we may say it worked far better than in the homeland.

V.01 P.016   **Shun-ichi J. Watanabe**
THE MODERN PLANNING HISTORY OF EAST ASIA: A BRIEF GUIDE FROM THE JAPANESE PERSPECTIVES

TOC

POSTWAR PLANNING SYSTEMS OF TAIWAN AND KOREA

In 1945, the war ended and subsequently the Government-General was replaced by each national government. Japanese planning bureaucrats returned home. The colonial planning system, however, was not abolished by the new governments. In Taiwan, the government of the Republic of China came from the continent and brought its own City Planning Act that had been promulgated in 1939. This planning system, however, was found hardly workable because the prescriptions were too simple to operate and too different from the current situation in Taiwan (Chang 1993: 43). In South Korea, where the former colony was divided into two nations that were now involved in a war, there was no time to create a planning system anew. So the colonial system remained valid, and 24 additional cities were designated for city planning under the old system (Sohn 2004: 335).

In both countries, the new government utilized the power mechanism of the colonial planning Order by literally translating "Governor-General" to "President." During the 1970s and 1980s under strong development dictatorships, such a planning system with Centralized Bureaucracy and Construction Orientation functioned well as an efficient tool for rapid economic development. The result is what we can see today in Seoul, Taipei and many other cities.

The typical case is Seoul's Gangnam area, where eight-lane straight streets are built at 800 meter intervals, surrounded by 20 to 30 floors of apartment buildings with abundant living space and modern facilities. This is a planned Radiant City which Le Corbusier would have viewed with great joy. It is also a product far beyond what the colonial government imagined, and the postwar government should be proud of it. But this Korean miracle story has not been well reported back to the international planning history community, with some exception (Gelezeau 2003).

If we understand the above point as the continuity from the colonial planning system, it would be also necessary to point out its discontinuity. After the Japanese planners returned home, there was a huge lack in planning expertise in Taiwan and Korea. This technical vacuum was eventually filled by nationals who came back home after studying in the United States and other western countries. As this is a very important starting point of the postwar planning system, we have to ask: "How and by whom was this vacuum filled?" "How can we locate that story within the framework of the spreading process of international planning history?" There are still few research works in this area (Jung 2014).

During the 1960s, when the social, political and military disruptions of postwar days were over, Korea and Taiwan started to amend the old planning system they inherited from the colonial government, in order to have their own systems. The first City Planning Acts were enacted in Korea in 1962 and in Taiwan in 1964. They had their second revisions in 1971 and in 1973, respectively, and many more revisions until the present. In this process, both planning systems became almost completely different from the original Japanese system. This can be seen as the "complete independence" from the colonial planning system, which is an interesting research topic in terms of comparative study.

POSTWAR JAPANESE PLANNING SYSTEM

From 1945, the Japanese economy went through tough times for about 15 years, and then entered the high-growth period in the 1960s. Ministry of Construction in charge of planning administration, took over the Old Act planning system from before the war. Economic growth made the government financially rich and, as a result, various generous subsidy programs were developed for urban infrastructure. Thus, Construction Orientation, that was not so strong due to the lack of public funds in prewar days, was finally strengthened. At the same time, Centralized Bureaucracy was also strengthened with the power of subsidy.

Shun-ichi J. Watanabe
THE MODERN PLANNING HISTORY OF EAST ASIA: A BRIEF GUIDE FROM THE JAPANESE PERSPECTIVES

The rapid economic growth produced a serious urban sprawl problem in the metropolitan peripheries. For the main purpose of controlling this problem, the half-century aged Old Act was drastically amended to become the City Planning Act of 1968, which we call the "New Act." As a land-use control tool, the New Act introduced the Area system, which went beyond the existing Zoning system, and controlled the development of land differently according to the Areas. Although the New Act drastically improved various elements of the planning system, including land-use controls, participation etc., Centralized Bureaucracy and Construction Orientation, characteristics of the Old Act system, survived and were even strengthened.

In the early 1980s, the Nakasone administration started the general policy of vitalizing the market economy by privatization and deregulation, which were also extended to urban policy. The land-use controls in urban areas were weakened by deregulation. The highlight of this line was the Urban Regeneration program (2002-) of the Koizumi administration. Here, the central government directly intervened in the planning process of local governments in order to facilitate urban redevelopment by private developers. This is again an extreme example of Centralized Bureaucracy and Construction Orientation like the Urban Improvement program, where streets were the target of construction, whereas, this time, high-rise offices and apartment buildings were.

CHALLENGE FROM MACHIZUKURI

So far, we have sketched a picture of the historical development of the Old Act system with Centralized Bureaucracy and Construction Orientation. We have observed how it was maintained in Japan and how it functioned well in Taiwan and South Korea, especially in their postwar economic development. In a word, the picture was a kind of "success story."

However, in the 1960s in Japan and in the late 1980s in Taiwan and South Korea, a new movement which was to potentially challenge the Old Act system, was started by urban residents and citizens. It is called Machizukuri, or community building (Watanabe 2006a; 2007), which corresponds to the Chinese "Shequ-Yingzao" and the Korean "Maeul-Mandeulgi" (Watanabe 2008).

The first case in Japan was that, in 1952, a group of citizens in the Tokyo suburb of Kunitachi started a campaign to petition for the designation of an Education District, in order to maintain their good living environment (Watanabe 2012). In 1960s, people all over the country started various kinds of movements. They include urban redevelopment proposals (Nagoya's Sakae-Higashi, Tokyo's Kita-Shinagawa), oppositions against industrial and residential developments (Mishima and Tsujido), and neighborhood resident movements (Kobe's Maruyama and Mano districts). People engaged in these movements called their activities "Machizukuri."

In Taiwan and South Korea, the year 1987 was a crucial time, when long standing and oppressive regimes ended and, suddenly, society as a whole became democratized. In Korea, President-Elect Roh Tae-woo announced the "6.29 Democratization Declaration." The same year, martial law, which had been in place for 38 years, was ended in Taiwan. Now, citizen movements of various kinds, including community building activities, started in full scale. In this context, some planning academics from both countries studied the philosophy and technique of Japanese Machizukuri and introduced them to their own countries. This is another interesting case of the international spread of planning expertise, which invites our research interests.

In Taiwan, various citizen groups started working in opposition to environment pollution (Lukan), studying local culture and history (Taipei), and making proposals for urban reform (UORs in Taipei). In South Korea, the movement included opposition to urban redevelopment(Haengdang-dong), the conservation of traditional urban spaces (Seoul's Insa-dong and Gahoe-dong), and the decoration of house walls (Gwangju's Buk-gu). A book recently published by Japanese planning scholars illustrates a whole spectrum of people's activities in Taiwan and South Korea (Aiba ed. 2016).

V.01 P.018   **Shun-ichi J. Watanabe**
THE MODERN PLANNING HISTORY OF EAST ASIA: A BRIEF GUIDE FROM THE JAPANESE PERSPECTIVES

TOC

Generally speaking, there are three social sectors or mechanisms that produce, distribute and provide goods and services at the social scale. They are: (1) the government sector, (2) the market sector and (3) the civil society sector. Each of them behaves respectively according to distinctly different principles. Urban facilities and services can be provided: (1) by governments, whose activities include statutory city planning, (2) by enterprises, whose activities include urban development business and (3) by citizens and/or residents, whose activities may be considered as Machizukuri. Thus, Machizukuri is distinctly different from statutory city planning in terms of the actors, activities and behavioral principles.

Machizukuri has given birth to a new generation of people who love, think about and act for, their own local community. In fact, they are willing and able to produce some of the public goods and services for their community which city planning has often provided. They also want to participate in the decision-making process of city planning, but the existing planning system often works unfavorably to them. In this sense, Machizukuri can be understood as a challenge to traditional statutory planning, which did, and still often does, monopolize decisions and actions regarding urban space and the lives of people. What is now questioned is the nature of "public" in city planning, which is changing dramatically in recent years.

Since the early 21st century, there have been significant numbers of criticisms of and reform proposals for the current Japanese planning system. As a result, over 20 concrete proposals have been presented by various organizations and individuals (Watanabe and Arita 2010). The heated and interesting discussion that followed was suddenly interrupted by the huge earthquake that devastated the Tohoku region in March 2011. Many planning scholars rushed to the damaged areas to help making reconstruction plans, often in the Machizukuri style. By now, they have experienced the gap between their work and the existing system, and have accumulated many ideas for improvement.

And today, we are standing only 3 years away from the 100th year of the Old Act. It is time for us to think and improve our planning system with perspectives for another hundred years.

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Modernisation and Colonisation

Contested Cities

Chair: Antoni Scholtens Folkers

NG'AMBO TUITAKAYO: RECONNECTING THE SWAHILI CITY

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The City Of Zanzibar is well known for the historical Stone Town which is a World Heritage Site since 2000. What is less known about the City is the fact that it consists of two parts, Stone Town and Ng'ambo, of which Ng'ambo is the one that has received far less attention. The two parts of the city have been developing alongside since the mid-19th century, becoming together the biggest Swahili City in the world by the beginning of the 20th century. Despite the social and economic differences existing in the two parts of the city they retained, an intimate connection translated into the economic, social and cultural sphere.

It is only with the advent of the British dominance, that the two parts started to be perceived as separate entities. Through colonial policies and planning interventions they became segregated and Ng'ambo received a lasting stamp of being a slum in need of upgrading. From the time of the British Protectorate, through the revolution and post-independence modernization projects, Ng'ambo has been a subject to various, not always successful planning initiatives. Despite the turmoil and major upheavals it witnessed Ng'ambo has managed to retain its distinctly Swahili character which has been sustained by the resilience of its inhabitants.

This pejorative image of Ng'ambo has lingered over the area for a long time and it is only recently that Ng'ambo has received renewed attention by being designated as the new city centre of the Zanzibar City. The *Ng'ambo Tuitakayo* (Ng'ambo We Want) project was started in the wake of this renewed attention directed towards Ng'ambo with the aim of developing an inclusive redevelopment plan for the area guided by the principles of UNESCO Historic Urban Landscape recommendation. One of the underlying aims of the project was to revive the historic connection between the two parts of the city.

Through this paper it will be argued that the perceived distinction between Stone Town and Ng'ambo is not inherent to the place, but was created through foreign impositions. Through an in-depth study of the morphological development of the area and discussion of the layered urban history of Zanzibar City, the (dis)continuities between the two parts of town will be unravelled. The paper will also unfold the methods explored in the *Ng'ambo Tuitakayo* project from the beginning until the completion of the final draft of the redevelopment plan and policies.

V.01 P.025   **Antoni Scholtens Folkers | Muhammad Juma Muhammad | Iga Perzyna | Marie Morel | Abdalla Rashid | Berend van der Lans**
NG'AMBO TUITAKAYO: RECONNECTING THE SWAHILI CITY

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TOC

INTRODUCTION

Zanzibar City was by far the largest and most important town in East Africa by the middle of the 19th century, well before the advent of European colonial presence and dominance. Since the turn of the 19th century, the city has been subjected to subsequent waves of social and spatial change, starting with the colonial policies, followed by neglect after the Independence in 1963 and a subsequent rediscovery of Zanzibar Stone Town by the conservationists, resulting in the inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2000.

This story is fairly well known, but it is only half of the story. What has not been told over the years is the fact that the old city of Zanzibar consists of two halves, out of which the western half – Stone Town – has received by far more attention. The eastern half, Ng'ambo, far less known, was disconnected over the years from Stone Town through various policies and interventions. It was regarded as a temporary settlement, a slum, which eventually needed to be replaced by a permanent city. The rebuilding of Ng'ambo commenced in earnest after the Revolution in the middle 1960s through a large scale replacement of the 'organic' Swahili City by a monumental modernist New Town, but was grounded to a halt when the government coffers ran empty.

Sustained by the social resilience of its inhabitants, Ng'ambo passed right through all the turmoil, continuing its own life, mending its scars and redeveloping itself, slowly but surely into a modern African city. The inscription of Stone Town on the UNESCO List emphasized once more the perceived gap between the two parts of the city by declaring Ng'ambo a 'Buffer Zone' to the World Heritage Site, which gave the conservationist means to legitimize the discontinuity by adhering to the fossilized and colonial understanding of the concept of monuments and 'authentic typologies'.

The discontinuity between Stone Town and Ng'ambo has received renewed attention as Ng'ambo has been designated as Zanzibar's new city centre in the new Structural Plan for Zanzibar (ZanSPlan). Ng'ambo Tuitakayo (*Ng'ambo We Want*) is an ongoing project that aims at developing an inclusive redevelopment plan for the area guided by UNESCO's Historic Urban Landscape approach. One of the major objectives is indeed to restore the connectivity between Stone Town and Ng'ambo, by demonstrating how Ng'ambo is an important and integral part of the historic Zanzibar City.

The findings of the project *Ng'ambo Tuitakayo* have contributed to a better understanding of the continuity between the two parts of town and in this paper it is argued that the perceived division between Stone Town and Ng'ambo is not a real physical nor cultural division. It is a division that has been imposed upon the city by external domination, in particular by the British colonial administration. This policy of segregation was followed by a radical redevelopment of Ng'ambo under the Revolutionary government after independence.

Zanzibar City has shown great resilience to these major upheavals and has managed to retain its distinct Swahili urban culture. By unveiling the layered morphological urban history of Zanzibar City, the (dis)continuities between the two parts of town will be unravelled. The paper will unfold the methods explored in the project from the beginning until the completion of the final draft of the redevelopment plan and policies.

Antoni Scholtens Folkers | Muhammad Juma Muhammad | Iga Perzyna | Marie Morel | Abdalla Rashid | Berend van der Lans
NG'AMBO TUITAKAYO: RECONNECTING THE SWAHILI CITY
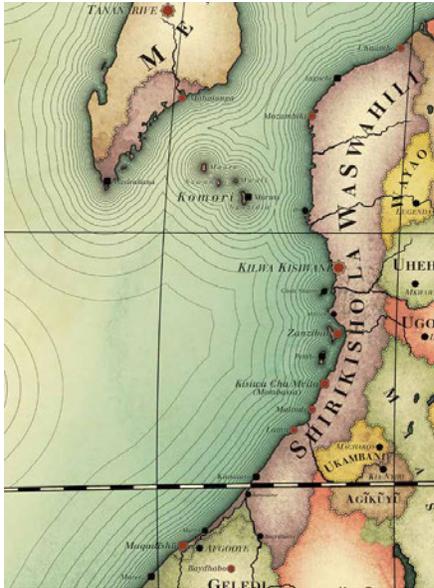
FIGURE 1 The Swahili World as visualised on the Alkebu-Lan Map by Swedish Artist Nikolaj Cyon.

FIGURE 2 Matondoni from the air, Lamu island, Kenya, 1989. Typical Swahili historic urban landscape; the fabric based on the dense repetition of the single storied peaked Swahili house with some special flat roofed stone buildings strewn around.

ZANZIBAR IS A SWAHILI CITY

Swahili is a distinct East African culture[1], which emerged sometime in the 6th or 7th century AD covering a vast region, from Mogadishu in the north to Sofala in the south, encompassing the Comores, the northern part of Madagascar, and the Zanzibar archipelago. The Swahili speak a common language, *KiSwahili*, and are active in mixed economy of farming, fishing and trading. Their culture developed over time, absorbing and adapting a wide range of foreign influences due to the intensive Indian Ocean trade between East Africa and India, Persia, Arabia and China. The Islamic religion became dominant as early as the 8th century. Arts and handicrafts have developed into what is now widely understood as the 'Swahili Style', in architecture, woodwork, basketry, but also in literature and music.[2]

The Swahili region was never a single administrative unit nor empire, but rather a conglomerate of strongly related city states, strung along the coast. The most important city was Kilwa, world famous from the 13th to 15th century until its demise due to Portuguese conquest around 1500. Many other cities emerged, grew, shrunk and expanded over time, some of them to continue their existence until today such as Lamu and Mombasa in Kenya.

Zanzibar City is a relatively young Swahili settlement, replacing older Swahili towns and settlements on the Zanzibar Archipelago, which consists of the three main island Unguja, Pemba and Tumbatu as well as a large number of smaller islands and islets. The central town of Unguja Ukuu on the south side of Unguja island fell into ruins sometime in the 10th century[3] and the centre of activity moved to other towns and settlements around the archipelago like Kisimkazi and Fukuchani on Unguja, Makutani on Tumbatu and Ras Mkumbuu and Chwaka on Pemba. One of the smaller settlements on Unguja, at Shangani, was chosen by the Portuguese to build their fort in the early 16th century.

This fort was beleaguered by the troops of the sultan of Oman in later years and extended to become the heart of the new city of Zanzibar in the 18th century. Zanzibar slowly grew to become the most important city on the archipelago during the following century, a city coveted for its strategic position and wealth, which made the sultan of Oman decide in 1832 to transfer his throne from Muscat to Zanzibar. This event truly triggered the growth of the city.

By 1835 the city counted around 10,000 inhabitants, sixty years later some 60,000 people.[4] By the time that the British took over the rule of Zanzibar from the sultan, in 1891, it was by far the largest city in East Africa. By that time, Dar es Salaam counted perhaps some 5,000 inhabitants, Mombasa not quite 15,000 and Nairobi just stood at its own cradle.[5]

WHAT MAKES A SWAHILI CITY?

The basic grain of the Swahili city is the single story Swahili house. The plan of the Swahili house is remarkably uniform in size and proportions, consisting of a main volume with a spine corridor with a number of rooms on both sides and a small annex with stores, washroom and kitchen separated from the main volume by a small, walled courtyard. The Swahili houses together form the main mass of the settlement, mostly in an organic configuration. However, there also other buildings than the single storey Swahili houses, that constitute Swahili settlements, of which mosques, *madrasa's* and *maskans* are most common.

Less common, but persistent over time, and present in most Swahili cities, are larger and double-storied houses of different floor layout than the Swahili house. These houses are sometimes also called 'Swahili houses', in particular in the older cities of Kilwa and Lamu[6] which can be confusing. Nonetheless, there is no sole claim for the name 'Swahili' and it may well be that this type of house co-existed together with the single-story Swahili houses.

Influence from abroad is another characteristic of the Swahili City. The Swahili world welcomed foreigners, who frequently settled in the East African cities, intermarried with the local population and brought in their customs, which would often be absorbed by the Swahili culture. Persian influx was important in the Middle Ages and is still remembered as *Shirazi* culture, visible in some of the older mosques. Omani influence was particularly strong on Zanzibar from the late 18th century onwards, and many large town palaces in Zanzibar City are of Omani origin. Indian traders, who settled in Zanzibar City from the 1850s onwards brought in the custom of the two-storied town buildings with a *duka*, a shop on the ground floor and the family apartment on the first floor.

The single story Swahili house is traditionally built in coral rag and earth mixture packed in a frame of poles and sticks, plastered with a lime render and roofed with *makuti* on a steep hipped timber structure with a ceiling of mangrove poles, *mboriti,* and coral stone. Town palaces, mosques, caravanserais and other important buildings in town are built in coral rag masonry with flat roofs of mboriti, covered with coral stone and lime mortar finish. The consistent materials are thus coral stone and mboriti, in which the mboriti define the room sizes due to their limited length of a maximum of 4 metres.

The Swahili settlements tend to densify over time into a compact urban tissue with tortuous narrow streets and small plazas. In this densification process, the single story Swahili houses make room for multi story buildings, consisting predominantly, in the case of Zanzibar City, of town palaces and mixed-use retail-apartment buildings. Timber framed, makuti roofed structures are replaced by stone masonry buildings with flat roofs, which were later covered by low pitch hipped roofs covered with *mabati*, corrugated metal sheets. This is a logical development as the timber framed structures could not hold more than one floor and the makuti roofs causing a considerable fire hazard.
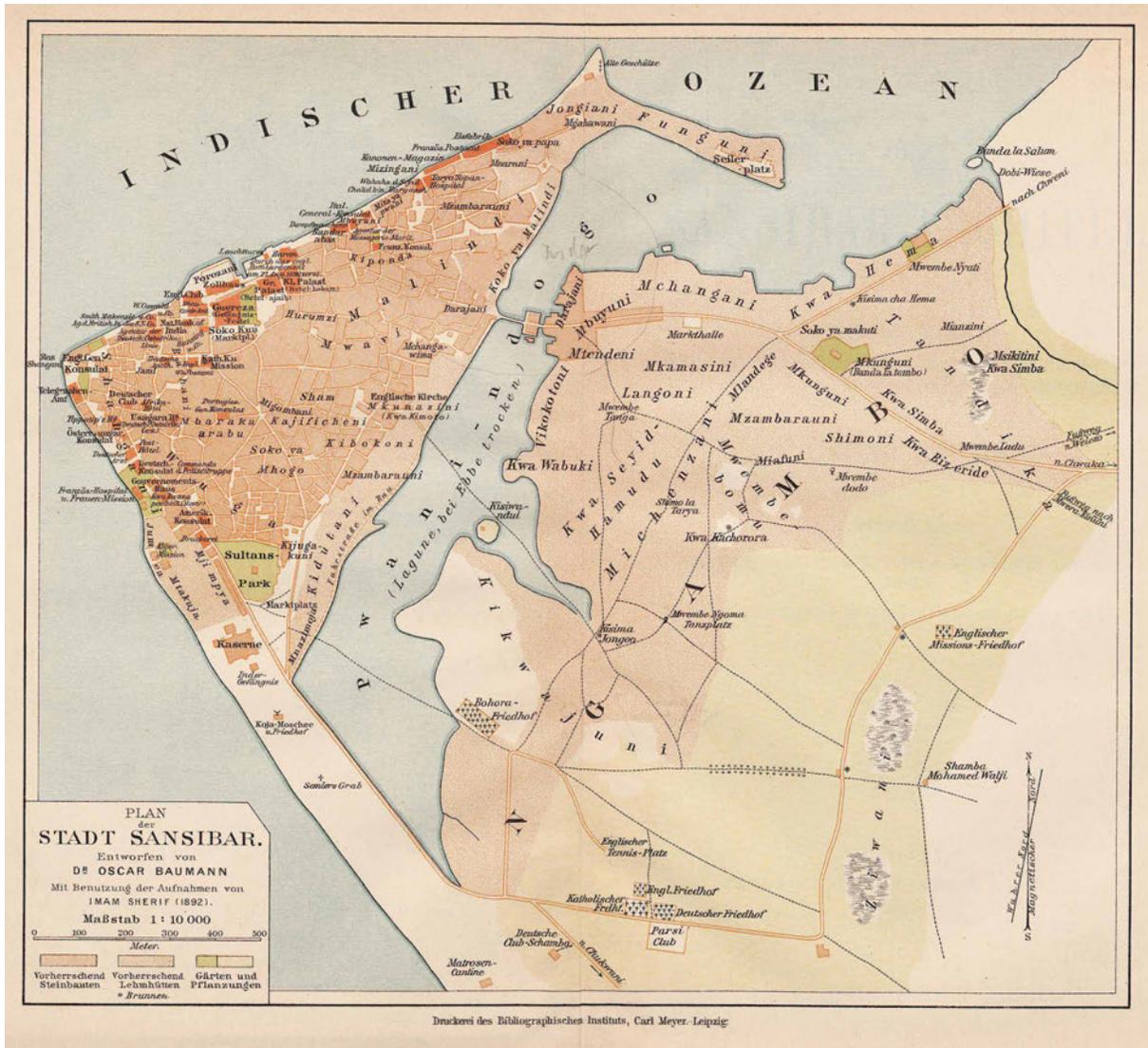
FIGURE 3 Map of Zanzibar City, drawn by Baumann, 1896, based on the 1892 survey.

ZANZIBAR CITY AROUND 1900

In 1892, a detailed map of Zanzibar City was drawn by the Indian surveyor Imam Sherif, of which a copy was made by Oskar Baumann, the Austrian consul to Zanzibar.[7] This copy is the first coloured tourist-type map of Zanzibar made and shows the places of interest to the visitor of the city.

The Baumann map shows a city that is split into two by *Pwani Ndogo*, the small shore, translated by Baumann as a Lagune, *bei Ebbe trocken*, a creek that filled up at high tide and fell dry at low tide. The two halves are connected by a thin sliver of land at the south side, a few footpaths through the creek and a bridge on the northern side. On the earliest map known to us of Zanzibar City, drawn by the French sea captain Guillain in 1846, these two halves, connected by the bridge, do already exist, although the eastern half of the city is considerably smaller than in 1892.

FIGURE 4 A typical street in Ng'ambo, around 1900. Single storied Swahili houses with makuti roofs and a double storied flat roofed building in the background.

Guillain names the heart of the city the *Quartier du Commerce, maisons généralement en pierre*, commercial quarter with predominantly stone houses, which is surrounded by three residential quarters with huts of mud and straw , *cases en paille et en terre*. The residential quarters are to the north and south on the west side of the creek and the third one on the eastern side of the creek. The eastern quarter expanded over the second half of the 19th century to cover a similar surface as the western part of the city.

The older parts of town densified during this period, and many single story Swahili houses were replaced by multi story town palaces, mixed-use commercial-residential buildings and other buildings, such as offices and government buildings. This densification was strongest in the western half of town, but took also place in the area just east of the bridge. In the 1897 *List of Properties*,[8] the stone houses and huts were counted in the city. Most stone buildings were located in the western half of town. Yet a considerable amount of 169 stone houses, commanding a rent of 6,954 Rupees, were to be found in the eastern half of town. As for the huts, about two-third of the total count of 9134, fetching 44,175 Rupees, was located in the eastern half and one third in the western half of the city.

The eastern half of town was called the *Barkoat Circle* by the surveyor, possibly referring to the word *barkat* in Hindi, meaning 'blessed' or 'prosperous',[9] which could refer to the strong presence of traders of Indian origin in area. Simultaneously, the eastern part of town was just *Ng'ambo*, the Other Side.

The name Ng'ambo appears on Baumann's map, which also distinctly marks the division between the darker shaded dense city centre and the hatched more suburban quarters to the south, north and east. Ng'ambo is predominantly a suburb, with low density residential areas, clubs, recreation grounds and parks, cemeteries, orchards and some large villas surrounded by lush gardens. 19th Century visitors to Ng'ambo described its green and orderly character, as opposed to the chaotic and messy density of the western part of town.[10]

Antoni Scholtens Folkers | Muhammad Juma Muhammad | Iga Perzyna | Marie Morel | Abdalla Rashid | Berend van der Lans
NG'AMBO TUITAKAYO: RECONNECTING THE SWAHILI CITY

TWO MAJOR UPHEAVALS

Over the past two centuries, two moments caused morphological upheaval in the city of Zanzibar. Both moments were due to a shift in political power and the following changes were thus caused by humans through deliberate planning exercises.

The first dramatic moment was the takeover of power by the British from the Omani confirming Zanzibar in the 1891 declaration to be henceforth a British Protectorate. Planning became an important tool for the colonial administration in order to gain control over the Zanzibar City.[11] Planning exercises commenced with the creation of a Public Works Department and the production of the 1892 Zanzibar Survey Map by Imam.

Simultaneously, household surveys were carried out in Zanzibar City, condensed in the above mentioned List of Properties of 1897, in order to assess the population extend and capacity for land-rent and taxation. In this survey, a strict division between permanent, stone houses and semi-permanent, makuti huts was introduced, building on the distinction that was already apparent in Guillains' map. This division in huts and houses was maintained over the next decades and formed the basis of a racial segregation: the Natives lived in huts and the Europeans, Indians and Arabs lived in houses. The next step in this policy was to disentangle the city's population in segregated racial areas: the Europeans, Arabs and Indians in the western half of town and the Africans in the eastern half of town. This racial zoning was made part and policy in one of the earliest city master plans that were drawn by European planners for an East African city: the 1923 Lanchester Plan.[12]

The contours of the racial zoning followed the creek. The western half of town, henceforth named Stone Town, was reserved for the foreign elite of European, Arab or Asian descent and Ng'ambo for the natives. An exception was made for the area just east of the creek in Ng'ambo, which became part of the Khoja Indian zone. This zoning survived through colonial times and was re-affirmed in the declaration of Stone Town to be UNESCO World Heritage Site as late as 2000. The World Heritage Zone follows exactly Lanchester's racial division line between Arabs, Indians and Europeans on the west side and natives, or Africans, on the east side.

Abdul Sheriff points at the strangeness of the name of Stone Town as opposed to Ng'ambo. Is Ng'ambo a Mud Town? What was really the difference between the two halves of the city? Both halves were built in coral stone and lime and in both halves there were single storied Swahili houses next to multi storied buildings.[13] The western half was more urbanized whereas the eastern half still kept a more rural character, but that was due to its natural growth and not to any division in origin. Zanzibar was a typical Swahili City, or, rather Swahili Metropolis, notwithstanding its geo-morphological split into two halves.

A similar situation applies to another East African city: Ilha de Moçambique. In Ilha de Moçambique, the Portuguese colonial administration reconfirmed the split between Stone Town for the Portuguese and Macuti Town for the Africans, going as far as defining by law that the roofs of huts in Macuti Town should remain makuti roofs.[14]

The Revolution of 1964 marks the second spatial upheaval in the City of Zanzibar. Zanzibar gained independence from the British as a constitutional sultanate in December 1963, but a month later, the sultans was chased away and the Revolution was declared. The first president of Revolutionary Zanzibar, Abeid Karume, wished to start the postcolonial period on a clean slate by replacing Zanzibar City by a modern New Town. Zanzibar New Town was to replace the old city of Zanzibar, both Ng'ambo and Stone Town.

Karume advisers from the GDR advised him to concentrate the efforts first on the rebuilding of Ng'ambo. They assisted in producing a masterplan for the city that envisaged a radical replacement of the Swahili fabric of Ng'ambo by a modernist townscape of four-storied blocks loosely arranged in a park like surrounding. Ng'ambo was to be divided into four quadrants by two major boulevards, one east-west and one north-south.

FIGURE 5 Building Zanzibar New Town, early 1970s.

Antoni Scholtens Folkers | Muhammad Juma Muhammad | Iga Perzyna | Marie Morel | Abdalla Rashid | Berend van der Lans
NG'AMBO TUITAKAYO: RECONNECTING THE SWAHILI CITY

FIGURE 6 A typical example of recent postmodern multi-storied Swahili houses in Kisimamajongoo, Ng'ambo.

The first two residential neighbourhoods of Kikwajuni and Kilimani were built in Ng'ambo between 1965 and 1969 to the design of the GDR architects and engineers, prior to the construction of the heart of Zanzibar's New Town, the Michenzani project. However, in the construction of the Michenzani project, Karume ignored the advice of the GDR planners to continue with the loosely arranged walk-ups, and instead redesigned the boulevards to be aligned with 6- to 8 storied blocks of not less than 300 metres length.

A large part of the Swahili fabric had to make room for this development, cutting the two central boulevards in a due North-South and East-West cross through Ng'ambo. Sheriff even talks in this respect of the '*crucifixion of Ng'ambo*'.[15] This megalomaniac intervention proved to be the swansong of Karume's New Town project. Although not less than 10 Michenzani blocks were eventually built, intermittently, in the period from 1970 to 2008, there were no further major government planned New Town interventions taking place in Ng'ambo after Karume's death in 1972.

NG'AMBO'S RESILIENCE

The main consequence of the segregation between Stone Town and Ng'ambo in the early years of British colonialism was that most investments in planning and infrastructure went into Stone Town. Piped water, sewage, street lighting, electricity, telephone and paving of roads were brought to reasonable standard in Stone Town but only marginally available in Ng'ambo.

Eventually, Ng'ambo was to be sanitized and re-planned, as the area was seen as a temporary settlement with huts. Initiatives were taken to redevelop Ng'ambo, in particular during the 1940s through a considerable development program that included the building of schools, health services, low cost housing and a 'Civic Centre' at Raha Leo (Rejoice Today) which was to be the radiating heart of the modernization project.

Nonetheless, Ng'ambo was, by and large, left on its own and continued to fend for itself. In the first half of the 20th century, notwithstanding the neglect by the authorities, modernity also made its entry into the area. Makuti slowly disappeared from the townscape, due to fire hazard and because palm leaves were getting rare. Flattened oil cans became common as replacement, later to be replaced in turn by low pitch roofs with corrugated metal sheets, the *mabati*. Simultaneously, coral stone and lime made place for cement blocks and cement mortar. The overall townscape of Ng'ambo did thus change, but the basic grain of the Swahili historic urban landscape, the single storied Swahili house was not modified.

Meanwhile, the urban tissue of Ng'ambo densified over the 20th century, creating a fabric of narrow streets and small plazas, not unlike Stone Town, but predominantly consisting of single storied houses.

The New Town project paralyzed development of the remaining Swahili urban tissue. Residents feared the demolition of their houses to make place for subsequent stages in the project and for a long time after Karume's death no investments were being made in Ng'ambo. Neither by the residents in private building or upkeep, nor by the government in infrastructure. This meant that from the later 1970s to the end of the century Ng'ambo generally fell into decay.

Yet, around the turn of the century, Ng'ambo revived. The New Town project had disappeared behind the horizon of time and residents no longer feared demolition of their houses. A new wave of modernization of Ng'ambo started with the replacement of the single storied Swahili houses with multi storied buildings. These buildings contain predominantly apartments, often with a commercial plinth, and they follow the footprint of the single storied Swahili house as well as the floor plan. The technology applied is modern, with a reinforced concrete frame, rendered and painted cement block walls, aluminium or pvc facade elements and a flat concrete or pitched metal sheet roof. Attention is given to detail and decoration, with a mix of bright colours, traditional Zanzibari elements and modern details. This new typology, remarkably consistent in application, can be named the postmodern multi storied Swahili house.

NG'AMBO TUITAKAYO

In 2011, a new Department of Urban and Rural Planning was established within the Ministry of Lands, Housing, Water and Energy of the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar. The main reason for this was to be found in the arrears in planning and development control. The last master plan for Zanzibar was drawn in 1982, with a horizon of 20 years and the city had grown well beyond the borders of the master plan. City expansion and densification took place practically uncontrolled. Issues in terms of ecological degradation, mobility congestion, health and safety risks for the population were the consequence of this development, and were increasingly asking for intervention from the side of the government.

The Department of Urban and Rural Planning (DoURP) took matters in hand and, with help of others, made a good start with the production of a planning framework. The first documents produced to become part of a legal planning framework were the new structure plan for Zanzibar Metropolitan area (ZanPlan)[16], the National Spatial Development Strategy (NSDS) and Regional Plans for Unguja and Pemba.[17] In this planning framework, a number of policies and strategies have been defined that are of consequence for the future of the historical part of Zanzibar City. Most importantly are policies defining priority for non-motorized transport, promoting mixed-use high density urban areas to preserve agricultural land and nature and promoting culture as major driver for development.

The new structure plan for Zanzibar Metropolitan Area, ZanPlan, defines a number of planning areas in the city and the historical part of Ng'ambo is defined as 'City Centre'. This takes up the idea of late president Karume, who wanted Ng'ambo to become the heart of his New Town, in which the Michenzani crossing was to be the crown.[18]

In 2013, by the joint initiative of DoURP, African Architecture Matters (AAMatters) and UNESCO, a pilot project called *Ng'ambo Tuitakayo* (the Ng'ambo that we want) started with the goal to regain grip on the spatial developments in Ng'ambo. This pilot focused on the Kisiwandui-Kisimamajongoo-Michenzani Triangle and commenced with a historical desktop study followed by acupunctural field research, community events, an expert symposium and concrete planning models.

The pilot was based on the assumption that Ng'ambo is an important and integral part of the historic Zanzibar City and that this fact should be acknowledged. Following the NSDS policy on making cultural heritage directive for future development in historical areas, the UNESCO recommendation on Historic Urban Landscapes[19] was adopted as overall guideline for the pilot research.

The pilot confirmed the richness of Ng'ambo's cultural heritage and uncovered the substantial archives on the historical mapping and planning of Zanzibar City. In the field, it was found that residents appreciate living in Ng'ambo, but are eager to modernize their dwellings and that in the process of private rebuilding, cultural heritage and identity are respected to only to a certain extent. Further it was found that the public realm is deteriorating due to failing infrastructure, private encroachment and loss of green cover.

Antoni Scholtens Folkers | Muhammad Juma Muhammad | Iga Perzyna | Marie Morel | Abdalla Rashid | Berend van der Lans
NG'AMBO TUITAKAYO: RECONNECTING THE SWAHILI CITY

FIGURE 7 Ng'ambo Tuitakayo, draft structure plan for the redevelopment of Ng'ambo, 2016.
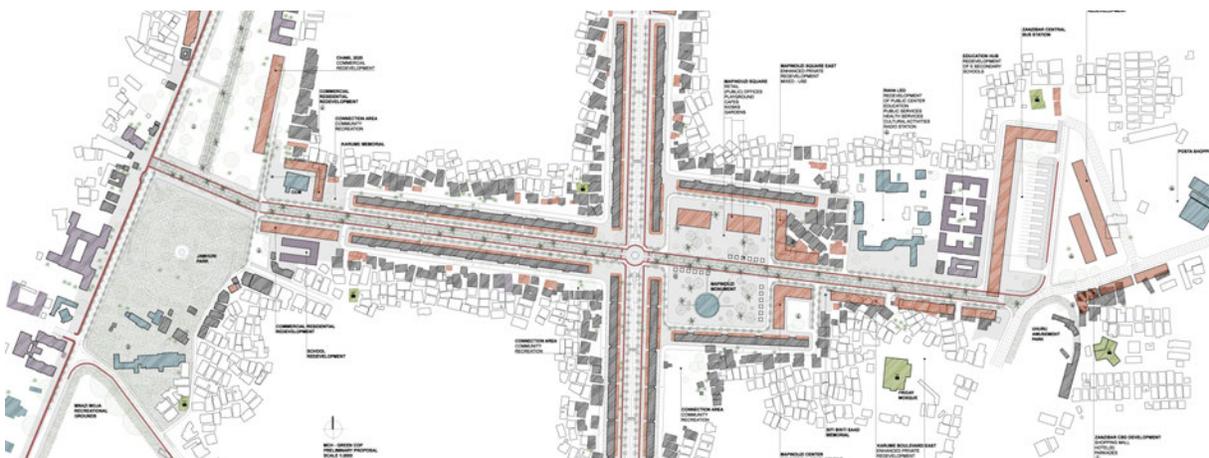
FIGURE 8 Michenzani Green Corridors Plan, 2016. Reconnection of Ng'ambo with the central, pedestrian Karume Boulevard and central public transport transfer station.

Antoni Scholtens Folkers | Muhammad Juma Muhammad | Iga Perzyna | Marie Morel | Abdalla Rashid | Berend van der Lans
NG'AMBO TUITAKAYO: RECONNECTING THE SWAHILI CITY

In September 2015, the preparation of a redevelopment structure plan for Zanzibar City Centre, the Ng'ambo Tuitakayo Local Area Plan (NGT) was taken into hands by a team consisting of DoURP, the Municipality of Amsterdam and AAMatters. The plan development was based on a parallel and iterative process of research and planning-design work. The research component consisted of desktop and archives study, as well as classic mapping in the field and intangibles cultural heritage mapping. Mapping results were published on Open Street Map, in order to share with a greatest possible community and to be able to further extend and deepen the knowledge of Ng'ambo's rich cultural past.

The Plan vision that was developed during the design-by-research-by-design process is to 'complete' Karume's New Town, by reconnecting the two halves of the city centre, whilst acknowledging the historical importance and the resilience of the Swahili Metropolis. In practical planning terms, this means policies, guidelines and urban detail designs on reinforcement of public open space, incubation of cultural activities, upgrading of infrastructure and green canopy, traffic calming, pedestrianisation and provisions for improved public transport, stimulating and regulating private redevelopment as already taking place and strengthening the existing and creating new nodes of commercial activity.

The heart Ng'ambo Tuitakayo is the Michenzani Corridor, Karume Boulevard, that is to become the main pedestrian connector between the new commercial hub and public transport station on the east side of Ng'ambo and Stone Town in the west. This plan is currently being assessed by the World Bank for potential execution.

CONCLUSION

Ng'ambo was disconnected over the years from Stone Town through various policies and interventions. It was regarded as a temporary settlement, a slum, which eventually needed to be replaced by a permanent city. Rebuilding Ng'ambo commenced in earnest under the Revolution, through large scale replacement of the 'organic' Swahili City by a monumental modernist New Town, but grounded to a halt when the government coffers ran empty. Sustained by the social resilience of its inhabitants, Ng'ambo passed right through all the turmoil, continuing its own life, mending its scars and redeveloping itself, slowly but surely into a modern African city.

Ng'ambo and Stone Town together form the largest 19th century Swahili city in the world. Under colonial rule, Stone Town became the gentrified half and Ng'ambo the popular half. Under the Revolution, the most revolutionary African New Town of the 20th century was imprinted on top of the existing Swahili urban tissue of Ng'ambo.

Notwithstanding these traumatic events, Zanzibar City retained its distinct Swahili urban culture. The residents absorbed the impact of foreign domination, racial segregation and radical socialist planning policy, adopted imported modernity, and adapted their houses to transform the 19th century Swahili city into a 21st century Swahili city.

The great diversity in urban typologies, spaces and buildings of Zanzibar City, combined with the tremendous riches of historical mapping and planning documents preserved in the various archives on Zanzibar and in the United Kingdom, confirm the status of Zanzibar as the main city of East Africa until the 1930s, and its central place to make new discoveries that will change urbanist' and architectural paradigms on the Swahili world and Africa in general.

Glossary on Swahili terms

duka   shop
KiSwahili   Swahili language
mabati   corrugated metal roof sheets
madrassa   Koran school, often related to a specific mosque
makuti   roof tiles made of coconut leaves (also: macuti)
maskan   gathering place for men
mboriti   mangrove poles
Shirazi   culture of mixed African-Persian descent

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Figure 4: Zanzibar National Archives, ca 1900.
Figure 5: Zanzibar National Arvchives, ca 1971.
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Figure 8: Department of Urban and Rural Planning, Zanzibar and African Architecture Matters, Amsterdam, 2015.

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V.01 P.038   **Antoni Scholtens Folkers | Muhammad Juma Muhammad | Iga Perzyna | Marie Morel | Abdalla Rashid | Berend van der Lans**
NG'AMBO TUITAKAYO: RECONNECTING THE SWAHILI CITY

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TOC

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THE MORPHOLOGICAL PROFILE OF CONTEMPORARY RESIDENTIAL REAL ESTATE IN DOWNTOWN SAO PAULO, BRAZIL

Hugo Louro e Silva | Candido Malta Campos

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During a master thesis research, teacher and student have proposed a study of the recent Real Estate production in Downtown Sao Paulo (a historic center), based on an empirical observation of the increasing amount of new residential building launch in the past years. The research was based on the EMBRAESP[1] database analysis, regarding lists of all new buildings launched in Sao Paulo metropolitan region since 1985.

The database study allowed to filter the housing production in downtown, through the identification of morphological profiles and occupation of these new buildings, between the years of 1985 and 2014. Among other data, for example, it was observed that the produced HU[2] during this period was of 9,858 units, which 8,355 (84.8%) were designed between 2007 and 2014.

The research aimed to understand the reasons for this asymmetry over the years since 1997 (when the incentive legislation for construction in this region dates back) and the following 10 years that had not been properly used by the Real Estate players.

This article presents all residential projects produced in this area between 2007 and 2014, in a chronological order and contextualizing their achievements related to the many economic changes in the country during this period, in addition to the dynamics of the local Real Estate through exclusive interviews with its players.

This new approach reveals the direct relationship that exists between urban morphological production and economic conditions of a country, especially in a developing one like Brazil.

Keywords
Real Estate, Downtown, Sao Paulo

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1   EMBRAESP means "Brazilian Company of Property Studies", in portuguese " Empresa Brasileira de Estudos de Patrimônio".

2   HU means "Housing Units" or "Apartment Units".

V.01 P.041   **Hugo Louro e Silva | Candido Malta Campos**
THE MORPHOLOGICAL PROFILE OF CONTEMPORARY RESIDENTIAL REAL ESTATE IN DOWNTOWN SAO PAULO, BRAZIL

TOC

MAPPING TRANSITION: DIVIDED CITIES OF JERUSALEM AND SARAJEVO

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This paper aims to map transition and to discuss the positive and negative outcomes of transition, as well as its impact on urban development and planning initiatives. The urban challenges of Jerusalem and Sarajevo as divided cities in conflict and in transition will be elaborated on. Sarajevo is not physically divided, however it still suffers from social division and the political and administrative division of the state. The complex state administrative organisation is the primary reason for insufficient planning policy and the chaotic state of planning. Altered demographics, land ownership, illegal construction, and the lack of administrative coordination are some of the consequences of the conflict which have had long term impacts on urban planning. Jerusalem, on the other hand, as a politically divided city, mirrors the wider Palestinian-Israeli conflict and symbolises the essence of the historic dispute of both sides' claims to the city. Throughout the history of negotiations, the city has been described as the "undivided, eternal capital of the Jewish people" by Israel, and Palestinians have insisted that no permanent solution will be reached without resolving the issue of Jerusalem, and their desire for it to serve as the capital of a Palestinian State.

INTRODUCTION

Societies affected by the conflict are confronted by extreme and enforced urban changes that often extend into a transitional period. These changes vary, but in some cases they may lead to the development of divided cities. Taking many guises and playing different roles within conflicts, divided cities may become an arena for inter-group hostilities; a stage for the expression of antagonistic acts towards other groups; or even become an accommodative space and provide an opportunity for peace-building. Cities may have long-term symbolic significance, they can symbolise the nature of the wider conflict itself, and may indeed be the epicentre of the most intense form of the conflict. Additionally, they may embody a planned policy of segregation. The transitional period usually reveals more profoundly the consequences of conflict. The purpose of this paper is to depict the urban fabric and functionality, and future urban development within these cities, detached from their surroundings, whilst discussing urban changes under the pressure of conflict and transition.

JERUSALEM DIVIDED

On a geo-demographic level, Jerusalem has witnessed extreme urban changes, due to the imposition of Israeli settlements that continue to be built in and around the city on occupied Palestinian land, challenging the identity and character of the city. On a functional level, up until the eve of the Peace Process, East Jerusalem was the primary urban centre of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, as it hosted the major services, media and political institutions for Palestinians. Gradually, Jerusalem has been torn out from its Palestinian urban context and Ramallah has become the new urban centre for the West Bank, especially since the beginning of the construction of the Separation Wall. This had led to the transfer of functions, professionals and businesses from Jerusalem to Ramallah.

When Israel occupied East Jerusalem in 1967, it annexed the smallest population possible, whilst incorporating a large amount of open land for settlement building. One-third of the total area of East Jerusalem was confiscated for this purpose. These settlements fragment the contiguity of Palestinian communities and were built in circles to cut the Old City off from the inner neighbourhoods and the edge neighbourhoods, to the extent that one can't move from one neighbourhood to another without crossing through settlements or Israeli road systems. This reality created new and multiple seam lines between the Palestinian neighbourhoods and settlements. Until 1987, some of these settlements were used Palestinian road systems, especially those in the north east of Jerusalem such as settlements of Neve Ya'akov and Pisgat Ze'ev. Since then new settlement road systems have been developed separately from Palestinian ones. The First Intifada in 1987 had a major effect on deepening the divide and segregation of the city. Israelis as a result stopped visiting both the Old City and Palestinian neighbourhoods in high numbers, and this development was extended and strengthened through the Second Intifada. Into the present day, since the erection of the separation wall, which should have given Israelis their long sought sense of security, many have not gone back to using the same spaces they did before the First Intifada. Few Israelis now enter the Old City through the Damascus Gate, or shop in its markets, preferring to access the Jewish Quarter through the Jaffa Gate and the Armenian Quarter, or the Zion and Dung Gates on the south side of the Old City.
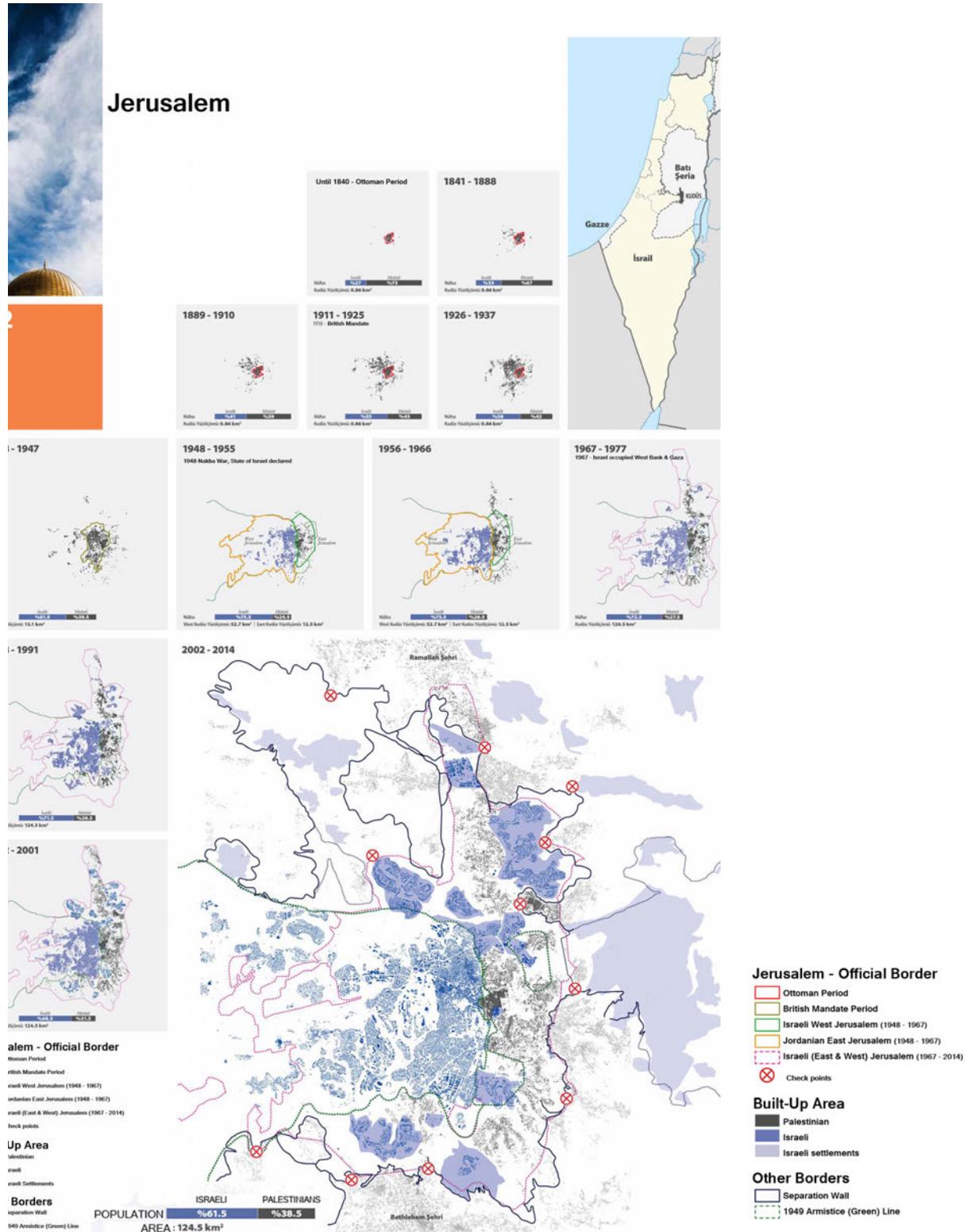
FIGURE 1 Expended Israeli settlements inside East Jerusalem and Separation wall: Urban growth of the Jerusalem is followed by the expansion of the Israeli settlements inside East Jerusalem and with the construction of the separation wall; Settlement blocks around Jerusalem are cutting off access between the south of the West Bank and the north, while lack of planning in East Jerusalem increased organic growth of informal housing and absence of public space.

JERUSALEM FIVE SPHERES OF INTERACTION

Spatial segregation remains the dominant factor in shaping the city and its functions. Much of the interaction between Palestinians and Israelis is within the Israel's administrative agencies and security apparatus.

During the twenty years of the peace process Jerusalem's status as a metropolitan centre has declined severely due to the lack of mobility, the `ending the presence of Palestinian institutions out of the city, and eventually due to the erection of the Separation Wall in 2002-2003. This decline has increased Palestinians dependency on the Israeli system, primarily in order to preserve their residency rights and their ability to access the city1, as well as welfare and health insurance. The basic requirement to preserve Jerusalem residency rights is through providing evidence to the Israeli Ministry of Interior that one's centre of life is within the municipal boundaries of Jerusalem; through the payment of taxes, electric and water bills; location of work; and children being educated in schools in East Jerusalem. Therefore Palestinians remain in a constant struggle to prove residency in order to preserve their national insurance (welfare system) merits and health insurance. This had led to an individual survival mechanism where individuals have to deal with the Ministry of Interior to keep their right to reside in the city. The Israeli Ministry of Interior office located in the Wadi El Joz neighbourhood, north of the Old City, exclusively serves Palestinian residents; meanwhile Israeli settlers obtain their services from the West Jerusalem office. Health insurance is provided by subcontracted Palestinian medical centres which are not owned or managed by the Israeli health system. The interaction between other service providers with Palestinians is minimal and often provided through subcontractors, such as the Gihon Water Company and Bezeq Telecommunication Company2, and thus many services are provided either through local Palestinian subcontractors or not provided at all. In many cases, Palestinians are compelled to travel to nearby settlements such as French Hill, Ramat Eshkol and Pisgat Ze'ev, in order to receive their services such as banks and post offices, due to the scarcity of the operating offices in East Jerusalem.

The second, and most dominant kind of interaction, is between Palestinian Jerusalemites and Israeli soldiers and security guards at checkpoints. According to an IPCC survey conducted in 2009, two-thirds of Palestinians cross checkpoints to and from the suburbs and West Bank cities around East Jerusalem. The survey was conducted on a large sample composed of 1,115 households. This interaction had recently become more intangible, as direct contact with soldiers had been limited and replaced by security cameras, electronic gates and tinted windows. This interaction is deemed negative. According to the survey, around 69% of Palestinians feel humiliation, suppression and anger when seeing the Separation Wall, yet the interaction with the West Bank remains relatively high, as 20% go to the West Bank for work reasons, 20% for visiting of relatives and social encounters, and 17% for education. Most of the Palestinian Jerusalemites working in the West Bank, primarily in Ramallah, are highly educated and work in the services and commercial establishments.

The third kind of interaction occurs in the Old City and the neighbourhoods surrounding the Old City, including Sheikh Jarrah, Ras Al Amud and Silwan which are inhabited by 2,000 settlers and Yeshiva students, belonging to national-religious Zionist organisations who believe in the exclusive Jewish right to the city. These settlers reside in the heart of the Palestinian neighbourhoods protected by private security companies financed by the Israeli Ministry of Housing. This interaction disturbs the daily life of these neighbourhoods through the constant security measures in force, challenging the Palestinian characteristics of these neighbourhoods through regular marches and raising of flags and Jewish symbols, leading to harassment and provocation. The Israeli settlers are ideological individuals who view their existence as one limited to retrieving Jewish land, meanwhile Palestinians view the settlers as invaders swallowing up their space and disturbing their daily lives.

FIGURE 2 Around 100,000 Jerusalemite residents live behind the 142 km length separation wall suffering from a severe lack of basic services and infrastructure.

The fourth kind of interaction is between Palestinians labourers and Israeli employers, where 32,000 (10%) of Palestinian Jerusalemites work in Israeli settlements and West Jerusalem. Many Palestinians are poorly educated and unskilled workers that take on "dirty work" such as janitors, hotel and restaurant kitchen staff and construction. Very few Palestinians work in representative positions such as receptionists, salespeople, or any position requiring skills and education.

The fifth kind of interaction is one relevant to commercial interaction. Palestinians often go to Israeli shopping centres such as Mamilla, Malha Mall and Pisgat Ze'ev. These shopping centres have become not only places for commercial interaction but are also viewed by the Palestinians as places for entertainment. The interaction between Palestinians and Israelis in these commercial centres still varies. Shopping at Mamilla is considered relaxing due to the fact that many of the shops' salespeople are Palestinians. 20% to 25% of the visitors to Mamilla are Palestinians. It is accessible on foot, and has no security measures at its entrances or within the premises. It is considered a global, trans-cultural space where Israeli identity is less visible and is a touristic location. In the Malha Mall, Palestinian salespeople are rarely found and fewer Palestinians visit. However, this trend had recently changed where 3% - 3.5% of daily visitors are Palestinians, whilst the figure for Sundays and Muslim holidays reaches up to 25%. Increasing numbers of Palestinian salespeople work in the Mall, yet security measures at the entrances are strict. In Pisgat Ze'ev however, shopping is not as a relaxing experience due to stricter security measures and a more hostile environment. Many fewer Palestinians visit Pisgat Ze'ev, and they are limited to nearby Palestinian residents. The situation in the main pedestrian shopping area of West Jerusalem - Jaffa Street - varies considerably. Palestinians can be subjected to inspection at any time within the centre or at the entrances to shops. Fewer Palestinians go there due to these measures although it is walking distance from the Old City. Palestinians are aware of their use of the Israeli spaces and thus know that they are crossing the green line to the other side, with the exception of Mamilla. Palestinians do not go to the other side for interactive purposes but rather to satisfy their commercial and entertainment needs.

Rami Nasrallah | Lana Kudumović
MAPPING TRANSITION: DIVIDED CITIES OF JERUSALEM AND SARAJEVO

A new reality has emerged since 2000, as many Palestinian business have had to relocate their businesses from Palestinian neighbourhoods, mainly from Bir Nabal and al Eizariya, to the Israeli industrial zone settlement of Atarot3 and Mishor Adumim4. This area remains under Israeli control and strict security measures, although today it hosts a large number of Palestinian owned establishments, however the prevailing character of the area remains Israeli, rather than a joint or mixed one.

SARAJEVO ▪ DIVIDED

Different factors and reasons can cause the phenomenon of the divided city, with the most extreme cases conflict and post conflict divided cities. Under changed political, economic and social circumstances or a shifted state constitution, the composition of communities and cities can easily be manipulated, and transform into conflict and war. The impact of divisions created during armed conflict is profound and has long lasting consequences.

An example of a divided city is Sarajevo, the Capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, an outcome of the partition of the state into two entities after the war 1992-95.

Sarajevo underwent a period of socio-economic and urban development during the period between 1945 and the second part of the 20th century, reaching a zenith in the 1980's, when Sarajevo hosted the Winter Olympics in 1984.

After the breakup of the former Yugoslavia started in 1991, the independent state of Bosnia and Herzegovina was established in 1992. With 525980 inhabitants in 19915, it's capital Sarajevo was a symbol of multi-ethnic co-existence which will be disrupted same year after proclaiming independence. Unfortunately, 1992 - 1995 was a period of genocide of the Bosnian people, followed by destruction of their cities, cultural monuments and societies. Residents of Bosnia and Herzegovina witnessed the aggression, which will be stopped signing the Dayton Peace Accords in 1995.

Following the war a period of political and social economic transition began. The established peace created a complex system of government which has made governance extremely difficult.

After the signing of the Dayton Peace Accords, Bosnia and Herzegovina was established as state of 3 major nationalities: Bosniaks; Serbs; and Croats. The new state constitution created two Entities: The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FB&H) and The Republic Srpska (RS), as well as the Brčko district.6 Each entity has it's own constitution that should be in accordance to the state constitution.

On the state level there are 3 presidency members, while governing partition of the state is also present at Federal level with 10 Cantons. Each Canton with its own administrative government has relatively significant autonomy at local level.

Immediately after the war in 1995 and onward, the majority of state activities were focused on post war recovery, including reconstruction of destroyed and damaged buildings and construction. The priorities of post war recovery were to ensure security, with social and physical rehabilitation.

The state capital Sarajevo was badly damaged, as the city remained under siege for more than three years during the war. Many parts of the city were controlled by the Serb army during the war and city was fully divided. After the Dayton accords, in order to function as the state capital, those parts of the city were initially allocated from RS territory and returned to the City of Sarajevo.
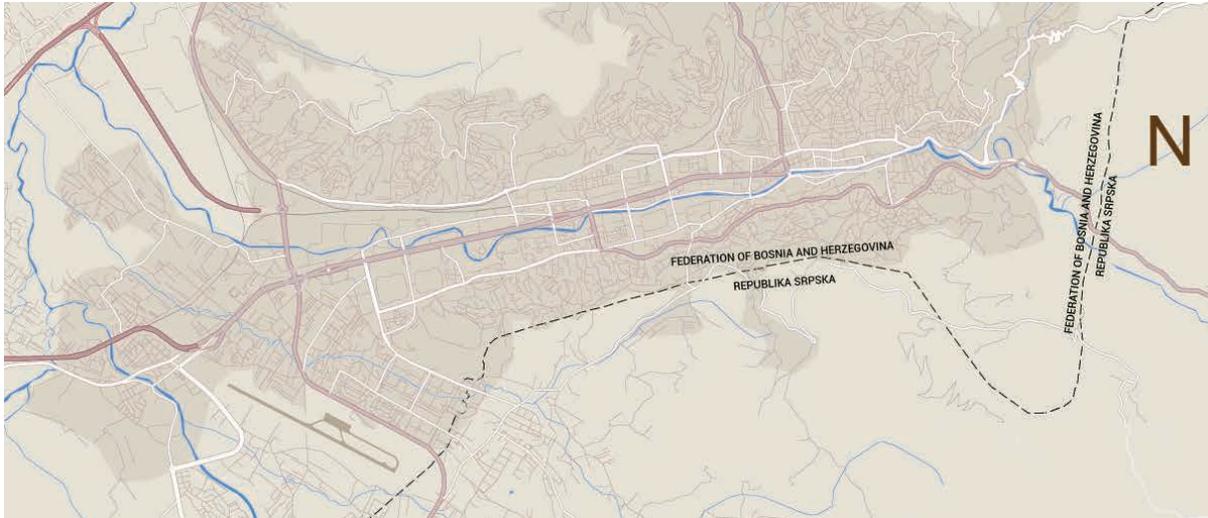
FIGURE 3 **Border** between Federation Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republica Srpska cutting urban area of the state capital Sarajevo from its surrounding

Still Inter Entity Boundary line established after Dayton accords divide once unified city. The area belonging to the RS is referred to as East Sarajevo (Istočno Sarajevo), and had emerged in an attempt to become a fully separated and independent city. Even though the city of Banja Luka has become Administrative Capital of RS, still East Sarajevo is developed separately from the City of Sarajevo and is fully integrated into RS.

Today City of Sarajevo is one of 9 municipalities that comprise Sarajevo canton, one of 10 cantons inside FB&H. The urban area of the city is comprised of 4 municipalities. Compared to the situation prior to the war, the urban area of the city has decreased, as eastern parts were excluded from the city after the new constitution.

However, the Entity borders detach the Capital from its surroundings, with the hills and countryside to the south and east incorporated into RS, along with the surrounding urban tissue.

Urban planning activities are divided and there is no cooperation or common plan for the city of Sarajevo and East Sarajevo. The way in which the urban tissue of Sarajevo is still suffering from division is clearly depicted in the following three cases of the Dobrinja, Vrace and Trebević Mountain. The final and current Entity borders run through the Dobrinja neighbourhood, with a population of around 34 000 people, of which, 25,500 reside on the FB&H side, and 8,500 live on the RS side.7 The national monument at Vraca8, a place once famous due to its artistic, architectural, cultural and historical nature and its landscape, became a position from which citizens if Sarajevo were fired upon from during the Bosnia War, by Serbs fighters. Today the border line crosses this area and there is still no clear plan or attempt to prioritise the revitalisation of this monument. A similar situation is found at Trebević Mountain which is still covered by minefields. Its vicinity to the border makes it an unpopular place.

The Borders within the urban area of Sarajevo are not merely spatial, there are still strong social elements of division which are expressed in many ways, articulating differences and belonging to different religious. The names of streets, usage of different alphabets, and the lack of a transportation connection between the Entities are among the many ways division is expressed.

Without a physical border inside the state, the complex political structure creates a profound mental border that often has an impact on the production of space. Vulnerable societies such as Bosnian are ground easy to be manipulated with national identities and collective memory.

Rami Nasrallah | Lana Kudumović
MAPPING TRANSITION: DIVIDED CITIES OF JERUSALEM AND SARAJEVO
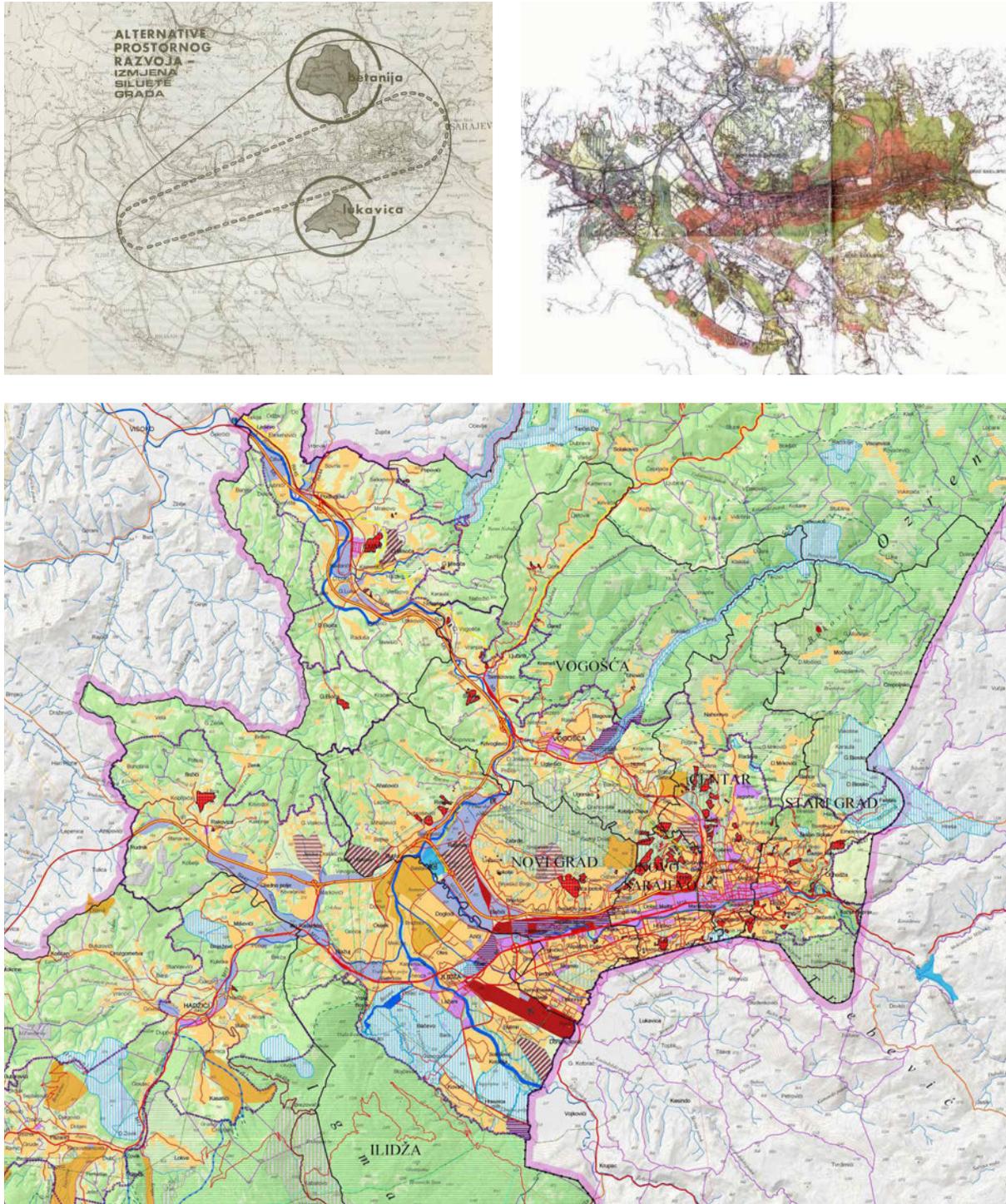
FIGURE 4 Left up: Before the war there was attempt to recreate development axe of the city including parts to the north and south, rather than following exclusively east-west axe. Drawing is showing proposal for transformation of the city development axe according to the Plan for socio economic and spacial development of Sarajevo for period 1986. – 2015. Official Gazette Sarajeva 04/86.

Right up: Urban plan of the City Sarajevo, Urban area of Sarajevo 1986-2015: According to the pre war planning activities, areas arround Capital were incorporated into plan as future developement area, proposing development of Sarajevo as regional center. Documents were prepared as 2 stages plan, first for period 1986-2015 and second one for period 2001-2015.

Down: Spatial plan of Canton Sarajevo 2003-2023; Comparing to the plan prepared prior the war, new plan is prepared with excluded hinterland of the City, since today those areas belongs to the East Sarajevo in RS.

Rami Nasrallah | Lana Kudumović
MAPPING TRANSITION: DIVIDED CITIES OF JERUSALEM AND SARAJEVO

FIGURE 5 The national monument at Vraca in Sarajevo; today it is neglected area affected by established Entity border crossing this area, with no respect to its recognized values.

FIGURE 6 Sarajevo illegal housing structures: informal settlements create new silhouette of the city

SARAJEVO IN THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION

Bosnian and Herzegovina has been dealing with transition for 20 years, and faced many challenges in regards to urban planning initiatives, influenced especially by the administrative division of the state.

Planning is fragmented between the different state governing bodies and authority levels. Spatial Planning activities in B&H are governed differently inside RS and FB&H. Each Entity is responsible for its own spatial plan, in accordance with the (different) laws of each Entity. In FB&H fragmentation is more apparent as each Canton has its own spatial plan, whilst municipalities implement cantonal-level laws, along with municipal decrees on urban planning.

Initially after the war in FB&H, the methodology for urban planning from the previous state apparatus was implemented. In the new state establishment these methodologies led to procedures that could take several years for any decision to be made, producing a negative outcome for any possible investment.

The complexity of the administrative fragmentation of the state was often an obstacle to development in Bosnia, and finally legislation on spatial planning was passed in 2010 and adopted by both Entities providing more efficiency in regard to procedures.

The transition period led to the reshaping of urban fabric and in many cases caused the loss of urban values. The strengthening of private ownership, an open market economy, globalisation, and the new territorial arrangement are some of the influences on this urban development in transition.

State capital was privatised and orientated to the open market, and land policy was orientated toward more flexible urbanisation. But many cities, especially Sarajevo were affected with inappropriate density of construction and character of building. Most vulnerable were the historical parts of the cities. Post-war recovery led to the construction of new buildings without respecting the pre-existing urban values. Land policy opened possibilities to the private sector to play a role in urban development, and privatisation of state capital contributed to this. An inefficient and complex urban policy led to the adaptation of urban areas to serve for the profit of the private sector, rather than to the needs of community. Neglecting the mutual benefits and needs of the communities, urban tissues have been reshaped.

Moreover, Sarajevo is among the most polluted cities in Europe due to the uncontrolled density of construction, increased car numbers, and topographic local of the Sarajevo in the natural valley.

During the war and since, the demographic picture of B&H has changed. Massive migration during the war, within and outside the borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina, left lasting consequences to the demography. More than 50% of the population have been moved or replaced, and migration initiated the process of temporary housing during the conflict.9 In some cases these became permanent settlements after the conflict. These settlements may become the core of social problems in the future, as they may continue to be the arrival point for new residents, affecting the social and demographic structure of the city.

Many of the displaced persons and refugees are still living in collective centres. One of the challenges of the transitional period is returning to previous homes and properties, after 20 years this has still not been fully implemented.

Sarajevo is not a densely populated area but the trend of population influx is still increasing. Due to the potential for future development, internal migration within the country is still focused into Sarajevo, and thus inevitably affecting spatial development.

Reconstruction after the war can, in theory, be an opportunity to correct mistakes due to inadequate planning. However, in reality, the priority to ensure a minimum quality of life was often not in accordance with the urban plans. Illegal construction, especially in Sarajevo was prevalent before the war, while today the number of illegal structures has increased.10 Illegal housing construction occurring today is changing the look and character of a number of Bosnian towns.

Around 30,000 illegal housing structures have been built in Sarajevo. This trend of illegal construction begins in the 1970s when Sarajevo was a leading industrial centre. Almost half of all constructed buildings were illegal. At first those houses were constructed to temporarily accommodate workers, but those buildings have never been demolished. The same trend and intensity of illegal construction, without planning or construction permits is still prevalent, despite attempts prior to the war to legalise unplanned housing. Today, the high price of gaining permits, as well as complicated procedures, are encouraging inhabitants to construct their homes without permits.

These buildings do not usually relate to the terrain, or in line with the urban plans, built with small distances between buildings, and from the streets, narrow streets and many others negative spatial issues. Though the quality of construction is mostly are to a satisfactory level, due to the many illegal constructions in and around Sarajevo, many landslides are occurring.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we are faced with two cities, themselves divided in two, but with different outlooks going forward. The most visible aspect testifying to on-going divisions between Jews and Arabs in Jerusalem is the all-inclusive segregation between the two communities. After 1967, physical unification did not create an integrated borderland. Although formal physical dividing borders do not exist in Jerusalem, the political, cultural, and economic borders are still dominant on both sides of the city.

In Jerusalem an asymmetry in regards to the allocation of resources is obvious, where Israelis receive vast amounts of infrastructure and investment, whilst East Jerusalem atrophies, cut off from the rest of its' Palestinian context and underinvested. This is exacerbated by the reliance that Palestinian Jerusalemites have on West Jerusalem, not only for leisure and services but for employment. This development has continued to intensify since the beginning of the Second Intifada, and shows no signs of improving, with a huge lack of investment in public services, spaces and house in East Jerusalem.

Palestinian society in Jerusalem is faced with destructive development strategy that cause negative outcomes such as:

Rami Nasrallah | Lana Kudumović
MAPPING TRANSITION: DIVIDED CITIES OF JERUSALEM AND SARAJEVO

— The exclusion of more Palestinians neighbourhoods from the city through the continuing constructing new segments of the separation wall.

— An economic deterioration leading to an emigration of the Palestinian - leadership and middle class from the city

— The economic pressure cause social problems as drug addiction, family violence, and deterioration of the education level.

— More Israeli facts on the ground mainly settlements, discrimination against the Palestinians, and hegemony of the city identity and character.

The challenge in Jerusalem is for Palestinians to overcome the difficulties of the occupation, and the barriers both physical and bureaucratic, making developmental urban progress.

Asymmetry is present in the case of Sarajevo urban area as well, where political reasons led to an urban disbalance. East Sarajevo is functioning as small urban area with no possibilities to compete the Capital City of Sarajevo but in the same time with no attempt to be part of the same urban area. Urban planning initiatives after the war and blockade were expected to be in accordance with the contemporary principles of spatial planning. The country faced period of transition followed by new challenges of urban development, strongly influenced by administrative division of the state. Several consequences of transition marked already 20 years after the conflict such as open market, changes in demography, lack of efficiency in planning and governing institutions.

Away from a period of deep conflict, taking into consideration current political, economical, social and cultural circumstances it is possible to predict the future environment for urban development in the city of Sarajevo. Considering all the elements of transition there is a clear need to encourage urban transformation in order to develop the city into a regional centre. This will require a clear approach to implement new solutions to the housing and illegal construction crisis and the wider planning of all the city's parts and its wider context into one integrated process, across the political stratas and divisions, to create a holistic vision for Sarajevo. There is a need for strong infrastructure development as well as social, urban and economic changes. It is in the mutual interest of all the active parties in the region to meet the needs of the community as a whole and to create a more functional city as the state capital.

Lessons learned from different experience of divided cities could open some questions in advance, predicting some of the inevitable challenges that should be shifted into positive outcome. Transition is a period of physical and social reconstruction, and in a case of post conflict cities it is a sensitive issue due to fragility of society affected by the conflict and occupation.

Even though divisions inside cities of Sarajevo and Jerusalem are different by character, challenges of transition are to guide and lead those cities from conflicts toward proper, inclusive and civil planning and toward more conducive environment for progress.

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Image sources

Figure 1: IPCC- International Peace and Cooperation Centar, Jerusalem, 2014

Figure 2: IPCC-International Peace and Cooperation Centar, exhibition: JERUSALEM AT THE CROSSROADS, photos by:Muath Khatib and Amanda Mustard, 2016

Figure 3: Lana Kudumovic, using map of www.snazzymaps.com

Figure 4: Rustempašić, Mirza. Doktroska disertacija: Graditeljsko naslijeđe i bespravna izgradnja u procesu revitalizacije gradskog prostora Saraje-va, Univerzitet u Sarajevu, 2015. and http://zpr.ks.gov.ba/

Figure 5: www.kons.gov.ba

Figure 6: Flickr - by D.Zeger

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Endnotes

1   East Jerusalemite Palestinians hold East Jerusalem residency permits, which can be revoked and do not allow holders to vote in Israeli general elections, it does not confer citizenship and is not a passport. These identity cards must be renewed every 10 years

2   The Jerusalem District Electric Company is a rare exception to this – a Palestinian owned company that provides electricity in East Jerusalem and parts of the West Bank – it does however receive its power supply from the Israeli Electric Company

3   Inside Municipal Jerusalem, but east of the green line, and just south of Ramallah

4   West of Ma'ale Adumim, deep inside the West Bank. It is also an industrial zone

5   Mithat Aganović, *Graditeljstvo i stanje drugih djelatnosti u Sarajevu u XX i prethodnim stoljećima*, Sarajevo, (2009).

6   http://www.oscebih.org/dejtonski_mirovni_sporazum/HR/annex4.htm

7   Sofia Garcia and Bronwyn Kotzen, *Reconstructing Sarajevo: Negotiating Socio-Political Complexity,* (2014),61.

8   A memorial complex and park dedicated to victims of the German Army during World War II and to the Yugoslav Partisans that liberated Sarajevo from the German Army on the 6th of April 1945, see more on:www.kons.gov.ba

9   Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees Department for Housing Policy and Analytical Planning, HOUSING AND URBAN PROFILE of Bosnia and Herzegovina,An Outline of Devastations, Recovery and Development Perspectives, (2006), 7.

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PLANNING IN UNCERTAINTY: JERUSALEM'S CITY CENTER BETWEEN THE 1940S AND THE 2000S

Roni Bar

Tel Aviv University

The city of Jerusalem has experienced much turbulence throughout its history. To date, war, vWiolence and political conflicts have been inducing tension and stress, while constantly modifying the city's form and borders. In investigating Jerusalem, the paper examines how urban planning – a discipline that is inclined towards generating certainty and order – copes with uncertainty. This is growing concern in both planning theory and practice, as scholars call to "accommodate uncertainty as a core ontological state of the world" (Gunder, 2008: 197) and to develop "adaptation strategies for facing future uncertainties." (Jabareen, 2015: 12). Yet, what happens in practice when planners face an on-going uncertainty regarding the city's future boundaries, sovereignty and form? How do planners act in the absence of a stable state (Vale, 2014)?

Addressing these questions, the paper examines the way Jerusalem's centre has been defined and planned from the 1940s the 2000s. More specifically, it analyses three clusters of plans, as representing three periods of time: before 1967, after 1967 (i.e. Israeli annexation of East Jerusalem), and after 2000 (i.e. the collapse of the Oslo accords and the second Intifada). Using an analysis of plans and documents (for all plans) and in-depth interviews (for recent plans), for each cluster the paper examines (a) the geopolitical state of affairs, (b) the plans' reference to exterior and interior borders, (c) the relational location of the city centre within the city, and (d) the suggested urban fabric and planning principles.

The analysis reinforces the initial hypothesis that uncertainty is not new to Jerusalem, although it is manifested differently in each period. Interior and exterior boundaries constantly shift and change from on plan to another, establishing the border as unfixed and flexible. Concerning the city centre, findings show that the post-2000 plans promote an urban form that is reminiscent of the pre-1967 plans. In these plans, the city centre of Jerusalem (as defined by the municipality itself) is located exclusively in the western part of the city, with intense development marked in its most western end, away from the Old City and contested territories. This type of binary development contrasts between the strict preservation in the east and intense development in the west – unlike the post-1967 plans that attempted to construct a "united city" and to merge together east and west, past and present, the sacred and the secular.

The last section of the paper analyses this recent urban development as a "field of certainty" that reflects planners' search for autonomy and control within uncertain conditions. At least in this case, uncertainty is not seen by planners as paralyzing or overwhelming, but rather as a given state in which they have learned to act and plan, without pretending to abolish the uncertain conditions. The paper ends with questions regarding the normative and ethical implications of this "field of certainty", especially in contested cities.

Post-war "Grand Ensembles" and the Challenges of the Modern City

Chair: Nune Chilingaryan

THE PASSEIST, MODERNIST AND FUTURIST FEATURES OF SOME SOCIAL HOUSING ENSEMBLES BUILT DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD OF 1960-1970: THE CASE OF THE MAURELETTE IN MARSEILLE

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The history of architecture and urbanism is classically represented as a sequence of major doctrines. However, the well-known architectural "-isms" are bound together with productions of the so-called "transitional" periods, the legacy of which deserves special scientific interest. A significant number of these kinds of "in-between product" in the field of social housing was built during the 1960s and 1970s, between the periods of modernism and postmodernism.

At the end of the 1980s in many European countries, particularly in France, massive renovation processes were started, which continue to this day. Due to political, social and aesthetic changes, a great deal of post-war residential heritage has been radically reconstructed or demolished. This process touches not only ordinary residential groups (so-called *grands ensembles*), but also harms some of the more interesting *ensembles*. Many of them are undervalued and have not been rehabilitated since their creation, with some often doomed to disappear.

The current paper is an attempt to analyse the historical, urban and morphological aspects of the Maurelette residential complex, built in the northern suburbs of Marseille during 1963-1965. The design particularities of the Maurelette complex demonstrate the ambition to create a "non-ordinary" *ensemble* using ordinary and inexpensive construction means and materials. The original interpretation of the traditional square, street and rampart could be considered as early applications of postmodernist ideas of free "expression" of historical urban forms.

This case study intends to raise awareness about the heritage constructed between the major architectural periods, which deserve to be included in the contemporary urban structure without negating or altering their authentic concept. Its existence will contribute to the continued urban environment, thereby making the modern city more resilient.

V.01 P.061   **Nune Chilingaryan**

THE PASSEIST, MODERNIST AND FUTURIST FEATURES OF SOME SOCIAL HOUSING ENSEMBLES BUILT DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD OF 1960-1970:
THE CASE OF THE MAURELETTE IN MARSEILLE

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TOC

INTRODUCTION

The history of architecture and urbanism is classically represented as a sequence of movements and major doctrines. However, the actual evolution of architecture and urbanism does not follow this kind of linear character. The well-known architectural "-isms" are bound together with productions of so-called "transitional" periods, the legacy of which deserves special scientific interest. Thanks to its unique mix of previous and present tendencies, as well as techniques and compositional approaches, this architectural layer is shaping a foundation for future movements. A significant number of these kinds of interesting "in-between product" in the field of social housing were built during the 1960s and 1970s. These *ensembles* were constructed between the periods of modernism and postmodernism, when the postulates of modernism (particularly the ones incarnated in social housing groups) were severely criticized for having poor urban and architectural design. The basic principles of the modernist movement are accused of being incomprehensible to the middle and lower classes for whom it was intended. It even goes towards the idealization of the defects of the historical city. "Sun, silence, fresh air? This is exactly the opposite that we should wish for. A city consists of little sun, and maybe bad odours and noise"[1], proclaims the famous French architect, Emile Aillaud, criticizing the hygienist principles of CIAM.

By the mid-1950s, young architects were beginning to challenge the principles defined by the Athens Charter, particularly the rejection of traditional urban planning methods, the denial of the historical memory of the cities and the implementation of impersonal forms into the existing urban context. In 1953, an international group of architects was formed, known as Team X (Jacob Bakema, Georges Candilis, Giancarlo De Carlo, Aldo van Eyck, Alison and Peter Smithson, Shadrach Woods). They criticized the radical modernist approach and proposed to reintroduce a human dimension and continuity into urban habitat architecture. One of them, Aldo van Eyck, thought that the real enemy of architecture was modernist urbanism, as well as the complexes it had created[2]. A few years later, these ideas would lead to a form of cell-structured housing, without the usual towers and bars. This would eventually be widely interpreted in the French PAN (the acronym for the French translation of New Architecture Programme) annual competition entries and finally realized in the new French new cities during 1970-1980. But, in early 1960, the towers and bars, which were colourful, sometimes linked and sometimes dismembered and broken, would still be predominantly found in housing concepts**.** The Maurelette complex is one of those "compromised" architectural products, which demonstrates an ambition to create a "non-ordinary" *ensemble* using ordinary and inexpensive construction means and materials.

AN AMBITIOUS PROGRAMME: TO CREATE A FORM OF MODERNITY THAT RESPECTS THE GENIUS LOCI

The North Highway, constructed in Marseille in 1950, makes the city centre accessible from the northern peripheral area and creates favourable conditions for the installation of a new large residential district. Very soon, this area will reflect the typical suburban image of French cities of the post-war period. The La Tour district, which has chosen for the construction of the Maurelette complex, is surrounded by a heterogeneous urban environment, on the site of the former St. Joseph village with the two- to three-storey houses. Meanwhile, the new neighbourhoods to the west of the highway represent some variations of "band" construction, with disseminations of still-surviving castles and parks**.** In the 18th and 19th centuries, the district was one of many *bastides* (the country residences of the rich bourgeoisie) in Marseille. This sector kept its rural character until the middle of the 20th century (Fig. 1). On the district plan, we can see two castles (Castle Tower in the northern part, which surrounded by walls, and the House of Senior, in the centre of the district), terraces and a sycamore tree lane extending from the Gay-Lussac Street (formerly St. Joseph Way) to the House of Senior.

The reason for and the exact date of the demolition of the Castle Tower are unknown. It appears on the Napoleonic cadastre plans and other plans until 1957 (Fig. 2).
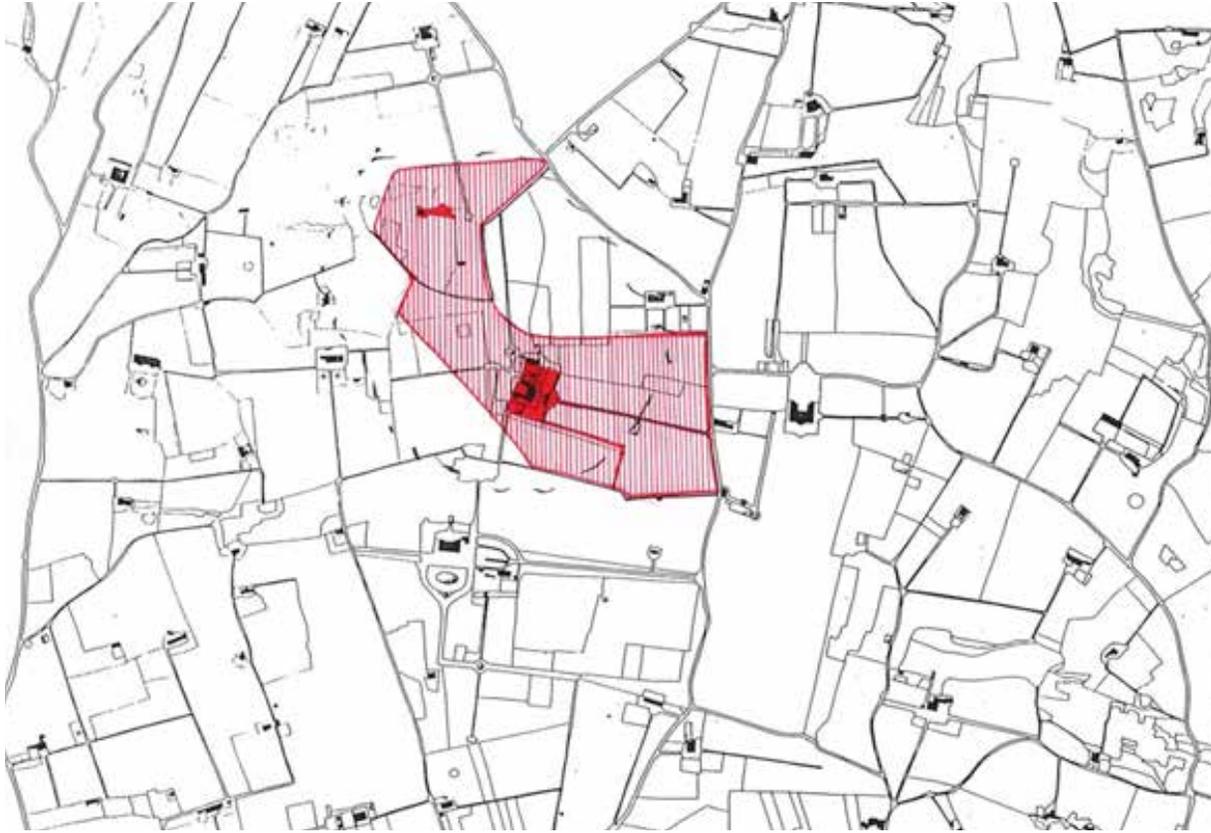
FIGURE 1 Extract from the Napoleonic Cadastre in 1817; the future Maurelette ensemble with the sycamore alley, the House of Senior and the Castle (in red)
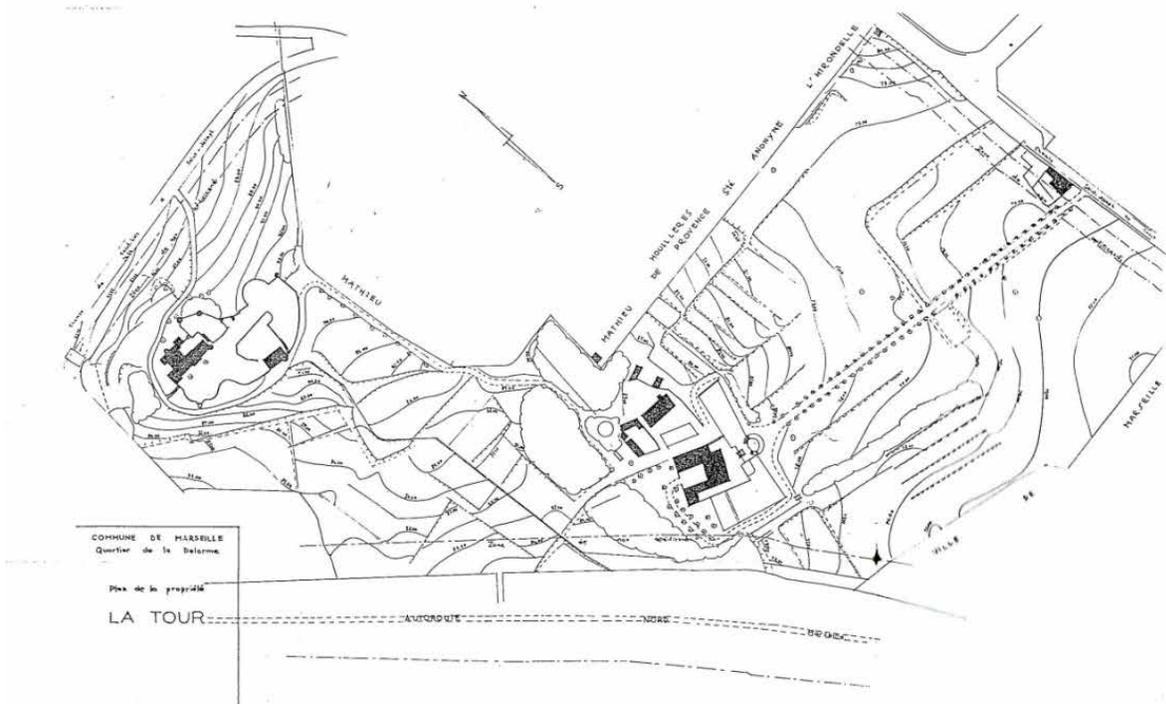
FIGURE 2 The plan of the La Tour district in 1957

FIGURE 3 The Maurelette on the site structure (in red)
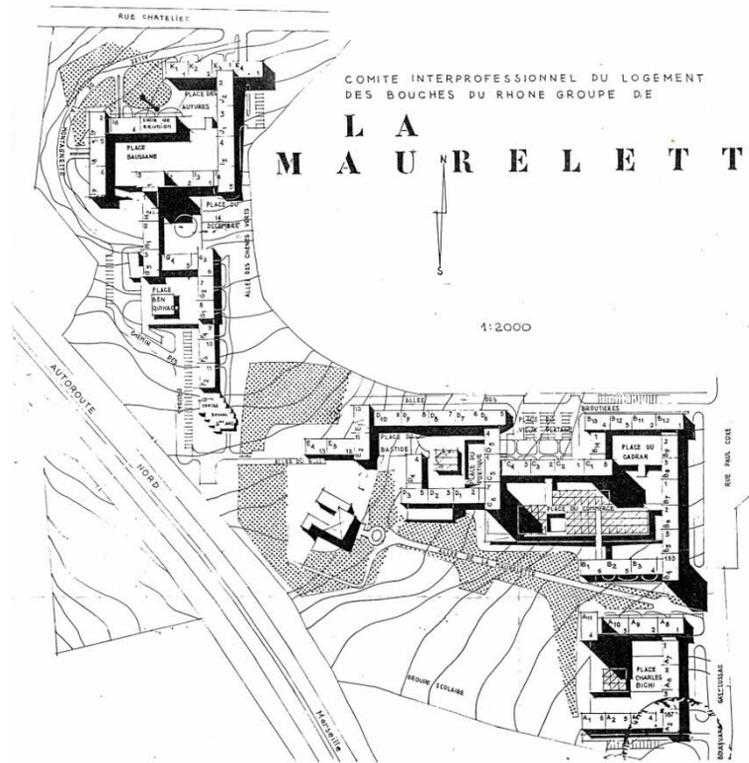
FIGURE 4 The Chirie ground plan for the Maurelette project

The design of the *ensemble* for 745 apartments was entrusted to architects Eugène, Pierre and Jacques Chirié. The workmaster was the La Tour real estate company. Special importance was attached to this operation, as it was considered as an exemplary site. The realization was followed by the Ministry of Construction, General Planning and Equipment, the Productivity Commission, the Ministry of Health and Population, and the Municipality of Marseille. The programme was set up by the Chirié architectural agency after sociological, architectural and technical studies had been conducted for over a year.

The objectives, which were expressed by the authors in the "Maurelette Programme" and the "Basic Principles for the Choice of the Ground Plan" were:

— *to create a pleasant environment to live in, allowing families to escape the feeling of banishment that is too often associated with grands ensembles*
— *to conserve cherished property elements: the beautiful House of Senior and trees that rise in the field or grove aisles*
— *to produce a simple and inexpensive structure*
— *to conserve the outline and fresh appearance of the Maurelette, when seen from the North Highway in Marseille, as a quiet and green area*[3]

The creation of a well-integrated urban structure, clearly standing out on a heterogeneous and discontinued site (Fig. 3), resulted in a programme conceived by the Chirie architectural agency in collaboration with landscaper Jacques Sgard and colourist Bernard Lassus.

GROUND PLAN FOR A NEW "COLLECTIVE BASTIDE" (FORTIFIED RESIDENTIAL PROPERTY)

Despite the fact that the designers used a very limited number of well-known and inexpensive typological elements (78 bars with a height varying from two- to- four storeys, as well as one 15-storey and four 11-storey towers, all of which were 11.2 meters long and articulated in an orthogonal system), there is no symmetry and repetitiveness in the structure of the Maurelette; neither is there a brutal application of building systems according to the *héliothermique axis*.[4] Also, there is no demonstration of sovereignty in relation to the existing urban context (a typical approach used by the pioneers of the modernist movement). The morphology of the terrain is taken in consideration in a very original way. The new structure is not completely separated from the existing urban context; however, it is represented as independent and complex, in that is "folded in on itself" (Fig. 4).

The broken line of buildings placed along the eastern and northern boundaries of the district, which acts as the ramparts along with the main entrance from old St. Joseph Street, and accentuated by the towers, evokes the ambiance of an autonomic and well-defended area. Two building groups (eastern Maurelette I and northern Maurelette II) are organized to suggest a movement towards the centre of the composition. Both groups represent spatial "arrows" flying towards the House of Culture (the renovated House of Senior) and the new Social Centre. Thus, the role of the House of Senior and the old sycamore tree lane goes beyond the simple "conservation of cherished elements of the district", as mentioned in the programme. Here, they are the main elements predetermining the composition of the eastern part (Maurelette I), which, in turn, suggest that the northern part's structure (Maurelette II) is a spatial and functional counterweight to the Social Centre.

In fact, the **ancient private** country residence (*bastide*) was replaced by a **modern collective** *bastide* in the same image of autonomy. This fact was considered by most inhabitants as an advantage. In the early 1980s, the inhabitants, wishing to "defend" the autonomy of their "Maurelette universe", organized a petition against the decision to make the Social Centre accessible for the inhabitants of the surrounding neighbourhoods.[5] Moreover, this urban approach generated different estimations of different parts. This is not typical for most ordinary, so-called "statistical" residential complexes of the post-war period. The tenants of Maurelette II consider living in a quieter area, away from the noise and bustle of the mall. In fact, Maurelette represents a kind of "concentrated remix" (in both senses of the word: space and time) of a historical residential district with more or less active areas, whose disposition is usually the result of a secular spontaneous development.

We see the same approach – that is, both traditional and modernist – in the road organization. The inner side of the area is treated as a continuous pedestrian walkway that avoids crossing the traffic routes. The car service is organized from the Gay-Lussac and Chatelier Streets, with the six-metre wide alleyways, which are distant from the buildings and have no crossings in-between (Fig. 5).

The obvious ambition to shield the Maurelette *ensemble* from any motor noise has led to the creation of a free zone, which is 50 metres wide, along the Northern Highway. Similarly, most of the parking is organized in underground garages. Outdoor parking lots are arranged near the walkways outside the buildings groups. Thus, the application of a classic modernist principle – namely, the separation of pedestrian and automobile tracks – in the case of Maurelette could also be considered as an additional measure to protect the privacy of the "secure collective property", which is non-penetrable by others.
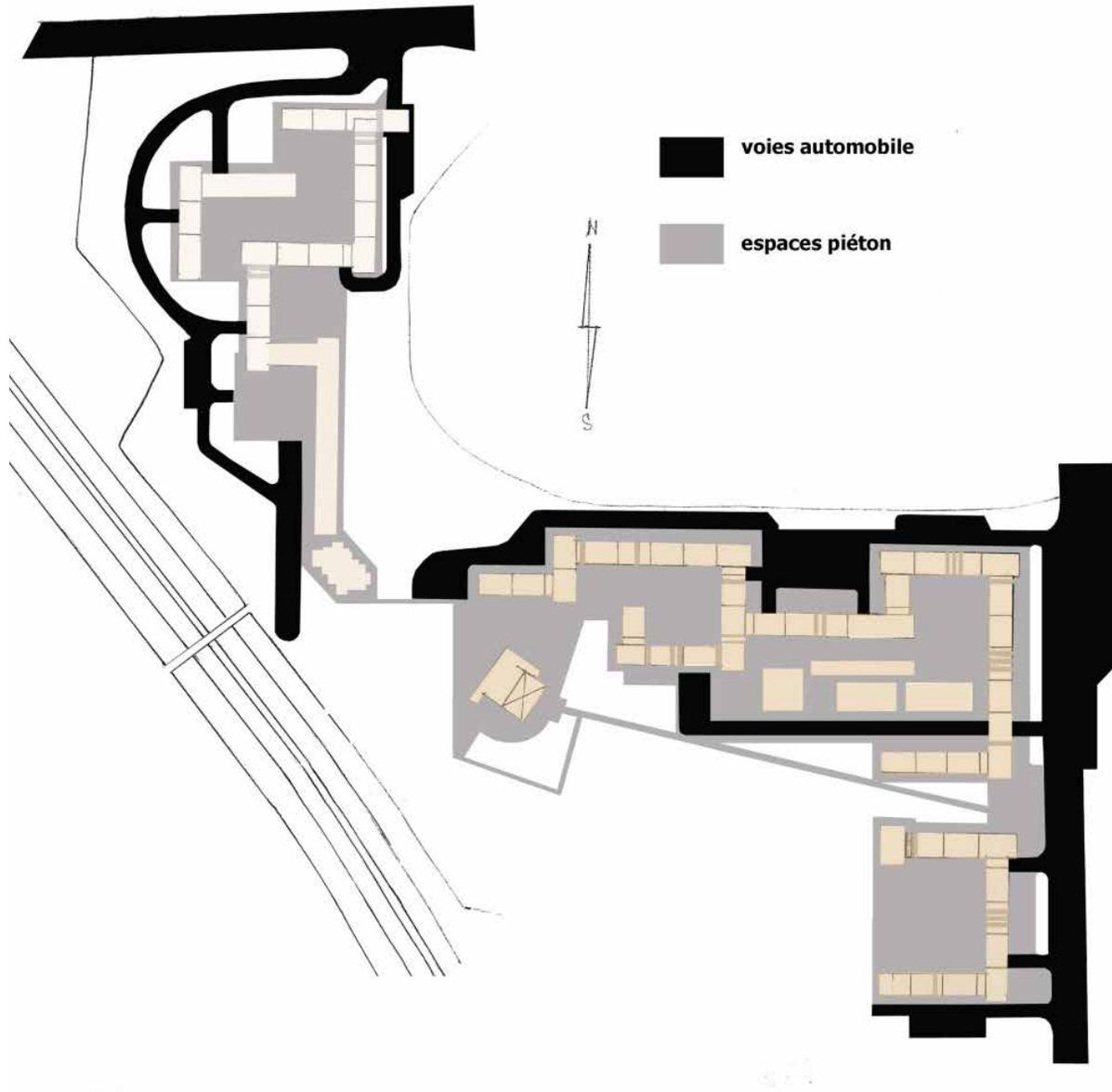
FIGURE 5 The road organization in Maurelette, with morphological analysis by N. Chilingaryan

TOC

SPACE ORGANIZATION: APPARENT SPONTANEITY, HIDDEN HIERARCHY?

Some documents compare the spatial organization in Maurelette with the La Viste residential complex, which was built in the same period and, like Maurelette, was realized in the framework of the construction programme for 4,000 new residences in Marseille. Some researchers claim that, in Maurelette, "the influence of Team X is clearly evident, especially the principles applied by Candilis, Josic and Woods at La Viste".[6] However, a detailed study of these two complexes reveals the very different approaches of their designers. In fact, this similarity is limited to a bird's eye view of the plans, due to the use of bars, towers and angled buildings, which are juxtaposed to comparable proximities. This similarity could be explained by the application of an orthogonal plan system, which facilitates relatively inexpensive construction. The two complexes are well inscribed in the surrounding urban context, albeit in very different ways: La Viste has an open morphology, which is penetrable from the south and the north. The plan represents the building branches, the traces of which strictly follow the territory limits to form the incomplete structures. These branches could be continued if necessary (in line with the basic principle of Team X about indeterminate, continuous urban forms). This transparent, accessible and continuous composition of La Viste (conceived by the militants who opposed the indifferent and exposed structures of the CIAM pioneers) paradoxically makes it similar to the phalanstery of Le Corbusier (founder of CIAM), which was presented in a project competition for the reconstruction of the unsanitary sector, known as No. 6, in Paris in 1936 (Figs. 6 and 7).

Unlike La Viste, the creators of Maurelette used all means "to finish"; in other words, to give an identity and personality to the spaces. The names found around the squares (names of alleys and patios refer to the ancient domain and major events from the history of Provence), as well as the landscape design, which not only maintains the existing beautiful trees, but doubles the surface of planted areas, reflect an ambition to create a real Marseille site, which is attached to its context and not an abstract modernist residence model that is more or less humanized. The structure of Maurelette does not contain any sign of evolution or continuity. If the basic element of La Viste's composition is the continuous bar that is punctuated by towers (in other words, the *volume module*), the structure of the Maurelette remains a *space module,* meaning it is sometimes enclosed, sometimes open, but always clearly defined. The analysis of this spatial element (called a "square" by its authors) demonstrates the very specific approach applied by designers and deserves a special attention.

The use of a square in its classical sense as a structural element of a traditional city requires the presence of two other essential elements (streets and courtyards), which are absent from Maurelette. The concept of a square, when selected by the architects as a foundation unit, also loses its original meaning because of its overuse beyond the traditional city: 10 squares formed by 80 buildings located on the territory with a total surface area of only 11 hectares. Thus, the squares in Maurelette have an ambiguous nature: being firmly attached to the context of the site, they are absolutely decontextualized, in the original sense of the term, in the same way as traditional urban components. This allows us to consider the Maurelette as a kind of precursor of the postmodernist approach by reintroducing elements and forms of the past as symbols freed from their historically formed "support".

The typological analysis of the Maurelette squares allows for them to be classified into three typological groups linked by hierarchical logic. Square-types are divided into the following three classes:

FIGURE 6 Proposal for the reconstruction of the No. 6 sector in Paris, Le Corbusier, 1936
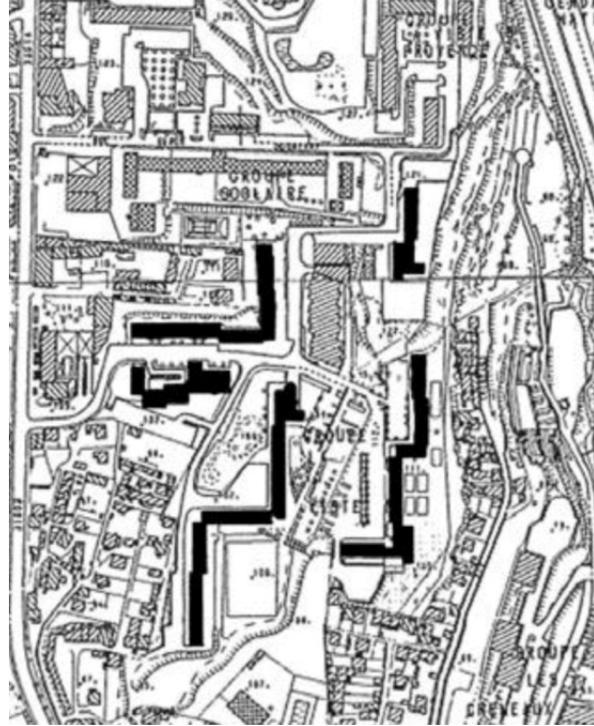
FIGURE 7 The ground plan for La Viste in Marseille, Candilis, Josic and Woods, 1964
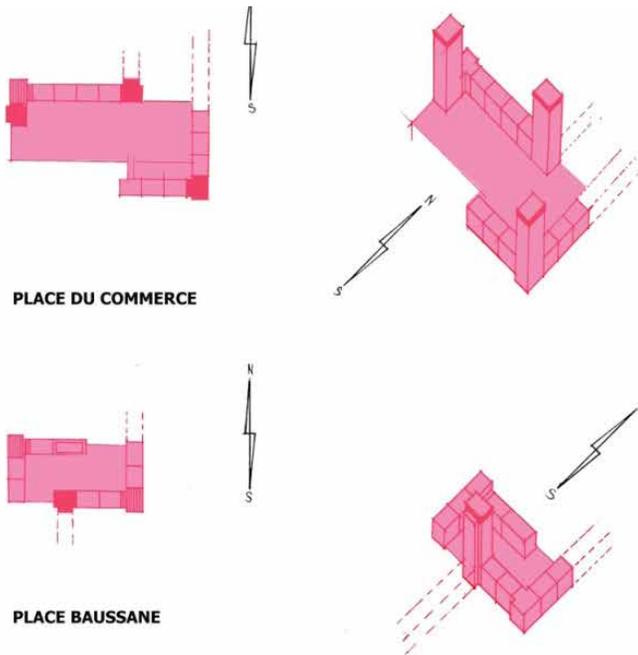
FIGURE 8 The "main squares", with typological analysis by N. Chilingaryan

1   The first type is a square with low buildings on opposite corners, with one or more towers (with 11- and 15-storeys). We will refer to it as a **"main square"** because the two spaces of this type (namely, the Commerce Square and the Baussane Square) play a decisive role in the morphology due to their dimensions and positions, as

well as the presence of common services (Fig. 8).
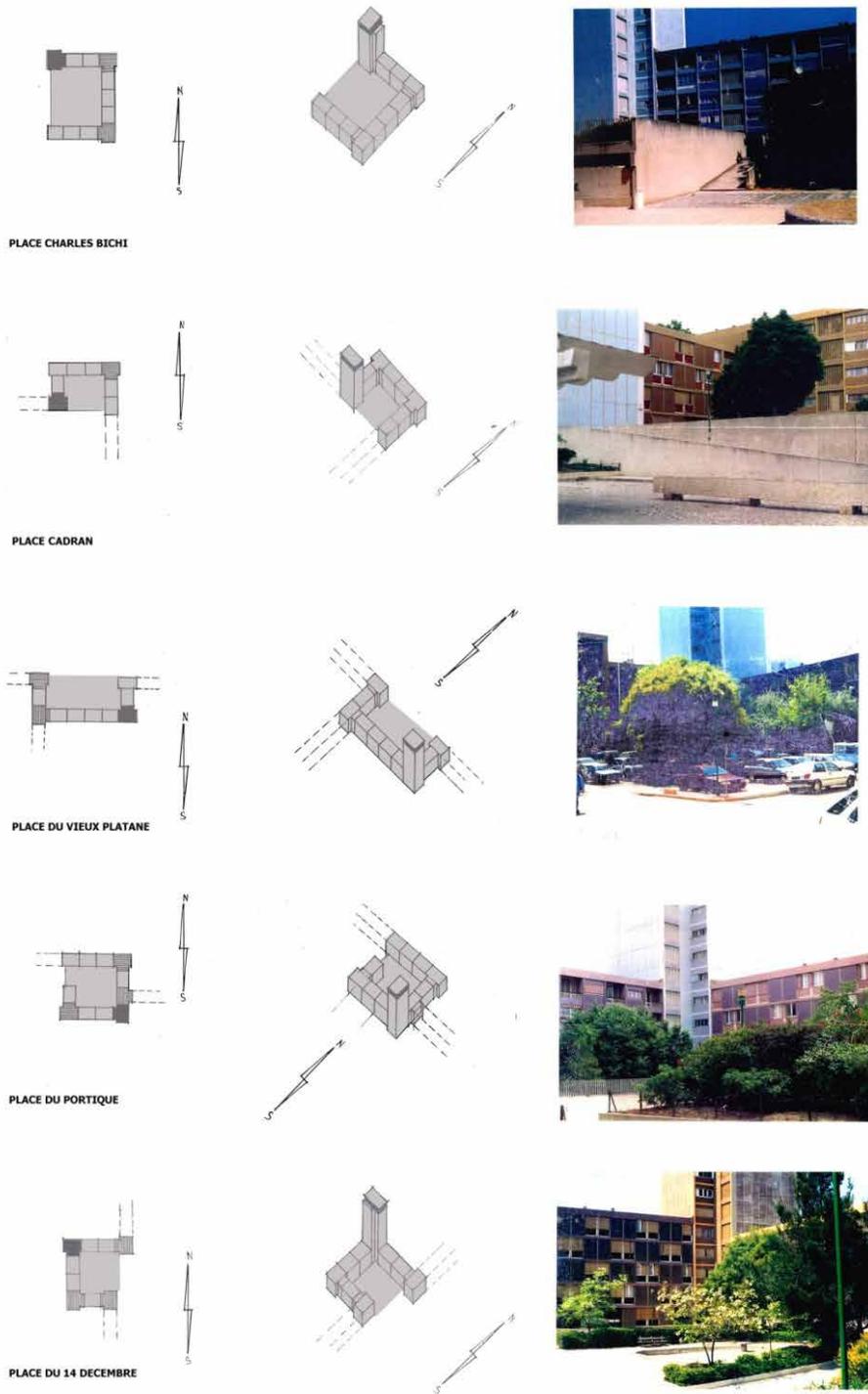
FIGURE 9 The "current squares", with typological analysis by N. Chilingaryan

2   The spaces surrounded on three sides by low buildings and accentuated by a tower. We will refer to this type as a **"current square"**; five of the 10 squares in Maurelette belong to this type. These are Charles Bichi Square, Portique Square, Old Sycamore Square, Cadran Square and the Square of 14 December" (Fig. 9).

PLACE DES AUTURES

PLACE DE LA BASTIDE

PLACE BEN QUIHADO

FIGURE 10 The "piazzetta" (smallest square), with typological analysis by N. Chilingaryan

3   The third type is the **"piazzetta"** (smallest square), which is deprived of towers and bounded by angled bars. We find three squares of this type: Bastide Square in Maurelette I and two in Maurelette II (Autures Square and Ben Quihado Square) (Fig. 10). These are the most modest, but indispensable, public spaces in the hierarchy. Being located right next to the central dominant volumes (House of Culture and Social Centre), they provide a kind of "pause space", meaning a consecutive passage to the spaces with more active public vocation (Fig. 11).
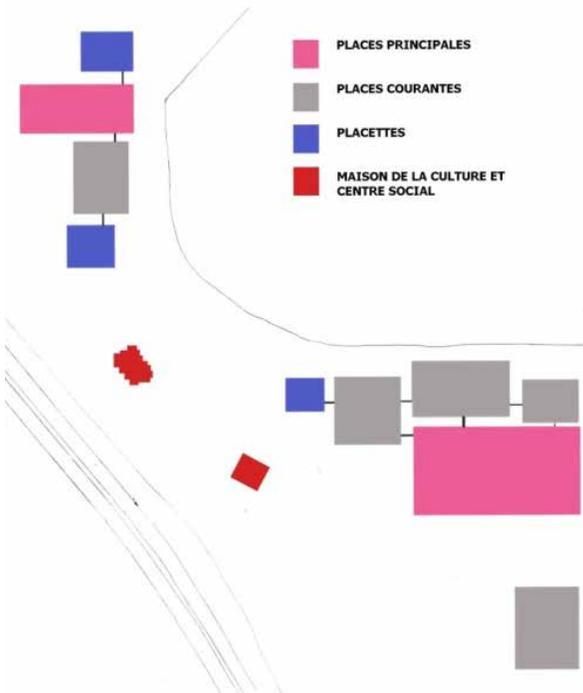
FIGURE 11 Diagram with the position of square-types in Maurelette, with morphological analysis by N.Chilingaryan
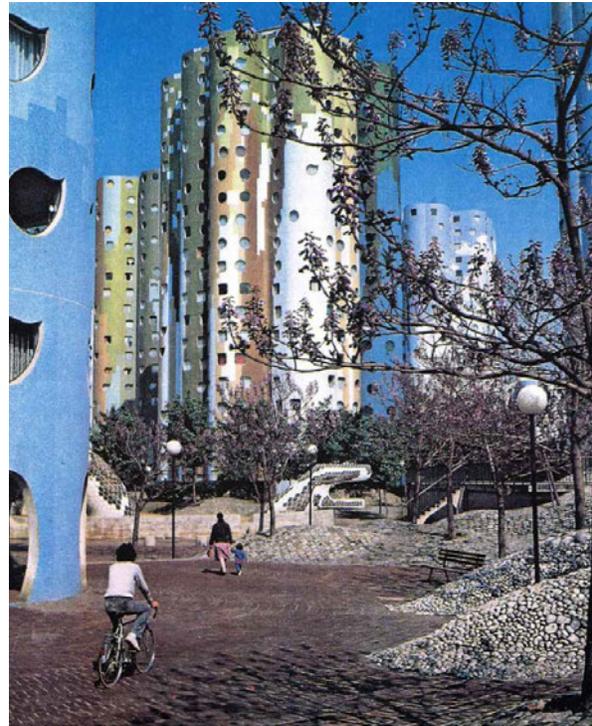
FIGURE 12 The Pablo Picasso complex in Nanterre, E. Aillaud (architect), 1972

Thus, this polyvalent space module, which is really neither a square, court nor street in the classic sense, practically assumes the roles of these three main components of a traditional urban habitat. The creators were able to give every gradation of the ambiance of a traditional city district to the site: from private to public, from agitation to relaxation, from greenery to mineral surface. All these were simply made by the intelligible alternation of the same, delicately changed spatial element.

The Maurelette is free of "unexpected surprises", such as windows–leaves or big sculptures of snakes in the middle of a court, similar to Emile Aillaud's Pablo Picasso complex in Nanterre (Fig. 12). Rather, it is inspired by everyday poetry, where the nuances take priority over the singular event. The Maurelette complex, which was created in the interim period between the "time of rationality" and the "end of interdictions", represents a remarkable architectural symbiosis. This *ensemble*, in the larger sense of Kisho Kurokawa's definition, is itself an "intermediate space", where experience of the past matures and crystallizes in order to give life to the future.

CONCLUSION

The Maurelette residential complex in Marseille could be considered as an early application of the postmodernist ideas of decontextualization and free "expression" of historical urban forms. It appears as a "cultural bridge" connecting the past, the present and the future. Fortunately, until the present day, this *ensemble* is almost intact, while, in 2006, it received the "Heritage of the 20th Century" label as Maurelette Park. However, its "survival" could be considered as a rather extraordinary phenomenon than a typical one.

Since the end of the 1980s in many European countries, particularly in France, massive renovation processes have taken place, which continue to this day. Due to political, social and aesthetic changes, a great part of post-war residential heritage has been radically reconstructed or demolished. This process touches not only ordinary residential groups (so-called *grands ensembles*), realized right after the Second World War with very limited means and techniques, it also harms some of the interesting *ensembles*. Many have been undervalued, not rehabilitated, since their creation, while some are often doomed to disappear.

The Maurelette case study intends to raise awareness of the heritage constructed between major architectural periods (for example, modernism and postmodernism), as it represents an interesting architectural symbiosis with hidden values. Such heritage deserves to be included in the contemporary urban structure, without negating or altering its authentic concept. Moreover, its existence will contribute to the continuous, uninterrupted urban environment, thereby making the modern city more resilient.
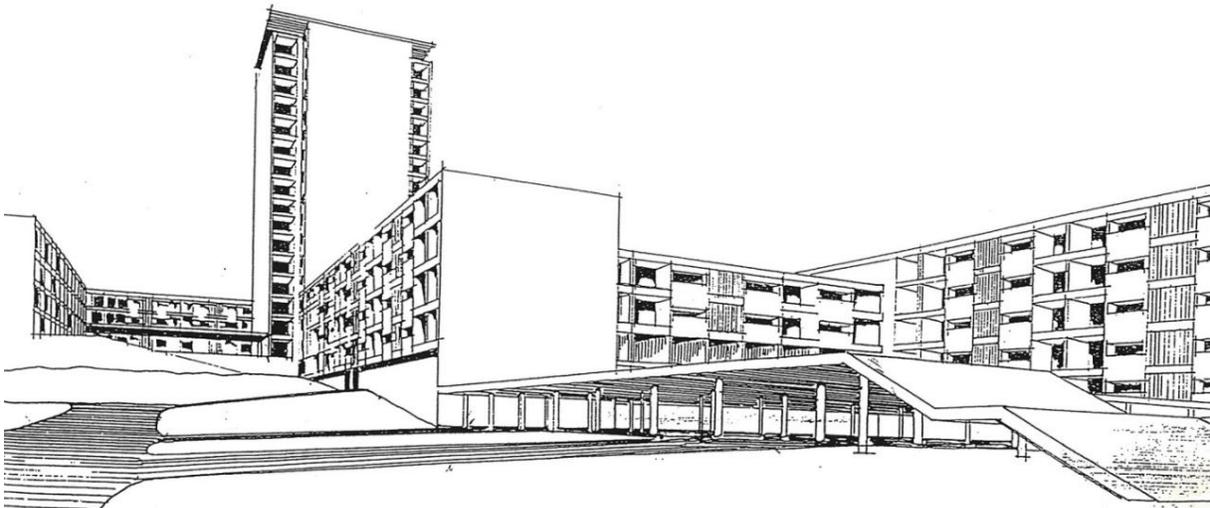
FIGURE 13 Fig.13. Ben Quihado Square by N. Chilingaryan, 1994

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Fig. 6. Corbu, https://fr.pinterest.com/martabrandao/corbu.

Fig. 7. Durousseau T. Patrimoine du XXe Siècle en PACA, Ensembles & Résidences à Marseille 1955-1975, Notices Monographiques, 1521 – La Viste, http://www.culturecommunication.gouv.fr.

Fig. 12. Dhuis J.F. L'Architecture Selon Emile Aillaud, Paris, Dunod 1983.

V.01 P.073   **Nune Chilingaryan**

THE PASSEIST, MODERNIST AND FUTURIST FEATURES OF SOME SOCIAL HOUSING ENSEMBLES BUILT DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD OF 1960-1970:

THE CASE OF THE MAURELETTE IN MARSEILLE

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.7480/iphs.2016.1.1194

TOC

NON-RESILIENT COLONIAL URBAN PLANNING AND ITS RESULTING OBSTRUCTED MOBILITY – AN HISTORICAL VIEW OF A HOSPITAL IN KINSHASA

Simon De Nys-Ketels | Kristien Geenen

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One of the key characteristics of many a colonial city, is its binary spatial structure. In this model, a neutral or non-residential zone separates the European residential area from the "native" one. Colonial policy makers and urban planners thus designed this neutral zone in order to spatially divide the colonial city along racial lines. Recent studies (Nightingale, 2012; Brennan, 2007), however, have shown that in reality, strict spatial segregation was never fully implemented. Indeed, as the neutral zone often encompassed key urban functions such as markets and hospitals, many inhabitants inevitably had to pass through or spend some time in this neutral territory, and this mobility undermined the realisation of a perfectly segregated city.

Bearing this historical framework in mind, and relying upon insights from both urban planning and anthropology, this paper discusses how the inherited colonial urban structure has far-reaching consequences for current mobility patterns, by looking at the problematic location of the main public hospital in Kinshasa (DRC) from its origin to the present. Indeed, when a large-scale, urban zoning plan for Kinshasa was designed in 1932, the location of this hospital, which served the Congolese population but was run by Belgian colonials, was included within the neutral zone. However, both the local press as well as members of the administrative and sanitary services heavily criticized the close vicinity of the hospital to the European residential area, arguing that the location "went against any sound idea of urban hygiene" (Lagae, 2011). Moreover, its location soon proved problematic in yet another sense. As the hospital continuously expanded, some of its surrounding roads had to be cut off to provide space for new pavilions. At the same time however, and precisely because several main urban functions such as the central market were constructed within the neutral zone too, the remaining roads surrounding the hospital became increasingly important and consequently clogged thoroughfares. This situation even worsened when, in the 70s, the hospital management cut off one of the main traffic roads that ran alongside its main entrance, as it was deemed too noisy for its patients. This modification effectively turned the site into an obstacle within its dense surrounding urban tissue. Thus, the colonial urban planners' lack of long-term vision, exacerbated by somewhat ill-considered but far-reaching interventions requested by the hospital management, has completely obstructed the current traffic flow.

Nonetheless, the pedestrians outwit the obstacle the compound has become. They use well-known but officially unauthorized shortcuts through the enclosed hospital site by negotiating with the hospital guards, thus forcing themselves a way through. As such, these collective daily movements represent a "quiet encroachment" (Bayat, 1997) by which citizens reappropriate the hospital site and counterbalance the interrupted traffic flows. In conclusion, from its colonial origins until present, many top-down spatial interventions regarding the hospital were ill-considered and proved to be the opposite of flexible or resilient urban planning. Rather, we argue, it are the inhabitants of Kinshasa who show resilience here, making do and creatively coping with the inherited colonial urban structure.

Keywords
Colonial urban planning, Kinshasa (DRC), segregation, mobility

V.01 P.075 **Simon De Nys-Ketels | Kristien Geenen**
NON-RESILIENT COLONIAL URBAN PLANNING AND ITS RESULTING OBSTRUCTED MOBILITY – AN HISTORICAL VIEW OF A HOSPITAL IN KINSHASA

TOC

PALMAS (BRAZIL) YESTERDAY AND TODAY: FROM NEIGHBORHOODS SEGREGATED TO RECENT HOUSING PRODUCTION

Aldenilson Costa[1] | **Lalita Kraus**[1] | **Rodrigo Rocha**[2]

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The central question of this paper is to analyze how and why in a town said planned maintenance there is a segregation systems that are spatially as well and are revealed as an element of the history of town. Thus, this paper presents a discussion about process of production of urban space in Palmas - TO, the last planned capital of the twentieth century. As the object of analysis is considered the historical factor, namely segregation, read from the neighborhoods located south of the town. On the other hand the current condition of town with intense housing production, to understand the existing ruptures and continuities in urban space of the town. It must be held that the neighborhoods, unlike the "residential blocks" located in the main Plan, arise as a segregation product that had, at the time, direct action by governments (the State of Tocantins and Palmas of Town) to contain the working classes in the main plane of the occupation process of the town. Methodologically this paper condenses elements of Geography and Urban Planning, in the study of the case already carried out during the years 2008-2012 and updated from observations in locus and discussions with the authors of this paper. As a result, this paper besides presenting a historical perspective of the formation of neighborhoods, also presents data on the actual condition of the town. The analysis of the town today entails recognizing the role of the property developers, civil engineering companies, of governments, that besides expand the number of housing developments around the town, are fueling a premature verticalization process, which far from benefiting the population reaffirms the condition fragmented production of urban space. In Palmas, note that planning is segregationist, where the common interest was set aside as a consequence of the interest of governments. In turn, the real estate capital represented by different property developers, and with the permission of the current municipal government, produces and imposes changes in the urban space of the city from the verticalization which has become a new mechanism to jettison the less privileged population. Palmas, which was a town predominantly horizontal, and numerous urban voids, is in full and accelerated verticalization process, which has been revealed as a social distinction mechanism, which separates and segregates, homogenizing the spaces for the moneyed classes and holding the disadvantaged the place. Palmas, whose creation dates from 1989, arose from an engineering and architecture project to be the capital of Tocantins state. However, the basic plan of Palmas did not include the population with low purchasing power, which in turn promoted a process of occupation different from the other than intended by the architects of GrupoQuatro. In addition to this, speculation also contributes to the occupation dispersed in Palmas. On the other hand, the State represented by governor Siqueira Campos and mayor of that time, in order to make an organized occupation of the town, removed the inhabitants with lower purchasing power from downtown area and from surrounding blocks.

V.01 P.077   **Aldenilson Costa | Lalita Kraus | Rodrigo Rocha**
PALMAS (BRAZIL) YESTERDAY AND TODAY: FROM NEIGHBORHOODS SEGREGATED TO RECENT HOUSING PRODUCTION

TOC

THE RESEARCH ON SPONGE CITY CONSTRUCTION IN SOUTHERN AREA OF CHINA: A CASE STUDY OF MALUANG BAY IN XIAMEN OF FUJIAN PROVINCE

Yayue Chen

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Xiamen city in Fujian province, which is an important economic centre and international tourist city in China, is located in the southeast coastal areas of China. Unfortunately, Xiamen is also one of the most cities lacking of water resources in the southern areas without any grand rivers flowing through, which results in few of the available water resources. At the same time, it suffers from severe waterlogging disaster every year due to the storm and typhoon. Those are major reasons forcing people to explore sponge city construction. In April 2012, sponge city was put forward for the first time in "Low-carbon Urban and Regional Development of Science and Technology Forum in China". The cities that can be like sponges have good compression, resilience and recovery to well respond to natural disasters and environmental changes. When it rains, the sponge cities are able to absorb water, storage water and purify water to reduce the occurrence of urban flood disaster. At the same time, when we need the water, the sponge cities would release what we store to enhance urban ecosystem functions. The construction of sponge city, combined with urban ecological security pattern, get rid of the single engineering point of view of urban rainwater management and play a significant role in urban ecological construction. But now, the construction of sponge city is still in the stage of exploration and research. This paper reviewed the practices of the sponge city construction at home and abroad and empirically analyzed the ideas and plans of the sponge city construction in southern areas of China by taking Maluang Bay's ecological planning and construction as the case. Maluang Bay is the first pilot area in Xiamen city to start the construction of sponge city, and the total investments reach 5.57 billion yuan from 2015 to 2017. It has 59 projects that cover six aspects including infiltrate, retention, storage, purification, utilization, drainage. Specific measures are as follows: build green roofs, permeable pavement and natural surface to strength urban water permeability, develop sunken greenbelt and grass swales to increased the water in the soil, recover the rivers and wetlands to enhance urban water holding capacity, establish sewage treatment facilities and construct coastal ecological slope to purify urban water resources. In the end, based on the case study, the suggestion is put forward on pre-planning, economic regulation, system improvement and public participation with the expectation of providing a new idea of constructing a sponge city.

Keywords
sponge city, Xiamen city, Maluang Bay, resilience

V.01 P.079 Yayue Chen

THE RESEARCH ON SPONGE CITY CONSTRUCTION IN SOUTHERN AREA OF CHINA: A CASE STUDY OF MALUANG BAY IN XIAMEN OF FUJIAN PROVINCE

TOC

Urban Development in Modern China

Chair: Yanchen Sun

REFORMING BEIJING IN THE SHADOW OF COLONIAL CRISIS: URBAN CONSTRUCTION FOR COMPETING WITH THE FOREIGN POWERS, 1900-1928

Xusheng Huang

ETH Zurich

This paper focuses on Beijing's urban transformation from 1900, the twilight of the Qing dynasty, to 1928, the end of the Beiyang government. It firstly examines the urban segregation strategy applied by foreign powers between the Legation Quarter and the local neighbourhood, from both the foreigners' and the Chinese government's perspective, and further explores unban construction by the newly established local government to improve the transport system and sanitary conditions. The paper suggests that the post-colonial viewpoint could be a necessary theoretical aspect in understanding Beijing's modernization. Through the careful examination of historical materials, such as governmental archives, travel notes, memoirs and magazines, this paper pays special attention to the interaction of conceived space and perceived space. It attempts to argue that urban improvement by the local government played a crucial role in safeguarding the national sovereignty and enhancing resilience during the colonial crisis. Building a "modern" Beijing was regarded as a strategy that would not only reduce the differences between the Chinese and the colonial cityscape but also to foster a national identity and demonstrate the legitimacy of an authority.

INTRODUCTION

There is plenty of research on Chinese cities in the early modern era from a post-colonial perspective, but Beijing is relatively neglected, mainly because it was unlike the paradigm discussed in previous research. Although Beijing was not forced to open to foreign trade or become a "leased territory", many scholars claim that the Legation District was a kind of "concession" because it had an independent administrative system and military defences.[1] In this light, it is crucial to examine urban historiography through the interrelation of the construction and development of the Legation Quarter and the other part of the city.

During the period from 1900 to 1928, Beijing, like other Chinese cities, experienced a dramatic alteration, through the invasion of the Eight-Nation Alliance in 1900, the collapse of the Qing dynasty in 1911 and the end of the Beiyang government in 1928, and was in the shadow of the colonial crisis until 1937, when it was ruled by the Japanese. From the beginning of the twentieth century, the Chinese social elites and bureaucrats learned from their defeat in the war and started to abandon the idea of "Chinese Learning as Fundamental; Western Learning for Practical Use". They were aware of the significance and necessity of comprehensively learning from the West in fields of science, technology, ideas and institutions. Urban construction against this background became an important aspect for Beijing's government to learn from and compete with the Legation Quarter and foreign cities.

This paper's emphasis lies especially on the interdependence of the physical space and the mental space conceived by the government and foreigners as well as experienced by the city's citizens. Although the discipline of "urban design" or "urban planning" had not emerged at that time in Beijing, the local government began to compose modern administrative laws and regulations, and to place emphasis especially on transportation and sanitary issues, which not only had a large impact on the daily lives of the ordinary people, but also dramatically changed their mental construction of the Beijing's cityscape. Based on the documents of the local government, and memoirs and notes of the foreigners and general public, this paper attempts to re-read and re-understand the urban transformation of Beijing at the beginning of the twentieth century through the investigation of citizens' experiences and imagination of a city.

The Boxer Rebellion and the Eight-Nation Alliance caused a great loss of the architecture in Dongjiaomin and Qianmen, but the city was soon resilient in the face of the war. This paper firstly considers the urban segregation strategy, which was applied by foreign powers between the Legation Quarter and the local neighborhood, as a typical case to examine both the foreigners' and Chinese government's intention. Since 1900 the Legation Quarter had acquired a special status of concession. For the foreign powers, urban segregation and its spatial symbol – the Glacis, the city wall and the gate as fortified spaces –strengthened the image of colonial power by associating it with effective governance, an improved built environment, and a richer, more virtuous and stable life, in contrast to local Chinese society, and thus symbolized an expression of the legitimacy of the colonizers. However, from the Chinese government's viewpoint, this was also one of a limited number of feasible approaches capable of minimizing colonial impact.

Moreover, the paper explores urban regeneration via improving the transport system and sanitary conditions in the context of the Chinese city, which is closely connected to the demands of the government and social elites to compete with Western powers. Specifically, the government not only accepted and learned the "Western modern" in both technological and the ideological aspects in order to reconstruct Beijing as the same kind of "sanitary, beauty and [traffic] convenience"[2] as the foreign cities; the local government, especially the municipal council, also believed that the preservation of the city's ancient imperial legacy could represent the city's glorious past and China's national subjectivity, which could serve the purpose of containing the colonial power and challenging the invasion of colonial modernity in Beijing.

FIGURE 1 Legtion Quarter around 1901. The traditional Dongjiaomin street was replaced by street scene with two to five floor Western-style buildings, legation walls and compounds that exhibited a civilized, and technologically advanced power.
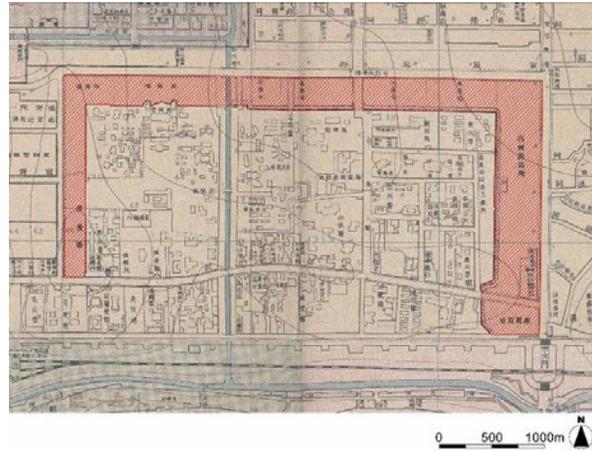
FIGURE 2 Glacis of the legation Quarter in the Map of Beijing in 1916. The Glacis outside the entrenchment measured around 30 zhang at the west to the Chinese government offices, 300 zhang at the east to Chongwen Gate Inner Street, 15 zhang at the north to Chang'an Street.

URBAN SEGREGATION FROM THE FOREIGNERS' AND THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT'S PERSPECTIVE

The establishment of the Legation District in 1900 initiated the modern transformation of Beijing. Centred on the Legation District, the foreign concession shaped the primary "modern" urban spaces differently from the traditional Beijing cityscape. The foreigners, mostly living in Legation Districts, organized the independent and autonomous Legation Administrative Commission to take charge of the public affairs, including the urban constructions. The institute attempted to improve the "backward" urban environment by duplicating the urban forms of their mother countries. Modern technology and European urban spatial elements were transplanted to transform the previous streets and canals of Dongjiaomin District.[3] These spatial transformations presented a particular meaning as the Westernized cityscape became a symbol of colonial authority and its legitimacy (**Figure 1**).

The spatial representation of an urban segregation was the fortified space. The Legation Administrative Commission set up a European-style boundary wall and opened a broad Glacis in the crowded city centre to separate the Legation Quarter as an enclave. (**Figure 2**) The strategy of urban segregation contributed substantially to strengthening this spatial and moral difference. Robert Home claimed that spatial separation, which "was not unique to the colonial cities of European expansion"[4], maintained both cultural difference and power relationships. Actually, before it was practiced in the Legation Quarter, racial separation as a colonial strategy had been applied in many colonies, like India, Singapore, etc., and also in colonies in China, such as Qingdao, Shanghai. The spatial isolation between the colonial settlement and the local neighbourhood, such as the building-free zone, or so-called neutral zone or green belt, is closely related to social separation. These forms of separation were often reflected in the spatial isolation between the colonial settlement and the local neighbourhood, and the zones in-between.

Although the objectives and intentions of the separation were various, the initial and immediate cause was normally safety needs, such as the Delhi fort built after the Indian Mutiny.[5] The city wall, city gate and Glacis were also constructed, as Juliet Bredon in 1922 noted, for reasons of defence: "to defend it [the Legation Quarter] adequately iron gates were put up, loop holes made, subterranean passages constructed […]"[6].

As a rarely seen open landscape in otherwise Chinese dense cities, it dominated the cityscape of Beijing's city centre. It was because of the uncertainty and insecurity felt by foreigners that military power was strongly

Xusheng Huang
REFORMING BEIJING IN THE SHADOW OF COLONIAL CRISIS:URBAN CONSTRUCTION FOR COMPETING WITH THE FOREIGN POWERS, 1900-1928

emphasized so as to manifest their status in Beijing. Whether the space was reused for recreation and sports, or maintained its military purpose, it gave a strong impression of the Legation Quarter's highly secure character and complete separation from the Chinese (**Figure 3**). As Victoir and Zatsepine concluded, "violence played a fundamental role in establishing colonial space in Asia."[7]

But, to the Chinese, the fortified space meant humiliation, inequality, even horror, which was a representation of the uneven levels of power in the city. A magazine paper recorded that the following observation: "I pass by East chang'an Street at night and watched the Legation Quarter in the south. It was in the dark two or three meters away, like a deep pine forest, and like the gruesome city of hell. Only one or two lights blighting it, which was as ghastly as a will-o'-the-wisp. It was a place extremely horrifying, a den of monsters."[8]

It is because underlying the fortified space, other colonial strategies, such as residential segregation, also played the role of strengthening differences and inscribing them on the built environment. Urban segregation symbolized "the uneven distribution of power and wealth between the ruler and the ruled"[9], which also contributed to expressing the legitimacy of the colonizers. Eventually, it was through the manifestation of a "new power" that a Europeanized, civilized and isolated "forbidden city" was constructed next to the Chinese imperial Forbidden City. Like the colony in Delhi, the Legation Quarter was planned to "symbolize the legitimacy of another foreign dynasty that had successfully conquered India"[10], but, it hardly achieved success. China, in contrast to other colonies, was never entirely governed by a foreign country. In Beijing, the capital and hinterland city, colonial power was always, in a way, limited by the indigenous context and local government.

Because Beijing was still not open to foreigners they failed to obtain the necessary control over the whole city. The Chinese citizens in Beijing retained their national identity as "Chinese". This was different from the colonial citizens in other colonies in Singapore, India and South Africa. Therefore, although these Europeanization projects had an impact on the modernization process of Beijing, they were limited in the Legation Concession and barely affected the daily lives of local citizens. For instance, just as the Chinese were "uncivilized" in Western eyes, some Chinese still maintained the historical attitude that the foreigners were "uncultured", even after the Boxer Rebellion. Arlington and Lewisohn discussed this view, that "the Chinese used the expression as applying to those who did not "talk reason" and sought to override all argument by violence; in other words, foreigners were savages, like the rebels, who would not submit to the civilizing influence of the Middle Kingdom."[11] Although this attitude changed along with the dramatic development of the West's advantages, the national identity of the Chinese was still strong.

Therefore, if we consider the urban segregation strategy from the Chinese government's perspective, we can see the other side of the story that the social segregation of the Legation Quarter was not only the intention of the foreigners, but was also promoted by the Qing and Beiyang governments. From the Chinese government's viewpoint, this was one of the limited feasible approaches capable of minimizing colonial impact. Throughout history, the urban partition strategy had been used by the government to manage and guard against the foreigners.[12] For instance, in the Qing dynasty, the Chinese government ordered the foreigners to live together in the "Canton Factories", assembling the residences and offices of the business agents. The Canton Factories were under strict government control, ensuring exclusion from the Chinese community. The foreigners were not able to leave this "trading post" without permission, while Chinese natives could not enter this area nor communicate with the foreigners, so these grand and splendid two- or three-story building groups came to be described as "a gilded cage" by Hosea Morse.[13] Even after the Opium Wars, while the power relations between China and the West had reversed, following the segregation strategy in the Canton Factories the Chinese government still forbade the foreigners to "freely choose their location" and confined them to restricted, concentrated inhabitation.[14] Although some treaties finally established the right of foreigners to reside anywhere in the city officially, the local Qing officials still insisted on the partition strategy by forbidding them from renting a house or buying land outside of colonial concessions to the foreigners.[15]
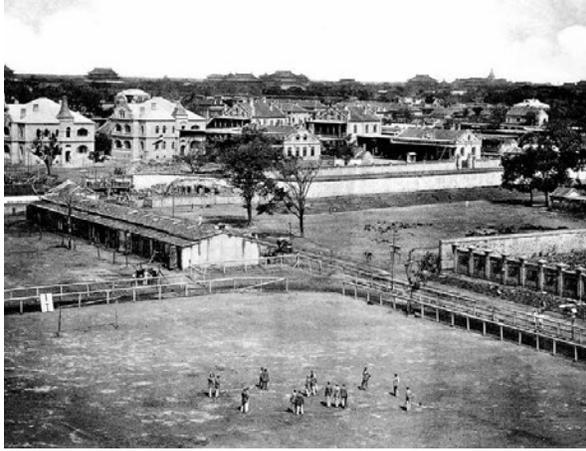
FIGURE 3 German Glacis. The British, French, Russians, Japanese, Americans, and Austria-Hungarians each had their own fields, which represented colonial power through the daily training of military forces, something which distressed the Chinese people strongly.

FIGURE 4 Chongwen Gate Inner Street. The street, which next to the Legation Quarter, was understood by foreigners as a typical dirty and disordered avenue.

Still in Beijing, as the Chinese political centre, the foreigners were forbidden from owning property and restricted from renting houses from native Chinese people. The Qing and Republican governments maintained the segregation strategy, intent on preventing the permeation of foreign forces. Sidney Gamble's Social Survey recorded that:

As the police must approve all renting contracts, they are able to limit the districts in which the foreigners are allowed to live. [...] It is only recently that foreigners have been allowed in the West City, and even now the police practically refuse to allow any foreigners to live in the South City. They say that they must see that all foreigners are protected in case of any trouble, and to give them adequate protection in the South City would take a larger body of men than could well be spared.[16]

As clearly demonstrated in Gamble's study, although the government's segregation policy was effective to a certain extent, it still failed to achieve its original goal. In fact, the segregation policy was not able to impede the Western powers' intervention in Beijing, from either political or economic standpoints.

SOVEREIGNTY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

While the foreigners attempted to rebuild the Legation Quarter in a "modern" style, to create the discrepancy between the Legation Quarter and the Chinese community in terms of the cityscape, civilization and power, the Chinese government, from the Qing to Republican periods, constantly considered as a great threat to sovereignty. For centuries Beijing had had no official city government until the 20th century. The power of local Beijing administration was decentralized and overlapped as the city was under the jurisdiction of the state, regional governments, and the army.[17] These complex and redundant agencies reflect the order of Beijing as the core of imperial power, where the emperor encouraged officials and censors to monitor and criticize each other. After the occupation of Beijing by foreign powers in 1900, the local gentry and merchants took the responsibility to maintain public order. They created self-governing Pacifying Councils that cooperated with the Western powers. When the Qing court regained power in 1901, the General Administration of Residual Affairs, based on the model of the Pacifying Councils, was established. It later developed into the Inner City Administration of Public Works and Patrol (founded in 1902) and the Outer City Administration of Public Works and Patrol (founded in 1905). These two separate administrations were then combined as the Metropolitan Police Board of the Inner and Outer City in 1905.

In Republican Beijing, president Yuan Shikai constructed the Capital Police Board to replace the Metropolitan Police Board of the Inner and Outer City in 1913. In the same year, Zhu Qiqian proposed establishing a special city government to perform public works and provide social services, in order to "learn from the Western experience of municipal administration" and to "meet the challenge of a modernizing capital"[18]. He drafted the Capital Municipal Principles and established the Municipal Council of Beijing in 1914. It was "the first time a clear distinction was made between national and local administrative expenses"[19]. The Municipal Council of Beijing coordinated with the Capital Police Board in charge of the Beijing municipal affairs, with the former responsible for urban planning and construction of urban infrastructure, e.g. road, ditch and sewer, and the latter for maintaining social order, tax collection, fire protection, the census, and so on. From 1900 to 1928, the local government of Beijing paid special attention on the circulation of traffic and sanitary conditions, as the focus of "functionalist model of planning"[20], which was already prevalent in 19th century European countries and their colonies.

The government hoped to establish a strong sense of national identity as its defensive strategy against the colonial powers. The newly established modern local government in Republican Beijing paid specific attention to street construction in order to modernize the old capital city. In the *Municipal Bulletin*, it was said that "in the municipal administration, the most urgent task is to clean the road to facilitate the transportation."[21] The urban street, in a dilapidated and potholed condition, had thus damaged national independence and dignity (**Figure 4**). The report from Hu Yufen, head of the Rehabilitation Bureau after the Boxer Movement, stated: "The streets of the capital were extremely filthy, and were inevitably jeered at by the foreigners. Please let the Department of Revenue raise funds to repair these streets in order to achieve urban grandeur."[22] Similarly, the Municipal Council linked the street reconstruction to the national identity. "The capital should be the best city of the state, with flourishing commercial economy and effective transportation. It is the key national feature and the model for all other providences."[23]

But the deterioration of the road condition and the imperial sewer system continued to challenge the government's intention of promoting the city's beauty in order to contest with the foreign settlement. It was often recorded in official archives criticizing the open carnal and urban streets were intolerably dirty, emitting unbearably nasty and pestilential smells, and were a threat to pedestrians.[24] Beijing was thus even named as "a stinking city"[25]. Consequently, the government and elites accepted the superiority of Western culture and civilization, and thought of the city as a "backward" place in view of the Western idea of civilization and hygiene. A newspaper article made the following criticism: "Only one queer characteristic of Beijing, that other nations don't have, guess what, is the stink."[26]

In fact, since the idea of hygiene in traditional China is different from the one developed in the modern West, the repulsive, smelly alternately muddy or dusty unpaved roads had already existed for hundreds of years. Egor Timkovskii noted that every spring, "all the filth which has been collected during the year is piled up in the streets, and fills the air with noxious exhalation."[27] However, this smell only gained an international significance when it played an essential role in defending the sovereignty. To a certain extent, the urban regeneration to improve the transport system and sanitary conditions, and create more convenient facilities for citizens, became so importance when it was used as a tool for manifesting the national image and competing with the foreign powers by the social elites.

Therefore, the Legation Quarter was often used as a point of reference by the elites to criticize Beijing's local urban environment. As Yu Xiezhong claimed, the roads in Legation Street were clean, but could not be held in account with local roads, because most local roads were dirty and filthy, with dust flying in the air, sometimes along with feces.[28] Through the comparison with Western cities and the Legation Concession, the elites concluded that "the foreigners are laughing at us, considering us an undeveloped nation"[29], and satirized that Western foreigners would think the Beijingese "favor the dust and flies, even more than the sugar and flavorings."[30]

Similarly, by comparison with the dramatic reform of municipal administration in foreign countries, many elites were disappointed that the government was incompetent in urban construction and the masses were uncivilized:

Xusheng Huang

REFORMING BEIJING IN THE SHADOW OF COLONIAL CRISIS:URBAN CONSTRUCTION FOR COMPETING WITH THE FOREIGN POWERS, 1900-1928

The wise citizens of New York devoted themselves to urban regeneration and did their utmost, ultimately accomplishing their plans successfully. Nowadays, New York has become a remarkable metropolis in the world. On the contrary, after the past year's construction, we have to admit that Beijing's urban construction has failed to achieve accomplishments and discover solutions for old urban problems, such as the horrible roads and poor sanitary conditions.[31]

In this sense, the reconstruction of the city by the government aimed to reshape the "backwards" city image in both the foreigners' and elites' minds, and further compete with the foreign settlement. These projects, represented by the demolition of city wall, reconstruction of city gate and the rebuilding of the urban streets, paid special attention on improving the urban traffic and hygiene.[32] The Chinese government accepted and learned the "Western modern" in both the technological and the ideological aspects, in order to reconstruct Beijing as the same kind of modern and civilized city as the Legation Quarter. A "modern" cityscape demonstrated the state's right of sovereignty and its power, that "no foreigners would still have reasons to ridicule the Chinese"[33], and no foreign power could expand its influence to the Chinese territory.

Although they aimed to learn from the West, the Beijing government believed that the protection of the city's ancient imperial legacy could be a means of representing the glories past, rendering Beijing different from the foreign capital cities. The attitudes of the foreigners towards China, specifically the ancient site, could be summarized in two polarized opinions. One considered that Beijing was the representation of the stalled and disadvantaged Eastern civilization. All the ancient sites should be thus removed completely to transplant the Western civilized urban environment, in alignment with the urban reconstruction in the Legation Districts. On the contrary, for the nostalgists, their opposing attitude encompassed the disillusionment of the former oriental idol; they hoped Beijing could retain the ancient cityscape and oppose the process of Westernization, or even any change to the old capital, as Henri Borel noted:

What I, as an artist, cannot forgive my white brethren is that they have made this European Ghetto in Peking so ugly and commonplace. Their modernity is so hideous compared with the antiquity that had to give way to it. Almost every Chinese cottage in Peking, even the smallest and poorest, has some beauty of line and colour, but nearly every European building in the Legation Quarter is a vulgarity. [...] A dull, crude, commonplace city of barbarians, shapeless, colourless, lacking in distinction, huddled in the midst of the exquisite old Chinese architecture which makes Peking a magnificent dream.[34]

Actually, there was a common implication embedded in these two opposing attitudes: that the modernity equalled the West, while the traditional appearance equalled the East, and modernity and tradition were a pair of fundamentally antithetical notions. Hence, in order to construct the Legation Districts with "modern comfort"[35] in the ancient city, it was necessary to sweep out either "backward" or "glory oriental" traditional traces. Only the Western urban configuration and spatial form could explicitly express urban modernity and cultural superiority.

On the contrary, the Beijing government treated the imperial past as a crucial component of Chinese modernity. The preservation of historical legacy had become a crucial approach for the government to strengthen the national identity, aiming to prevent the impact from the West. Peter Carroll's study on Suzhou demonstrates that: "Preservationist modernizers appropriated the ostensibly ancient material and metaphysical verities of local *guji* as bulwarks of national culture. This conservation partly sprang from proprietary concern for the integrity and vitality of National Essence because the foreign-derived norms of modern transformation threatened to dilute the distinctiveness of China's national subjectivity.[36] Therefore, the historical legacy still played a fundamental role in government-led urban reform, because it was viewed as an "allegory for the nation's very existence", with the result that "[its] preservation symbolized the preservation of the nation."[37] The same was true of the preservation of the Zhengyang Gate as a state monument at the newly building urban square (**Figure 5**). Consequently, for the government, both the domestication of the "foreign modern" that aimed to shape a new national identity, and the reuse of the historical legacy that endeavoured to bridge Beijing's modern development with past glories, to a certain extent served the purpose of containing the foreign power and challenging the invasion of colonial modernity in Beijing.

FIGURE 5 The Zhengyang Gate tower. It was preserved as imperial heritage and a monument dominating the newly constructed urban square.

CONCLUSION

This paper examines urban modernization and underlying factors from the perspective of urban competition between the new local authority and foreign powers in Beijing. Michael Hays suggests "[t]he role of the historian is rather to be concerned with the larger conditions on which architectural knowledge and action is made possible"[38]. Regarding Beijing's condition as the capital of China, the city was not only under the latent threat of foreign power, war and colonialism but also in facing the role of representing a new government and state. Under these circumstances, the contest between the Chinese government and foreign powers helped to foster the national identity and further establish the legitimacy of the new authority. This paper thus argues that for the Chinese government the significance of the urban construction strategy laid in its crucial role of safeguarding the national sovereignty and promoting national dignity in order to be resilient regarding the colonial crisis. To construct a "modern" Beijing was regarded as a strategy to reduce the differences between the Chinese and the colonial cityscape, a demonstration that the capital of China should be recognized as the same kind of great, independent and civilized capital city as those of the West. It did not deserve to be seen as a "backward" or even a colonized city. To a certain extent, it was the comparison and competition with the "Western cityscape" in the Legation Quarter, or in other concessions in China, that promoted the reformation of urban space in Beijing. Furthermore, if we understand modernization as an on-going process, the competition on urban construction and cityscape is still an important consideration of the Chinese government and an aspect of understanding the current monumental urban construction project in Beijing.

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Notes on contributor

HUANG Xusheng (Xi'an, 1983) has just finished his doctoral research at Department of Architecture at ETH Zurich. His doctoral topic is about the Chinese urban modernization and urban space at the beginning of 20th century, titled "Contested Beijing: The Modernization of Urban Space, 1900-1937".

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Modernisation and Colonisation | *Urban Development in Modern China*

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Figure 1: Jiawei Shen, Old China through G.E. Morrison's Eyes: Catastrophe at the Turn of the Century,莫理循眼里的近代中国:世纪之交的战乱 (Fuzhou: Fujian jiaoyu Press, 2005), 130.

Figure 2: Beijing Municipal Council, "Map of Beijing, 京都市内外城地图," (Beijing: Beijing Municipal Council, 1916).

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PUBLIC HOUSING OF EARLY MODERN TIANJIN (1928-1937)

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Societal reform, the planning and construction of public housing and the introduction of new building typologies went hand in hand in early modern China. Western and Japanese debates on public housing served as models, and Chinese scholars and professionals with the support of the KMT (Kuomintang) developed public housing as a sign of innovation both in terms of societal organization and building typology. Using the under-researched case of Tianjin's public housing in the so-called Golden Decade (1928 -1937) as a case study, the paper first explores how journals and foreign trained Chinese scholars introduced the concept of modern housing to China through publications, and early constructions. Notably the YMCA Labours Model New Village in Shanghai impressed the KMT leader Chiang Kai-shek. It then explores three public housing projects developed for Tianjin, only one of which was realized. Exploring the locations, architectural designs, renting regulations and management rules of these projects, the paper argues that these projects (both planned and realized) aimed mostly at poor families, and served as a means to solve housing problems and reform society as well as to police the poor. The public housing projects in this period formed the foundation for later public housing in China.

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TOC

INTRODUCTION

In *Fundamentals of National Reconstruction* published in 1924, Sun Yat-sen, the first president and founding father of the Republic of China, argued that "the government should co-operate with the people to build houses on a large scale in order that they might procure comfortable shelter"[1]. His statement came as a reaction to the dramatic population increase and the resulting housing shortage in most metropolitan areas in China that had started with the forced opening of Chinese port cities by foreign powers after 1840 and the industrialization initiated by them in the treaty ports. Inclusion of Western and Japanese ideas of public housing to China in 1920s led to the construction of public housing in Chinese big cities such as Nanjing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Qingdao and Tianjin from 1928 to 1937[2]. In contrast to other cities, where ample research on public housing exists, scholars have ignored the case of Tianjin during this time and some have even argued that planning and design of public housing in Tianjin began only after 1936[3]. This paper analyzes three proposed public housing plans by Tianjin municipal government, and their implementation during the so-called Golden Decade (1928 -1937).

This paper argues that Tianjin, the most important treaty port in northern China, was an integral part in the national public housing debate. The city experienced rapid industrial development in the early 19th century and became the largest industrial and commercial center in northern China in 1920s, as well as an attractive destination for people who sought jobs. In 1928, when the KMT reunited China by ending the so-called Warlord Era, large additional numbers of people who lost their homes in the war poured into metropolitan areas including Tianjin, making the housing shortage even more significant. In fact, compared to Shanghai, Guangzhou and Nanjing Tianjin experienced the highest population increase during 1910-1928 (Table 1).

CITY	TIANJIN	SHANGHAI	GUANGZHOU	NANJING
Population around 1910	198715	601432	520666	269000
Population in 1928	1388747	2726046	811751	497526
Percent Growth Rate	599.00%	353.00%	56.00%	85.00%

TABLE 1 Comparison between population in Tianjin, Shanghai, Guangzhou and Nanjing.
Sources: complied by the author based on The Social Life History of Tianjin in Republic of China, 10; "Shanghai Population Rose by Three Thousand Times in one hundred years." Real Estate Quarterly 2(1945): 96; "Population Statistics Over the Years in Guangzhou." New Guangzhou Monthly 3(1931): 76.

INTRODUCTION OF PUBLIC HOUSING TO CHINA THROUGH JOURNALS AND MODEL HOUSING

Progressive intellectuals in China were concerned about the housing problem and tried to find answers in the Western and Japanese experience. The number and quality of journal articles published by Chinese scholars demonstrates the extent of Chinese awareness of foreign, Western and Japanese, housing policies in the 1920s and promoted their concepts to the public. Chinese writer and thinker Zhou Zuoren described his experience in the Japanese cooperative new village in Miyazaki Prefecture, initiated by Japanese novelist Saneatsu Mushanokoji in 1918[4]. The capitalist democracy scholar Zhu Yinong discussed the housing shortage problem of America, Britain, France, Japan, Germany and Netherlands after the war and the respective governmental responses[5]. He also introduced the British housing laws including the Labouring Class Lodging Houses Act 1851, the Housing of Working Class Act 1890 and The Housing, Town Planning, &c. Act 1919[6]. The editor of *the Eastern Miscellany(* 东方杂志) Qian Zhixiu, whose pen name was Jian Hu, introduced British co-operative housing and called on the Chinese to learn the tenant's co-partnership system[7]. Moreover, there were other articles that discussed the American labour housing and Japanese Renewal of Poor Housing Districts Act of 1927[8]. These articles were all published by the most influential Chinese magazines, which aimed to introduce the foreign advanced thoughts and were widely welcomed by scholars, students, financial professionals and government officials[9].

Yanchen Sun | Carola Hein | Kun Song | Jianghua Wang
PUBLIC HOUSING OF EARLY MODERN TIANJIN (1928-1937)
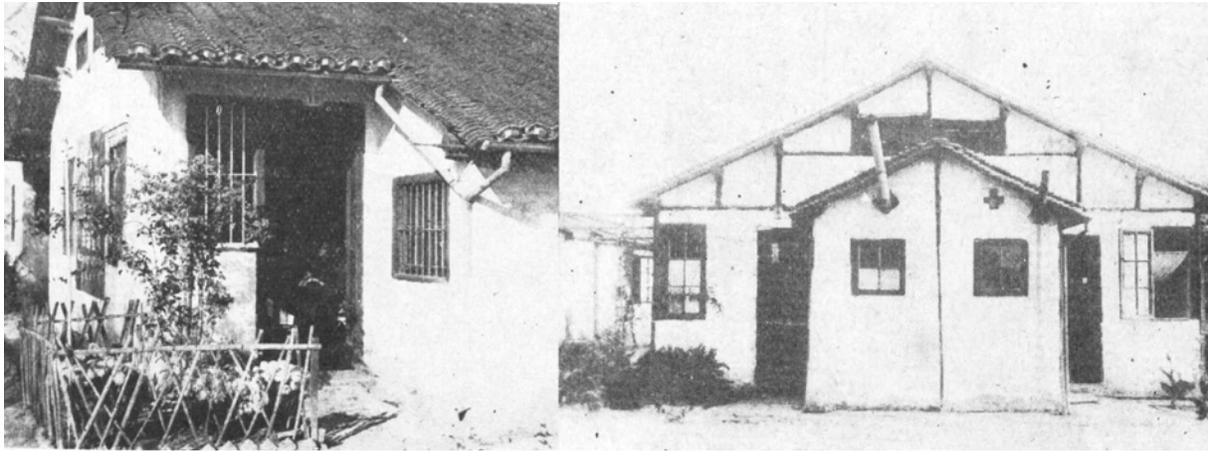
FIGURE 1 House Type A (right) and B (left) of YMCA Labours Model New Village in Shanghai.

A physical example, and perhaps even more important inspiration for public housing in China was the YMCA Labours Model New Village built in Shanghai in 1926 supervised by the Glasgow-trained Chinese social thinker M. Thomas Tchou. Tchou went to Scotland in 1908 and received a Bachelor of Science degree in naval architecture and a Bachelor of Science in mechanical and civil engineering at the University of Glasgow. After he returned to China, Tchou became the executive secretary of the industrial department of the Shanghai YMCA in 1921. There, he studied the labour conditions within China and began reform efforts[10]. In 1923, Tchou made an extensive trip to study labour conditions in America and Europe[11]. Upon his return he published a series of articles on labour reform. He discussed the cooperative movements in England and other western countries including housing cooperative societies, and argued that cooperation was a means to China's regeneration[12]. He also raised a plan of labour reform in China that emphasized public housing, cooperation and education[13]. In 1926, Tchou had conducted an extensive investigation to the living condition of the working class in Shanghai and persuaded the YMCA leadership to provide housing for the workers[14]. The YMCA Labours Model New Village in Shanghai was an experiment of Tchou's idea of labour reform, which received donations from all sectors, including factories, companies, religious organizations, KTM leaders and Chinese and foreign philanthropists[15]. The construction started in 1926, featuring two types with different sizes and rents to satisfy different needs of the tenants, and by 1928, there were altogether 24 houses, each consisting of a sitting room, a bedroom, a kitchen, and a bathroom (Figure 1). At the center of the village was the so-called Mott Hut that provided social, educational, and recreational programs[16]. Apart from solving the housing shortage of the working class, the YMCA Labours Model New Village also aimed to improve the society by applying a self-governance system and encouraging education and cooperation (Figure 1)[17].

The success of the YMCA Labours Model New Village immediately won praise from all circles[18]. It also impressed the KMT (Kuomintang) leader Chiang Kai-shek who wrote a few words of appreciation for the village, which was a great honor for the YMCA village[19]. Tchou believed that social unrest was due to a lack of education in the working class, arguing that this was the reason why the socialist revolution happened in Russia instead of the US or Britain[20]. For him, education and cooperation were an essential part in the new village, and this idea also influenced public housing constructed in China later. The KMT government accepted his ideas and recruited him as the Director of Labour of the Ministry of Trade and Industry where he served from 1928 and 1930. In this position he continued to promote the labours model new village[21].

Yanchen Sun | Carola Hein | Kun Song | Jianghua Wang
PUBLIC HOUSING OF EARLY MODERN TIANJIN (1928-1937)
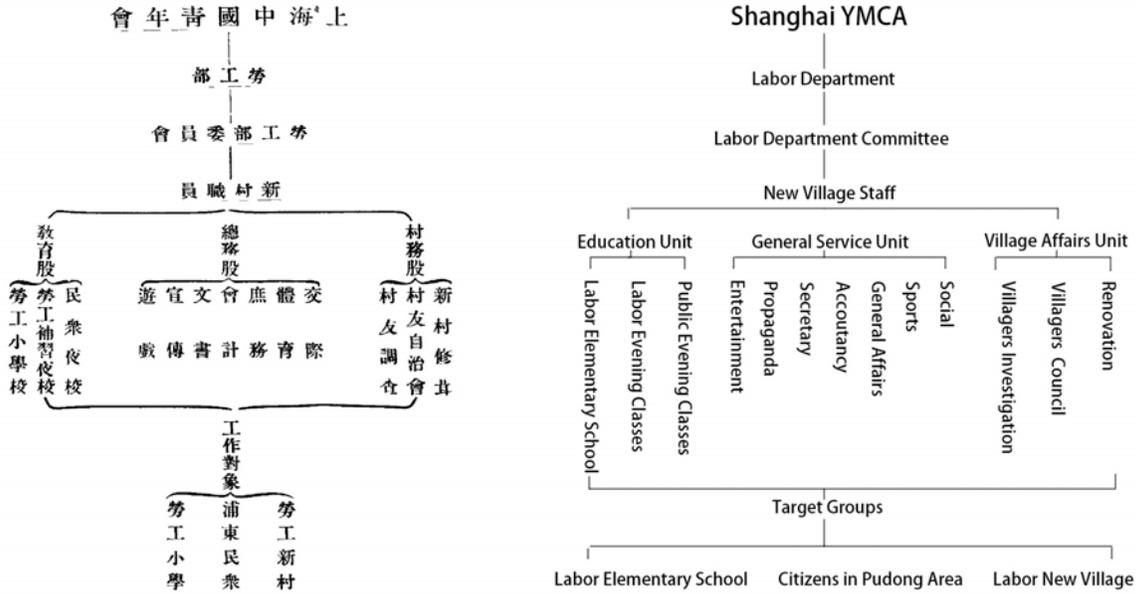
FIGURE 2 Organizational Structure of the YMCA Labours Model New Village in Shanghai. This project was both a social and a physical innovation.

GOLDEN DECADE (1928-1937): EARLY ATTEMPTS ON PUBLIC HOUSING IN URBAN PLANNING

More western ideas on public housing were introduced to China after 1928, at the beginning of the so-called "Golden Decade" in modern Chinese history (that would end with the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937). At the time, the KMT controlled national political power and implemented its program to build a modern nation. During this period, attention to public housing increased in China as documented through the translation of books such as *Housing Policy in Britain (*英國の住宅政策) and *The Housing Situations in the United States* that popularized the concept of public housing in China and paid particular interest to the improvement of the conditions of the workers and the poor[22].

These national debates translated into local proposals. In the *Capital Plan* for Nanjing announced by the National Capital Reconstruction Technical Office (国都技术专员办事处) in 1929, and prepared with the support of foreign experts Henry Murphy and Ernest P. Goodrich as consultants, there is a specific chapter arguing that public housing was extremely important in modern urban planning and that Nanjing should learn from the western countries on developing the policy. Similarly, public authorities in Tianjin elaborated two plans that reflected the importance that both the scholars and the government attached importance to public housing in the city. Unlike the *Capital Plan* for which the Chinese authorities had invited foreign experts, the *City Plan for Tientsin* was prepared by two American-trained Chinese professionals Zhangrui and Liangsicheng, regarded public housing as one of the six most important types of public buildings in The *City Plan for Tientsin*（天津特别市物质建设方案）(Figure 3) established in 1930 [23]. The plan for Tianjin is thus the first example for an urban plan that proposed public housing that was designed by Chinese professionals.

Yanchen Sun | Carola Hein | Kun Song | Jianghua Wang
PUBLIC HOUSING OF EARLY MODERN TIANJIN (1928-1937)

The other plan showed the Tianjin municipal government's concern in public housing rather than scholars. Also in 1930, the Land Bureau of Tianjin municipal government announced a zoning plan of Tianjin, which adopted the land-use-based zonal classification system of Frankfurt as other urban plans in China usually did at that time[24]. Apart from the Residential District, there was a Poor People's District in the plan, designed to house factory workers and to be erected by the government:

The Poor People's District is located next to the Industrial District. Since factory workers are usually living in poverty, the government will build [public housing in] the Poor People's District and let the factory workers move in[25].

Although these two plans of Tianjin were not realized due to political tensions and financial limitations, the proposal showed that the government had picked up on the scholarly debate and attached importance to public housing in Tianjin.

THREE PROJECTS IN TIANJIN: MODELLED ON THE YMCA LABOURS MODEL NEW VILLAGE

Public housing in Tianjin was an epitome of public housing in China, which showed a strong influence of the YMCA Labours Model New Village. Impressed by the success of the YMCA Labours Model New Village, the KMT adopted public housing as a tool to solve housing problems and reform society as well as to police the poor. In October 1928, the Ministry of the Interior started public housing by ordering the local governments to build housing for civilians. It ordered that local governments should fund public housing, that the locations should be close to the working places of the poor, that the target groups should be low income population groups, and that the rent should be the lowest[26].

During the Golden Decade, the Tianjin municipal government came up with three public housing plans: one new village plan and two poor's residence plans. Due to the changes of government officials and insufficient funding, only one poor's residence, the Poor's Residence of Tianjin's First Municipal Poorhouse was constructed.

PAIDI NEW VILLAGE (排地新村) PLAN

After the so-called Northern Expedition led by the KMD leader Chiang Kai-shek to unify China under his control, in 1928, about 100,000 refugees from Shandong and Zhili Province flooded into Tianjin[27]. In June, the number of refugee camps in Tianjin had increased to 28, but still the existing structures could not meet the need of the rapidly increasing population[28].

Although the local newspaper reported in December 1928 that the Social Affairs Bureau of Tianjin intended to set up a civilian village in the empty land outside the city and adopt the system of new village, the first new village plan, Paidi New Village Construction Plan (排地新村建设方案), was made by the Public Security Bureau half a year later. Paidi was a scarcely populated area in Tianjin where people lived dispersedly and banditry happened frequently. Zeng Yanyi, the director of the Public Security Bureau, wanted to reorganize the villages in Paidi area, add social facilities and turn it into a highly civilized new village in a few years[29].

The government could not afford to build sufficient housing for the poor villagers and had to turn to the private sector:

Although it will be fine if the government could provide housing at the designated locations and rent them [to the poor villagers], the government could not afford it due to lack of financial resources. The best way to solve the problem is let the rich villagers in the designated village provide housing for the poor to rent[30].

In addition to privately funded rental housing, the government also made plans for the new housing area and tried to persuade the villagers to construct by themselves.
Just like the YMCA Labours Model New Village, the Paidi New Village was planned to employ the self-governance system, which means villagers looked after their common programs by themselves, such as constructing roads and channels, planting trees and building elementary schools for children of the villagers. However, the villages were not totally self-governed since the police would supervise them. In a speech at Paidi, Zeng said he hoped the Paidi New Village could be a civil-military cooperation based on local police stations. He divided the police there into a security group that protected the villagers from banditry and an administrative group that supervised the autonomous entity[31].

The Paidi New Village Plan was abandoned after Zeng Yanyi was promoted to become the captain of the Fourth Artillery Brigade. It is important to note that the government's purpose in this plan was not only to provide housing and promote the social reform, but also to police the villagers, which is quite different from the YMCA Labours Model New Village and Western public housing introduced to China through the journals. It showed the KMT's real purpose of public housing was to protect their power.

THE POOR'S RESIDENCE(贫民住所) OF TIANJIN'S FIRST MUNICIPAL POORHOUSE

In 1930, the population of the poor in Tianjin reached 357000, accounting for a quarter of the total population[32]. Many of the poor were shack-dwellers who lived in densely packed self-built straw-shacks in slums. To investigate the living conditions of the poor and show the government's determination to help them, on March 16, 1930, the director of the Social Affairs Bureau, Feng Sizhi, paid a visit to the shack-dwellers on the embankment near Fazheng Bridge (Figure 4). According to the investigation, there were about 1000 poor people living there, including rickshaw pullers, sewing women (缝穷妇), small traders, jobless old men and widows[33]. The straw-shacks were built in a high density on the embankment with heights from 1.3 meters to 3 meters that man could only stoop to enter. And the land rent was only one to two yuan per straw-shack per year. The environment was terrible with dirty straw and muck everywhere[34]. Impressed by the horrible living conditions of the shack-dwellers, Feng Sizhi believed that the primary task to relieve the poor was solving the housing problem, which meant to provide formal housing for them.

Unlike the Paidi New Village that was planned totally by the Public Security Bureau, this time, six different bureaus of Tianjin government were involved in planning the poor's residence. The Land Bureau was in charge of finding an appropriate site and negotiating with the landowner, while the Works Bureau was responsible for architectural design, the Finance Bureau and Social Affairs Bureau applied for funding, the Education Bureau planed the educational facilities and the Public Security Bureau recruited the shack-dwellers and relocated them in the poor's residence[35]. Moreover, the municipal government also cooperated with the Chinese Businessmen Race Club of Tianjin in adding a game to raise money especially for the poor's residence[36]. Eventually, 3,900 *yuan* raised by the Chinese Businessmen Race Club combined with more than 1,000 *yuan* from the surplus of 1929 winter relief was used for construction of the poor's residence[37].

Yanchen Sun | Carola Hein | Kun Song | Jianghua Wang
PUBLIC HOUSING OF EARLY MODERN TIANJIN (1928-1937)
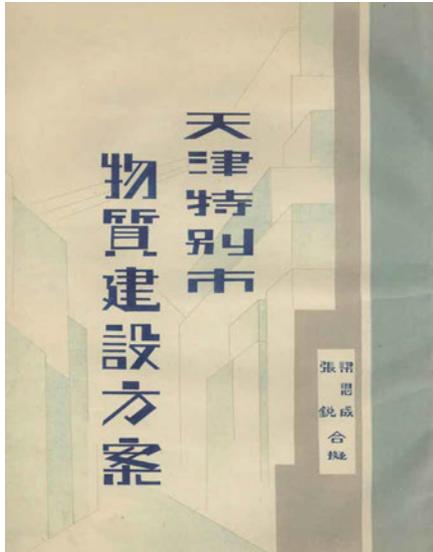
FIGURE 3 Cover of City Plan for Tientsin

FIGURE 4 Feng Sizhi Visited the Shack-dwellers in Tianjin.
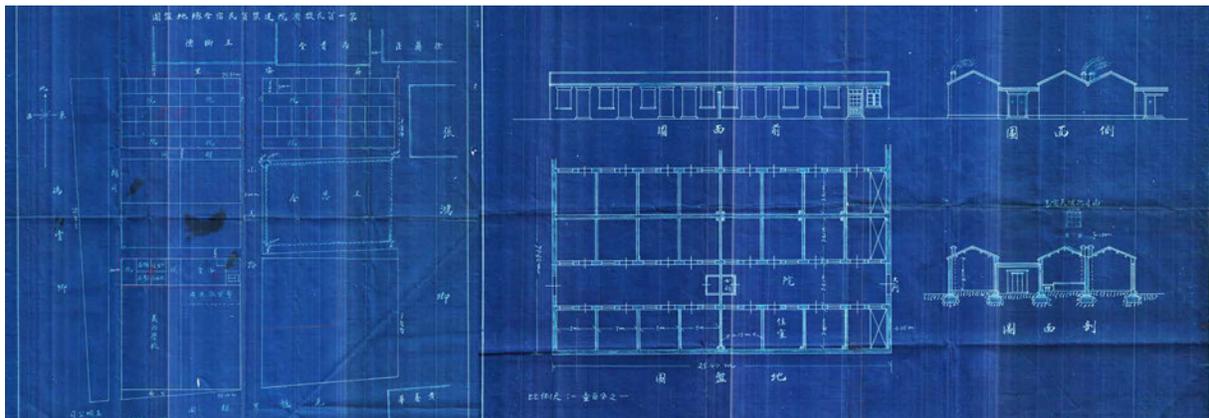
FIGURE 5 Architectural drawings of the poor's residence(贫民住　) of Tianjin's First Municipal Poorhouse

The location of the poor's residence was near the Hebei New District, in the vicinity of factories that employed poor people. By 15 June 1931, most buildings in the poor's residence were finished except a police station and a school[38]. Occupying an area of 60 mu (4,000㎡), the poor's residence consisted of 51 units for renting, 7 public bathrooms, 2 storefronts and a grocery store[39]. The units were single-storey row houses subdivided into 8 courtyards with one public toilet in each courtyard (Figure 5)[40]. Compared with the unit of public housing projects in other Chinese metropolises in the same period that usually had two or more rooms, here there was only one 3m×3.2m room per unit, which was quite small[41]. Since the funding was limited, by adopting this type of unit, the residential area could have more units to benefit more families.

Under Feng's recommendation, the municipal government consigned the project to Tianjin's First Municipal Poorhouse. Chen Xiaozhuang, the head of the poorhouse, described the future of the poor's residence as a utopia: After the completion of the new poor's residential area, we should set up production cooperatives, consumer cooperatives, family club, parks, schools and raise money to loan to the poor. The production cooperatives will help the poor to make a living by doing handicrafts and the consumer cooperatives will sell basic commodities especially to the poor for no profit. With the gradually implement of these facilities, the living conditions of the poor will be improved[42].

According to the rental rules of the poor's residence, the rent of one unit was only one *yuan* per month, which was relatively low compared with the rent of public housing in Shanghai and Nanjing at that time (Table 2)[43]. It was also stipulated that the tenants should be poor people who had a job and their family members. In this way, it ensured that the residence was rented to people in need who could afford it. Moreover, the government used rental rules, which emphasized hygiene and forbade gambling, to govern the poor's behaviors.

THE DAWANGZHUANG(大王庄) POOR'S RESIDENCE PLAN

Another public housing project in Tianjin was inspired by an investigation of the capital Nanjing. In March 1935, the mayor of Tianjin, Zhang Tinge, sent his secretary, Xu Yili, to the capital Nanjing to investigate the municipal situation there. When Xu returned to Tianjin, his report about the public housing in Nanjing impressed the leaders. At that time, Tianjin was still facing the housing shortage problem. Although some real estate companies had constructed housing projects for the citizens to rent, the rents were too high for the poor. Zhang and the chairman of Hebei Province, Yu Xuezhong, planned to build several poor's residential areas in Tianjin according to the New Life Principles[44].

In April, the Social Affairs Bureau had made a plan for the new poor's residence[45]. In terms of the style and materials, Yu pointed out that the poor's residence should refer to the farmhouse in Shandong province, which was constructed with mud and straw, and only cost a quarter as much as the normal brick house[46]. According to a newspaper report in May, Zhang said the funding for the poor's residence would be loaned from the bank and that he was quite confident about adding more residences for the poor in the future[47].

The new poor's residence learned a lesson from the Commoners Residential Districts in Nanjing, which had a low occupancy rate because the location was too far away from the places where jobs were available[48]. The new poor's residence in Tianjin was proposed n the Dawangzhuang area, where a lot of poor workers seeked a living. The successful Poor's Residence of Tianjin's First Municipal Poorhouse also had a similar location, which was close to factories.

The Dawangzhuang Poor's Residence Plan was abandoned following the Japanese occupation that led to the removal of Zhang and Yu in June 1935, who refused to collaborate with the Japanese forces.

These three public housing projects in Tianjin reflected public housing realizations in China during 1928-1937. Although the number of public housing units actually built in Tianjin was less than the numbers of Shanghai and Nanjing and far from meeting the demand because of political wars and financial limitations, the simple architectural design, appropriate locations, relatively low rent, and the restriction of tenant's according to income assured that the public housing in Tianjin benefited more poor families who needed housing most. In terms of this, the public housing in Tianjin was more practical and friendly to the poor.

	THE POOR'S RESIDENCE OF TIANJIN'S FIRST MUNICIPAL POORHOUSE	FIRST COMMONERS RESIDENCE	COMMONERS HOUSING AT HONGWU GATE
Location	Tianjin	Shanghai	Nanjing
Construction Period	Commenced on 25/11/1930, completed on 15/06/1931.	Commenced on 13/05/1929, completed on 13/08/1929.	First phrase completed on 11/1928, second phrase completed on 12/1928.
Rent per Unit(yuan)	1	2	3
Unit Type	Single-storey row houses, 1 room per unit.	Single-storey row houses, 2 rooms per unit.	Single-storey row houses, 2 rooms per unit.
No. of Units	51	100	200

TABLE 2 Comparison between the public housing projects in Tianjin, Shanghai and Nanjing.
Source: compiled by the author based on Tianjin Municipal Archives, [401206800-J0131-1-000482]; "Regulating Urban Living: the Social and Spatial Segregation of Nanjing, 1927-1937." *Construction*(营造) 5(2010), 240-272; "Civilian Residential Construction of Shanghai (1928-1949)." PhD diss. 12.

CONCLUSION

Although various thoughts on public housing from Western countries and Japan were introduced into China via journals and books during 1920s and 1930s, most public housing projects in China in the Golden Decade were modeled on the YMCA Labours Model New Village in Shanghai, which emphasized education and cooperation, and which had the support from the KMT. The KMT regarded public housing as a means to not only solving housing shortage, but also social reform.

The scale of the constructed public housing project in Tianjin was smaller than those in Shanghai and Nanjing, however, with limited sources, the project in Tianjin was more efficient and practical considering the location, architectural design and renting regulations. Moreover, the examination of early attempts at public housing in Tianjin also showed that the municipal government adopted the self-governance system in public housing on one hand, but set up local police stations to supervise and control the tenants on the other hand. In terms of this, and considering that the KMT's political status was still not stable in these early years after it reunited China, the KMT's real purpose of public housing was to protect its power.

Yanchen Sun | Carola Hein | Kun Song | Jianghua Wang
PUBLIC HOUSING OF EARLY MODERN TIANJIN (1928-1937)

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Yanchen Sun | Carola Hein | Kun Song | Jianghua Wang

PUBLIC HOUSING OF EARLY MODERN TIANJIN (1928-1937)

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Image sources

Figure 1: Zhang Mingqin. "Tenth Anniversary Speech of the YMCA Labours Model New Village in Shanghai (上海青年会浦东劳工新村十周年纪念感言)." *Shanghaiqingnian*(上海青年), (53)1935:16.

Figure 2: Shanghaiqingnian (上海青年), 14; diagram on the right drawn by the author.

Figure 3: Liang Sicheng, Zhangrui. City Plan for Tientsin (天津特别市物质建设方案). Tianjin: Peiyang Art Press, 1930.

Figure 4: Shehuiyuekan (社会月刊), (1)1930: 6.

Figure 5: Tianjin Municipal Archives. [401206800-J0131-1-000482].

Yanchen Sun | Carola Hein | Kun Song | Jianghua Wang

PUBLIC HOUSING OF EARLY MODERN TIANJIN (1928-1937)

STUDY ON MODERN URBAN PLANNING AND CONSTRUCTION MANAGEMENT INSTITUTION IN TIANJIN

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Since the Second Opium War in 1860, Tianjin was opened as a treaty port of China. From 1860 to 1902, nine foreign countries had set up concessions in Tianjin, including UK, France, US, German, Italy, Japan, Russia, Austria and Belgium. Since then, the import of modern urban planning theory and management regime from the western countries had made a profound influence on the urban planning and construction in Tianjin. From several aspects of the organization structure, management principles, government laws and land policy, this paper explores how the western urban construction management system was introduced into concessions, and how it was applied in Tianjin. This paper is based on a wealth of collected information, such as historical archives, historic documents, old postcards, old pictures from Tianjin Municipal Archives and previous research works. This paper reveals the causes and process of transformation of urban construction institution in modern Tianjin. Finally, it reaches a conclusion that all the changes happened in modern Tianjin not only transformed the boundary and spatial structure of this city, but also affected the pattern of development and management in Chinese section. From then on, a new chapter of urban construction for modern Tianjin has been opened.

V.01 P.107 **Qingyue Liu | Dongwei Li | Kun Song | Jianghua Wang**
STUDY ON MODERN URBAN PLANNING AND CONSTRUCTION MANAGEMENT INSTITUTION IN TIANJIN

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TOC
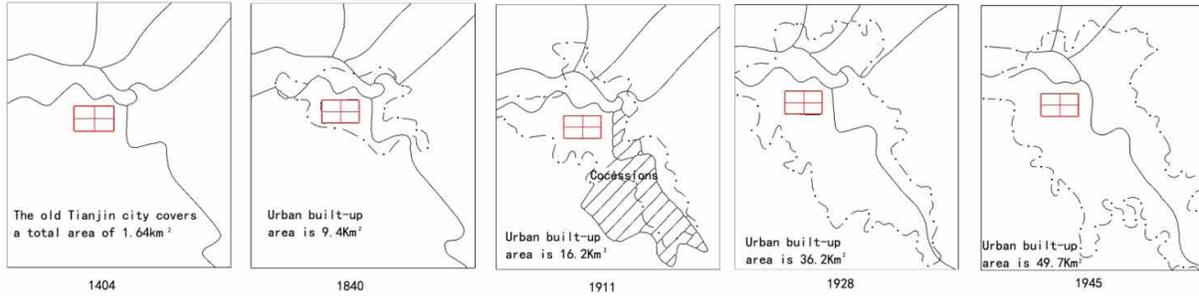
1-1 Expansion of urban area. Urban built-up area of Tianjin expanded slowly from 1404 to 1840. After the Opium war, urban built-up area had expanded rapidly, however
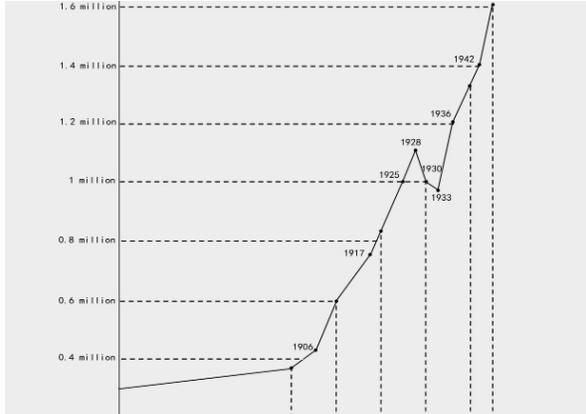
1-2 Urban Population of Tianjin 1840—1945.From 1840 to 1900, the total urban population of Tianjin only increased by more than 10000 people in slow growth. By comparison, it increased by more than 1.2 million people from 1900 to 1945.
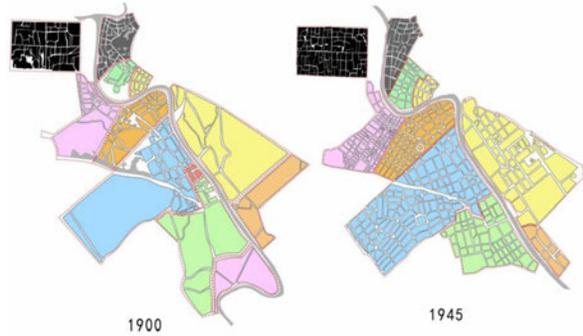
1-3 City block in Tianjin.During 1900 to 1945, road network density in concessions and Chinese section increased, and it made a clear division of blocks in urban area
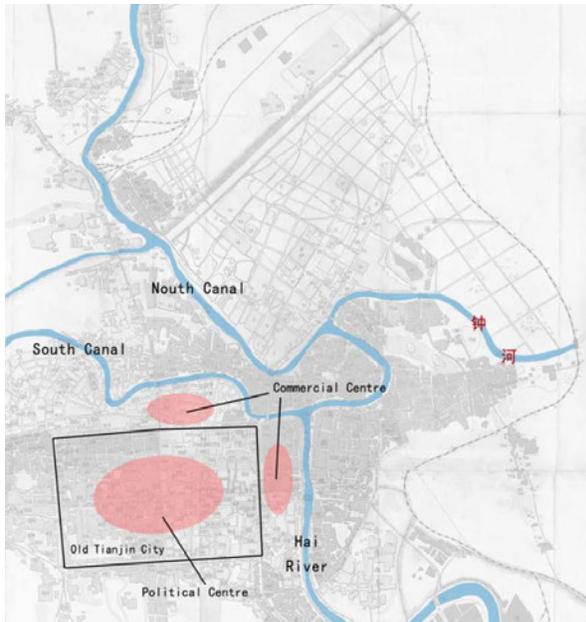
1-4 Urban core zone. Before 1860, political center was inside the old Tianjin city, and commercial centre flourished along the river outside the city. After being opened as a treaty port, commercial centre and financial centre had transferred to concessions, and political center had transferred to Hebei New District.

V.01 P.108   **Qingyue Liu | Dongwei Li | Kun Song | Jianghua Wang**

STUDY ON MODERN URBAN PLANNING AND CONSTRUCTION MANAGEMENT INSTITUTION IN TIANJIN
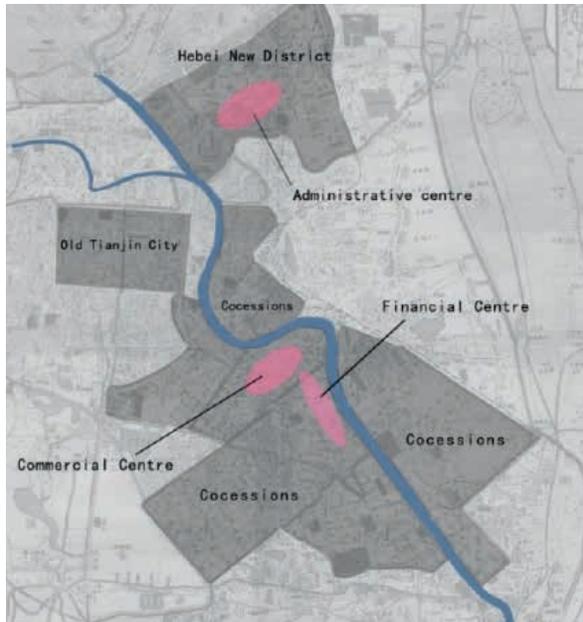
Tianjin City, was firstly set as a military guard city for protecting Beijing in 1404 (on the second year of Yongle, Ming Dynasty), which was a lower-tiered city for military protection when initially established. However, Tianjin had gotten earth-shaking changes with the shock and influence of western civilization during the 85 years after the Second Opium War. A series of municipal modernization had happened, such as outward expansion of downtown area (Figure 1-1), sharp growth of population (Figure1-2), intensive division of blocks (Figure 1-3), continuous shift of urban center (Figure 1-4), etc. The Modern Urban Planning and Construction Management Institution had played a significant role in the procession of city modernization and well pushed all such efforts forwards.

INTRODUCTION TO TIANJIN FORT CITY IN MING & QING DYNASTIES

As the symbol of the origin of Tianjin, the Tianjin Fort City was located in the west of the Haihe River and the south of the South Canal, which is called "San Cha He Kou" area[1]. The city was in an exactly north-south oriented rectangle with side of 1.5kmx1.0km[2]. Following the feudal urban practices by the officers of government, the fort was divided into 4 parts by intercrossed main roads, with a geometric center symbol of Gu Lou (the Drama Tower). It presented a traditional urban structure that government building was in the north part of the fort, the military ones in the west and the civil in the east (Figure 2). (on the second year of Yongle, Ming Dynasty).

The Tianjin Fort City had maintained its structure stable under the strict control of central authority for many years. With the prosperity of canal transport, Tianjin gradually changed from a military town to a "Ji Fu Shou Yi" which was the most important city for protecting the capital as well as the economic and military center of northern China. The city periphery had been getting wider and wider directly due to the booming population, and naturally expands upwards along the river with taking San Cha He Kou as the starting point.

THE PRELIMINARY INTRODUCTION TO MODERN URBAN PLANNING AND CONSTRUCTION MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

Since the Second Opium War, Tianjin was forced to open as a treaty port according to the *Convention of Peking* in1860. The British Concession was demarcated at first in December the same year. Then, France, US, German, Italy, Japan, Russia, Austria and Belgium joined in establishing self-contained concessions in Tianjin. It was called "Nine Concessions"(Figure 3).

  Qingyue Liu | Dongwei Li | Kun Song | Jianghua Wang
STUDY ON MODERN URBAN PLANNING AND CONSTRUCTION MANAGEMENT INSTITUTION IN TIANJIN
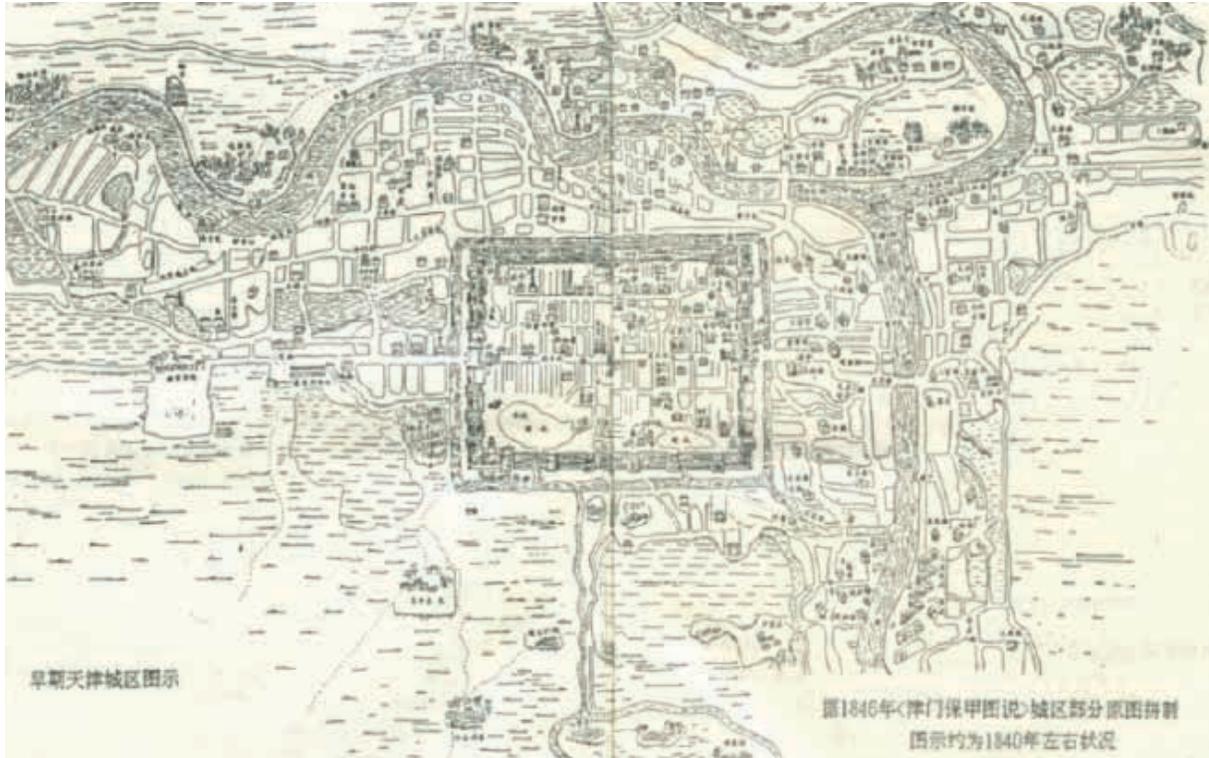
FIGURE 1 Tianjin map in 1846 the 16th year of Daoguang, Ming Dynasty).The rectangle in the centre is old Tianjin city and San Cha He Kou is in the northeast of it.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF URBAN PLANNING & CONSTRUCTION ADMINISTRATION INSTITUTION IN CONCESSIONS

As each concession got its administrative right by the time it had been settled, a management system of was badly needed to function all the miscellaneous affairs properly. At the beginning, it was supervised and administrated by the consulates attached to each country. Soon after, the "Resident Autonomy" was implemented, with the western city autonomous system firstly being introduced into the construction management system in concessions. In the year of 1862(on the first year of Emperor Tongzhi), British Concession in Tianjin founded Board of Directors as the supreme decision-making body following the British Concession in Shanghai. Later, other five concessions, namely French, American, German, Russian, Italian, Austrian-Hungarian and Belgian Concessions established their similar institutions of which the form resembles to the British one. Moreover, Japanese Concession settled its own Residence Vigilante according to its *Residence Vigilante Law*. This paper takes the administrative institutes of the firstly established British Concession in Tianjin as an example as the Board of Directors in each concession is similar as the municipal construction institutes.

 Qingyue Liu | Dongwei Li | Kun Song | Jianghua Wang
STUDY ON MODERN URBAN PLANNING AND CONSTRUCTION MANAGEMENT INSTITUTION IN TIANJIN
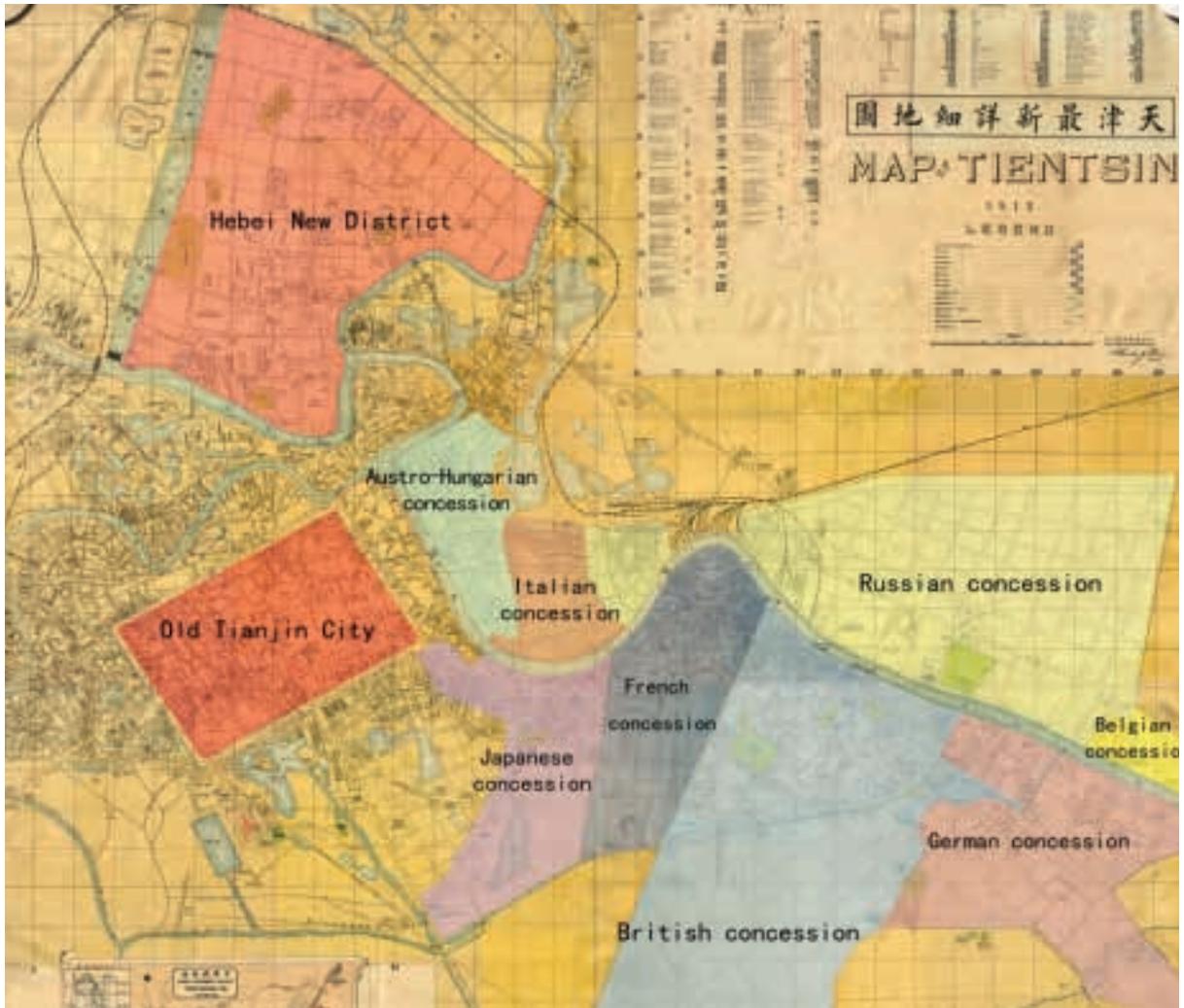
FIGURE 2 Distribution of Concessions in 1913 of Tientsin. Due to US Concession was incorporated into British Concession in 1902, it had presented the situation that eight concessions coexisted.
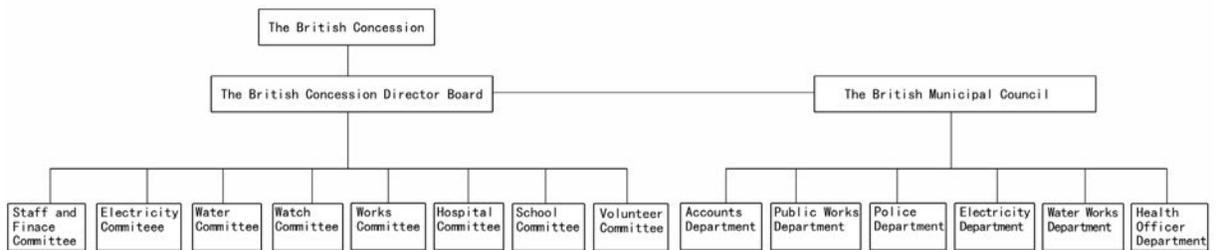
FIGURE 3 Organization Framework of British Concession. The British Concession Director Board is policy-making body, and settles the executive institute named British Municipal Council.

Qingyue Liu | Dongwei Li | Kun Song | Jianghua Wang

STUDY ON MODERN URBAN PLANNING AND CONSTRUCTION MANAGEMENT INSTITUTION IN TIANJIN

DATE	NAME OF REGULATION
1898年	British Municipal Area Land Regulations in 1898
1903年	British Mural Extension Land Regulations in 1903
1918年	British Concession Land Regulations in 1918
1919年	Regulations of British Municipal Council in 1919
1925年	Building Regulations and Health Annex of British Municipal Council, Tientsin
1928年	Amendment of British Municipal Council in 1918, Tientsin
1930年	British Mural Extension of British Municipal Council, Tientsin

ENACTMENT OF THE UNIFORM RULES IN CONCESSIONS

With the establishment of the administrative institute in each concession area, internal management regulations have also emerged. In 1863, the earliest regulation called Land Chater[1] was proposed in the British Concession. Furthermore, British ambassador in China named Alcock presented the *British Concession Land Regulation & Tianjin British Consular Area Charter* on the November 26, 1866, which elaborated the basic management system of the British Concession. Since then, it promulgated a series of supplementary conditions and amendments to finalize the modern urban management system of the British Concession.

With certain generality, the early land charter focused on basic administration such as voting, taxation and public security. In the following revisions, regulations about concession under the jurisdiction of regional administration, the liability of Municipal Council, the organizing rule of the Board of Directors the provisions of the responsibilities of various departments, and detailed measures on operation of the concession had been added. At the same time, there also appeared some rules on building density, sector division, building distance, light picking and building materials as well as specific provisions of the building activities(Table 1). It shall be noted that in 1928, the *British Municipal Council Charter and Amendment in Tianjin in 1918* abolished the unequal treaties for Chinese taxpayers in the British Concession and enabled the Chinese to have the right to participate in the inner affairs of the concession.

THE LAND DEVELOPMENT IN CONCESSIONS

Land development is one of the important methods for promoting municipal construction and yielding massive financial profits. As the earliest concession holding legal title to lands and acquiring the "lease in perpetuity" , the British concession began surveying and making preliminary planning in early 1861. After the land of concession was divided into many plots, they started to call for renting in the form of Royal Lease[2].

Meanwhile, facing numerous ponds or marsh lands in the concession area, the Municipal Council of each country and the Haihe River Conservancy Board signed an agreement, in which they adopted the "land filling"[3] to exploit the territory in the concession. For example, the British Concession had pumped and filled into the land in two phases from the beginning of 1906, approximately 6,651,190m[3].

As more lands were available for construction, urban construction was facilitated and roads, waterworks, electricity, gas and other municipal infrastructure were also developed rapidly. Excellent environment attracted residence of a large number of people, making the price of the land in concession skyrocketed sharply. Take the British Concession as an example, the price of acquisition in 1860 was about 30 taels per acre, while reached nearly 15526 taels per acre by 1937, representing an increase of 500 times.[4]

EXPLORATION OF MODERN URBAN PLANNING AND CONSTRUCTION MANAGEMENT SYSTEM IN CHINESE SECTIONS

VARIETIES ON MUNICIPAL INSTITUTE OF CHINESE SECTION IN LATE QING DYNASTY AND EXEMPLARY ROLES OF DUTONG YAMEN IN TIANJIN

While concessions and Chinese section work respectively in terms of urban construction and municipal management, the introduction of modern urban planning and construction management system and the establishment of management institution have exerted an imperceptible influence on the development of Chinese section in Tianjin.

In the late Qing Dynasty, the concession had been driven into a rapid exploitation and construction period, a conspicuous comparison to the status of the Old Tianjin City. Numerous traditional management modes and institutions failed to maintain the normal working of the Chinese section. Initiated by Chou Fu, the Tianjin Customs Taotai was established in 1882, mainly in charge of "digging the roads, widening the streets, finalizing the ditch and sewage, and founding the police patrol department". As the earliest management institution in Chinese section, it stands for the origin of modern urban planning and construction institution in Chinese section, although it attaches to Tianjin Customs Taotai[5] of Qing Dynasty, rather than an authentic modern management institution.

On July 14, 1900, the Eight-Nation Alliance occupied the Tianjin City, and later established the Provisional Government of the District of Tianjin commonly called Dutong Yamen. It had General-Secretariat, Chinese-Secretariat, and 10 departments (Figure 5). Among them, the Public-Engineering Bureau is in charge of the infrastructure building in the Old Tianjin City. It is the first time that the western urban construction management system has been applied into the Chinese section in Tianjin, laying a solid foundation for the modernization transformation of urban construction and management mode in the Chinese section at later time.
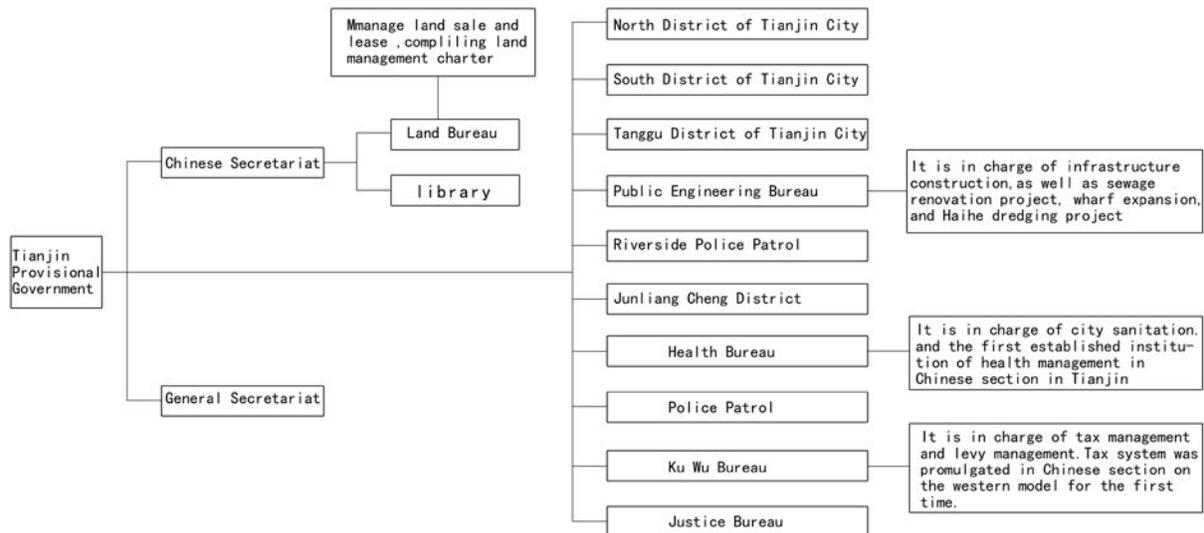
FIGURE 4 Organization Framework of Dutong Yamen in 1902. Among all sectors, land bureau, public engineering bureau, health bureau and Ku Wu bureau take charge of urban construction management in Tianjin.

V.01 P.113   **Qingyue Liu | Dongwei Li | Kun Song | Jianghua Wang**
STUDY ON MODERN URBAN PLANNING AND CONSTRUCTION MANAGEMENT INSTITUTION IN TIANJIN

THE NEW DEAL CREATED BY VICEROY YUAN SHIKAI IN LATE QING DYNASTY AND HEBEI NEW DISTRICT

In the summer of 1902, His Excellency Viceroy Yuan Shikai of Zhi Li took over Tianjin, representing the Qing Dynasty Government. He decided to create a series of New Deal[6], owing to "undermined territory, foreigners and Chinese living together, Police Department not to be withdrew suddenly, and streets needing to be built". Meanwhile, Mr. Yuan reserved the new type of urban management departments created in Dutong Yamen age, such as Public Engineering Bureau and Health Bureau and restructured them into new urban management departments.

In 1906, Tianjin Engineering Bureau had been incorporated into Tianjin South Police Department Headquarters, in charge of censoring land construction projects, managing land registration, releasing building license and other administrative works, as well as infrastructure construction and municipal works, such as roads, ditches and bridges.

As the premium land was engaged by the Eight-Nation Alliance, there was no room for exploitation in downtown area of Chinese section, so that Mr. Yuan decided to develop the area at the north of Haihe River. On February 23, 1903, Viceroy Yuan Shikai signed the *Thirteen Rules of Exploiting Hebei New Area Market*, designating the development scope from the north of Viceroy Yamen, to railway in the east, to Bei Canal in the west, to Jin Zhong River in the south, and to Xin Kai Road in the north (Figure 6).

The construction contents of Hebei New Area include:

1   land classification[7];
2   laying the radial-pattern roads centering on Da Jing Road (Zhong Shan Road);
3   building urban supporting infrastructure, such as an iron bridge that connects between Old Tianjin City and Hebei New Area, a new Central Railway Station(Tianjin North Railway Station) and Hebei Park, etc.

During his tenure, Viceroy Yuan Shikai proposed a preliminary modern urban planning and management system applicable to Chinese urban planning in the exemplary roles of western modern management institution,. It was based on the T.P.G.'s institute in combination with concrete conditions and urban management system of Tianjin. Although the newly-founded Engineering Bureau is not a separate department, it is the first modern urban planning and management institution established by Chinese in modern history of Tianjin, genuinely introducing the western modern urban planning and construction management system into urban planning and construction management practice in China.
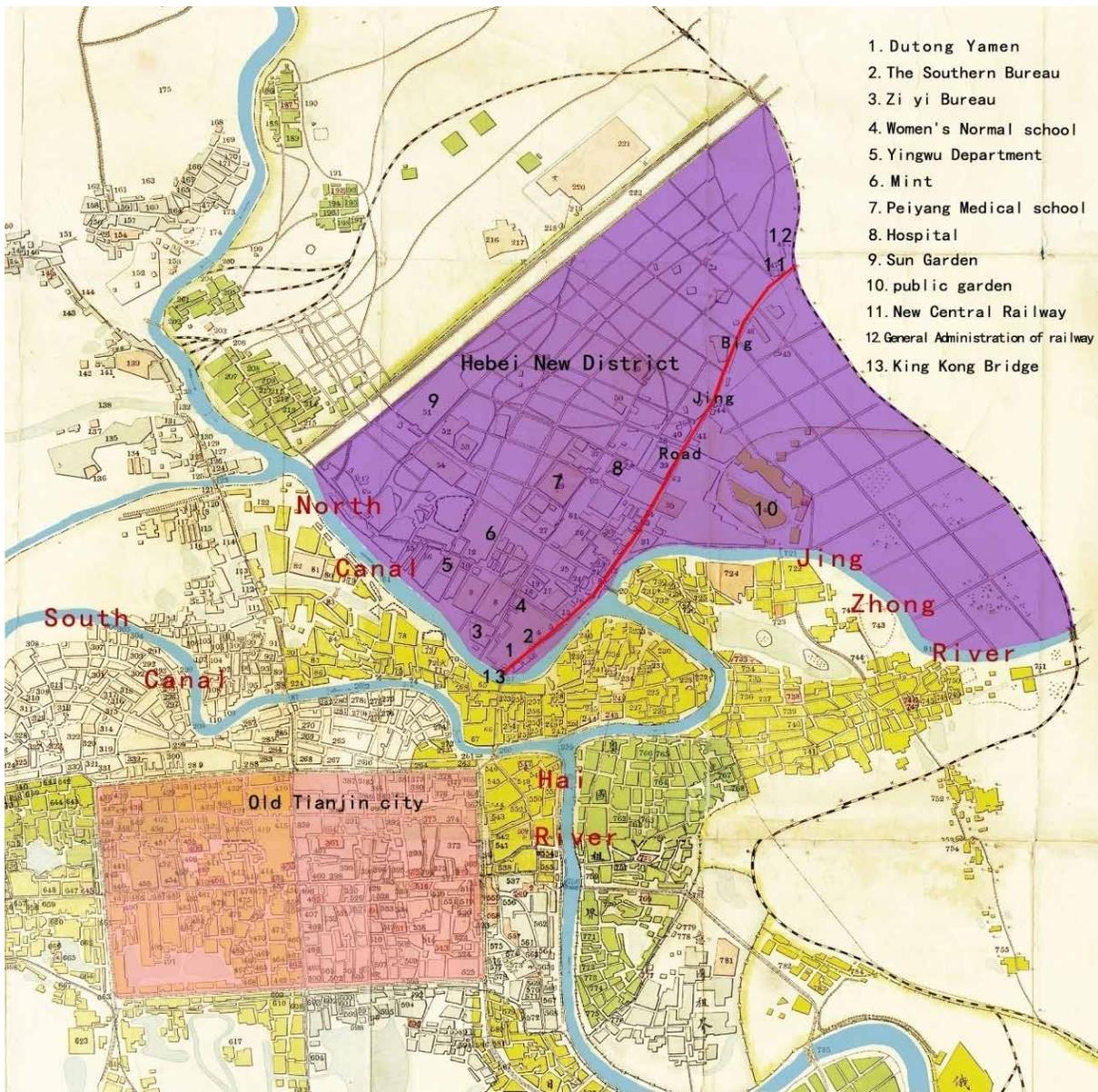
FIGURE 5 Location map of Hebei New District. Hebei New District lies to old Tianjin city in the north, to Bei Yun River in the west, to Jin zhong River in the south, and to Xin Kai Road in the north.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MODERN URBAN PLANNING AND CONSTRUCTION MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

From the 1920s, accompanied by the promotion and diffusion of advanced western concepts, a couple of foresighted Chinese had began to write articles and books to discuss the new model of modern urban management. For example, in the book named *New Theories of City System*, Author Zhang Rui proposed the ideal Chinese Municipal Administrative Organizing Framework (Figure 7), suggesting establishing independent institutions to manage the urban planning construction.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MODERN URBAN PLANNING AND CONSTRUCTION MANAGEMENT INSTITUTE AND TIANJIN SPECIAL MUNICIPAL CITY CONSTRUCTION PLAN

The Tianjin Special Municipal Government was founded in 1928, and had set the following organizing structure (Figure 8) according to the *Special Municipal City Organizing Act* and the *Tianjin Special Municipal City Organizing Rules*[8]. From then on, the Municipal Council has officially become one of the permanent bodies of the Special Municipal Government, and fully plays the function of urban planning and construction administration. It means the formal establishment of modern urban planning and construction institution in Tianjin.

Firstly, the management institution had already commissioned a series of municipal regulations and codes (Tables 2) in order to clarify responsibilities and finalize each rule on building practice, so as to strengthen the law-based control. Remarkably, a series of modern construction and administrative rules were presented, such as registration system for architects, license application for architects, liability of drawing signature and bidding for actual project, indicating the constant improvement of the modernization of management institution.

   Qingyue Liu | Dongwei Li | Kun Song | Jianghua Wang
STUDY ON MODERN URBAN PLANNING AND CONSTRUCTION MANAGEMENT INSTITUTION IN TIANJIN
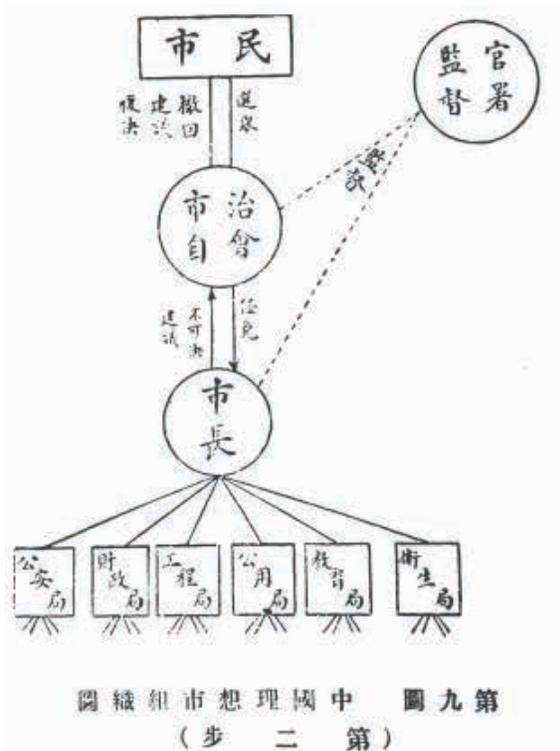
FIGURE 6 Ideal Chinese Municipal Administrative Organizing Framework. The mayor was elected by citizen self-government, and the government was composed of police bureau, finance bureau, engineering bureau, public bureau, education bureau and health bureau.
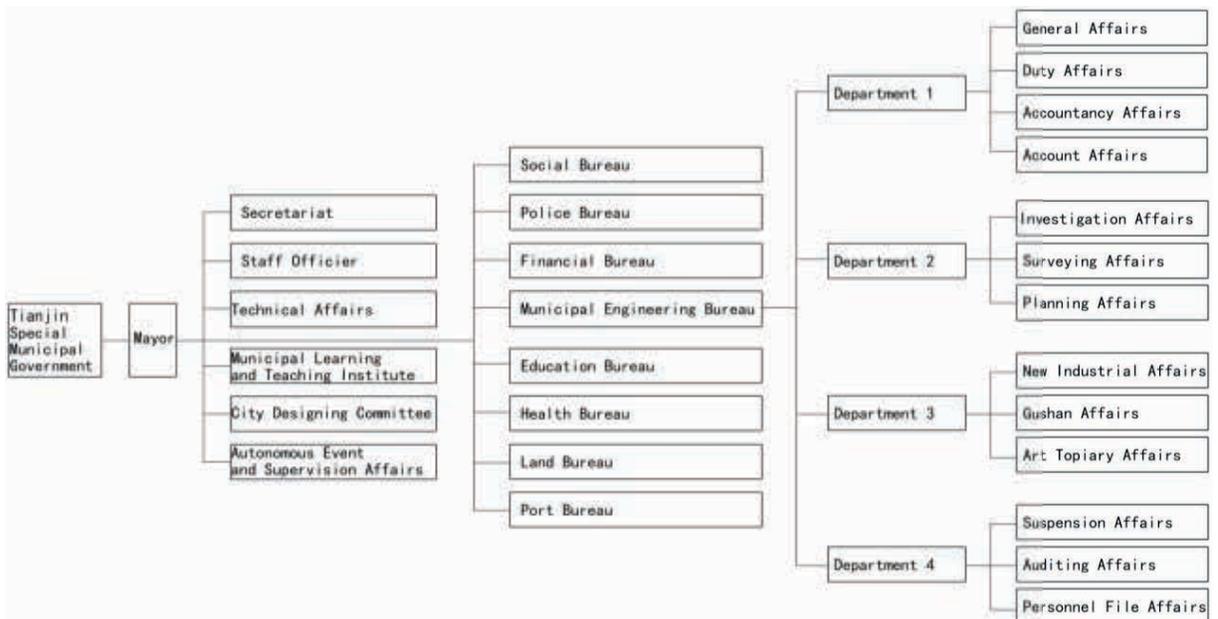
FIGURE 7 Organization Framework of Tianjin Special Municipal Government. Municipal engineering bureau set up department 1-4 to manage urban planning and construction respectively.

 Qingyue Liu | Dongwei Li | Kun Song | Jianghua Wang

STUDY ON MODERN URBAN PLANNING AND CONSTRUCTION MANAGEMENT INSTITUTION IN TIANJIN

DATE	NAME OF BUILDING CODE	ISSUED BY
Feb. 1929	Temporary Codes of Building License	Tianjin Special Municipal City Council
Apr. 4. 1931	Temporary Building Codes of Tianjin	Tianjin Special Municipal City Government
Apr. 1931	Job and Career Codes for Architects and Civil Engineering	Tianjin Municipal City
Dec. 1933	General Rules of Architects Management	Tianjin Special Municipal Government
May. 27. 1936	Temporary Building Codes of Tianjin (remodified)	
Jul. 28. 1936	Building Codes of Tianjin (remodified)	
Nov. 10. 1936	Modified Tianjin Building Codes	

Secondly, despite more than two years of efforts paid since Tianjin had been put into proper management on urban construction, there still lacked a unanimous long-term development plan to be conducted. In 1930, Tianjin Special Municipal Government put forward a project for recruiting the *Tianjin Special Municipal City Material Construction Plan*, and Liang Sicheng and Zhang Rui's joint scheme became the final winner, which illustrated the overall urban planning of Tianjin in terms of basic development, road infrastructure, public utilities, sector division, financial planning and so on.

The Tianjin Special Municipal City Material Construction Plan is the first complete modern urban planning scheme of Tianjin, and also represents the first plan compiled by native Chinese. It effectively assisted the government in figuring out modern urban planning management measures and better executing the project, though was at an intuitive and preliminary stage, even had not come into reality eventually.

THE URBAN CONSTRUCTION PLAN DURING PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF REPUBLIC OF CHINA[9]

In 1937, Japanese troops invaded Tianjin. In April 1938, the North China Construction Administration was founded, in charge of the urban planning construction on cities located in northern part of China such as Peiping and Tianjin(Figure 9). It had the actual right to control the urban planning of Tianjin and make final decisions. Despite that the superintendent and director were appointed by Chinese, the right to plan and decide was held in Japanese.

Provisional government of republic of China announced the *Tianjin Municipal Planning Scheme* and the *Tanggu Street Planning within The Tianjin Municipal Planning Scheme* respectively in 1939 and 1940,both of which treated Tianjin and Tanggu as a whole to commission the urban planning scheme along the downside of Haihe River. Notably, it was the first time that has introduced the zoning system[10] that derived from western modern urban planning theory, but it wasn't realized eventually due to the World War II.

During this period, the Puppet Government continued the former urban planning administrative function and reorganized the management system according to current social status. With detailed description and clear job divisions on the components of urban planning and construction departments, it may facilitate the management on urban construction.

Qingyue Liu | Dongwei Li | Kun Song | Jianghua Wang

STUDY ON MODERN URBAN PLANNING AND CONSTRUCTION MANAGEMENT INSTITUTION IN TIANJIN
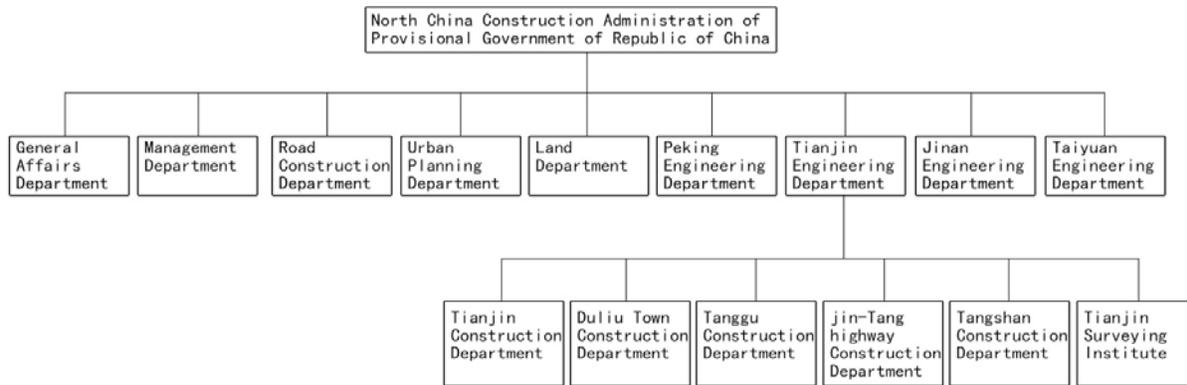
FIGURE 8 Organization Framework of North China Construction Administration of Provisional Government of Republic of China. It set up Tianjin engineering department to with special responsibility for urban construction in Tianjin.

SUMMARY

Initially, Tianjin modern urban planning and construction management institution originated from land development of colonists in concessions. Then, the Dutong Yamen which was established by the Eight-nation Allied Forces had introduced modern western management system to Chinese section in Tianjin. And then, Yuan Shikai inherited and developed the New Deal, so that in the period of Republic of China, the government formally established independent agencies to manage urban planning and construction.

In the eighty-five years, Tianjin has undergone great changes. Thanks to the joint facilitation of the internal and external factors, Tianjin successfully completed the transformation of urban modernization. Meantime, by following the trend of times through adoption of the urban planning and construction management model, a real modern urban planning and construction management was established, thus opening a new chapter in the construction of Tianjin city.

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Qingyue Liu | Dongwei Li | Kun Song | Jianghua Wang

STUDY ON MODERN URBAN PLANNING AND CONSTRUCTION MANAGEMENT INSTITUTION IN TIANJIN

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Figure 1-1: Redrawn from
Figure 1-2: Redrawn from Urban History of Modern Tianjin. Peking：China Social Sciences Press，1993
Figure 1-3: Redrawn from Tianjin Map of 1900 and 1945
Figure 1-4: Redrawn from Tianjin Map of 1908 and 1937
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Figure 3: Redrawn from Tianjin Map of 1913
Figure 4: Redrawn from Annals of Tianjin, Annals of Regime, Government Volume. Tianjin：Tianjin People Press，1996
Figure 5: Redrawn from Annals of Tianjin, Annals of Regime, Government Volume. Tianjin：Tianjin People Press，1996
Figure 6: Redrawn from Tianjin Map of 1908
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Figure 9: Redrawn from Annals of Tianjin, Annals of Regime, Government Volume. Tianjin：Tianjin People Press，1996
Table 1: Self-drawn by Author from archives
Table 2: Self-drawn by Author from archives

Funding

Endnotes

1   A special zone named after its position of the interchange of three canals in Tianjin.
2   Zhongquan Miu. "Tianjin Urban Planning." Tianjin: Tianjin science and technology press 1989: 15
    "Land charter" is also called "micro constitution". Apart from residents settled in the British Concession restricted by their native law, they also must be subject to the conditions of Land Charter. On October 27, 1863, the British Concession promulgated the first charter Tientsin Port Area Local Regulations and Consular Regulations. On June 1, 1864, deputy consular Denny released Charter of Amendments, but the two charters was abolished shortly as charters of concessions must be issued by ambassador in China according to the British Government's regulation.
4   Crown Lease, which British ambassador in Tientsin Consular representing the queen of the United Kingdom signed a 99-year lease contract. The British government became the actual lessor of the concession land. As a matter of fact, British Government pays certain amount of rental fees from Chinese Government by renting the permanent land, then makes the land consolidation in first level, finally rents the land to private clients at several times higher price than original one so as to earn the price difference.
5   Land Filling: Build up the dykes higher than the filling leveling the selected area, then dredge out the slit from Hai-Ho channel and pump it into the dyke. Once the slit is precipitated and the water is evaporated, the slit hardens and forms the ground.
6   Yi Tang. "Studies on Hai-Ho Conservancy Board's Exploitation and Construction Process on Urban Costal Area of Hai-Ho in Early Modern Tientsin." (Master Thesis, Tianjin University, 2015:41.)
7   The Tianjin Customs Taotai: Also known as Customs Tao. During the eighth year of Emperor Xianfeng's reign(1858), Qing Dynasty Government Customs was forced to establish the taxation management system created by foreigners. The Qing Dynasty Government then ordered some officials to supervise the customs, as well as deal with local diplomatic affairs, so that these officials were called Customs Taotai.
8   New Deal: includes gathering fund to train the troops, reviving the business, prizing the entrepreneurs, abolishing the Imperial Examination System, culturing humanities and founding schools, reforming the ranking system of imperial official ranking, consolidating officials and so on. The most highlighted feature is the police patrol system first being built by Viceroy Yuan Shih K'ai, forming first police patrol troops in China's history by substituting traditional Bao-Jia System in Tianjin's history.
9   According to the content of Thirteen Rules of Exploiting Hebei New Area Market: In this area, they recruit and settle police patrol troops, while exploiting roads and laying lamp post requires numerous of financial support. Besides following the land taxation regulated by Engineering in Chief Bureau, the entire land must be leased within three grades: land that has already been built or filled, or next to the road is ranked into first grade, otherwise is second grade, and the pond is ranked into third grade. The lease is classified as: the first grade land will be collect the duties of 7 taels and 5 maces per mou, second grade is 5 taels, and third grade is 2 taels and 5 maces.
10 On July 3, 1927, the National Government announced Special Municipal City Organizing Act and the Tianjin Special Municipal City Organizing Rules, which were also listed into the Chinese dictionary.
11 .The Provisional Government of the Republic of China is a Chinese provisional government protected by the Empire of Japan that existed from 1937 to 1940 during the Second Sino-Japanese War.
12. Zoning system refers to classifying urban areas into residential district, commercial district, industrial district, etc .

Qingyue Liu | Dongwei Li | Kun Song | Jianghua Wang

STUDY ON MODERN URBAN PLANNING AND CONSTRUCTION MANAGEMENT INSTITUTION IN TIANJIN

THE RESEARCH OUTLINE OF COMPARISON IN METROPOLITAN DELTAS

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Metropolitan Deltas have much in common because of the similar urban-water management conditions. This paper takes comparison of the Euro Delta of the Rhine–Meuse–Scheldt and the Chinese Grand Canal and Yangtze River Delta as an example to introduce the outline of comparison in Metropolitan Deltas. The comparison is from three interfaces. First, it is from the general interface, the basic background comparison, including area, city level, GDP, population, economic growth, the second industry, tertiary industry, infrastructure (airports, ports, roads, railway, etc) and so on. The second is from the waterway system interface and their impacts on the urban development. It will construct the time-series of water and cities. It is to comb the history of waterfront urban planning and development in Metropolitan Deltas and build the great structure of cities morphology transition along the principal waterway. It will take a layer discussion of the cities pattern and the interaction with water during each historical period, to explore the historical motivation that expecially related with water(as like traffic, commerce, military, life, property, local culture and politics,etc.). Using GIS is to analyse the distribution of cities and towns with water, like the type of waterways and length, the kernel density of settlements (or cities) along the principal rivers, the river connectivity index, the distribution of town distance from water, the line density of waterways and so forth. It could show the links between the water and cities by the visualized graphic expression. The third one is from the space interface, to take the comparison analysis of the typical water-city in detail. That is to compare the relativity of the site selection of city and water, the city development process and feature, the interaction and morphological transition of water and city, the inherent motivation in urban development and so on.

This paper puts forward the outline of comparing two or more Metropolitan Deltas in the aspect of the water and cities with interaction and morphological transition. Using the analysis method of Spacial Historical Information System(SHIS) to achieve the qualitative analysis, it could construct the evolution of urban landscape in time and space during different periods. Simultaneously, the GIS software is to be employed for doing the quantitative analysis. It offers quantized data for summarizing the inner motivation and impact factors of urban development by arranging the statistics and constructing resource database. And it also will use the method of qualitative and institutional research to summarize the regulation in the "water and cities" study.

Keywords

Metropolitan Deltas, general interface, waterway system interface, space interface, water and cities, SHIS(Spacial Historical Imformation System)

Resilience and Public Space

Chair: Maria Jose Andrade Marques

RESILIENCE OF PUBLIC SPACES: A CASE STUDY OF THE COLONIES IN OTTOMAN PALESTINE, 1878-1918

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'Moshavot' were a new form of colony established primarily by Eastern European Jewish immigrants to Palestine from 1878 to 1918, a period of radical changes: the industrial revolution, political and cultural shifts in the Ottoman empire, and social transformations wrought by World War I. How did these processes impact the public spaces of the colonies?

Planned and designed as modern spaces, the public areas of the new Hebrew colonies ("moshavot") demanded functional flexibility, adaptive design, and structural resilience to cope with shifting social, political and demographic conditions. According to researchers of urban space, the resilience of public spaces depends on how they are created and defined, and to which extent they evoke a communal sense of ownership and belonging. The new colonies' public spaces were vibrant centres for a multi-cultural population. We will examine their vigour during these decades from three perspectives: planning and construction; functions; and long-term development. What characterized these public spaces and contributed to their physical and spiritual strength - 'French' boulevards, Ottoman-style civic buildings and fountains, synagogues designed by German Templars? Utilising recently discovered archival evidence, we will present a few case studies of the dynamic public spaces that survived this stormy period of history.

V.01 P.125   **Talia Abramovich | Marina Epstein-Pliouchtch**
RESILIENCE OF PUBLIC SPACES:A CASE STUDY OF THE COLONIES IN OTTOMAN PALESTINE, 1878-1918

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TOC

INTRODUCTION

Urban processes leading up to the Industrial Revolution did not bypass Ottoman Palestine. From the mid-19th century, rapid population growth occurred in major cities such as Jerusalem, Jaffa and Safed, and new neighbourhoods were established outside ancient city walls. Marginal settlements expanded, and new villages appeared in the local landscape.[1]

In the mid-19th century, the Ottoman rulers signed an agreement with Britain and Russia which allowed foreign citizens to purchase land in Palestine. American and German Christians quickly followed, establishing colonies in Jaffa, Jerusalem, and elsewhere. The first Hebrew colony, Petah Tikva, was founded in 1878 by a group of Jerusalemites, residents of the overcrowded Old City, who dreamt of a productive life close to nature. They were joined by Jewish immigrants, most of whom came from Eastern Europe with modern technologies and concepts.

Although Sultan Abdülhamid II was generally opposed to liberal and constitutional ideas, he took several steps to modernize the empire, e.g., supporting the establishment of settlements alongside railroad lines. The international and political circumstances in Palestine motivated the planning of additional settlements and their public spaces were evidence of their Western approach. Nevertheless, the 33 Hebrew colonies established in Palestine between 1878 and 1918 evoked mixed reactions. On the one hand, the Jewish immigrants were perceived as a threat to the Arabs' ownership of the land. On the other hand, the immigrants' economic and professional strength was transforming desolate areas of Palestine into flourishing gardens and agricultural fields. Occasionally the Hebrew colony, like its German counterparts in Palestine, was conceived not as an agricultural settlement but as a modern urban quarter, and they indeed evolved into regional hubs, their public places, buildings and open spaces serving and supplying the
surrounding rural communities. [2]

In this article we focus on the first four decades of these colonies - years of revolution, disease, natural disasters and the exigencies of war. We will first review their historic circumstances. Next we will observe the colonies themselves: how they were planned and how they were perceived by neighbouring communities, by visitors, and by leaders of local authorities. We will argue that the resilience of the colonies' public spaces as they faced natural and man-made disasters was related to their inherent vitality, largely derived from their modernity, their multi-cultural adaptive design, and their functional flexibility.

On the basis of new, as yet unpublished archival evidence, we will present a few case studies of public spaces in the colonies. We will discuss public buildings, parks, and street elements in a few colonies in the country's centre, including Petah Tikva and Rishon LeZion, in colonies along the Mediterranean coast such as Zichron Ya'akov and Hadera, and a few of the Galilee colonies, among them Rosh Pina, Menachmia and Metulla, the most northern and isolated of them all.

THE COLONIES: AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

THE YOUNG TURK REVOLUTION

While the Hebrew colonies saw themselves as examples of modern technology and progressiveness, they struggled against everyday bureaucracies and local corruption as they tried to realize their building plans. The Young Turk Revolution in 1908 aroused hopes for change, for progress, prosperity and modernity throughout the Ottoman Empire. However, circumstances proved otherwise: the new regime was soon fighting for its life, using its civilians as the fodder of that fight.[3]

WORLD WAR I

Turkey joined the World War in November 1914 as an ally of Germany and Austro-Hungary, shaking the settlements in Palestine and halting the flow of normal life. The recruitment of Ottoman citizens throughout the country tore the men, most of them farmers, from the colonies and Arab villages and created an involuntary army that lacked basic supplies. Turkish commanders, later followed by the British, chose to locate their camps next to colonies, relying on the facilities and provision they had to offer (Figure 1). A few colonies such as Rosh Pina (the first in the Galilee) became centres of military activity and major crossroads for the forces that were being organized in the North.[4] Despite themselves the Hebrew settlements became the suppliers of a large army that made free use of their spacious public buildings, their crops and running water.[5]

In March 1917 the Ottoman administration issued a deportation order to all inhabitants of the Jaffa district. Many residents first headed to Petah Tikva, the largest colony at the time, but since it too faced potential deportation, most evacuated (approximately 9000 inhabitants) to Zichron Ya'akov and the Galilee colonies.[6] Overnight, these settlements' public buildings and spaces became shelters for immigrants. The situation challenged these small communities' strength and the resilience of their public assets[7].

NATURAL DISASTERS: DISEASES AND LOCUSTS

The colonies' early years were scarred by illness and death, much of it related to contaminated water and the swamps that covered much of the countryside. Dysentery and malaria epidemics were part of daily life, and killed many soldiers in both the Turkish and Allied armies. Roughly a year after the war began, swarms of locusts invaded the country, devouring all greenery and stripping the fields, the colonies' main food source. Trees, too, were severely damaged: their fruit totally consumed by the insects and ornamental trees turned overnight into skeletons.

All these had a huge impact, particularly in the colonies' open spaces and public buildings, which needed to demonstrate functional flexibility, adaptive design, and structural resilience.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF RESILIENT PUBLIC SPACES

Architectural historians like Anderson, Carmona, Heath, Oc and Tiesdell, who investigated public spaces, defined the characteristics that made an environment capable of enduring over time.[8] Stanford Anderson classified the 'resultant environment' according to its capacity to support and maintain ongoing activity despite extreme changes and or even complete makeovers.[9]

Carmona and others distinguished between the resilience of public buildings and that of open spaces, arguing that open spaces were confronted with fewer challenges and had more physical flexibility, which could thus adapt more easily. They defined the resilience of buildings as 'robustness' resulting from their design and their ability to absorb functional changes, which allowed a wider range of uses and activities.[10]

Additional characteristics of the resilient environment can be derived from the work on built environments by Lewis Mumford, Kevin Lynch and others. They maintain that the resilience of public spaces depends on how they are created and defined, and the extent to which they evoke a sense of ownership and belonging.[11]

In this article, the term 'resilience' will refer to the long-term durability of a public place resulting from its physical and spiritual vigour. We will examine the characteristics that enabled the public spaces in the Palestine colonies to persist and survive a volatile historic period.

 Talia Abramovich | Marina Epstein-Pliouchtch

RESILIENCE OF PUBLIC SPACES: A CASE STUDY OF THE COLONIES IN OTTOMAN PALESTINE, 1878-1918

FIGURE 1 Metulla colony's plan, showing a British military camp (rectangle at top of plan), 1924

FIGURE 2 Zichron Ya'akov, Ohel Ya'akov Synagogue, between 1898 and 1920

FIGURE 3 Zichron Ya'akov, Administration House,
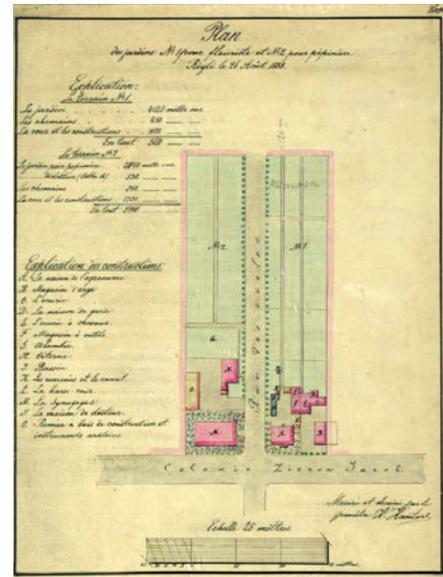
FIGURE 4 Kalman Kantor's plan for park in Zichron Ya'akov, 1888; at the corner of the street - Ohel Ya'akov

Talia Abramovich | Marina Epstein-Pliouchtch

RESILIENCE OF PUBLIC SPACES:A CASE STUDY OF THE COLONIES IN OTTOMAN PALESTINE, 1878-1918

DESIGN OF THE PUBLIC SPACE IN THE HEBREW COLONIES

Public spaces were figured in the earliest stages of the Hebrew colonies' planning and were discussed in several statute books. Specified as communal property, public spaces were considered part of all private lands purchased. E.g., when land was acquired for a settlement, it was divided into 101 parcels: 100 allocated to settlers (the buyers), and one reserved for public use (buildings, parks, etc.).[12]

Taking their cue from European cities, the colonies' planners tried to include public parks within the built environment in order to ensure air quality.[13] The location of parks made them an integral part of daily life and gave each colony a unique ambiance.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS: PHYSICAL AND SPIRITUAL VITALITY

The Hebrew colony's major building, often prominently located at the end of its high street, was the synagogue, asserting the religious character of its founders. Since it demanded many financial and human resources, it often needed external support, such as Baron Edmond de Rothschild's (Figure 2).

Another significant building was the colony's school. It sometimes served other functions: in the Menachmia colony the school also housed the synagogue. In several colonies, the school stood at the end of the high street, its facade occupying the entire width of the street - a reflection of both the schools' growing importance and the approval of the Ottomans, who eagerly used them as a sign of their own enlightenment.[14]

The third colonial building with exceptional presence, dubbed the 'administration house', was most common in Baron Rothschild's earliest settlements. Along with smaller buildings around it for the local doctor, the head agronomist, and other functionaries, its size and style exhibited the human resources invested in the colonies' professional support, and inspired awe in residents and visitors alike.

These public buildings were constructed by engineers, architects and builders with diverse ethnic, religious and national roots. German engineers and architects working in Palestine surveyed the land, parcelled it and built the original public structures. Gottlieb Schumacher, from the Templar colony in Haifa, measured and sketched the future site of Zichron Ya'acov and its environs and planned its first administration house.[15] . Baruch Papirmeister, who studied engineering in Berlin, planned a number of public buildings including the 'Saraya' (the Ottoman government's quarters in Jaffa), and buildings in the colonies, such as the synagogue of Rishon LeZion. Architects who came from France or had studied there - among them Abraham (Adolf) Starkmeth, Eliyahu Cantors and Varon[16] - planned schools, administration houses, etc.[17] Other planners, such as Kantor Kalman and Daniel Lipshitz, were from Russia. The new colonies offered architects and entrepreneurs a rare opportunity to plan and implement a host of creative, complex ideas.

The major buildings being erected in Palestine matched the spirit of the time, a period of many styles including Neoclassicism (Italian, German, etc.), that drew inspiration from Ecole des Beaux-arts; they were influenced too by deluxe Arab buildings, e.g., Zichron Ya'akov's second administration house, modeled on the 'liwan house' (Figure 3).[18] Like contemporaneous public buildings elsewhere, these were emblems of civic pride.[19]

FIGURE 5 Zikhron Ya'akov, a Sebil attached to Benjamin's Pool, built in 1891
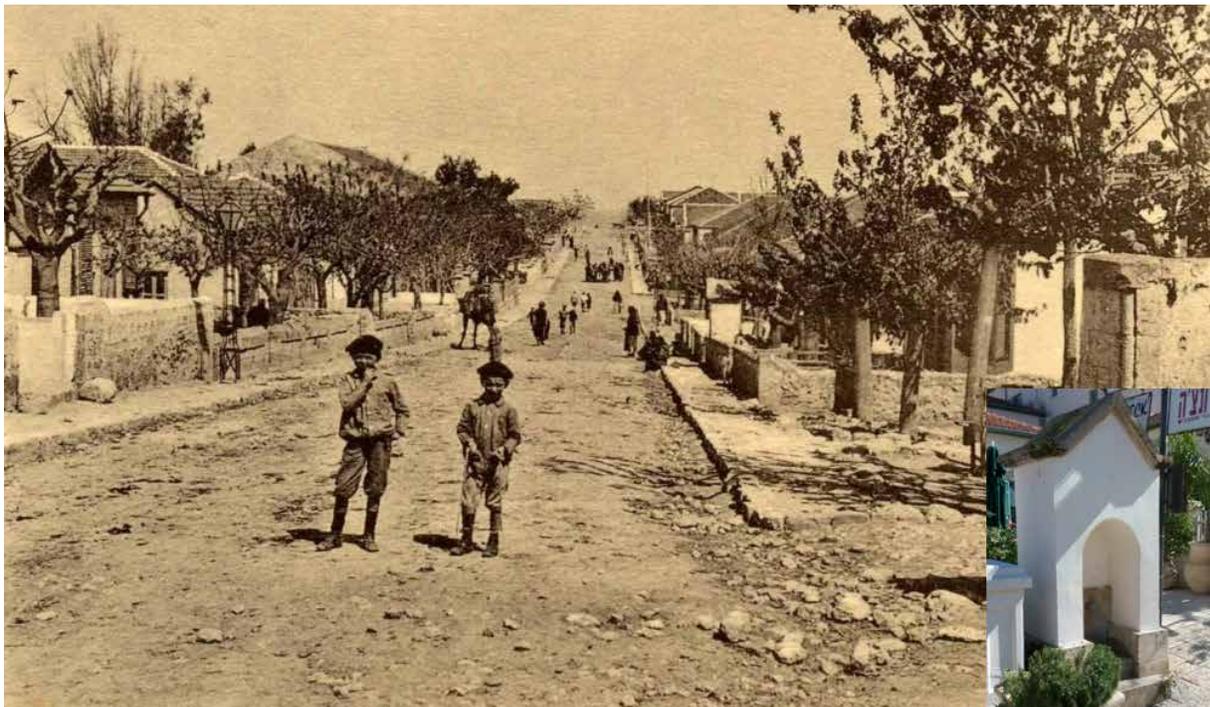
FIGURE 6 Zikhron Ya'akov, Women are sitting next to Sebil, 1912,

V.01 P.130   **Talia Abramovich | Marina Epstein-Pliouchtch**

RESILIENCE OF PUBLIC SPACES:A CASE STUDY OF THE COLONIES IN OTTOMAN PALESTINE, 1878-1918

PUBLIC PARKS AND BOULEVARDS

The centre of the colonies, especially those established in the 19th century, often featured a tree-filled park near the main public building, providing a respite from the bustle of the colony's high street. The earliest colonies set aside huge plots for open public spaces, alternately called *jardins,* [20] 'promenade',[21] or 'refinement' gardens,[22] 'vegetarian',[23] *jardins et aires,*[24] etc. - names that indicated their planners' origins and the aspirations and values they attached to these places.

Baron de Rothchild's representatives, mostly French agronomists and landscapers, played an important role in the colonies. Planners like Justin Dugourd and Jill Deshays drew up elaborate designs for parks with trees, fountains, floral parterres, long paths, and even wide boulevards (Figure 4). In a land of scarce, critical water resources, these gardens and their ornamental functions contrasted sharply with traditional Arab gardens and visibly demonstrated 'progressive' Western ideas.

This early period of landscape architecture in Palestine was part of the international discourse among horticulturalists and designers concerning the identification of local and imported plants, their habitats, and the possibilities of their adaptation to foreign climes.[25] In many colonies, the park was divided in two: a promenade, and an experimental nursery for the acclimatisation and breeding of imported species. The colonies' impressive parks and tree-lined boulevards were the setting for many a photograph of visiting dignitaries.[26]

STREET ELEMENTS: SEBILS

Though their original plans envisioned modern plumbing - 'iron tubes' as in European cities[27] - a few of the colonies had to manage at first without running water indoors. Water was obtained from wells or sebils, stone structures housing a public water fountain. Historically viewed as the hallmark of a beneficent ruler, a few sebils were located at the settlement's focal points, serving functional and symbolic purposes.

Large sebils, erected next to public buildings as was common in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century, combined Ottoman architecture with Western motifs (Figure 5).[28] Smaller ones which served a few households were characterized with modest design. They reflected the vernacular architecture of the period and added a new, human dimension to the colonial street. A few cast-iron sebils, in the French style, were placed in parks.

The colonies' sebils, like those in many Turkish cities, were social hubs proffering hospitality to a diverse, multi-cultural population.[29]

Passers-by with camels or horses, pedlars and workers from neighbouring Arab villages, settler housewives and children all gathered round these watering points (Figure 6).

PUBLIC SPACES, FUNCTIONS AND TRANSFORMATIONS

The usage and transformations of the colonies' public places reflected radical local and global changes: secularization, the rise of the bourgeoisie and the development of new political systems.[30] The synagogue, for instance, originally served as a community center, used for praying and other functions: boys' religious school or weddings venue. Occasionally, holiday celebrations and funerals were held in front of the building's façade. The religious/secular struggle that eventually developed among community members brought changes in the synagogue's structure and use, maintaining only its religious uses.[31] During World War I, when other public buildings were occupied by military forces, synagogues were used as meeting halls and temporary accommodations.

V.01 P.131 **Talia Abramovich | Marina Epstein-Pliouchtch**
RESILIENCE OF PUBLIC SPACES:A CASE STUDY OF THE COLONIES IN OTTOMAN PALESTINE, 1878-1918

The multi-purpose administration houses frequently contained the home and offices of the colony's administrator and perhaps a library, reading room, or conference hall. Colonies that began with just one small office building often built another, more luxurious one after some years, or added a second storey, challenging the height of the synagogue. Administration houses expressed their communities' national hopes. During the war, the size, appearance and role of the administration houses were coveted by the army, and many were requisitioned by the Ottomans as local military headquarters or hospitals.[32]

Many of the community schools were attractive examples of modern design, with wide windows for natural ventilation and lighting. A few, captured by the Turkish army, became the quarters of Ottoman officers, despite residents' strenuous objections to evacuating a school.

The parks, used primarily as agricultural nurseries and field schools by day, were filled with strollers in the evenings and on Saturdays. Located close to the centre of the colony, with shade from the burning sun and a source of running water, the parks offered benefits to armies: in Zichron Ya'akov and elsewhere parks were occupied by Turkish military camps and field hospitals.

Contrary to reports about trees being uprooted to supply wood for Turkish locomotives, the colonies' parks were in fact highly regarded by the Turks. General Jamal Pasha, Military Governor of the Ottoman troops in Syria, believed they exemplified modernity and progress, two of his favourite values.[33] Before the war he held a celebration at Rosh Pina's administration house; important Arab leaders were invited to a balcony to observe the garden designed by French designer Jill Deshays, where 100 stairs were flanked by two rows of cypress trees. Its floral parterres and ornamental pool created a duly heroic setting for Jamal Pasha.

At the war's end, the British army was keen to take over these open spaces and spacious buildings. Zichron Ya'akov's administration house and Metulla's school became accommodations for high-ranking officers. When the British Mandate was sufficiently established, the colonies adapted their public assets to the new regime.

CONCLUSION

Robert Venturi quotes Kahn's claim that the design of buildings should be flexible enough to adapt to change: "It is the role of design to adjust to the circumstantial".[34] In this article we have shown how modern, progress-oriented public spaces in the Hebrew colonies of Palestine adjusted to circumstances and accommodated changing needs. They served variously as military headquarters (both Ottoman and British), hospitals, celebratory venues, etc. This functional flexibility resulted from planning and building that gave them vitality and strength.

The diverse ethnic and sometimes opposing groups living nearby fostered the colonies' resilience: their public spaces were geared to serving different purposes at any given moment, to simultaneously represent Ottoman and Eastern European space, as well as French, British, and local Arab space. As researchers have noted, the robustness of buildings lies not only in form and function, but also in those values, meanings and symbols that give them special charm.[35] . In terms of their intensive cultural and public life, the colonies were towns, while their desire to be close to the earth and fresh air made them villages. Evolved from previous models, their public spaces changed through reform and refinement rather than revolution.[36] Besides their functionality and comfort, the design of the colonies' public places inspired collective pride and granted them a certain immunity to the larger issues whirling around them.

Notes on contributors

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Disclosure Statement

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Endnotes

1   For the neighbourhoods outside the walls of Jerusalem see Ruth Kark, *Jerusalem Neighbourhoods, Planning and By-Laws (1855–1930)* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1991); for rural settlements developed in this period see David Grossman, *Expansion and Desertion, the Arab Village and its Offshoots in Ottoman Palestine* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1994).

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3   Yuval Ben Bassat & Eyal Ginio, *Late Ottoman Palestine* (New-York: I.B. Tauris and Co., 2011). 4.

4   For example, the British camp located next to Metulla colony (Metdule), CZA (The Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem) J15/189.

5   Army locations are depicted in German aerial photos taken during World War I, as presented in Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Looking Twice at the Land of Israel, Aerial Photographs of 1917-18 and 1987-91* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi & Ministry of Defense, 1991).

6   Alter Druyanov, *Tel Aviv Book*, vol.1 (Tel Aviv, 1936). 239.

7   In September 1918, Ottoman rule in Palestine ended and, with the start of the British Mandate, a new era began

8   Stanford Anderson ed., *On Streets* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1978); Matthew Carmona, Tim Heath, Taner Oc & Steven Tiesdell, *Public Places, Urban Spaces* (Oxford: Architectural Press, 2003).

9   Anderson, *On Streets*, 7: 'Such environments can support the multiple and overlapping patterns of ecological sympaty [sic]. This resilience at any moment can also operate over time and thus contribute to a condition of homeostasis despite an extensive restructuring of activities within the environment'.

10 Carmona et al., *Public Places*, 203.

11 Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1960); Lewis Mumford, *The City in History* (New York: Harcourt, Brach Jovanovich Inc, 1961); René Boomkens, "The Temporalities of Public Sphere", *OASE* 77 (2008): 9-20.

12 Private ownership will also play a part in the preservation of public spaces and preventing the disappearance of open spaces due to urbanization. This point was demonstrated in Naftaly Goldshleger, Irit Amit-Cohen & Maxim Shoshany, "A Step Ahead of Time: Design, Allocation and Preservation of Private Open Space in the 1920s - The Case of a Garden Suburb in Israel", *Geojournal* 67 (2006): 57-69.

13 Colonies that had failed to integrate public parks in their initial plans explored ways to correct their absence. For example, see a letter from Efron, Hadera to Vilna, National Library, Jerusalem, v. 379/1.

14 Michael Provence, "Ottoman Modernity, Colonialism and Insurgency in the Interwar Arab East", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 43 (2011): 207-208.

15 CZA, J15/4354/1m.

16 First name is not known. The only information we have about this architect is that he was brought specially from France to create elaborate buildings.

17 For more information about the professionals hired by Baron Edmond Rothschild see Ran Aaronsohn, *Baron Rothschild and the Colonies, The Beginning of Jewish Colonization in Erez Israel, 1882-1890* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1990).

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19 Swati Chattopadhyay and Jeremy White, *City Halls and Civic Materialism, towards a Global History of Urban Public Space* (London and New York: Routledge). 8.

20 Waddesdon archive at Windmill Hill, PIC12/5/12

21 Arieh Samsonov, *The Book of Zichron Ya'akov* (Tel Aviv, 1943). 353.

22 See a sketch of Hadera colony and public park in a letter from Efron, Hadera to Vilna, National Library, Jerusalem, v. 379/1

23 Rishon LeZion Museum's maps collection.

24 In a map drawn by Adolf Starkmeth, 1905, Rosh Pina Archive, maps collection.

25 Kenneth Helphand, *Dreaming Gardens: Landscape Architecture and the Making of Modern Israel* (Santa Fe, New Mexico and Harrisonburg, Virginia: Center for American Places, 2002). 3.

26 See photographs of receptions for General Jamal Pasha, 1915 and for Hon. Chancellor, the British Mandate commissioner, 1931, in the palm-lined boulevard of Rishon LeZion, Rishon LeZion Museum's collections.

27 Akiva Yosef Schlesinger, *Society for the Restoration of the Ancient Glory* (Jerusalem, 1868). 26.

28 Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992). 409.

29 Nilüfer Sağlar Onay & Ayşe Hilal Uğurlu, "A Public Meeting Point: "Sebil" of Nuruosmaniye", *ITU A|Z*, v. 7, no. 1 (2010-1): 38-53.

30 Chattopadhyay and White, *City Halls*, XXI.

31 Talia Abramovich and Naomi Carmon, "Religion, Design and Settlement, on the Spatial Design of ZichronYa'akov's Synagogue and its Implications", *Et-mol* 218 (2011): 7.

32 Ya'akov Epstein's memoirs, Zichron Ya'akov Archive, A.M.S 666, file 123-5.

33 Impression one gets from his memoirs: Djemal Pasha, *Memoirs of a Turkish Statesman*, 1913-1919, New York, 1922.

34 Robert Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1966). 45.

35 Carmona et al., *Public Places*, 198.

36 It is possible to think about these colonies as a precursor to Howard's garden city model. Contrary to Howard's circular model, however, these colonies were usually planned on a linear basis, divided between public and residential streets.

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Figure 1: CZA, The Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem, J15M189

Figure 2: Library of Congress, American Colony's Collection, Digital Archive [LC-DIG-matpc-04702]

Figure 3: Zichron Ya'akov Museum, photos collection

Figure 4: Waddesdon archive at Windmill Hill, PIC12/5/12

Figure 5: Authors' photograph, 2016

Figure 6: Zichron Ya'akov Museum, photos collection

PERFORMATIVE BODY: RE-PRODUCTION OF PUBLIC SPACE BY TEMPORARY DESIGN EXPERIENCES

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Temporary art and space installations arranged in an urban context lead to the communication of people/bodies with their built environments. These installations can become tools that both activate the body and, at the same time, are activated by the body. The kinds of interventions can also be described as experimental, interactive and reflective spatial mediums and can be conceptualised as event generators for the bodies, in other words performative bodies in action and communication with the urban context.

This study mainly focuses on temporary art and space installations that have potentials to create significant events and that impel the contributors to be active and performative bodies within urban spaces. The work suggests that by incorporating the body these temporary art and space installations may lead to dynamically changing configurations of the public space. These emerging spatial situations reflect the power of the body, not only as a creator but also as operator of the urban space, while they also expose inspiring concepts for architects. The contribution of the body to reproduction and revitalization process of the urban space is accepted as one of the key issues in architectural discourse and one deserving of intimate elaboration.

Architectural space primarily composes a space that is experienced, one that requires acting by a performing body that experiences this surrounding while gaining spatial awareness through the vehicle of created events. It is the unique surroundings of the body that thus encourage or discourage it to move within the space. In other words, every object around the body evidences certain clues relative to the potential body movements within this built environment. Despite the fact that the space has a discrete measurable physical existence, it is actually the activities or events that occur within that particular space that impart meaning to the space. When a space is conducive to the interaction of different bodies, it is no longer addressed as a single space. Each bodily experience rebuilds the space and its surroundings with diverse interpretations, communications, and usages. This work suggests that temporary art and space installations that are activated by the involvement of the body allow the production of alternative, playful, eventful and communicative spaces in the urban context.

The aim of the paper is to investigate the following questions by concentrating on temporary design experiences, art and space installations in public space: Can public space be reproduced without constructing? Can temporary art/space installations be considered as tools for the reconceptualising of the urban space? How do temporary installations affect the relationships between the body and public space? How do these temporary, experimental designs activate the body and urban environment by emphasizing the concept of event space? These questions will be explored by investigating selected examples and by comparing and contrasting their implemented design concepts.

LANDSCAPE-INDUCED METROPOLIZATION: REVEALING THE FORGOTTEN GEOGRAPHY OF PARIS' NORTH-EASTERN SUBURBS

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In the field of urbanism, landscaping is commonly considered as the main tool to link chaotic urban fabrics together and to restore a sense of place in metropolitan areas obscured by infrastructures. Furthermore, parks and promenades have played an integrative role for urban societies, melding different communities together and offering them an opportunity to develop a common identity. I therefore propose examining the planning of park systems and green corridors in the surburbs north-east of Paris, all the way through the 20th century and up to the present. This suburban area has suffered from a lack of comprehensive neighborhood planning and has been scarred by infrastructures which obliterate its geomorphology. Its revitalization represents a major challenge to re-balance the eastern section of Greater Paris, which suffers from social and ethnic segregation as shown by the riots of 2005. Moreover, the Paris attacks of 2015 stressed the fading sense of a common destiny between Paris itself and underserved suburbs.
Today's discussions on Greater Paris overlook the lessons of planning history. This historical survey is a brief in favour of an urban history that incorporates geomorphology and field survey.

INTRODUCTION

The word "Resilience" was first used in material sciences to qualify a kind of elasticity. It migrated to psychology and later to environmental studies, with the same meaning of recovery from a traumatic situation. This linguistic transposition may be explained by the metaphor, recurring since Antiquity, which links urban form with the human body and mind. In the field of urbanism, landscaping is commonly considered as the main tool to link chaotic urban fabrics together and to restore a sense of place in metropolitan areas obscured by infrastructures. By reinforcing environmental qualities it helps generate urban biodiversity and offers opportunities for outdoor leisure activities. Furthermore, by revealing a forgotten geography, landscaping may help people of fragmented origins and classes to develop a feeling of belonging to a larger community.

The following historical survey will examine the planning initiatives of park systems and green corridors in the surburbs north-east of Paris, all the way through the 20th century and up to the present, most of which never came to fruition. It will emphasize the forgotten geographic contributions to the planning of Greater Paris and will refer to the corpus of official reports, competitions and master plans prepared by the City of Paris, the Departement de la Seine, the French State, and the Ile-de France region, including recent reports of today's Greater Paris authorities in favour of landscaped corridors.

This suburban area of the departement Seine-St-Denis (93) has suffered from a lack of comprehensive neighborhood planning and has been scarred by infrastructures which obliterate its geomorphology. Its revitalization represents a major challenge to re-balance the eastern section of Greater Paris, which suffers from social and ethnic segregation as shown by the riots of 2005. Moreover, the Paris attacks of 2015 stressed the fading sense of a common destiny between Paris itself and underserved suburbs. Furthermore, it is still instructive to study the historical process of landscape-induced metropolization, given current legislation concerning the new "Métropole du Grand Paris".

Indeed the consultation for Greater Paris 2009 set an impulse to renew landscape design theories[1]. The landscape-architect Michel Desvigne proposed the metaphor of "*le paysage augmenté*" to enhance geomorphology by renaturation. The architect Antoine Grumbach summarized the need for citizen symbols by declaring the Seine and its landscape as the real monuments for Greater Paris[2]. Grumbach and Devigne recall the tradition of geo-history, previously initiated by Elysée Reclus and Vidal de la Blache. They both occupy a field neglected by today's geography which focuses on mobility and flows, overshadowing space as a physical experiment.

Landscapes also challenge the methods of urban history, because of their scale, their living biology, and their support for human practices. Therefore, field surveys should constantly interact with archives and cartography analysis. This historical contribution applies a basic method – studying relevant texts and superimposing historical maps – but was complemented by a hike carried out in the spring of 2016 with students from the Paris-Belleville architecture school. By examining the current landscape, the success or failure of planning initiatives could be identified on the spot, as well as interactions between "vernacular" and "political" landscapes – according to J.B. Jackson's categories of human settlements[3]. Besides, testing the walkability of contemporary spaces helps to measure the gap between former suburban "arcadias" or utopias and what the cityscapes actually became.

A COMMON LANDSCAPE, A FRAGMENTED TERRITORY

The area under study forms a huge plateau extending eastwards from inner Paris and is characterized by a natural fold caused by the Seine and Marne rivers in a soil mostly composed of limestone and gypsum, which were later quarried and might have created artificial depressions. At the time of Haussmann, one of them was transformed into the famous Buttes Chaumont park by the landscape architect Barillet-Deschamps.
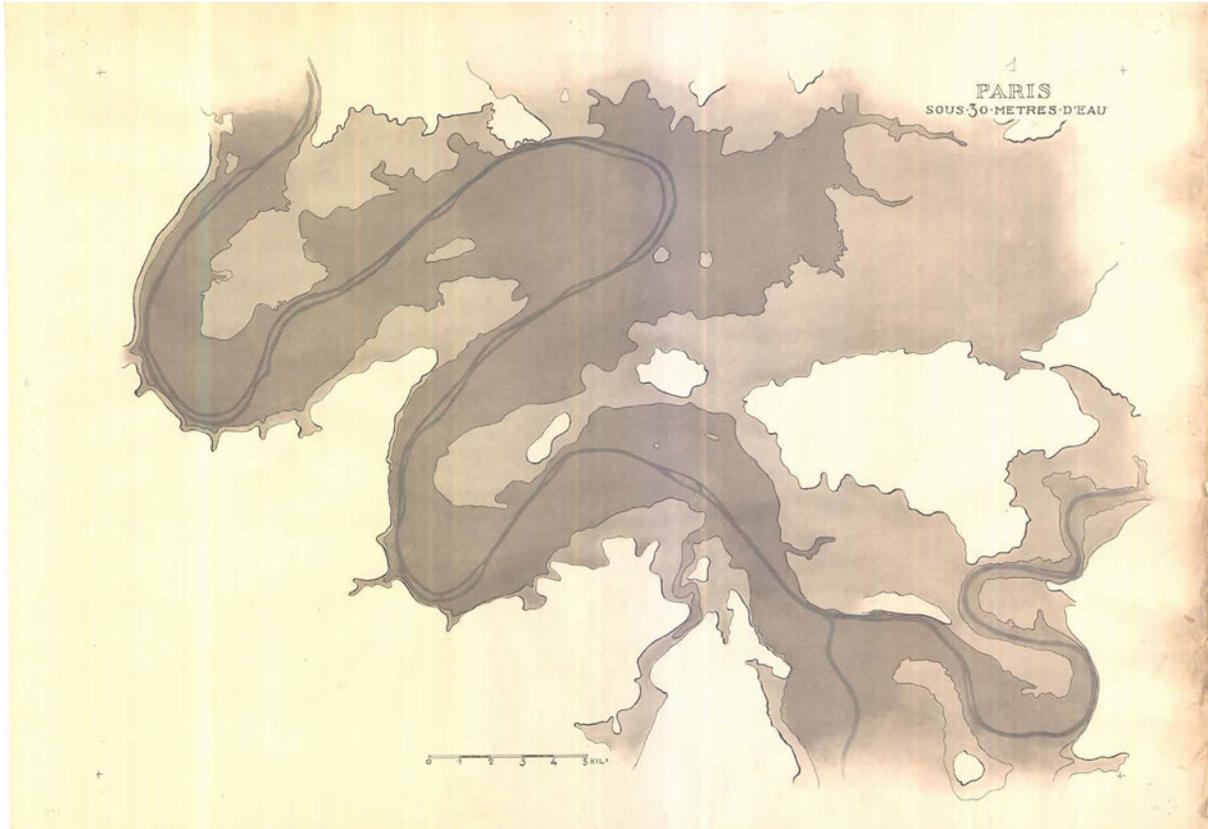
FIGURE 1 Louis Bonnier, "Map of Paris under 30 metres of water", Conférences et écrits, février 1930.

The northern border of the plateau is bounded by the geological depression of the *plaine de France*, occupied in ancient time by a untidy hydrological network which was dried up by the canal de l'Ourcq and pumped for industrial use. The south end of the plateau falls gradually towards the banks of the Marne. In fact, this plateau is cut by two little valleys, formed by the former riverbed of the Marne. The current toponomy now refers to three entities, from west to east:

— Extending from the park of Buttes Chaumont, "Le plateau de Romainville" offers a mosaic of urban and social textures. It landscape still bears the imprint of military fortresses.
— "Le plateau d'Avron" is a quiet urban island, occupied by woods and villages.
— Once covered by the legendary Bondy forest, "Le plateau de Montfermeil" hosts not only single-family houses, but also one of the major "grands-ensembles" of eastern Paris.

Most people are not aware of this topography linking Paris to the eastern banlieue. But through the 20th century it has been a key point for planners. One of the first, Louis Bonnier (1856-1946), chief architect for Paris, took into account the geological history of the plateaus surrounding Paris by mapping the predictable floods of the Seine and the long-term changes in its river bed[4].

Later, Gerard Hanning (1919-1980) studied the morphology of the historical rural fabric (*trame foncière*) within the framework of the first regional Ile-De-France master plan in 1976. He intended to guide the planning process in respect to the topography and the natural hydrological networks, preserving panoramas and enhancing cityscapes seen from a distance. His studies with his own drawings, cross-sections and diagrams were recently published[5]. His work reflected two trends in urban projects of his time, mixing scientific analysis with aesthetic concerns: that is, the Italian urban morphology and on the British townscape studies[6].

LANDSCAPED AND UN-LANDSCAPED INFRASTRUCTURES

The northern edge of the plateau can be identified from a distance thanks to a cityscape crowned by the radio tower of Romainville. On the other hand, several panoramas have been established on the plateaus, providing views down to the northern *plaine de France*, with the wooded hills of Montmorency in the distance and even to La Défense westwards. This gives a sense of the finite quality of the metropolis. To the south, the view from the plateau to the Marne is mostly hidden. But the new town of Marne-La-Vallée can be seen on the top of the opposite hillside from a few viewpoints.

Since ancient times the *plaine de France* has been a major route for mobility, welcoming the so-called "route d'Allemagne" and then the canal de l'Ourcq initiated by Napoléon 1st. In the mid 19th century came train tracks starting at the Gare de l'Est. During the industry aera the narrow Marne valley lost in importance for mobility. It still includes a huge switchyard located in the city of Chelles. The little plateau of Avron is yet surrounded by major infrastructures: on the west side the A86 motorway circles Paris; on the east side the rail network links Chelles to the Canal de l'Ourcq.

Built in the early 1960's, the Parisian "périphérique" ring road replaced a green belt that had been gradually built since the 1920's[7]. On this eastern section, panoramic views and scenic landscaping could have been disturbed by sound-walls. Recently, playgrounds have been built on artificial structures covering the motorway.

On the plateaus, minor engineered structures could be taken into account as landscaped infrastructures:

— Built under Haussmann's administration to supply Paris with drinking water, the viaduc de la Dhuys descends slowly from its original sources to the plateau of Montfermeil. It was covered and landscaped with a green lawn to give it a serpentine aspect, probably in the 1970's. It offers a pleasant promenade through areas of single-family dwellings and public housing complexes up to Bondy forest. Both this surface and underlying land are owned by the city of Paris.
— On the plateau of Romainville, three military fortresses still belong to the army. They were the outer part of an ineffective defense system built in the mid 19th with the inner "fortifications" wall surrounding Paris. Since the early 20th century, planners have wanted to landscape the "Corniche des Forts", the military road that linked the Forts. In the meantime, the open spaces existing for this parkway were drastically reduced, but the idea is still alive today.

A MOSAIC OF URBAN, SOCIAL AND ETHNIC FABRICS

The aera was long ago dedicated to truck and sheep-farming, orchards and quarries, supplying Parisians with fresh fruits, vegetables and building materials. A collection of urban typologies reflects the transition from a rural society, along with imported architectural forms from the upper class or the welfare state. Here we can see old settlement villages surrounding a church, often enlarged along a main road; ancient farms or plaster factories whose former existence is preserved in the toponymy; several aristocratic or ecclesiastical estates that have been divided into plots in the 19th century. The ciy of Montreuil still publicizes its "walls-grown peaches" (*Murs à pêches*) cultivated by associations, but neglects their maintenance.

Today, the municipalities bordering Paris (Les Lilas, Bobigny, Montreuil) are proud to be characterized as "faubourgs de la capitale". These former "main road villages" were soon densified by a heterogenous residential and industrial fabric. They never benefited from an extensive *haussmannization* as bourgeois suburbs did in the west (Neuilly or Boulogne) and in the south-east (Vincennes, St-Mandé). Certain roads were enlarged, but the most remained narrow.

FIGURE 2   Gérald Hanning, "The Parisian space: the fundamental agrarian order" (1973);

FIGURE 3   "Paris overseas its river site and establishes itself on the surrounding plateaus" (1973)

FIGURE 4   The East-Ensemble agglomeration, 2014, map of the plateau of Romainville

An important aspect of the pre-metropolization of the Romainville/Montfermeil plateau was the "*villégiatures*" built by Parisian bourgeois from the mid-19th century who chose unpolluted and panoramic sites close to the train stations. Spending Sundays and holidays with family, they were looking for social life as well, so they tended to settle in new communities. Set on a hillside, Le Raincy started its urbanization as a pittoresque settlement, becoming a main residence by the next generations of inhabitants. Montfermeil includes another of these typical villégiature-settlements, but of a lower standard, "Franceville". Around 1900 the idea of spending "*le dimanche à la campagne*" democratized and more modest communities could be found.[8]

Except for the genuine garden-city of Les Lilas, no major social housing projects on the plateau were recorded in the period between the two world wars. Instead, as elsewhere around Paris, a national housing policy encouraged more modest homeowners. These urban extensions, drawn up by promoters, were known as "*lotissements défectueux*" because of their bad sewage and road networks, until the Loi Sarrault (1928) offered improvement-subsidies to the settlers who had organized associations and the Loi Loucheur (1928) opened credit terms to a lower-income population[9].

During the post-WWII period, the so-called "red belt" (*ceinture rouge*) around Paris was governed by communist councils. They orignally welcomed middle-class populations thanks to major public housing projects that over the years tended to concentrate ethnic minorities. Because of real estate considerations, the "*grands ensembles*", defined as ZUP (zone d'urbanisme prioritaire), often occupied large areas with insufficient transport facilities. This is the case of the so-called "Chêne pointu" at Clichy-sous-Bois which was at the origins of the riots in 2005. Set next to a very ancient place of pilgrimage, the center of the ghetto confronts its memory with neolotic times.

From the mid-1970's onwards, housing policies changed again in favour of single-family houses that sprawled around urbanized zones. The term "*pavillonaire*" yet includes all kinds of urban fabrics, new and old, dedicated to family houses with garden.

This contrast of urban and social situations was reinforced by residential mobility. Once a charming villégiature, Le Raincy preserved its upper middle-class character and was long the only island of conservatives in this area. It's only a couple of kilometers from Clichy-sous-Bois. With very few exceptions in the suburbs close to Paris, the social structure of the pavillonaire is increasingly distinguished from that of the *grands ensembles* by the fact that it attracts higher earning families. The phenomenon of gentrification and social clivage is specially acute in the *faubourgs*, like Montreuil, which is depicted as the largest Malian city outside Africa, but also as a new home for former Parisians in the creative economy.

LANDSCAPE-INDUCED METROPOLIZATION: REVEALING THE FORGOTTEN GEOGRAPHY OF PARIS' NORTH-EASTERN SUBURBS
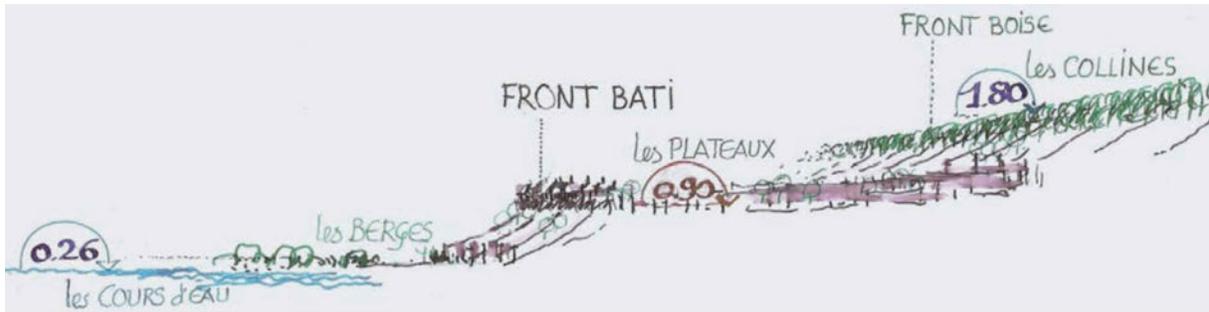
FIGURE 5 APUR, La fabrique du paysage métropolitain, 2012, a theoretical landscape cross-section

OVERLAPPING GOVERNANCES

The lack of interrelated open spaces has historical causes, mainly administrative divisions and erratic land purchase strategies at a time when it would have been possible to preserve natural spaces as a whole[10]. Nowadays, green spaces, parks and former quarries depend on different public ownerships (municipalities, departement Seine-St-Denis, region Ile-de-France, the State for the military aeras, and even the City of Paris).

In recent time some municipal associations (Communautés d'agglomération) were founded. The State and the region then encouraged the creation of so-called CDT (Contrat de Développement territorial) to award subsidies on the basis of improvement projects developed by cooperating municipalities. The scope of the CDT may or may not match that of the Communautés d'agglomération.

The overlapping of projects in the same territory is difficult to understand. The reports of each planning board (Communauté d'agglomération, CDT) are combined, along with those from other planning entities, such as the SGP (Société du Grans Paris), prime contractor for a future RER rapid transit line, and Paris-Aménagement, a state-owned real estate company. The two planning agencies of the Region (IAUîdF, Institut d'aménagement et d'urbanisme de la région Île de France) and the City of Paris (APUR, Atelier parisien d'urbanisme) consider it their duty to collect data above and beyond administrative boundaries. Playing the role of think-tank, there is also the AIGP (Atelier international du Grand Paris) which was founded after the Grand Paris competition in 2009 and financed by the State and the Région which assigned international and national architects as experts. Aware of the process of densification within tiny urban fabrics, they promote a densification on so-called "*foncier invisible*", rather than an extensive real estate strategy. In fact, local authorities and planning institutes are all awaiting the upcoming "Métropole du Grand Paris"[11]. The question is, will this new authority simplify things, or will it just enhance the bureaucratic "layer cake" ? This is a challenge for both citizens and planners.

CONTEMPORARY DEBATES AND QUOTATIONS ON LANDSCAPE

The AIGP considers the overall landscape (*le grand paysage*) an important topic and has introduced the concept of "landscape arches" (*arcs paysagers*) on a metropolitan scale. Concerning the CDTs "Est-ensemble" and "Paris Est entre Marne et Bois" AIGP's experts recommend to include the plateaus, the Canal de l'Ourcq and the Bondy forest in a broader vision for a "greater metropolitan landscape"; to enhance "the value of the Corniche des Forts" and to improve the ecological relationship down to the Marne and the Bois de Vincennes by restoring the small streams and rivers descending from the plateaus. The construction of highway and railroad bridges or passages are also considered as challenging[12].

Corinne Jaquand

LANDSCAPE-INDUCED METROPOLIZATION: REVEALING THE FORGOTTEN GEOGRAPHY OF PARIS' NORTH-EASTERN SUBURBS
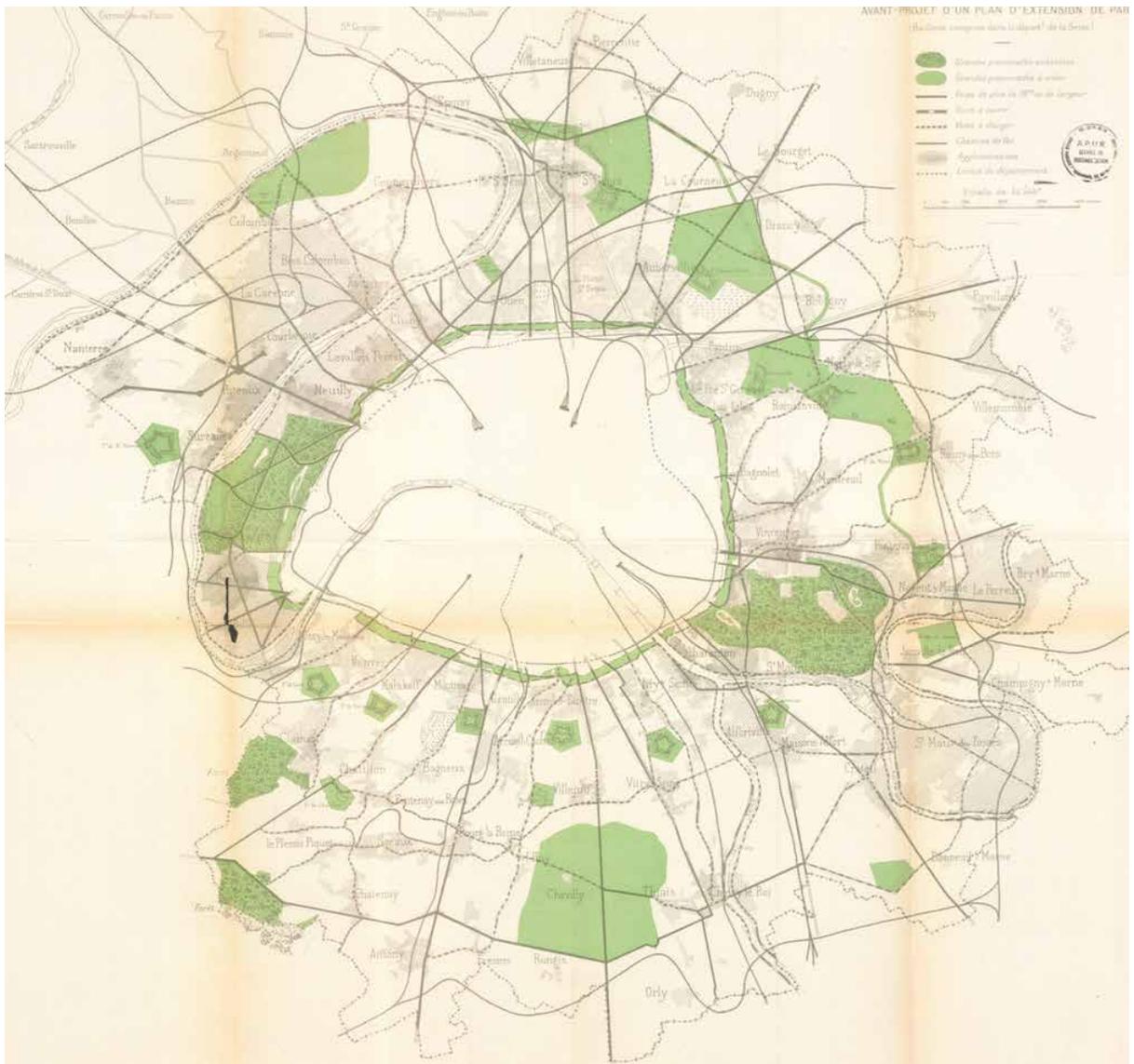
FIGURE 6 Louis Bonnier, preliminary project for Paris extension, 1913

The APUR – the planning agency for the city of Paris – is not commissioned to act for others municipalities, but clearly wants to revive comprehensive geographic analysis. It therefore published two booklets on "The making of the metropolitan landscape" which aims to identify "the fundamental elements of the greater landscape" ; "to make the metropolitan landscape more readable" and to produce "tools of prefiguration and management of the impact of future projects on the landscape"[13]. Dealing with cityscapes and panoramas, urban layouts and topography, the hand-drawn maps and cross-sections of this brochure were obviously inspired by Gerald Hanning, even though he is not cited.

All of these studies seem to have developed amnesia: there is no reference to planning history.

LANDSCAPE-INDUCED METROPOLIZATION: REVEALING THE FORGOTTEN GEOGRAPHY OF PARIS' NORTH-EASTERN SUBURBS

FIGURE 7 Léon Jaussely, with Roger-Henri Expert and Louis Sollier, Greater Paris Competition, 1919,
general plan in black and white: note the double-park system to the east

PREVIOUS PROJECTS OF PARKS SYSTEMS

The first comprehensive report connecting inner Paris with its surroundings dated from 1913 when the
"Commission d'extension de Paris" – founded in 1911 by the City Council of Paris and the département de la Seine
– published two booklets written by the historian Marcel Poëte and Louis Bonnier, who produced a schematic
plan of a park system around Paris, linking historical parks, natural woods and urban parks[14]. On the plateau de
Romainville he foresaw a green necklace whose backbone was the Corniche des Forts transformed into a parkway.
This urban figure would remain a paradigm for planners till the present day.

By this time the Parisian scene contained different opinions concerning the lay-out of parks. Some people, like
Eugène Hénard, stood for a distribution of parks of different sizes all over Greater Paris, with very weak links.
Others, like Bonnier and Claude Nicolas Forestier – the successor to Adolphe Alphand at the city board for parks

LANDSCAPE-INDUCED METROPOLIZATION: REVEALING THE FORGOTTEN GEOGRAPHY OF PARIS' NORTH-EASTERN SUBURBS

– stood for park systems connected by generous parkways like those planned for American cities. In 1908, The Forestier's book published in 1908, "Grandes villes et systèmes de parcs", received full attention at the Musée social, a lobby for scientists that played a significant role in the Chamber of Deputies[15].

The question of "green-fielding" the fortifications, which were supposed to be destroyed according to a pending law, led to a compromise with a project supported by the deputy Louis Dausset, consisting in the division of the military zone into two rings: an inner one for public housing programmes and an outer one devoted to a green belt composed of parks and playing fields. All protagonists called on comparative statistics from other big cities, such as London, New York, Vienna and Berlin, but none developed feasible proposals for an integrated parks policy for Greater Paris.

The questions of land purchase, and whether a contracting authority similar to the American Park Commissions should be established were barely addressed. Ignoring the popular "bals aux bords de Marne" and other outdoor practices, as shown in the paintings by neo-impressionnists, the French experts still supported the model of the bourgeois "promenade" and did not really investigate new recreation programs, such as playgrounds. Access by the Parisian masses to suburban parks by public transport was not even mentioned in Bonnier's report. This was very unlike Germany where theories flourished at that time in favor of "Volksparks", "Sozial Grün" and "Parkpolitik".

A competition for the plan "d'Aménagement and d'embellissement du Grand Paris" was started in 1919, at the initiative of the département de la Seine and the Council of Paris according to the law for the reclassification of the fortifications and the law Cornudet that obliged cities of more than 10.000 inhabitants to draw up extension plans (both 1919). Participants in this competition were asked to come up with proposals for public transport, park systems and types of housing extensions. The winner, the architect Léon Jaussely (with Roger-Henri Expert and Louis Sollier), was a self-taught urbanist who had been awarded the Grand Prix de Rome, like Tony Garnier and Henri Prost. After winning a competition for Barcelona in 1905, he had worked for its municipality on a improvement plan interconnecting the faubourgs and introducing zoning plan. In 1909-1910 he and Charles Nicod entered the Greater Berlin competition with a project noticed by the jury[16].

His attitude to city extensions was comprehensive, structured by geography. According to a planning method, he first designed the infrastructures from the heaviest to the lightest, proposing a new canal linking the Marne river at Chelles to the Canal de l'Ourcq and Canal St-Denis to a new port in Genevilliers, on the Seine downstream. Between Chelles and Ourcq, the canal followed the existing railways eastward from the mound of Avron. All over the plateaus, he improved the main radial streets with greenery and, being familiar with Olmsted, he proposed a double green system. One crescent enclosed the first ring of suburbs, linking from north to south the Pantin cemetery to the Bois de Vincennes and the Marne river. About 15-20 km from Paris, he also planned an outer green system connecting the Bondy forest with natural spaces. Every 5 km was a concentric parkway called a "*promenade touristique*" (three in all, the first was the Corniche de Forts). Jaussely, like most of his competitors, intended to build new housing settlements, described as "cités-jardin" or "banlieues-jardin".

In 1934, the architect Henri Prost presented the first official plan for Greater Paris (PARP, Plan d'aménagement de la Région parisienne) ordered by the State and the Département de la Seine[17]. The plan extended in a circle of 40 km around Paris and was designed to limit urban growth, to modernize the road system and introduce new motorways. Without referring to Jaussely, Prost used some of his features, like the green circles, but reduced them in size. No new motorways were planned for the plateaus, but primary roads were distinguished in their existing street network. The archives from the public enquiry show that some municipalities were not so eager to preserve open spaces[18]. In the inter-war period the municipalities had limited resources to purchase or expropriate for this need[19].
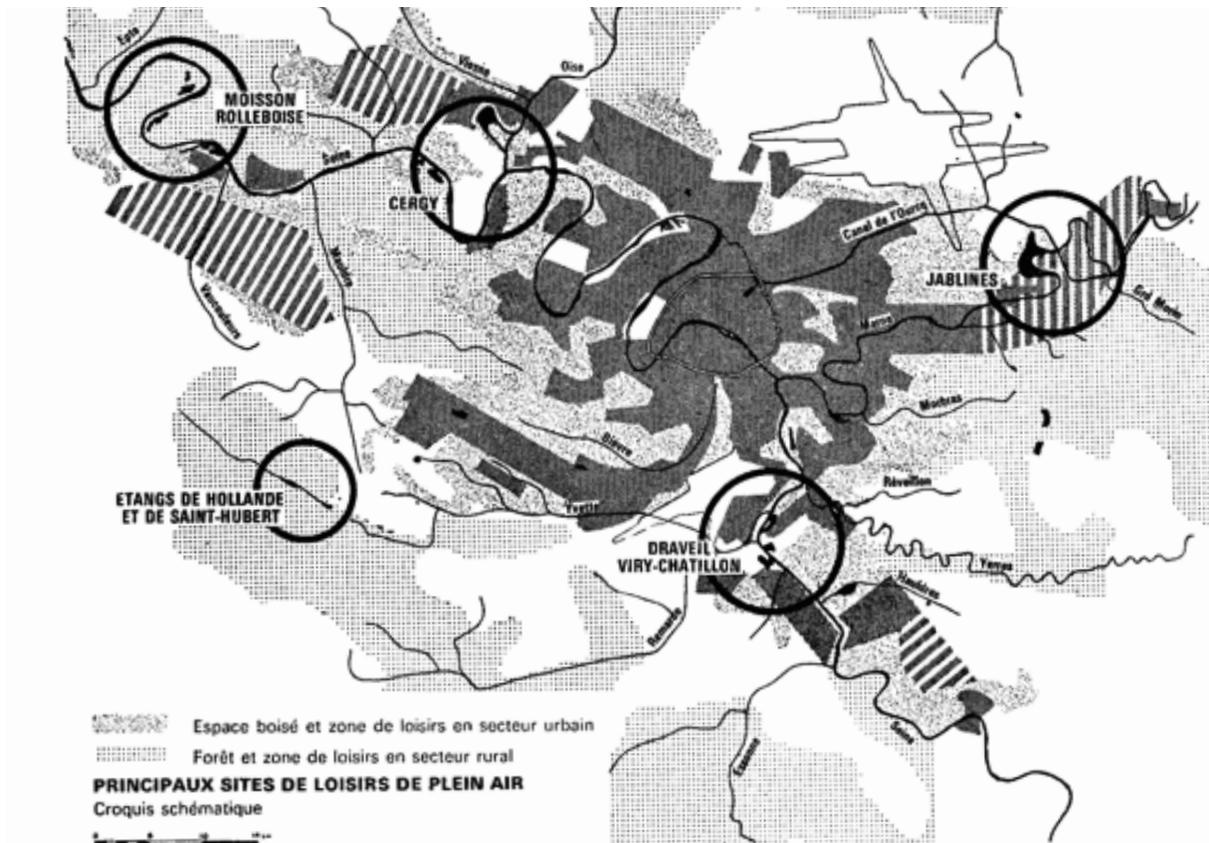
FIGURE 8 SDRAUP 1965 (Schéma directeur d'aménagement et d'urbanisme de la Région parisienne), Paris area urban development master plan: main recreation areas.

Published in 1934, approved in 1939, revised in 1956, the PARP remained the guidelines for the suburbs until the PADOG of 1960 (Plan d'aménagement et d'organisation générale de la Région parisienne). In August 1965 came the SDAURP (Schéma directeur d'aménagement et d'urbanisme de la Région parisienne**)**, which was supervised by the District of the Région parisienne founded in 1961 and managed by Paul Delouvrier. Greater Paris was to be extended with four new towns set on both sides of the Seine valley, so that urban growth would stretch in two parallel bands. In addition, the master plan featured the development of the office district at La Défense, a new airport at Roissy and the construction of the RER, a rapid transport network for commuters. Nonetheless, by concentrating infrastructures in the outer belt of suburbs around Paris, the SDAURP restrained investements in the underserved inner belt, controlled at the time by entrenched communist administrations.

In the SDAURP, the crescent of the Forts was mapped as an island, while Bondy Forest merged into a huge park extending to the north (today parc forestier régional de Sevran). Five recreation areas with beaches – "bases de loisirs" – were considered at a much bigger scale[20]. That of Jablines, located at the intersection of the Marne river and the canal de l'Ourcq, was indeed built (like others in Cergy, Draveil), but without the public transport that would benefit a broader population living in inner Paris. What had long become a standard in other countries (like the United States and Germany) – free metropolitan beaches – was delayed in France.

The regional master plans that followed – SDRIF (Schéma directeur de la région d'Île-de-France) of 1976, 1994, 2013 – were based on a number of preliminary studies, including Gerald Hanning's townscape studies for 1976. Environmental values got reinforced, while interest grew in agriculture, previously overlooked.

CONCLUSION

By confronting academic knowledge with the terrain, planning history borrows from the fields of empirical sociology and landscape survey. Since, the usefulness of historical metropolitan studies is not yet obvious for contemporary issues. In the upcoming process of Métropole du Grand Paris, public authorities did not involve historian scholars, except for an overall study on the inheritance of Haussmann commissioned by an elected representative of the city of Paris[21].

Nevertheless in 2013 some historians teaching in universities and schools for architecture merged together for an initiative called "Inventer le Grand Paris" – a yearly conference program that intend to renew the narrative of the Parisian metropolis in a comparative and international perspective. By relating the sense of place to long term history, this could modestly contribute to a public debate and benefit to suburban resilience and integration policies.

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She is a co-founder of "Inventer le Grand Paris", a group of urban historians who held since 1913 yearly conferences on the history of Greater Paris.

Endnotes

1   Adrien Gey, *L'évolution des rapports ville nature dans la pensée et la pratique aménagistes : la consultation internationale du Grand Paris*, PhD, Université de Grenoble, 2013, https://tel.archives-ouvertes.fr/tel-01002384/document ; "Urban–nature relationships in urban planning foresight in Europe: contributions from the Concours International du Grand Paris", *Town Planning Review*, 85 (2014/5): 589-616.

2   Antoine Grumbach, "La Seine est le vecteur d'identité de la métropole", interview by Lauren Houssin, *Libération* (December, 11, 2014), accessed March 30, 2016, http://www.liberation.fr/evenements-libe/2014/12/11/antoine-grumbach-la-seine-est-le-vecteur-d-identite-de-la-metropole_1161322

3   John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *A la découverte du paysage vernaculaire* (Arles/Paris, Actes Sud/ENSP, 2003).

4   Archives d'architecture du XXᵉ siècle, *Fonds Louis Bonnier 1897-1930*, "Conférences et écrits, fév. 1930 : plan de Paris sous 30 mètres d'eau" [35-003-002] ; "Plan de Paris sous 10 mètres d'eau" [35-003-006].

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6   For how France reacted to the English debates on Townscapes, see Hélène Jannière and Frédéric Pousin, "Paysage urbain: d'une thématique à un objet de recherche", *Strates* (2007/13), accessed May 30 2016, http://strates.revues.org/4953

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8   Isabelle Rabault-Mazières, "Villégiature et formation des banlieues résidentielles Paris au XIXe siècle", *Histoire urbaine*, 41(2014/3): 63-82.

9   Annie Fourcaut, *La banlieue en morceaux: La crise des lotissements défectueux en France dans l'entre-deux-guerres* (Paris: Créaphis, 2000).

10 From the Revolution up to the 1960's, this territory was divided into two circular administrative départements: the Seine and the Seine-et-Oise. Including the municipality of Paris, the Seine département had an administration which was quite effective compared to the rural Seine-et-Oise. In 1964 Seine and Seine-et-Oise merged and were redivided into 4 départements. All the municipalities of the plateau became part of the new département of Seine-St-Denis. See: Emmanuel Bellanger, "La traversée historique du Grand Paris", *Mouvements*, 74(2013/2): 52-62 ; Annie Fourcaut, Emmanuel Bellanger and Mathieu Flonneau, *Paris/Banlieues, Conflits et solidarités, Historiographie, anthologie, chronologie, 1788-2006* (Paris: Créaphis, 2007).

11 According to the law of January 1, 2016, the authority of "Métropole du Grand Paris" will gradually replace the four départements of Paris, Seine St-Denis, Val-de-Marne and Haut-de-Seine, and supervise the urban projects developed by local entities.

12 *Avis de l'Atelier international du Grand-Paris: CDT Est-Ensemble* (Paris: AIGP, 2013), 35, accessed March 30, 2016, http://www.ateliergrandparis.fr/aigp/conseil/avisAIGP_CDTEstEnsemble.pdf

13   APUR, *La fabrique du paysage métropolitain* (Paris, June 2012) ; *La fabrique du paysage métropolitain 2: Au cœur de l'agglomération parisienne, quels outils pour une gestion commune du grand paysage ?* (Paris, June 2014), accessed March 30, 2016.
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15   Jean-Claude Nicolas Forestier, *Grandes villes et systèmes de parcs* (Paris: Imprimerie Chaix, 1908).

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18   *Résultat de l'enquête sur le projet d'aménagement de la Région parisienne: Mémoire de monsieur le Préfet de la Seine au conseil général* (Paris: Préfecture du département de la Seine, 1935-1937), Archives nationales [1977 0911/15].

19   Jean-Pierre Gaudin, *L'avenir en plan: Technique et politique dans la prévision urbaine 1900-1930* (Seyssel, Champ Vallon, 1985).

20   Présentation du SDAURP de 1965, Chap.IV Les loisirs (Paris: 1965), 228, accessed March 30, 2016, http://www.driea.ile-de-france.developpement-durable.gouv.fr/presentation-du-sdaurp-de-1965-a970.html

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V.01 P.149   **Corinne Jaquand**

LANDSCAPE-INDUCED METROPOLIZATION: REVEALING THE FORGOTTEN GEOGRAPHY OF PARIS' NORTH-EASTERN SUBURBS

Image sources

Figure 01: Louis Bonnier 1897-1930, Conférences et écrits, février 1930 (35-003-002) ©"Fonds Louis Bonnier. SIAF/Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine/Archives d'architecture du XXe siècle"

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Figure 04 : Est-Ensemble, La fabrique du Grand Paris. Contrat de développement territorial (Paris: février 2014), 50, http://www.est-ensemble.fr/sites/default/files/contrat_de_developpement_territorial_-_fevrier_2014_0.pdf

Figure 05 : APUR, La fabrique du paysage métropolitain, vol. 1, (Paris, June 2012), 4-5, http://www.apur.org/sites/default/files/documents/fabri-que_paysage_metropolitain.pdf

Figure 06 : Louis Bonnier, "Avant-projet d'un plan d'extension de Paris", in Considérations techniques préliminaires. La circulation, les espaces libres, ed. Préfecture de la Seine/Commission d'extension de Paris (Paris: Imprimerie Chaix, 1913), annexes Pl. 8.

Figure 7: Léon Jaussely: 1919. Concours pour l'aménagement et extension de Paris (avec Roger-Henri Expert et Louis Sollier): plan général (LJ-PHO-019-01-01 1919) ©"Fonds Jaussely. Académie d'architecture/Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine/Archives d'architecture du XXe siècle"

Figure 8: SDRAUP 1965, Report (Paris: 1965), 229, http://www.driea.ile-de-france.developpement-durable.gouv.fr/presentation-du-sdaurp-de-1965-a970.html

LANDSCAPE-INDUCED METROPOLIZATION: REVEALING THE FORGOTTEN GEOGRAPHY OF PARIS' NORTH-EASTERN SUBURBS

THIRTY YEARS OF TRANSFORMATION OF THE WATERFRONT OF MALAGA

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Malaga is a port city since its origin. Different civilizations have lived in it, all of them from the sea. And each one has forged the different layers that make up the city. According to Braudel, "Mediterranean cities have always descended from their environment, and have been creators of routes, while at the same time being created by them". This made us understand that Malaga belonged to a network of port cities, not only a network of trade but a network of knowledge, of culture… and this directly influenced the morphology of the city, since port cities resolved through local projects the needs of global changes. They faced the same problems, especially arising from the evolution of maritime transport, with its own solutions. As in most port cities, the Industrial Revolution marked a before and an after in the relationship between the port and the city. Both were distant, disconnected as had never been before. The appearance of the container has caused a new transformation, an adaptation of the port to the new maritime needs that has resulted in the recovery of historic docks for the city. We are living a time of radical transformations in the historic ports in search of their reintegration into the urban fabric.

The transformation process of the waterfront of Malaga began in 1985. We analyze how over these 30 years (from 1985 to 2005), while in Malaga port and city suffered continuous agreements and disagreements, the transformations of the waterfronts were evolving in the world, in the network of port cities. We classify the different stages of transformation of waterfronts. We find the principal features of each of these stages, both the successes and the mistakes. We study how each stage is an evolution of the previous one until the twenty-first century. Then, we conclude that the success of these actions is directly proportional to the quality of planning. Most have a global vision that is developed in concert with the support of the Port Authority, the City and Citizens. They make a long-term proposition, with big goals to twenty or thirty years. It imply a relevant organization in which the different phases and the impact of each on the city and port are studied.

Malaga highlights the poor planning of the waterfront of the city, that does not solve the different flows that must coexist in this area. There is a total disconnect between the docks and city projects that are contiguous both in its location and execution period. Planning is scarce, and more to have taken 30 years performed. This period has passed the temporary provision of the project that has failed to adapt to the new needs of a dynamic and complex city in continuous transformation. The huge opportunity which today opens out in front of the port cities, supposes the ability to base themselves on the announced global changes of today in order to make their projects for the local future.

Keywords
Waterfront, Port-city, Urban Planning, Mediterranean City

Neighborhood Planning

Chair: Fernando Diniz Moreira

URBAN REGENERATION, MASTERPLANS AND RESILIENCE: THE CASE OF THE GORBALS, IN GLASGOW

Alessandra Feliciotti

University of Strathclyde

A Century ago in Western Countries, to deal with the Industrial Revolution, planners and designers felt the necessity of new and more scientific foundations for planning endeavor. Masterplans, large-scale and detailed spatial "blueprints, were aimed at delivering this whole new set of precepts into practice and, hence, into reality. It was implicit, in this approach, that outcomes could be certainly predicted and that would achieve long term stability. As many places shaped after such often inflexible and overly-prescriptive masterplans were found unable to account for the complexity of the problems they set out to solve and failed to account for the relationship between physical, social and economic dynamics, masterplans were attacked as part of the wider criticism against the "mechanistic" approach to planning and the "rational-comprehensive" approach to decision-making. Only from the end of 1990s, with place-making and the emerging sustainability agenda, masterplans were re-evaluated as a fundamental tool for urban development, producing a generation of masterplans very distant from the post-war "blueprint plans". Today, the sheer complexity of cities and the unprecedented magnitude and speed of urban change, leaves planners and designers with the seemingly impossible task of making long term plans in the face of an uncertain future. This implies that, if masterplans are to remain a viable and useful planning and design tool, they need to account for the dimension of time and the element of change. In this regard, the question is to what extent - if at all - is this new generation of masterplans better equipped to cope with inherent uncertainty and unforeseen change over time?

To answer this question, the discourse on resilience, increasingly central in urban planning and governance and, more recently, in urban design is recognized as useful for engaging with a changing world. However, this almost never associated with tool of masterplans, despite the fact that these sit at the core of urban planning and design as research area and as professional practice, and that our tradition of pre-WWII masterplanning delivered places that displayed resilience in adapting to unparalleled changes over time.

Within this broader context, the current paper offers an un-conventional analysis of one of the most well-known area of Glasgow, Scotland: the Gorbals. This area is particularly interesting from a resilience perspective as it has undergone, over the last century, two major masterplan-led redevelopments, the first in the 1960s and the second of the early 1990s, emblematic of two very different approaches to urban development. In the current paper the area is analysed over time against five resilience-proxies, namely diversity, redundancy, modularity, connectivity and efficiency, offering a pretext to discuss strengths and limits of different approaches to masterplanning in taking on the challenge of complexity and change.

V.01 P.155 **Alessandra Feliciotti**
URBAN REGENERATION, MASTERPLANS AND RESILIENCE: THE CASE OF THE GORBALS, IN GLASGOW

TOC

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT CONCEPT IN THE WESTERN GARDEN CITIES IN AMSTERDAM IN THE EARLY POST-WAR PERIOD

Noor Mens

Eindhoven, University of Technology

This paper analyses the way the General Expansion Plan for Amsterdam was modified after 1945 to accommodate the principles of the neighbourhood unit concept, using the Western Garden Cities as a case study. The purpose is to evaluate continuities and discontinuities between pre-war and post-war modern urbanism. Since its presentation in 1934, the original plan was heralded as exemplary for the CIAM approach to urbanism - not surprisingly since Cornelis van Eesteren, its principal designer, was president of the CIAM. So far scholars have ignored the way the plan was partly re-designed in the 1940s and 1950s, the neighbourhood unit concept providing the reasons for most of the changes. Exploring these changes is the original contribution of this paper. The methodology combines historical research into the motives of the principal stakeholders - Van Eesteren, the municipal planning office, local politics and the housing corporations among others - with a thorough analysis of urban plans and the structure of the neighbourhoods.

V.01 P.157 **Noor Mens**

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT CONCEPT IN THE WESTERN GARDEN CITIES IN AMSTERDAM IN THE EARLY POST-WAR PERIOD

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TOC

INTRODUCTION

In the 1950s and 1960s, new housing estates were built in the Western outskirts of Amsterdam. Conceived as green, spacious neighbourhoods, they are usually referred to as the 'Western Garden Cities'. Although they do not follow the model laid out by Ebenezer Howard, they do have certain features in common with their historical predecessor: they are separate units in green surroundings and they have their own facilities. Densities are low, and ideally the buildings are situated in a park like setting. The Western Garden Cities are part of the famous General Expansion Plan (Algemeen Uitbreidingsplan, AUP) designed by Cornelis van Eesteren and Theodoor Karel van Lohuizen between 1928 and 1934, when Louis Suzon Pedro Scheffer was head of the Section of Urbanism, a new division of the city's Public Works Department. The Western Garden Cities mark a new approach in public housing in Amsterdam. In the 1950s and 1960s, the way the buildings were distributed in a neatly designed green open space with playgrounds for children came to symbolize a new way of life.

Acclaimed as a revolutionary and characteristically modern approach to urbanism, this plan was actually based on concepts and strategies that had been developed in the 1920s and clearly expressed at the International Town Planning Congress in Amsterdam in 1924[1]. Specific for the Dutch variant of these views was the conviction that in the densely populated Western provinces the creation of satellite cities should be prevented: they would drain the lifeblood from the cities, destroy the open landscape, and frustrate the realization of efficient networks of public transportation[2]. Although the term 'compact city' had not yet been coined, this was the ultimate goal of most general expansion plans in the 1920s and 1930s. The appreciation of the beauty of the landscape and the wish to preserve it as much as possible, had a major impact on the development of town planning[3]. Easy access to greenery was guaranteed by a radial layout with green wedges that penetrated the urban tissue, and, vice verse, 'fingers' stretching out in the surrounding landscape.

Demographers, geographers, urban planners and most policy makers believed that the period of rapid expansion should be seen as transitory: within only a few decades, growth would come to a halt and a period of more stable development was bound to set in. The General Expansion Plan for Amsterdam calculated the population of Amsterdam at approximately one million inhabitants once the transition period was over. All plans at the smaller scale were seen as steps leading to the city's final form[4].

In the 1940s the plans were partly redesigned, the neighbourhood unit concept providing the reasons for most changes. Developed in the United States as method to make housing estates fit for the car while at the same creating social units with all the facilities for everyday life, the neighbourhood concept was charged with new meaning in the Netherlands in the years of the German occupation. Inspired by the characteristically Dutch political philosophy of 'personalist-socialism', the model was now seen as a tool to forge a new sense of community, the lack of which having been identified as one of the underlying causes of the war. Finally and most importantly, the implications of the concept for the Western Garden Cities are described. A hierarchy of housing units of different scales was introduced: neighbourhoods made up of several sub-neighbourhoods, with facilities such as shops concentrated in neighbourhood centres, leading to a much more differentiated urban landscape.

After briefly outlining the original plan and its historical background, this paper analyses the neighbourhood unit, its introduction in the Netherlands, the role assigned to it in fostering a new sense of community, and the impact it made on Dutch urban planning after the war. The core of the paper describes how the principles of the neighbourhood unit concept impacted the Western Garden Cities, the first substantial part of the General Expansion Plan that was actually realized.

 Noor Mens

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT CONCEPT IN THE WESTERN GARDEN CITIES IN AMSTERDAM IN THE EARLY POST-WAR PERIOD

A GENERAL EXPANSION PLAN FOR AMSTERDAM

In 1921, as a result of annexation of Sloten and Watergraafsmeer, the territory of Amsterdam increased from 4.630 to 17.455 hectare. Reflecting an international trend, the Public Housing Law was adapted in the same year in order to allow municipalities to make zoning plans for the entire area they covered[5]. The International Congress of Town Planning, organised in Amsterdam in 1924, went even further and called for planning at the regional scale. Acknowledging that these now exceeded the level of single municipalities, this called for a regional approach[6]. Town planning could no longer only be concerned with aesthetics as the basic principle. Apart from regional planning, nature in urbanism was an important theme. Not only the preservation of the surrounding landscapes of the cities, but also the way nature could be brought into the city, close to the inhabitants. This led to new concepts of urban growth: instead of concentric rings, radial expansion was now favoured: 'fingers' stretched out into the surrounding landscape, and the areas between them were transformed into green belts. Ideally, these connected to parkways that penetrated deeply into the urban fabric. Equally consequential was the conviction that town planning should be based on thorough surveys. These should map recent changes and understand the preferences of urban functions, notably industries, for sites with specific qualities (proximity to either canals or railways, for instance).

Trying to benefit from the new legal means and reflecting the movement towards regional plans, the municipality of Amsterdam presented the Plan-Bos: a rather sketchy 'Schemaplan voor Groot-Amsterdam' (schematic plan for Greater Amsterdam) in 1924. Its principal aim was to designate areas for living and industry respectively. A.W. Bos, head of the department of 'Publieke Werken' (public works), presided over the committee. It proposed expansion mainly in a western direction, continuing the already built-up areas. In the centre of the expansion plan, a park with recreational facilities was planned, and the scheme incorporated the trajectory for a circle line for the railways that had been adopted by the city council. Arie Kepler, head of the municipal housing department and a stern advocate of the construction of garden cities, disagreed with the schematic plan and presented his views separately.

The Netherlands Institute for Housing and Planning (Nederlands Instituut van Volkshuisvesting en Stedenbouw, NIVS), home of all modern minded urban planners and initiator of the town planning conference in Amsterdam in 1924, was disappointed by the schematic plan, but for other reasons than Kepler's. Dirk Hudig, its chairman, Th.K. van Lohuizen, who worked on surveys for the city of Rotterdam, and M.J. Granpré Molière, pioneer of regional planning in the Netherlands, attacked the proposal for not incorporating the latest views on urban planning. The NIVS asked W.G. Witteveen, who had gathered experience as an urban planner while working for the Dutch railways, to design an alternative plan. Witteveen accepted the view of the municipality for expansion industries in a western direction; the living quarters for the working force should be built nearby. Preservation of the qualities of the landscape was an important motif in Witteveen's plan, which incorporated the recreational zones along the Schinkel, the Nieuwe Meer and the Amstel in his proposal. He saw his plan as a tool to bring together working areas, living quarters and recreational facilities in a single 'organism'[7].

Although Witteveen's plan wasn't realized, it fostered the belief that fundamental measures were needed to address the urban problems of Amsterdam. Already in 1923, two committees had been founded: the Garden City committee, which was in 1923 appointed to examine the possibilities and desirability of the realization of garden cities near Amsterdam, and a committee that examined the possibility of a separate municipal department for urban planning. Members of the Garden City committee were Hudig, De Bazel and Berlage and the heads of the municipal services. Chairmen were the alderman of Public Housing (S.R. de Miranda) and Public Works (J. ter Haar). In 1929 it presented a bulky report[8]. It stated that the foundation of a new town, completely independent from the city, was out of the question, but one garden city nearby, separated from the city by a green belt, could be a viable alternative. The committee proposed a plan for a satellite city for approximately 50,000 inhabitants in Het Gooi.

Noor Mens

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT CONCEPT IN THE WESTERN GARDEN CITIES IN AMSTERDAM IN THE EARLY POST-WAR PERIOD
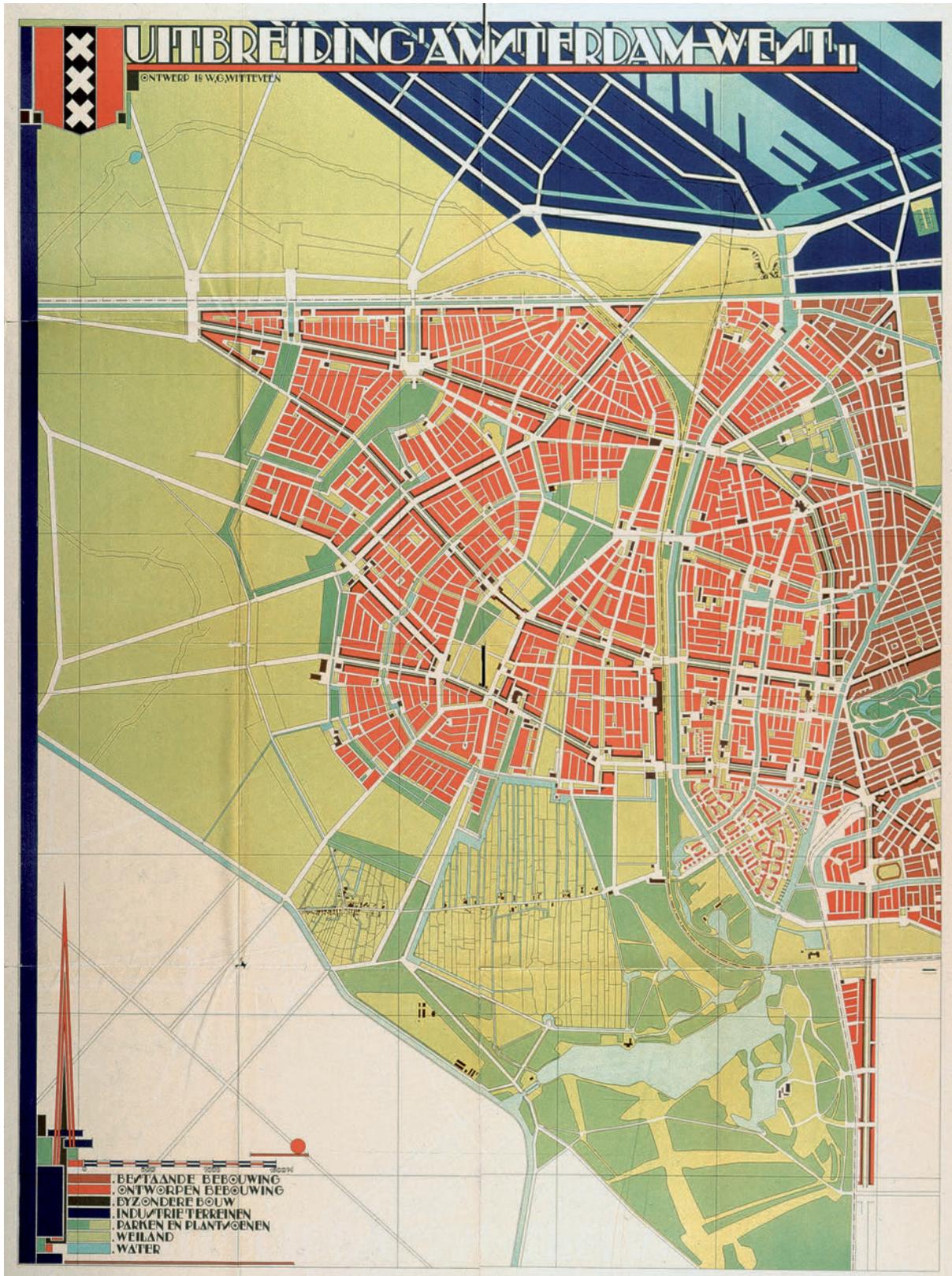
FIGURE 1 W.G. Witteveen, Expansion plan Amsterdam-West, 1923-1926

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT CONCEPT IN THE WESTERN GARDEN CITIES IN AMSTERDAM IN THE EARLY POST-WAR PERIOD

The committee studying the pros and cons of an independent body for urban planning reported in 1928. Its work was of great importance for the General Expansion Plan9. According to F.M. Wibaut, chairman of the committee, the head of the new department also was supposed to be more than an architect-designer (in the sense of town-planner), but also an economist with knowledge of the economical development of the city, and a technical expert[10].

The brief contained several elements. It called for a rather centralised expansion with neighbourhoods that directly connected to the existing city and it should be based on scientific research (survey before plan) and needed to be based on objective data[11]. Both the port and the new living areas should expand in a western direction, which was also determined by the municipal borders. Further demands were the planning of a recreation area in the vicinity of the Nieuwe Meer, a lake in the centre of the new expansion area. The so-called Bosplan that was being realized at the time provided additional opportunities for leisure. The circle line should be part of the plan, and the traffic infrastructure with the region should be taken into account.

THE GENERAL EXPANSION PLAN

The new department of urban planning came into being shortly after the report was finished; 'Stadsontwikkeling' (urban development) became part of the public works, where L.S.P. Scheffer was appointed the chief. A subdivision dedicated to the research was led by Th.K. van Lohuizen. In 1929 Cornelis van Eesteren was appointed chief designer; a year later J.H. Mulder became his principal assistant. Already in 1929 the demographers concluded that the population of Amsterdam was not likely to grow beyond the numbers that could be accommodated beyond the new municipal borders. That implied the end of the idea to build new garden cities. It also led the designers to believe that they could take the final stage of the plan, the city that would emerge once the plan had been realized, as a starting point. This was expected to occur around the year 2000; at that time the city would have 960.000 inhabitants[12]. 'These results lead to the surprising conclusion that it is not only possible, but actually necessary to conceive of the General Expansion Plan in such a way that it envisages our future city in its final shape, that is to say as a complete and finished whole'[13].

The plan was conceived of as a master plan that only fixed the basic structure; afterwards, partial plans were to be made. This anticipated the planning processes envisaged in the 1931 amendments to the Public Housing law. The municipality approved the General Expansion Plan in 1935, the state in 1939. It covered the areas to the west and south of Amsterdam within the circle line (comprising the neighbourhoods of Bos en Lommer, Westlandgracht and Overtoomse Veld), an area south of the circle line (Buitenveldert), and a very large zone to the west of the circle line (Slotermeer, Geuzenveld, Slotervaart and Osdorp: the Western Garden Cities that are the object of this study.

The plan incorporated the recommendations of the brief. The port and the living quarters expanded in a western direction. Both parts were separated by a wide green belt. The living area was subdivided in neighbourhoods that were separated from each other by green belts. The circle line was embedded in a wide green zone, which was seen as a perfect site for high-rise buildings. The Slotermeer-polder was transformed into the Sloterplas, the main recreational area. The recreational areas Amsterdamse Bos and the Nieuwe Meer were integrated in the plan. The railway line leading to Harlem was to be moved to the north. The plan only contained the main traffic arteries: the connecting roads with the centre.

An explanatory note ('Nota van Toelichting') accompanied the plan. It stated that it was hard to decide the locations of the future industrial zones, though it made clear that their size was derived from the number of inhabitants. The recreational facilities were calculated on the basis of a fixed number of square meters per inhabitants; reports from abroad, for instance Martin Wagner's *Städtische Freiflächenpolitik* (1915), provided indispensible input[14]. Their precise location, size and design characteristics were defined in relation with the surrounding neighbourhoods[15].
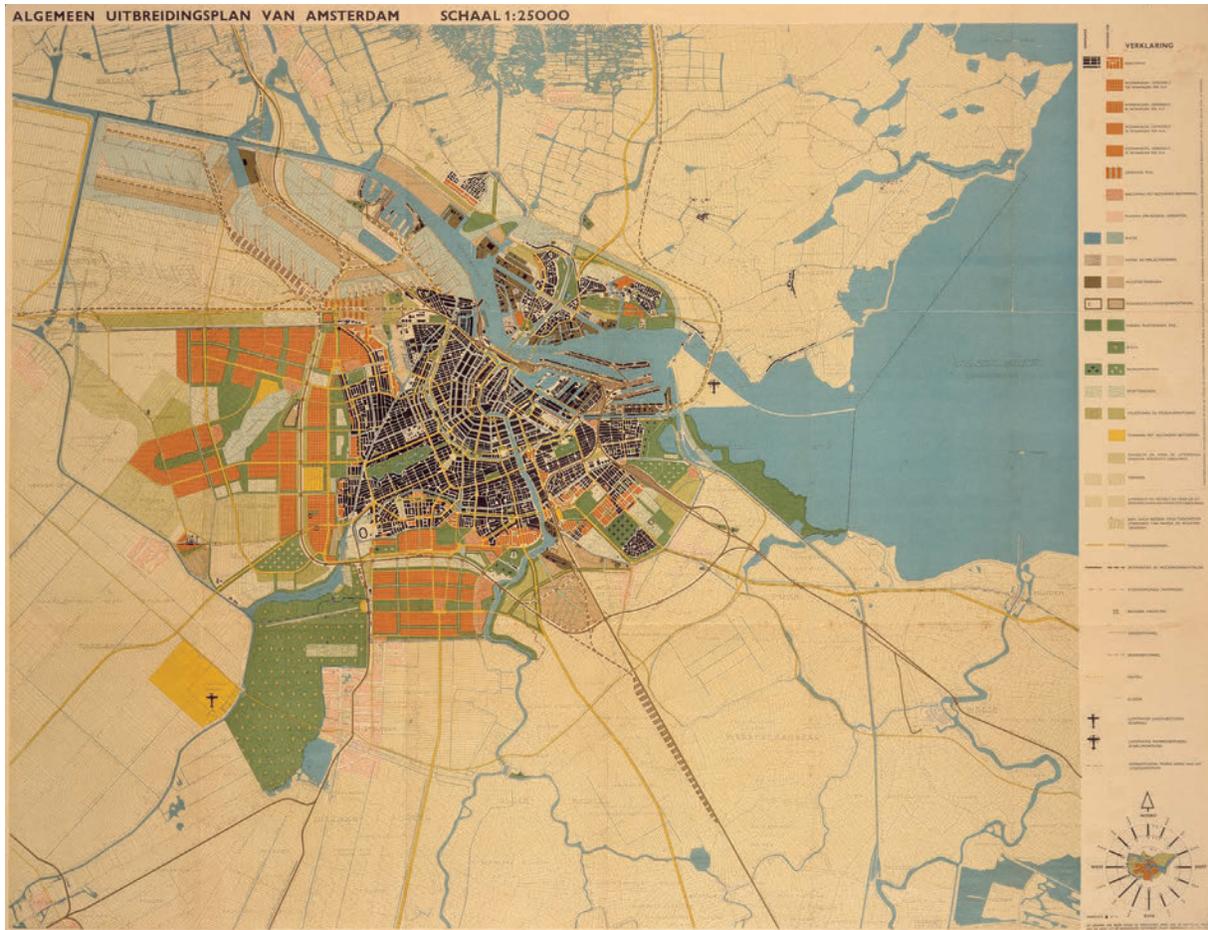
FIGURE 2 General Expansion Plan Amsterdam, 1935

The neighbourhoods were to emulate the qualities of garden cities – an ideal that reflected the fears for the 'awful spectre of the metropolis'[16]. The explanatory note specifically stated that the neighbourhoods were to approach the living ideals of the garden cities[17]. Outside the circle line large numbers of single-family houses were to be built (50-60%) in very low densities (55 units per hectare). High-rise buildings were to act as aesthetic accents in the wide green belt alongside the circle line[18]. Another aspect derived from the garden city model was the level of independence of the separate neighbourhoods, which were organized in bands (fingers) that stretched out from the central city. 'Precisely the arrangement of the expansion areas in one direction allows a relative degree of independence to be combined with a close link to the "mother city"'[19]. The explanatory note states that this enabled the design of a centralized expansion without sacrificing the principal characteristics of garden cities: the definition of separate neighbourhoods with large numbers of single family houses, preventing the economic and practical disadvantages inherent in housing estates far away and isolated from the central city[20].

The plan was supposed to be gradually realized between its conception and the year 2000. That allowed the planners to incorporate the latest views on, for instance, the parcelling structure. Moreover, in all stages of its construction, the city would give the impression of being complete. A rounded-of this way of building the city prevented the risk giving the impression that the city was incomplete and more work needed to be done[21]. Strict building codes guaranteed a unified visual image of the city. They not only determined the functional zones, but also included aesthetic clauses. Obviously, the size of the neighbourhood was derived from demographic prognoses.

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT CONCEPT IN THE WESTERN GARDEN CITIES IN AMSTERDAM IN THE EARLY POST-WAR PERIOD
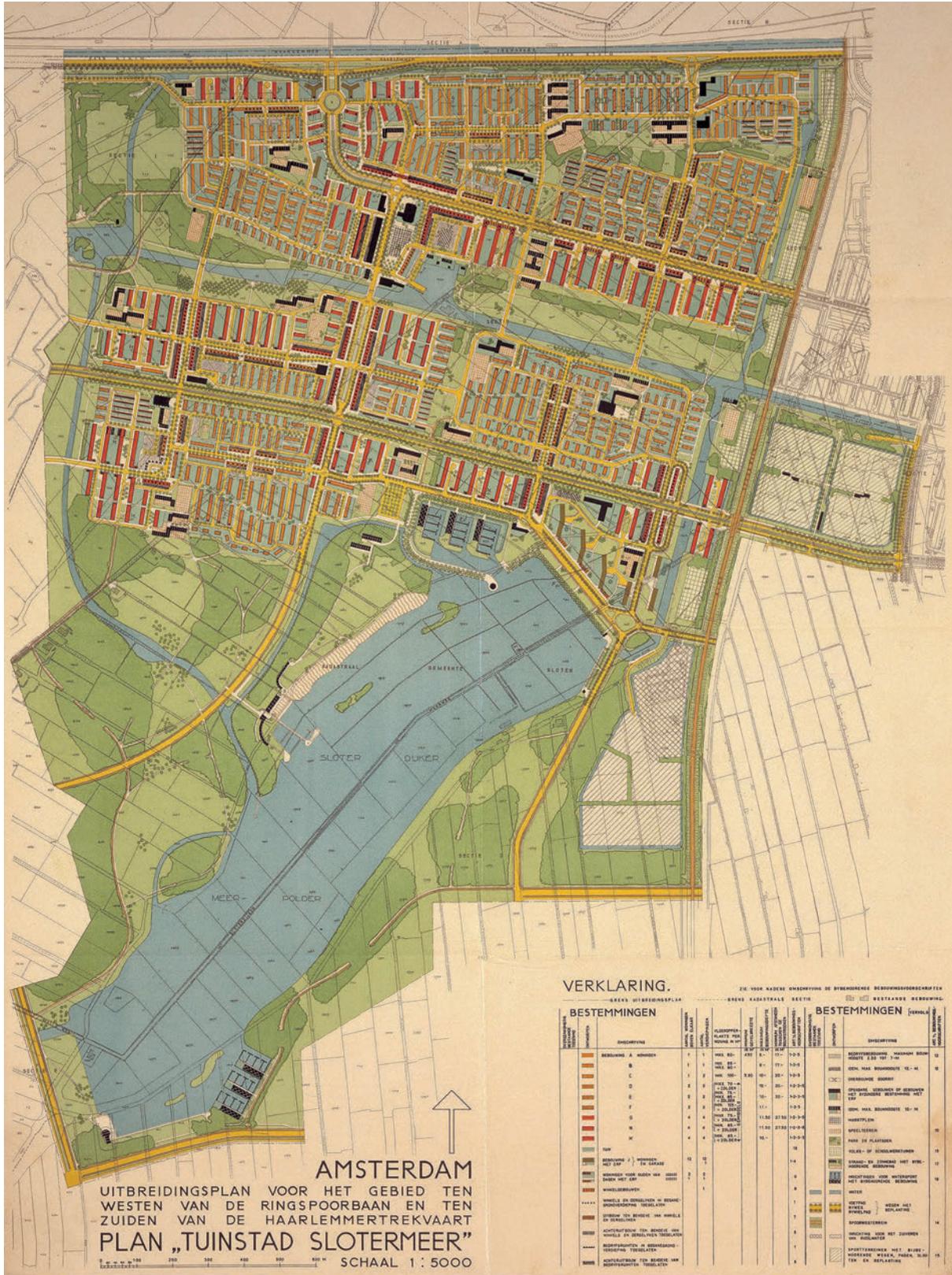
FIGURE 3 Expansion plan for garden city Slotermeer, 1939

Noor Mens

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT CONCEPT IN THE WESTERN GARDEN CITIES IN AMSTERDAM IN THE EARLY POST-WAR PERIOD

PARTIAL PLANS AND THE INTRODUCTION OF "OPEN PARCELLING STRUCTURES"

In the 1930s, partial plans for a number of neighbourhoods were made. The plan for Bosch en Lommer was designed between 1930 and 1933, prior to the completion of the General Expansion Plan it was part of. In 1936 Landlust began to be planned. In both partial schemes, experiments with 'open parcelling structures' ('open bebouwing') were tried. These experiments were initiated by members of 'De 8', the organization of modern architects in Amsterdam.

In the former city expansions, back facades faced the inside of the building blocks. Now, they became visible from the street. This meant that their aesthetic qualities became much more important than they had been in the system of closed building blocks. It was difficult to meet these requirements and the first results were not very convincing. The 'open parcelling structure' made it particularly difficult to shape pleasant urban spaces[22]. In the design for Slotermeer attempts were made to improve the results of the open parcelling structure. It is characterized by the quest for more variety in the parcelling structure with linear rows of buildings[23].
The fact that the 'rue corridor', the traditional street with closed walls at both sides, was abolished, didn't mean that street profiles no longer played an important role in urban planning. On the contrary, street profiles and greenery are essential for the appearance of a neighbourhood with open parcelling structures[24].
Shortly before the Second World War, the plan for Slotermeer was approved; by then, half of Bos and Lommer had been built at the time.

POST-WAR MODIFICATIONS OF THE GENERAL EXPANSION PLAN OF AMSTERDAM

The Second World War created new realities and necessitated changes of the original plan. These changes were pursued at the level of the partial plans. The explanatory note that justified the revision of the project for Slotermeer enumerated some of the reasons: the decision to raise the level of the polder land to a lesser degree than originally envisaged (which made its realization much cheaper), the increased need for special and public buildings, new state regulations concerning the size and layout of the houses as well as the densities (which changed the balance between high- and low-rise buildings), new parcelling structures, and new norms for the provision of schools[25]. According to P. Zanstra, one of the architectural masterminds working in the Western Garden Cities at the time, the result was a new urban concept that was primarily based on scientific surveys of the social make-up of the neighbourhood, the development of the industry, the traffic structure and the nature of the soil.[26] Striking spatial and visual qualities were, according to Zanstra:

— The attempt to create separate neighbourhoods with a high level of functional autonomy, their own characteristic structure – in other words: they showed the impact of the neighbourhood unit concept. The urban tools used to achieve this were: clear borders, a distinct neighbourhood centre, and a specific urban and architectural idiom.
— A mix of different typologies: single family housing, portico flats of mostly three or four floors, and high-rise buildings.
— Openness, at first a consequence of construction linear rows of houses, later modified by introducing L-shaped courtyards.
— Repetition: the construction of large series of identical and similar units in one block, as well as the repetition of entire urban elements (rows, courtyards).
— The use of high-rise buildings.

Both the introduction of more public buildings and the ambition to give the separate neighbourhoods more autonomous character can be attributed to the impact of the neighbourhood unit concept[27].

V.01 P.164   **Noor Mens**

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT CONCEPT IN THE WESTERN GARDEN CITIES IN AMSTERDAM IN THE EARLY POST-WAR PERIOD
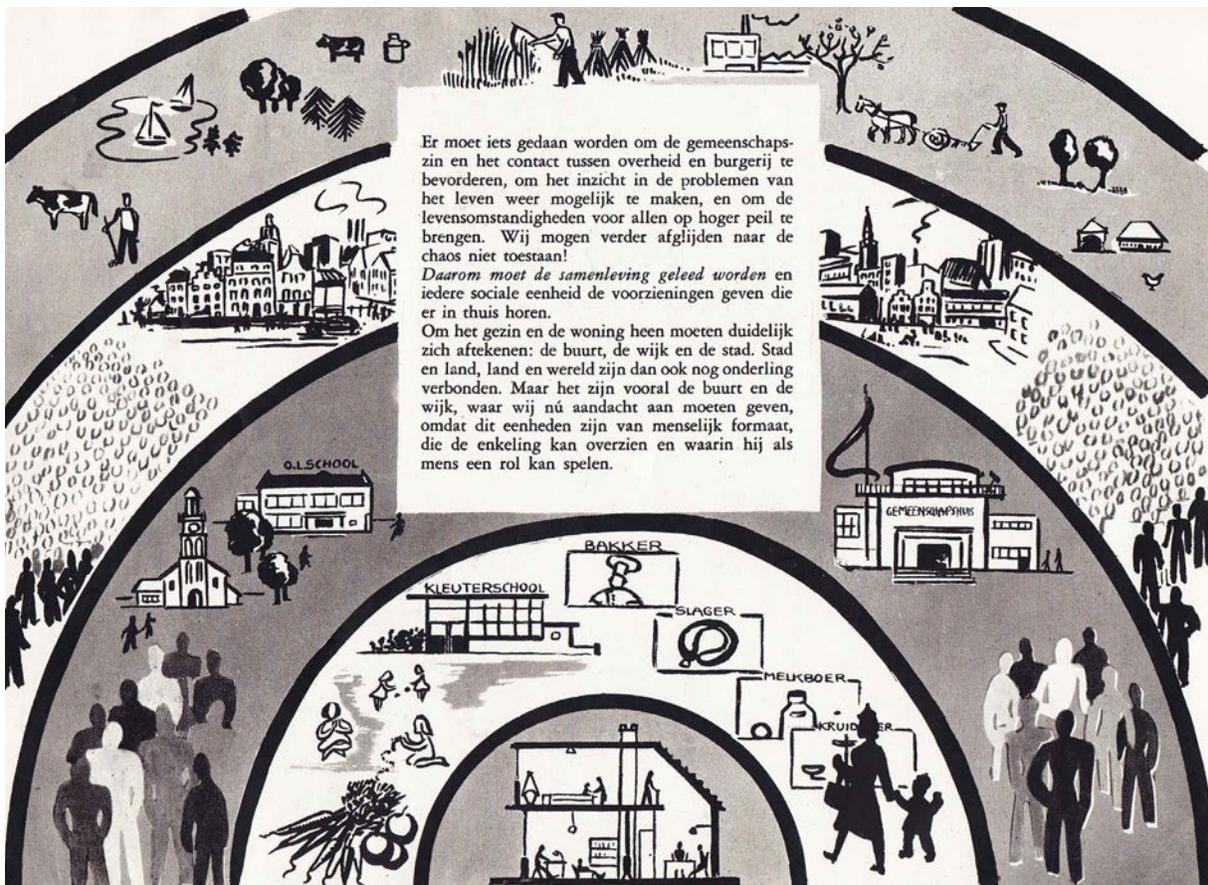
FIGURE 4 Scheme of the concept of the neighbourhood unit (from the Brochure Wij en de wijkgedachte)
The text reads: "Something has to be done to enhance the community spirit and the relations between government and citizens, to regain insight into everyday social problems, and to raise our living standards. We should not allow ourselves to drift away into chaos! That's why society has to be cut down into separate segments, every neighbourhood having its own facilities. Clearly outlined sub-neighbourhoods, neighbourhoods and the city should be organised around family and home. City and country, country and world will be still interconnected. But first we should pay attention to the sub-neighbourhood and the neighbourhood because these are the units of a human scale that the individual can overlook and in which he can participate."

THE NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT CONCEPT

The origin of this approach can be traced back to Clarence Perry, who introduced in the United States in 1929 and to the garden city philosophy of Ebenezer Howard. In the years of the occupation, however, a characteristically Dutch variant of the neighbourhood ideal developed. It was based on a specific philosophy that outlined in 1946 in the study *De stad der toekomst. De toekomst der stad.* (The city of the future, the future of the city)[28]. It was a study in urban-planning and the social and cultural aspects of the growing city community. It was a response to the dislocation of the past war and the fear of the unstructured urban growth from previous years. The neighbourhood unit was seen as the panacea against the negative social effects associated with larger cities. The concept of the neighbourhood unit gained popularity by the publications of leaflets and booklets such as *Wij en de Wijkgedachte* (Us and the neighbourhood unit)[29]. These explained the ambitions: the living circumstances of the citizens should be brought to a higher level, and – especially important – the chaos that allegedly had characterized the pre-war years should be avoided. 'As a result of the war', the booklet stated, 'it has become necessary to begin a major attempt to fundamentally reconstruct and renew our country and our society.'
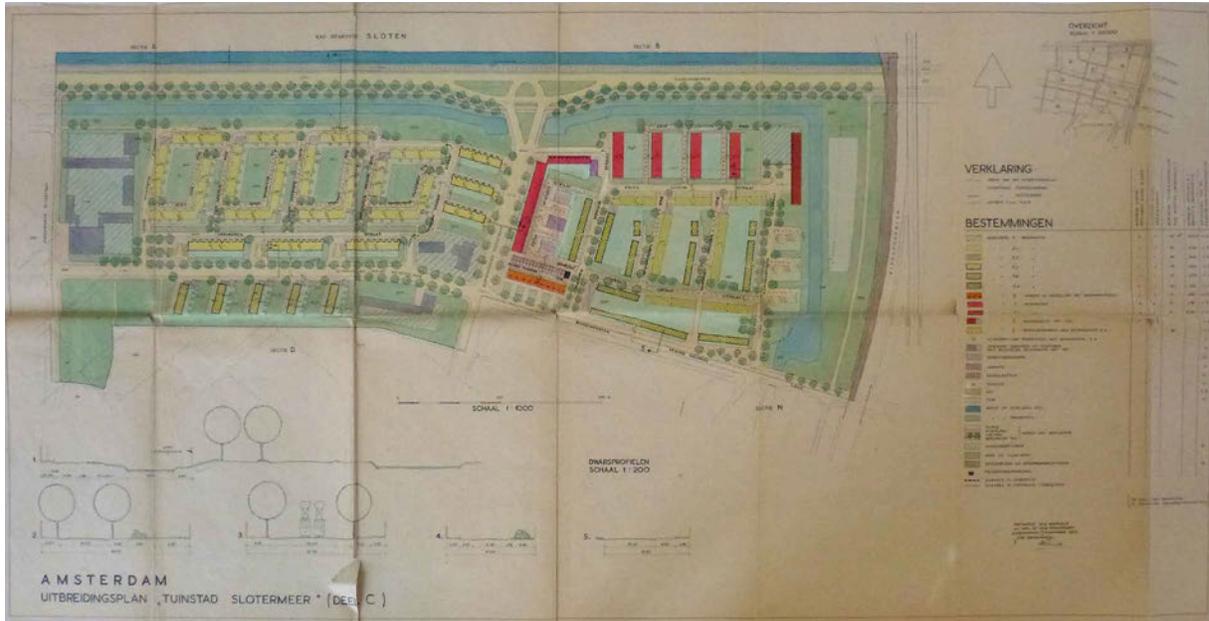
FIGURE 5 Partial plan C, Slotermeer, 1954

That required the segmentation of society in separate modules that should contain all the functions needed for everyday life[30]. 'In very large agglomerations such as cities, the necessity manifests itself to architects and urbanists alike for defining smaller units for these large concentrations of people: the neighbourhoods, the size of which should facilitate the interaction between individuals and the community, something that got lost in our large cities.' The scale of the neighbourhoods should enable their inhabitants to feel at home in them, and – again a claim echoing the philosophy that inspired this model – allow them to do take care of their own affairs (called 'zelfwerkzaamheid', a term for which there is no proper English equivalent, though 'self-motivation' comes close). Although researchers began to question the concept already in the 1950s, it defined the framework for the design of housing estates until well in the 1960s[31].

THE IMPACT OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT CONCEPT IN THE WESTERN GARDEN CITIES

Zanstra's assessment of the influence of the neighbourhood unit in the Western Garden Cities is corroborated by their principal designer, Cornelis van Eesteren: the return to more enclosed forms of parceling structures, for instance the court systems that were first applied in Frankendael, can be attributed to the neighbourhood unit concept. Another characteristic feature of this concept is the principle of multiple scales for specific functions. Primary schools, for instance, are at walking distance of the houses, whereas high schools are within cycling distance. Greenery was designed as a series of increased scales. Leaving one's home, people entered the community garden; then they walked through a public garden ('plantsoen') towards a green lane lining the neighbourhood road, which gave access to the a green wedge that led to the park and the landscape outside[32]. The greenery partly coincided with the traffic structure, which also distinguished various types at various scale levels: pedestrian street, the street disclosing the houses, the neighbourhood street connecting these with the larger area, the neighbourhood street that led to the other neighbourhoods, and the urban thoroughfare[33]. The most characteristic element was the intermediary level: the green lane, the park-lane, the sub-neighbourhood street, the neighbourhood street. This prevented the expansion plan from becoming a traditional city where greenery is provided only in parks, and the traffic system only has living streets and main traffic streets.

Noor Mens
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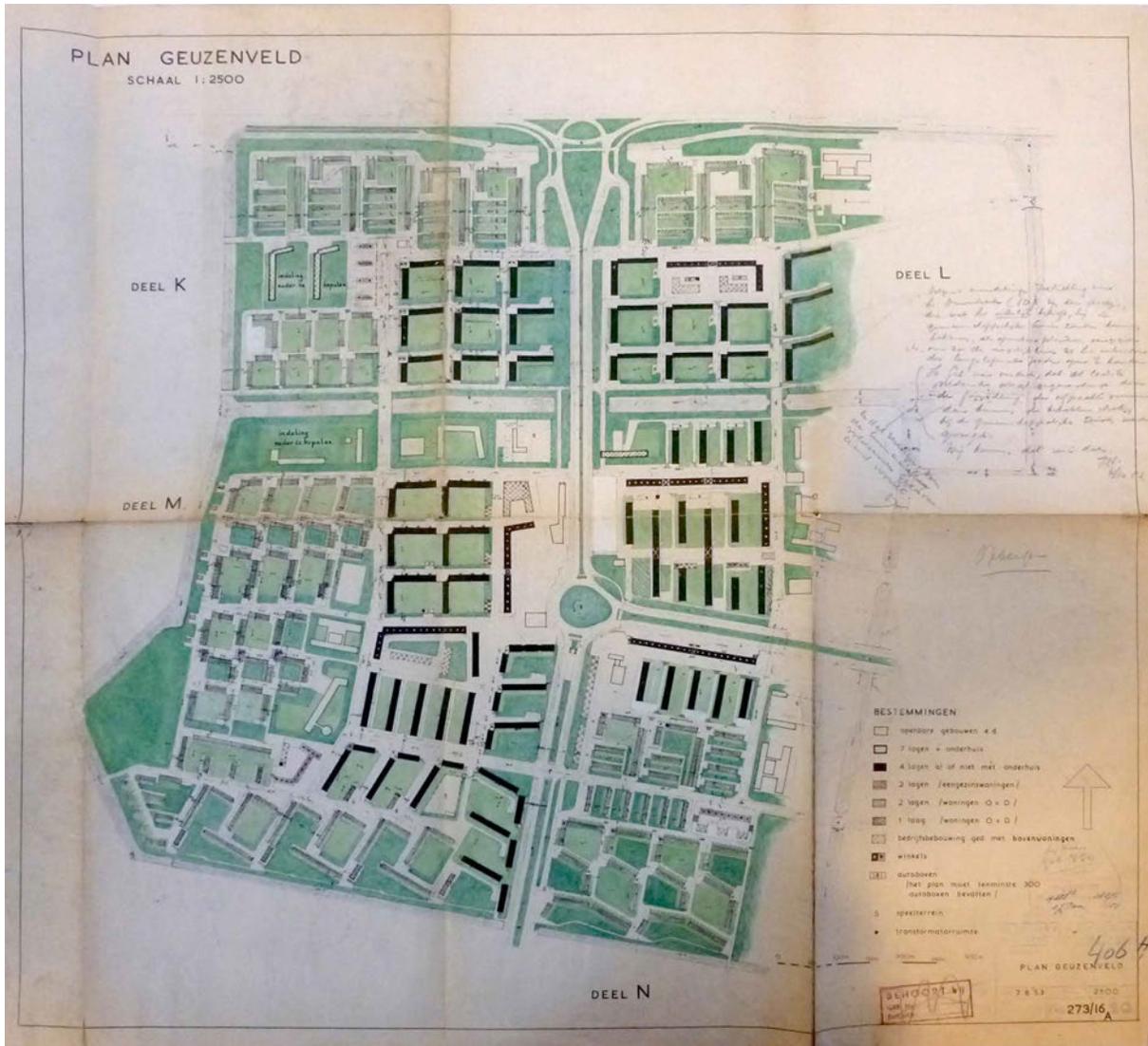
FIGURE 6 Expansion plan Geuzenveld, 1952

Churches were attributed a social and cultural role: they should foster a sense of community. The St.
Catharinakerk in Slotermeer) and De Hoeksteen in Slotervaart had rooms for neighbourhood meetings[34].
These modifications strengthen qualities already inherent in the original plan, which already envisaged four
relatively independent parts[35]. In his plan for Geuzenveld, W. van Tijen, one of the most fervent idealist of the
neighbourhood unit, was adamant in realizing his ideals. Part of these ideals was the ambition to encourage
the self-efficacy of the inhabitants, as this was believed to enhance their community spirit. To achieve this, the
open spaces between the buildings were to be used as vegetable gardens. Also, Van Tijen wished to include
sub-neighbourhood centres: a street with shops, workshops and small industries. Family, sub-neighbourhood,
neighbourhood and city were to determine the identity of the modern citizen[36].

These examples illustrate how Van Eesteren's original plan was modified to meet new requirements and accept
the new role as a catalyst of a revitalized community spirit – an ideal that after the devastating experiences of the
Second World War was seen as of the utmost importance

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT CONCEPT IN THE WESTERN GARDEN CITIES IN AMSTERDAM IN THE EARLY POST-WAR PERIOD

Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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Drs. Noor Mens studied History of Architecture at the Vrije Universiteit (VU) in Amsterdam. In 1993 see started to work as a freelance architectural historian based in Rotterdam. She published widely on architecture and urban planning in the twentieth century. Since 2014 she works as a PhD Candidate on a research about the assessment of Post-war neighbourhoods, taking the Western Garden Cities in Amsterdam as a case study.

Endnotes

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4   Cor Wagenaar, *Town Planning in the Netherlands since 1800. Responses to Enlightenment Ideas and Geopolitical Realities* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2011), 301; Helma Hellinga, 'Het Algemeen Uitbreidingsplan in Amsterdam / The General Expansion Plan', in *Het Nieuwe Bouwen: Amsterdam 1920-1960*, ed. Koos Bosma (Delft: Delft University Press, 1983); *Algemeen Uitbreidingsplan: Grondslagen Voor de Stedebouwkundige Ontwikkeling van Amsterdam. Deel 1: Nota van Toelichting, Deel 2: Bijlagen* (Amsterdam, 1935), 29.

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V.01 P.168   **Noor Mens**

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT CONCEPT IN THE WESTERN GARDEN CITIES IN AMSTERDAM IN THE EARLY POST-WAR PERIOD

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Image sources

Figure 1: Amsterdam's Toekomstige Ontwikkeling, edited by Nederlandsch Instituut voor Volkshuisvesting en Stedebouw en Groot-Amsterdam. Haarlem, 1926.

Figure 2: New Institute, Rotterdam.

Figure 3: New Institute, Rotterdam.

Figure 4: Geyl, W.F. Wij En de Wijkgedachte. Utrecht, 1948.

Figure 5: Stadsarchief Amsterdam [SO 5344 APC 2000100058 - 1.777.811.221 - no. 281].

Figure 6: Stadsarchief Amsterdam [PW 5213-38275 - Pak 1. Algemeen Portef. 1C Pakket 1R-1Z en 1A1-1C2].

V.01 P.169   **Noor Mens**

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT CONCEPT IN THE WESTERN GARDEN CITIES IN AMSTERDAM IN THE EARLY POST-WAR PERIOD

REPRESENTING NAJAF: AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE CURRENT PRESSURE ON THE PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL FABRIC OF NAJAF'S OLD TOWN

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Day by day social life in the core of historical cities in Iraq has changed, and there are different outcomes which have an impact on the ground. This paper seeks to examine the extent to which the physical and social fabric of the al-Houaish neighbourhood has become redundant, and why the original families of long standing descent have chosen not to live there. Briefly, the al-Houaish neighbourhood is a significant part of the holy city of Najaf, a pilgrimage city in Iraq. The al-Houaish has a special character, and it is of particular interest because it has historical and cultural values, but it has been neglected. The aims of this paper are to highlight the current pressures on the social and urban fabric, explain why that fabric is worth protecting, and what the difficulties are. The paper uses documentary evidence and evidence gathered through interviews with stakeholders, local residents, heritage elites and decision makers, and I will examine the approach taken in detail to reveal the problems that exist in applying international standards of heritage protection on the ground in Iraq.

The findings in this paper are summarized into two parts physical and social fabric. The rapid development inside the old town, increase in land value, the huge number of visitors, and the governments' neglect of services, are putting great pressure on the physical fabric. Besides, the lacks of clear regulation encourage building's authorities to change the land use from residential to commercial use. Moreover, the political issues led to a change in the social demography to weaken the power of the religious scholars, and that led to weak the social relationships and activities in the historic neighbourhood. In addition, the Najaf old town cannot offer big houses, wide roads, parks, and other services compared with the new neighbourhood, and therefore it did not and could not satisfy these needs. In conclusion, there is no overall management in place, and therefore the al-Houaish is losing both its historic physical and social fabric, and is undergoing much demolition. Thus, the process of heritage protection on the ground needs both the government and local citizens' attentions to be able to stand and survive. Ultimately, there is need of a team on the site, and possibly a steering committee.

Keywords
Physical fabric, Social fabric, Najaf, Heritage protection, Cultural heritage

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE SANTO ANTONIO DISTRICT, RECIFE, BRAZIL (1938-1949)

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The city of Recife became a privileged field of experimentation for the new ideas of Urbanism, with a series of proposals, studies, and suggestions, widely published in the press and specialized journals. Most of the debate was concentrated around the transformation of the administrative and commercial centre of the city, the island of Santo Antonio. This discussion resulted in a brutal intervention in the district, destroying eighteen blocks of the city and creating a new large avenue. The intention was to modernize the old centre, transforming it into a monumental ensemble. The replacement of the colonial urban fabric by the new vertical pattern was due to the establishment of building codes regulating building codes determined alignment of facades, volumetric unity of blocks and concordance of heights and architectural motifs. The new urban design communicated an intense image of power and discipline through its architectural mass, monumental scale and vast open spaces. It was clearly intended to form of urban scenery, expressing Vargas Regime corporatism, social control, and state regulatory interventionism. This article analyses the Avenue building process, its precedents, and the conflicts between the desires of customers, bureaucrats and architects in the search for a modern image for the city.

INTRODUCTION

During the 1930s and 1940s, the debate over urbanism thrived in Brazil, with an astounding number of publications and plans. The ideas of French Urbanism, incorporated in the plan made by the French Alfred Agache for Rio de Janeiro (1928-1930), particularly the classically inspired architectural compositions and urban design, were influential in this debate created by the renewal of urban centers during the early 1940s. Stimulated by the Vargas Regime (1930-1945), a new planning mentality emerged and the profession of urbanist had great prospects. The public administration incorporated many urbanists and a more diverse network of institutions promoting urbanism. A generation of experts in urbanism emerged in the early 1930s, which included many of Agache's assistants, such as Attilio Corrêa Lima, Arnaldo Gladosch, and Affonso Eduardo Reidy.[1] Concerns about efficiency, zoning and circulation traffic solutions were introduced and the city was conceived as a system and organism. Urban space started to be seen as a network of men, machines, goods and services that should be regulated and modernized.

The dictatorship inaugurated by Vargas in November 1937, the *Estado Novo*, stimulated even more expectations among urbanists. Industrialization, nationalism and a strong state were seen as an inseparable formula to lead the country toward modernization. Urbanism was also seen as an important part of social modernization, since the building of a new man also meant the building of a new city. Modern avenues were seen as important steps in the progress of the country, orienting the new Brazilian man to be part of the masses. Hygienic, functional and beautiful cities were supposed to represent the "national effort" of the regime for the development of the country. The governmental approach towards urbanism, however, relied much more on images than on the real construction of modern city. The regime initiated an aggressive propaganda campaign to shape a national identity and to inculcate civic pride and patriotism in the youth. Adopting the theatricality of fascist regimes, the *Estado Novo* promoted parades and civic commemorations. It was important for the *Estado Novo* to create an image of an urbanized country, but this does not necessarily meant that cities were effectively modern

The city of Recife, in the Northeast Brazil, became a privileged field of experimentation for the new ideas of Urbanism, attracting the interest of the most important urban planners throughout the country, particularly form the 1920s to the 1950s. The debate included a series of proposals, studies, suggestions published in local and national journals and newspapers. Most of the debate was focused around the transformation of the central district, the island of Santo Antônio, the administrative and commercial centre of the city.

The transformation was reduced to a single large avenue, 10 *de Novembro* later renamed *Guararapes*, and its neighbouring blocks of buildings, which was intended to modernize the old centre, transforming it into a monumental ensemble. It was one of the best examples, along Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre, of the urban remodeling processes expressing the Vargas Regime in the early 1940s, a topic whihc remained unexplored by the historiography. This paper analyses the precedents, the conflicts, the urban design and the process of building the avenue.

The first section presents some background on the Recife´s growth, urbanistic debates and the plans preceding the construction of the Avenue. The second introduces the major cleavages provoked the proclamation of the Estado Novo, when the new Mayor supported new directions to the work. The third introduces the construction of the avenue, the strategies, processes and the conflicts between the desires of customers, bureaucrats and architects. Finally, the fourth section explores role of building codes regulating building codes determined alignment of facades, volumetric unity of blocks and concordance of heights and architectural motifs.

Fernando Diniz Moreira
THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE SANTO ANTONIO DISTRICT, RECIFE, BRAZIL (1938-1949)

RECIFE DURING THE 1920S AND THE ARGUMENT FOR URBANISM.

The modernization of Recife along the 20th century did not occur in a single episode, but through a long multi-staged process. First, a vast program of modernization implemented between 1909 and 1915 included the modernization of the port and of its adjacent Recife district, and the implementation of new sewage system. Second, during 1922 and 1926, the attention was focused in the peripheral areas, such as the creation a modern residential district inspired by the garden city ideas and a fashionable coastal avenue district adorned by palaces for the rich. The third one occurred in the early forties, with the remodelling of the Santo Antonio district.

At the end of the 1920s, the central district of Recife (Santo Antônio, São José, Boa Vista e do Recife boroughs) became denser and bigger. The radial roads connecting the centre to the suburbs gradually started to lose their tentacle-like primitive form, and the central and peripheral clusters began to merge. The tramway system grew reaching and connecting the entire city, contributing to the development of the suburbs.

Also during the 1920s, cultural and intellectual activities boomed in Recife, with the presence of the most notable modern artists and intellectuals, such as Vicente do Rego Monteiro, Cicero Dias and Gilberto Freyre, Luis Nunes and Roberto Burle-Marx. The city also showed itself as an important centre for engineering. The foundation of the *Engineering Club of Pernambuco* in 1919 marked an important step toward the involvement of engineers with city problems[2]. In the pages of its *Bulletin of the Engineering Club*, articles began to appear about zoning, traffic, the need for plans and surveys, and limits on the buildings heights, turning the Bulletin in a major forum for urbanism.

A long discussion about the transformation of Recife into a modern metropolis initiated. At the end of the decade, there was a great demand for urban improvements, and many voiced concerns about the growth and the orderly future of Recife. The debate was centred on the Santo Antonio District, the administrative and commercial centre of the city, with many public buildings and shops. From the 1920s on, due to the first tall buildings and the traffic congestion, the narrow alleys of the district, were seen as problem. A campaign to remodel the Santo Antonio District which initially emerged in the pages of the Bulletin of Engineering, being the object of discussion and intense dispute among urbanists and intellectuals, appearing in pages of newspapers and radio broadcasts for the following 25 years. The questions included: Should Santo Antonio be the major civic centre of the city? What character should it have? How to solve its problems? How to create a space of significance? Should be preserved or transformed into a traffic corridor? Should avenues converge to its centre or surround it without entering in its core? The central question was which image of modernity was to be achieved. The visit of the French Planner Alfred Agache in 1927 contributed to the debate, framing it in new ways according to ideas of modern urbanism.

Four major plans were made throughout this time to guide the remodelling the Santo Antonio District: Domingos Ferreira (1927), The Engineering Club Commission (1930), Nestor de Figueiredo (1932) and Attilio Correa Lima (1935). The last two plans were also concerned with the entire city[3].

Heavily influenced by Parisian images, the Engineer Domingos Ferreira, from the Municipality of Recife, proposed the building of avenues through the densely built central area. From an *étoile* shaped plaza facing the river, four avenues would depart linking the major points of the district, thus connecting to the major roads of the city(fig.1). The buildings facing the square, the colonnades and the huge clock-tower/obelisk reveals the desire for visual and scenic effects[4].

The Mayor invited the Engineering Club of Pernambuco to provide a technical report about the remodelling of the Santo Antônio District. This commission, formed by the engineers Antonio de Moraes Rego, Eduardo Jorge Pereira and José Estelita, adopted an alternative solution for the problem of traffic congestion, a more modest plan according to the financial condition of the municipality[5].

FIGURE 1 Domingos Ferreira, Plan for the Santo Antonio District (1927).

FIGURE 2 Nestor de Figueiredo, Recife Extension and Remodelling Plan (1932), Byrd Eye Views
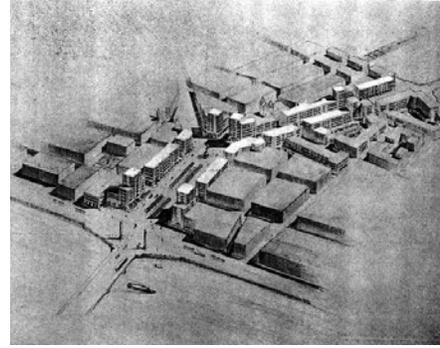
FIGURE 3 Attílio Corrêa Lima, Plan for Recife, Santo Antônio District (1936) Byrd Eye View.

Nestor de Figueiredo, an architect from Rio de Janeiro proponent of the neo-colonial architecture who became involved with urbanism, presented in 1932 his *Plano de Remodelação e Extensão da Cidade do Recife,* which also included a new zoning and a new scheme of avenues (fig.2). Two major boulevards met right at the core of the district, the *Independência* Square, instead of surrounding the borough, implying brutal demolitions[6]. The imposing and scenic aspects, the perspectives, Y-shape avenues, monumental groups of buildings and squares reveals the influence of Agache´s Plan for Rio de Janeiro. According to him, harmony and beauty would be major characteristics of this city[7]. These tall new office buildings of eight to twelve floors would create a new silhouette for the city, outshining the old one marked by church spires [8].

Figueiredo's plan was harshly criticized by planners such as Washington de Azevedo, Francisco Prestes Maia and Attilio Correa Lima, invited to provide technical reports about it. In short, they criticized it for its financial aspects, the shape of the blocks, the dimension of internal courtyards, and the lack of research about the city and for the convergence proposed at *Independência* Square, which would bring more congestion. However, n nothing was implemented.

In mid-1935, the new mayor, João Pereira Borges, commissioned Attílio Corrêa Lima, one of the most notable Brazilian planners, to make a plan for the entire city and for the Santo Antonio district (fig.3). Taking advantage of the demolished areas and of the existing urban pattern, Corrêa Lima decided for a more modest arrangement,

promoting little street widening and avoiding as much as possible costly alterations in the urban design. He proposed seven-floor buildings with galleries on the ground level, maintaining the slightly irregular design of existing blocks. He aimed to reduce the excessive convergence of the trolley system in the central areas of the Santo Antonio district by decentralizing traffic, creating circular trolley lines, and relocating terminals and parking lots to the periphery of the district. In addition to the plan for the district, he also proposed a new plan of avenues and a new zoning system for the city[9].

In these proposals, there were many converging points, such as the radial-concentric model and the zoning for the entire city. The major divergence can be found in their approach to Santo Antonio district, and particularly *Independência* Square. While Figueiredo, insisted the centrality of the *Independência* Square, accentuating its monumentality, Corrêa Lima attempted to break the excessive convergence of this square (and of Santo Antonio district), decentralizing traffic and proposing alternate streets in the periphery.

Correa Lima's project was discussed and approved with minor changes in early 1937. However, in the events of November 1937, when Vargas proclaimed himself dictator, inaugurating the Estado Novo, provoked a rearrangement of the local elites. Lima Cavalcanti supported presidential elections that were to be held in 1938 and saw his prestige shrink in the Vargas administration. His fall was immediate after the Estado Novo coup. Vargas designated Magalhães as the new governor, who named a new mayor for Recife, Antonio Novaes Filho. This had important repercussions in the local discussion of urbanism.

THE ESTADO NOVO AND THE NEW ORDER

Educated as a lawyer, but a politician and journalist in practice, Agamenon Magalhães came from the hinterland of the state to achieve national prominence as a central figure in the Vargas regime. Advocating strong intervention by the State in the economy and social life, he had a pivotal role in the creation of Vargas social and labour legislation, particularly the unionist organization of workers under state patronage. As a Vargas loyalist, Magalhães entirely incorporated the authoritarian premises of the *Estado Novo* and based his government in the co-optation and indoctrination of the masses. In order to assure his power, he named new mayors to many cities in the State. In a few months, he replaced the old political establishment with a new elite ideologically engaged with the Estado Novo. According to him, the *Estado Novo* was inaugurating a new stage for the country:

The new regime, inaugurated in November 10, was not an imposition. It was a national decision, an attitude of defence against the evils, which were affecting our social structure[10].

As soon as Magalhães assumed the post of governor, he named Antônio de Novaes Filho as the new Mayor, who remained as the mayor from December 3 1937 to October 29 1945, during the entire *Estado Novo*.[11] The municipality worked as an arm of the government, as Novaes Filho himself recognized:

I am just a modest assistant of the man who is the true patriot, the *interventor*, the man who is solving the most difficult problems of our land[12].

Actually, this work is not mine, it is neither from my assistants, this work belongs to that one who masterminded it, who provided precise directions and successful rules, the *interventor* Agamenon Magalhães.[13]

He had autonomy to choose his assistant and secretaries and fully supported the technical body of the municipality, always recognizing publicly their competence and ability. His program of works included important suburban thoroughfares, street paving and the creation of parks[14].

Fernando Diniz Moreira
THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE SANTO ANTONIO DISTRICT, RECIFE, BRAZIL (1938-1949)

The completion of the Santo Antonio remodelling was given highest priority by his government. The open building site in the heart of Santo Antonio district was seen as an embarrassment for the new mayor. In his search for a symbol for the Estado Novo, he demanded the rapid conclusion of the remodelling. The message was very clear: it was necessary to stop endless discussion and planning and to provide an appropriate image of the modern city, particularly a major avenue lined with high-rises buildings. Urbanism became a representational feature.

Dissatisfied with the length of the process of the remodelling of Santo Antônio district, the new mayor created a new City Planning Commission (CPC) in December 1937. This commission was charged with evaluating the work that had been done (mostly demolitions) and proposing a conclusion that took advantage of that. This new commission included representatives from the Municipality (Domingos Ferreira), State (Paulo Guedes), Engineering Club (Tolentino de Carvalho), Professional Association of Engineers (José Estelita) and Pernambuco Press Association (José Campello), all of them engineers excepting the last, a journalist. The commission rejected Corrêa Lima Plan and revived Figueiredo's work, who was rehabilitated as the author, although the new project drastically reduced his original proposal to only a single avenue and the adjacent blocks. The proposal was immediately approved by the Mayor and ceremonially presented in the major theatre of the city[15].

The association between the urbanists and the mayor brought fruits for both of them. Approving the works of urbanists, Novaes Filho created a technical façade that legitimized his public works without following the often-tortuous path through the political negotiations typical of democratic states. The urban planners, now behind a technical commission, had more opportunities to concretize their ideas. The CPC turned into an instrument of the municipality and not a mere consultant. Novaes Filho clearly expressed his sympathy for authoritarian regimes in his speech at the presentation of the plan:
Mussolini... this man became a great leader in the contemporary world and a true artist in the art of public management ... He opened the old Rome, widening streets and alleys... That is exactly what Recife needs[16].

THE REMODELLING OF SANTO ANTONIO DISTRICT AND THE BUILDING OF GUARARAPES AVENUE

The commission's plan called for the construction of one of the avenues designed by Figueiredo. This avenue, called 10th of November to celebrate the date of the *Estado Novo* coup, started in *Independência* Square and continued diagonally over 400 meters in the direction of the main bridge to the mainland. On the mainland side, the avenue starts 60 meters width, decreasing to 40 and to 30 in the middle and reaching the 20 meters when arriving at the *Independência* Square. The new avenue was a brutal intervention in the district, destroying eighteen blocks of the city. On the south side, financial constraints prevented more expropriations and the project resulted in only a single line of big blocks, which varied from a quite narrow and long block facing the *Independência* Square to a broader one facing the continent. Along this length, these volumes are separated by two narrow streets, which are barely perceptible; when one is on the avenue these streets cannot be seen due to the masses of these volumes. On the northern side, where there was more open space from demolitions, the intervention was greater with the construction of more blocks with huge irregular courtyards. As in the southern side, only a single narrow street intercepts these blocks. The opening up of the dense urban pattern for the building of the other avenue, which would make a cross in the heart of the district according to Figueiredo's plan, was continued, but the efforts were directed to the 10 de November Avenue, seen as a celebration of the Estado Novo.

Guided by this plan, the municipality initiated work as soon as the plan was approved. In October 1938, the City Planning Commission was reorganized as a permanent commission. The building of the new avenue was extremely rapid and destroyed many narrow alleys, old buildings and historical landmarks. The most important buildings destroyed in this enterprise were the *São João de Deus* Hospital, the Artillery Regiment, and the *Paraíso* Church, from the 17th and 18th centuries.

This process displaced a traditional central neighbourhood of lower middle class and small commerce. As soon as the plan was approved, the Municipality compelled owners of the lots to sell.[17] Some tenants resisted the decree stipulating that they must leave the old slums (*cortiços*) in forty days[18]. A campaign in the newspaper supported the Municipality, citing the precarious state of the buildings. A process of exclusion forced the low and middle class population to leave the district, and generating a housing crisis[19]. As the new lots were much bigger (and more expensive) than the older ones, former residents were unable to return. On the new lots prominent, tall buildings were built for offices, the federal and state bureaucracy, banks and cinemas.

The new avenue, later called *Guararapes*, was intended to modernize the old centre, transforming it into a monumental ensemble. Its verticality, greater density and concentration closely resembled the business-centre proposed by Agache for Rio. In the blueprint, one perceives velocity and fluidity, as converging lines and the cornices of the buildings conduct eyes to the vanishing point. The buildings were not there to be individually seen or admired, but to compose scenery (fig.4).

Legislation produced the desired profile of the avenue, as will be seen in the next section. Seeing from above in the early 1950s, the new avenue reveals itself as a corridor of compact high-rise buildings that faced each other, contrasting with the traditional buildings of the district (fig.5).

Although demolition and construction proceeded rapidly, occupation was not immediate due to the lack of municipal funds and to the fragility of the local bourgeoisie. Before September 1939, no building was erected in the avenue, and only a few lots were sold to the private sector. Novaes Filho worked painstakingly to attract investments to build his avenue, but left in doubt the real necessity of this avenue:

To Getúlio, the city of Recife should be very grateful. As a Mayor, I demolished all that district of Santo Antonio, I built the Duarte Coelho bridge and the Guararapes Avenue (formerly *10 de Novembro*). (...) Then, when I destroyed everything, a great bombing, who wants to build? Who had the money to? , (...) I was going to be the crazy mayor who bulldozed everything and left it worse, left the ruins instead of the old houses.[20]

Using Agamenon's prestige with Vargas, Novaes Filho appealed directly to the President in June 1940 in order to obtain funds to complete the enterprise:

I went to Rio de Janeiro, to meet the President Vargas… I was promptly received. I explained to him that I had entered in an administrative adventure. I bulldozed everything in the Santo Antonio district, the major commercial centre of the city, and I did not have means to conclude it. There was nobody to buy and build; everything was reduced to a wreck! I asked him to authorize the Institutes (national pension funds) to build something there. The Postal Service headquarters, which was going to be built in Recife district… It was not appropriate. I wanted everything built in the Santo Antonio. I would donate the land.

After he listened me, he said: 'I am impressed with your tenacity, with your wish to make Recife a modern city'.(...) Finally, Getúlio said to me: 'Dear Mayor Novaes, I'll take care of it. I will instruct te presidents of the institutes to make dignified and beautiful buildings on your avenue saying that you will donate the land' And that's it! He called everyone and gave them orders... Everything was made by the institutes of Getúlio. The few remaining lots were soon bought.[21]

Novaes Filho makes clear that the goal, not explicitly stated, was to create an image for the Estado Novo. The avenue belonged to a representational rather than practical dimension, since the building code established minimum heights instead of maximum heights. Instead of necessary schools and hospitals, office buildings for the bureaucracy and private companies were built to symbolize Brazil ascension to modernity. The commitment of all governmental levels was clear in the completion of the avenue.[22] Novaes Filho's program was ample, but the transformation in the Santo Antonio district appeared to be the major postcard, imprinting on Recife the marks of the Estado Novo:

The monumental November 10 Avenue, which replaced a cluster of tortuous and tiny alleys and streets, is a paradigm for the future Recife with broad arteries and majestic architectural masses[23].

Many of the unsold lots were donated to federal and state administration, such as the case of the Postal Service. Many other buildings were occupied by the growing federal bureaucracy, particularly those financed by the Pension Funds Institutes created by Vargas' labour policy.[24]

A loan from the Brazilian financer Martinelli S.A obtained by the previous mayor João Pereira Borges in March of 1937, financed this venture. It fuelled the demolition and expropriation during that year, but, after assuming power, Novaes Filho decided to cancel the loan and continue the works with the ordinary resources of the municipality, with the help of state and the federal governments[25]. The municipality pushed new owners to build, establishing deadlines for the start of construction. The participation of Brazil with the allied forces in World War II led to delays in the construction of these buildings due to the scarcity of steel and iron, directed to the war effort. In 1944, the last lots were sold to a local businessperson who completed the avenue by the end of the decade.[26]

BUILDING CODES AND THE DESIGN OF THE CITY

Verticality was a symbol of modernization and the buildings facing the avenue were carefully designed to achieve this effect. The new building profile was enforced through legislation, which aimed to coordinate the new construction to create a stage. The city of Recife had adopted a new modern building code in 1936, made by members of the Engineering Club[27].

The new 1936 legislation established zoning and regulated construction in all of Recife. It divided the city in four zones, following a concentric pattern according to their distance from the city centre, each with different patterns of occupation. The code permitted higher buildings and densities in the centre and lower densities and heights in the periphery. In the centre, the alignment of the facades was kept on the outer limits of the lot, while setbacks from the street were required in the suburbs. The high, dense and vertical central area, reserved for offices and business, sharply contrasted with the less dense suburbs[28]. The decree also showed great concern with the appearance and shape of buildings and architectural effect, particularly in the central area. It encouraged the verticality of the centre, establishing minimum heights. It also maintained the traditional city configuration with the buildings aligned with the outer limits of the lots and facing the streets. New buildings had to conform to these rules. It also established maximum heights depending on the width of the streets[29].

It is clear that the 1936 code pursued a specific model of city: a vertical, symbolic and densely built centre and a periphery of freestanding houses or small buildings, with certain areas of transition laying among them. The code curiously adopted modernist assumptions for the suburban areas, while keeping qualities of the 19th century city, with its unity, alignments, volumes, and facades, in the centre.

The aesthetics of facades was strongly emphasized in the code with an entire chapter devoted to this issue. These guidelines did not specify architectural styles, but defined rules, that made impossible the establishment of modern architecture. The rules required that the major lines of cornices and the architectural motifs should be in concordance with neighbouring buildings; article 112 affirmed: "in adjoining buildings, the new building should have its major architectural lines subordinated to the existing lines, with architectural motifs in concordance..." [30].
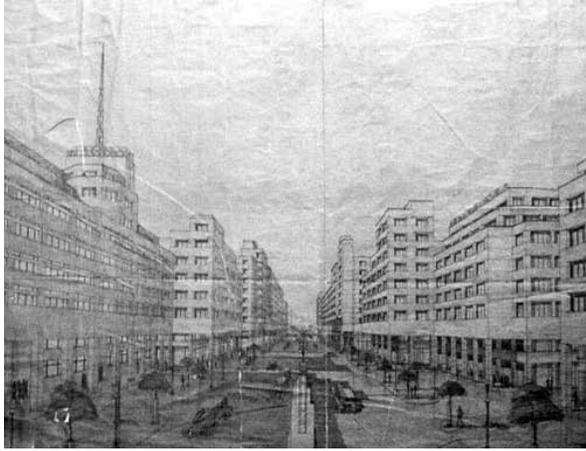
FIGURE 4 City Planning Commission (Recife), 10th of November Avenue (1938) Perspective

FIGURE 5 Recife, Aerial view (early 1950s)

FIGURE 6 Guararapes Avenue, 2003

The legislation required a minimum height of eight floors, with setbacks in the upper floors, and five-meter wide covered walkways (galleries) at the street level, corresponding to ground-level shops and a mezzanine, beneath the projection of the buildings. Controls governed the alignment of the facades, volumetric uniformity of the blocks and concordance of heights and architectural motifs (fig.6). Built between 1939 and 1949, these office buildings were the tallest and most modern in the city, using advanced technical resources[31].

Favouring circulation of vehicles, setbacks at the corners were required in order to provide visibility for drivers[32]. Architects took advantage of this requirement, exploring innovative solutions for corners, using cylindrical, corner-cutting, concave forms and other architectural motifs. The main entrances of the avenue received remarkable architectural treatments. Facing the mainland side, the *Trianon* and *Correios e Telégrafos* buildings with their play of concave and convex elements face one another. This play of concave and convex is also present in the opposite entrance of the Avenue, in the *Sulacap* and *Santo Albino* buildings (fig.6)[33].

The Beaux-Arts modulation and composition is present in the facades, The buildings adopt the compositional tradition of base, body and crown. The office units are clearly seen from the outside because of the rhythm of openings as well as the division between floors, always marked by pronounced cornices. The absence of classical capitals and the generally nude and abstract classicism contributes to the alignment and unity of the ensemble. The major lines of the galleries, with their uniformly spaced columns, also contributes to this unity. The narrow

streets entering at the sides of the avenue does not interfere in the composition. These buildings seems to be a single entity, made by different architects, who were forced to suppress their individuality in order to create an impressive ensemble. The wish to reconcile innovation and tradition, modernism and classicism is evident in these buildings. Architects emulated Agache's office towers with galleries and shops and *redent*-like upper floors. The plans - essentially symmetrical, developed around axis and divided in parts - also reveals a strong presence of Beaux-Arts culture. They are a result of a compromise between obligations dictated by the urban condition and internal functional requirements.

The rigorous control promoted by the building code led to curious solutions. The façade of *Correios and Telegrafos* was required to obey the classical modulation and the rhythm of the avenue. Great verandas appears on the façade, while following the lines of the avenue. On the other side, however, he had freedom to propose a stunningly modern façade entirely composed by *brise-soleil*. The reconciliation of these two traditions, classical and modern, proves the ability of architects in addressing urban conditions. The alignment and unity of facades and volumes provided harmony to the central area and contributed to its transformation into a symbolic space. Concerned with the overall aesthetics of the city, the regulations were unable to create expressive isolated buildings, but they did create an ensemble with a pleasing uniformity in the centre- a modern city that retained the pedestrian scale and the qualities of the traditional city. Principles of decorum, monumentality, symmetry and modulation were preserved from a Beaux-Arts culture.

CONCLUSIONS

The planners working in Recife were attentive to the most recent ideas and proposals from the United States and Europe- through readings, congresses, and personal contacts- and made frequent references to international theories and work in their writings. The aesthetic dimension was the most important influence from Agache and French planning. These planners understood the city in morphological terms, continuing the nineteenth-century city-building tradition and using classically inspired architectural compositions and urban design (block, squares and perspectives) in their solutions. The building codes enforced building patterns (galleries, receding upper floors, unity of the architectural lines).

A modern, hygienic and efficient city, urbanism was an important piece in the *Estado Novo* program. The belief in the technical character of the plan also assured the legitimacy of the urbanists. As it addressed the interest of an entire society and was based in scientific and technical methods, urbanism would be apolitical; a logic which rejected any kind of popular participation. After the installation of the *Estado Novo,* the remodelling was redirected and rapidly finished. he wishes for modernization of urbanists and politicians transformed the traditional city, not because it was strictly necessary in functional terms, but because this traditional city contained signs of the past to be eliminated.

Acknowledgements

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Endnotes

1   The ideas of Le Corbusier and those from CIAM, began to be introduced to Brazil. Le Corbusier's visits to Rio de Janeiro in 1929 and 1936 influenced a group of Brazilian architects, which would be known as the Carioca School in the following decades. Although their buildings were profusely published in the international architectural press between the mid-1940s and mid-1960s, was not yet in the position of having commissions in urbanism. This situation changed only in the late 1950s with competition of Brasilia and the wider acceptance of CIAM´s ideas.

2   The Club was a place of meeting not only for these engineers but also for an elite of industrialists, local politicians and public servants. "Acta da Sessão de Installação do Club de Engenharia de Pernambuco" *Boletim de Engenharia* 1 (1923): 23.

3   The contents of each plan cannot be fully explained here, due to the lack of space, but more details about this discussion can be found in: Fernando Moreira "A aventura do urbanismo moderno em Recife" in *Urbanismo no Brasil 1895-1965* (São Paulo: Nobel/Edusp, 1999), 141-166; Fernando Moreira, "Shaping Cities, Building a Nation" (PhD diss, University of Pennsylvania, 2004), p.354-369; Joel Outtes, "O Recife pregado à cruz das grandes avenidas" (Ms diss., MDU/UFPE, 1991); Virginia Pontual, "Ordem e Progresso: O pensamento urbanístico no Recife dos anos 30" (paper presented at the biannual national meeting of ANPUR, Brasília, 1995), 797-810.

4   Domingos Ferreira "A urbanização de Recife" *Diário da Manhã*, Recife, 14 May 1931; Joel Outtes, "O Recife pregado", 77.

5   Antonio Moraes Rego et al, "Bairro de Santo Antônio *Boletim de Engenharia* 5, 9 (February, 1931):

6   This first avenue, later called Dantas Barreto, was actually built between the 1950s and1960s involving extensive destruction of the urban fabric. The second became the Guararapes Avenue, built during the Estado Novo.

7   "O Plano de Remodelação do Recife" *Diário da Manhã* (5 February 1931): 1

8   Nestor Figueiredo, "Anteprojeto do plano de remodelação e desenvolvimento sistemático do Recife", manuscript, (1931): 3.

9   Attílio Corrêa Lima "Plano de remodelação da cidade do Recife" *Urbanismo e Viação*, 11 (1940): 42-47, Joel Outtes, "O Recife pregado", 151-152.

10   Agamenom Magalhães, "A Verdade de um Regime" *Folha da Manhã*, (9 August 1942):1.

11   Born in an old family of sugar cane aristocracy from the southern coast of the State, Novaes Filho had little involvement with the city. He was also senator and Minister of Agriculture in the 1950s. For a synthesis of his career see: Novaes Filho, Novaes Filho, Antonio, *Depoimento, Entrevistas-História Oral (1976)*1980, Virginia Pontual, *Uma cidade e dois prefeitos* (Recife: EDUFPE, 2001), 65-67.

12   Quoted by Virginia Pontual, *Uma cidade e dois prefeitos*, 76.

13   "A inauguração, hontem, do parque 13 de maio- discurso pronunciado por Novaes Filho" in *Folha da Manhã* 31 August 1939. Quoted by Virginia Pontual, *Uma cidade e dois prefeitos*, 77.

14   For a synthesis of these initiatives see Novaes Filho's correspondence to Agamenom Magalhães after his nomination, when established the goals of his tenure. AGM c1937 12.11/1 (microfilm). Correspondência de Novaes Filho a Agamenom Magalhães. CPDOC/ Getulio Vargas Foundation, Rio de Janeiro. See also PMR, *Seis annos de administração municipal*, 1944.

15   "Entregue à municipalidade o plano definitivo de reforma do bairro de Santo Antônio" *Folha da Manhã* (24 April 1938): 3.

16   "Entregue à municipalidade", 3.

17   Municipal Acts in *Official Diary of the State of Pernambuco*, April 20 1938 and April 23 1938.

18   Joel Outtes, "O Recife pregado", 183.

19   Marcus André Melo, "O Estado, o boom do século e a crise de habitação" in *Cidade e História*, ed. Marco Aurélio Gomes, Ana Fernandes (Salvador: UFBA, 1991), 153-154.

20   Antonio Novaes Filho, *Depoimento*, 10.

21   AGM c 1940.06.04; AGM c 1940.06.06/1; AGM c 1940.06.08/3; AGM c 1940.06.15. Rio de Janeiro: CPDOC/FGV. Microfilms in the Getulio Vargas Foundation.

22   In another occasion, Novaes Filho appealed to Vargas intervention. An Italian businessman was committed to build a modern cinema around the avenue, but his assets were frozen by the Bank of Brazil as a war measure. The businessman had his money liberated and the cinema was built. Novaes Filho, *Depoimento*, 12-13.

23   PMR, *Seis annos de administração municipal*, 1944, 36.

24   In addition to the Postal Service, these buildings were donated to the different pension funds, Institute of workers from banking, commerce, port and shipping, and the Institute of State Workers. These institutes rented offices in order to recover the public money invested.

25   This loan was fruit of a complicated financial operation, which involved public titles to be sold and retaken twenty years later. However, the company was unable to sell these titles, due to instability of Brazilian market of capitals. The Municipality was able to eliminate the contract. Joel Outtes, "O Recife pregado", 165-170, 175, PMR, *Seis annos de administração municipal*, 1944, 17-21.

26   The buildings were Almare, Arnaldo Bastos, Conde da Boa Vista, all of them designed by Hugo Marques.

27   PMR, *Regulamento de Construcções do Município do Recife*. 08/12/1936. Decreto n.374 (Recife: Imprensa Official, 1936).

28 This preoccupation with the architectural composition in the centre was not equally present in for the periphery. For the construction on new parcels in the suburbs, larger lots, wider streets and longer setbacks from the street were established, reflecting the preoccupation with hygiene, illumination and ventilation. In each suburban zone there were separated commercial and residential areas, drawing from ideas proposed by Figueiredo and Corrêa Lima The same zone could have different percentiles for occupation: denser in the commercial area and less dense in the residential areas. PMR, *Regulamento de Construcções*, Art 72, paragraphs 1,2,3, and 4;

29 In the center, the height of the buildings could reach 2,5 times the width of the streets, but this limit could be exceeded by receedings floors if it follow an angle of 60º, taken from the other opposite sidewalk. These restrictions aimed to provide insolation to the first floors. PMR, *Regulamento de Construcções*, Art.54, Parag. 2 ,26;

30 PMR, *Regulamento de Construcções*, Art 112.

31 The major buildings of the avenue and their dates of construction: Sulacap (1941), Caixa Economica Federal (1942), Trianon (1942), Seguradora (1943), Correios e Telégrafos (1943), Almare and Almare Anexo (1944), and Arnaldo Bastos in (1949).

32 PMR, *Regulamento de Construcções, Regulamento de Construcções*, chapter IV, Art 18, 16.

33 The *Trianon* presented a huge concavity at its corner that takes up one third of the facade. The *Correios and Telégrafos*, in the opposite corner had a concave glass element running from the ground to the roof, reflecting expressionist tones. In the other entrance, the *Sulacap*, designed by Roberto Capello, presents a slightly convex façade standing side by side with the *Matriz de Santo Antônio* Church. This baroque masterpiece had dominated the district skyline until the Sulacap arrived at its side announcing the new times. The *Sulacap* façade has a tripartite division with pronounced pediments and cornices, which compensates for the anonymity of its extensive lateral façade. Curves suggesting the velocity of modern Recife also appeared in the *Santo Albino* building in the opposite corner. The rounded body, projecting from the building, introduces the avenue but easily adapts itself to the rest of the building and to the ensemble.

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Figure 1: Revista da Cidade, Recife, n 54, II, July 09 1927.

Figure 2: "Plano de Remodelação para o Recife" Arquitetura e Urbanismo, (March/April, 1940): 21.

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Figure 4: Jordão Emerenciano State of Pernambuco Archive

Figure 5: Fundação Joaquim Nabuco [JPC 3111],

Figure 6: Photo by the Author.

Rebuilding the Urban Fabric: Constraints and Opportunities

Chair: Margarida Calmeiro

BUILDING COIMBRA'S MODERN HOSPITAL OVER THE ANCIENT COLEGIO DAS ARTES

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This paper intends to show how the former Colégio das Artes, responsible for the preparatory studies for university, was appropriated by the national treasure and was transformed into the University´s Hospital.

This key equipment in the structuring of the new liberal city required successive adaptations to fulfill the new sanitary demands and the changes in the scientific knowledge. Despite facing major financial restrictions, hospital director, António Augusto Costa Simões, managed to follow the international technological trends and gradually it became the main Portuguese medical center. Costa Simões' project interconnected two more ancient colleges and, within the new sanitary ideals, an area for gardens, from the skeleton of the old Colleges this plan draw a modern scientific equipment.

Over the twentieth century the building survived the mass demolition of the ancient uptown to give place to the new University City and today returned to the teaching function, the old hospital now houses the department of architecture of the University of Coimbra.

This paper aims to stress the process of transformation of the old College from school into Coimbra´s main attraction as hospital and nowadays the transformation into school once more.

Keywords
Coimbra, Convent confiscation, Hospital, Urban Development, modern equipment

ANTIFRAGILITY AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY: THE REGENERATION OF AL MANSHIYA AND NEVE TZEDEK, TEL AVIV-JAFFA

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Henri Lefebvre's idea of the right to the city, as a contra to the modernistic approach, expresses the right of the citizens to be part and to take part in their city's creation. Furthermore, the chase after the efficient city lead to the formation of urban projects, which are not only alienated to their inhabitants, but that are also rigid and unable to adapt to the ever-changing nature of the city. "Inefficient" urban systems, as Jane Jacobs had shown, have proven to be efficient after all, due to their fragmented urban economy, enabling them to better adjust to unpredicted changes. Nassim Taleb called this type of behavior Antifragililty, which describes complex systems that do not only remain unaffected by unpredicted changes, but also manage to take advantage of them. Manshiya and Neve-Tzedek are two adjacent neighborhoods in Tel Aviv, built in the 19th century. In 1954, they were declared as slums and designated for deconstruction. Manshiya's redevelopment was led by large-scale corporations, which excluded the citizens from the process of urbanization, granted a minimal Right to the city and concluded in a rigid and failed mega-structure. Neve-Tzedek in contrast, was regenerated due to small-scale investments led by the local community, which granted a much larger Right to the city and enabled the neighborhood to take advantage of the changes in the city, and to turn to one of Tel-Aviv's most desired areas.

INTRODUCTION

The *right to the city*, a term first determined by Henri Lefebvre in his 1968 book bearing the same name ("le droit a la ville"), expresses the right of the citizens to be part of and to take part in the creation of their city. Exercising this right can lead to the birth of a new urban order that is based on freedom, individualization within socialization, habitation and inhabitation, participation and appropriation[1]. Lefebvre claimed that excluding citizens from the process of urbanization, as in the case of top-down planning, leads to the creation of alienated environments, which were created for and not by its dwellers[2].

Lefebvre's theoretical successors are far from being unanimous on his interpretation. One could easily identify a wide scope of interpretations from moderate ones, to more extreme ones. The main conflict between the different interpretations is whether the *right to the city* could be exercised in any version of the contemporary cities, or whether it could be realized only after a radical transformation in the urban order, and the achievement of an *autogestion* (self rule)[3].

However, it is also possible to understand the *right to the city* as a spectrum. On one end of this spectrum stands the utopian vision of *autogestion*, on its other the alienated city. Between these two ends one could find different levels of the *right to the city*, as urban environments are located on this spectrum depending on the manner they address fundamental civic rights[4]. These milestones consist the right to live in the city[5], the right to enjoy the city's infrastructure (the *urban wealth*)[6], the right to *difference*[7], the right to participate in the design of one's city[8], the right to participate in the city's physical formation[9].

Furthermore, the top down planning approach was not criticized merely for creating alienated environments[10,11,12]. Other scholars claimed that this approach ignored the city's complexity, and therefore failed to adapt to the ever-changing nature of the urban system[13]. Jane Jacobs, Lefebvre's American contemporary, criticized the modernistic urbanism as well. In her book *The Economy of Cities*, Jacobs challenged the top-down planning approach and its chase after the efficient urban system. She managed to show that in many cases, "efficient" urban systems; the goal of the modern planning[14], have proven to be inefficient, due to their reliance on specific economic and social forces[15]. At the same time, the so called "inefficient" urban systems have proven to be efficient after all, due to their diffused urban economy, which relied on several small-scale economic and social forces, enabling them to better adjust to unpredicted changes[16]. This resembles Torsten Hägerstrand's theory on urban diffusion, which concludes that a system, which is composed of a layout of a large number of small cells (with a low number of agents per cell), has a higher probability to adopt innovations[17,18].

The rationalistic top-down modernist urban planning approach, best represented by le Corbusier's "City of tomorrow"[19], is keen on replacing the old inefficient city by a new and efficient one[20]. This approach relies on specific and few large-scale interventions (deconstruction, sky scrapers, large building blocks, zoning and a developed highway system), which are supposed to transform the old city to the "city of tomorrow". According to Jacobs, this urge to rationalize the city eliminates the criteria that enabled it to thrive and to be reborn along the years: the individuals living in the city, and the way they influence the daily routine[21].

Similar to Jacob's idea of "efficient inefficiency", Nassim Taleb introduces the term *antifragile*, as an attribute to complex systems, which not only remain unaffected by random and unpredicted changes, but also manage to take advantage of them[22]. According to Taleb, the desire to rationalize complex systems, such as the case of top-down planning, tends to subdue those systems to a clear forecast that is almost never fulfilled, therefore rendering them *fragile* to future scenarios, which the clear forecast failed to predict.

FIGURE 1 Manshiya (high-rise buildings) and Neve Tzedek (low-rise buildings), 2016

FIGURE 2 Manshiya (left) and Neve Tzedek (right), 193027

Taleb claims, that by neglecting the chase after rationality, the systems' inherent complexity is maintained and even enhanced. In this case, the unpredicted scenarios cease to be hazardous, and could even become opportunities for the systems' further evolvement[23].

According to Taleb, the desire to rationalize the global economy, like the desire to rationalize any other complex system, suffers from Inductionism, predicting future events according to past ones[24]. This leads to the adoption and fostering of incorrect and misleading predictions. Systems, whether being stock broking firms or urban planners, which depend on these predictions are venerable to unpredicted changes, and therefore become *fragile*[25]. In order to avoid Inductionism, complex system should foster fragmentation. Only by doing so, these systems could become immune to the ever-changing reality, robust, or even gain from it, becoming *antifragile*.[26]

From the above, one can assume that that if more individuals are able to take part and influence the city's creation, then their right to the city is more practiced, and the city, due to its fragmentation, is supposed to adjust better to unexpected changes.

This paper will focus on Al Manshiya and Neve Tzedek (see fig 1), two adjacent neighborhoods in central Tel Aviv, which had been declared as slums and designated for reconstruction. Both neighborhoods underwent a process of urban renewal, however, the method in which this renewal was carried out, differed. This researches main question is: *was there a change in the granted right to the city between the projects, and how did it impact the projects' ability to adapt to unpredicted social, physical and economic changes?*

NEVE TZEDEK AND MANSHIYA

The UN Partition Plan for Palestine that was accepted on November 29th 1947, and started the first phase of the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, included the city of Jaffa in the Arab State, while Tel Aviv would become a part of the Jewish state. An international border was to run between Arab Manshiya, and Jewish Neve Tzedek[28]. Jewish militias occupied Jaffa in the first stages of the war, before the official end of the British mandate and the declaration on the formation of the state of Israel[29]. During the clashes between Arab and Jewish militants in Jaffa, which started in November of 1947, the population of Jaffa decreased from 70-80 thousand to only 4000[30].

Gabriel Schwake

ANTIFRAGILITY AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY: THE REGENERATION OF AL MANSHIYA AND NEVE TZEDEK, TEL AVIV-JAFFA

FIGURE 3 Horowitz's reconstruction plan, 1959
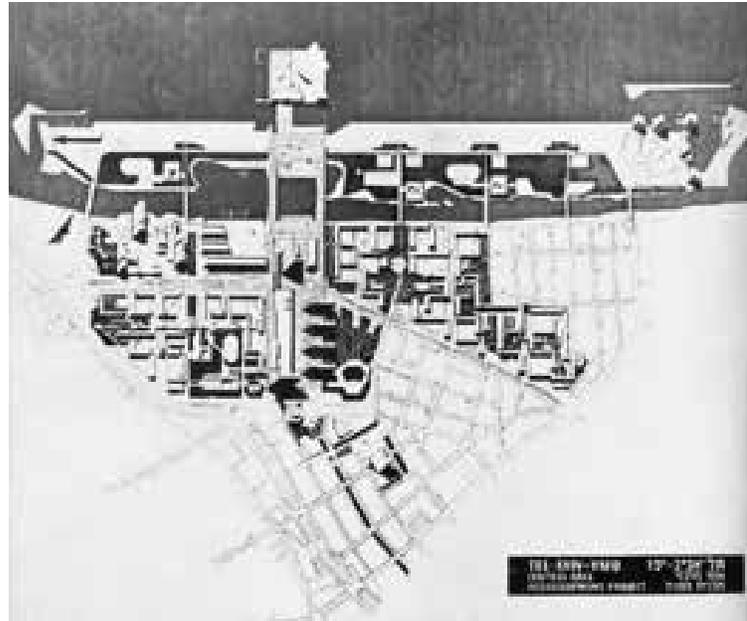
FIGURE 4 Winning entry, 1963

Tel Aviv of the 1950s was a totally different city from that of the 1940s. The aftermath of the 1948 war had left the city almost double the size[31], with a significant amount of abandoned Arab villages and neighborhoods[32] (then already populated by Jewish immigrants), undeveloped and ex-farm land previously owned by Arabs and *Ma'abarot* (Jewish refugee transition camps)[33]. In order to deal with these issues, the municipality of Tel Aviv, led by mayor Israel Rokach, invited the American town planner Aaron Horowitz in 1951, to compose a new urban Master plan. Horowitz's plan was intended to provide a solution to the new problems the grown city had evolved, and to introduce a new urban logic for Tel Aviv[34].

In 1959, Horowitz released his a Slum Reconstruction Plan (see fig 3). In this plan Horowitz had declared vast areas of the city, 29 different neighborhoods, as slums, and designated them for evacuation and reconstruction. Horowitz's plan was never formally authorized and accepted by the municipality of Tel Aviv, the areas declared by him as slums however, became the target of numerous urban renewal and regeneration projects, since the 1950s and until today[35].

In 1960 the municipality of Tel Aviv established the *Ahuzot HaHof* Company, which was in charge of the redevelopment of the Al Manshiya area. The company claimed that Manshiya's area, located on the city's shore and in its center, with a large percentage of public owned land, has a high potential to become a central business district, with luxury housing and shopping centers built in high rise buildings[36]. It also claimed that in order to supply the sufficient funds needed for a project of this sort, the public authorities should seek and encourage large private investments[37].

Consequently an international architecture competition for the development of central Tel Aviv was declared in 1962. This competition attracted 152 submissions from 33 countries. Most of these submissions, as well as the wining (see fig 04), suggested the total deconstruction of Al Manshiya and Neve Tzedek, and the constriction of a series of mega-structures in their place.

Evacuation of the Al Manshiya 's inhabitants began in 1961, as well as the demolition of their houses. From 1961-1970, 2616 housing units were evacuated in Al Manshiya[38], while their inhabitants received compensation[39].

Gabriel Schwake

ANTIFRAGILITY AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY: THE REGENERATION OF AL MANSHIYA AND NEVE TZEDEK, TEL AVIV-JAFFA

Simultaneously the Tel Aviv municipality and *Ahuzot Hahof* company began searching for private corporations willing to construct their headquarters, offices or hotels in the future business district[40], as local architects, Niv and Reifer were commissioned to implement the competition's result into concrete planning.

The construction of the first of 8 high-rise buildings (first phase out of three) began in 1973, and the last of them were concluded only in 1998. In the meantime, The Charles Clore Park, on the other side of the new constructed multi-lane road, was built on top of the ruins of Manshiya's houses in 1974[41]. Along the years, Manshiya's business district became one of the least attractive office complexes in the city. Since the end of the 1990's with the construction of other, newer and better-connected business centers, the rents in Manshiya dropt significantly[42]. Consequently, the planning of the next phases in the area was halted, and the entire neighborhood stagnated[43].

Neve Tzedek, though being designated for reconstruction, was not part of the first phases of the Manshiya project, and therefore no concrete planning scheme was planned for the neighborhood. In the 1970's, despite its ongoing deterioration there was a growing public interest in the conditions of Neve Tzedek. Dozens of newspaper articles began to address the issues of the neighborhood's significant history, its unique architecture and its neglect[44,45,46,47,48,49,50,51,52,53]. At the same time that Neve Tzedek's history reached public attention, a stream of young artists, seeking a unique lifestyle that could enable them to work and live in a unique environment, alongside cheap rent, began to flood the neighborhood[54,55]. The Tel Aviv Municipality, which asked to redevelop the neighborhood as and artistic and cultural center began persuading a variety of dance and theatre ensembles, as well as painter and art galleries to relocate to Neve Tzedek[56,57].

In the 1980's there was a growing effort, from the Tel Aviv municipality, to inspire the renovation of the existing houses by their current dwellers by offering loans, subventions and organized joint renovations[58]. Granting property owners' larger building rights and public investments in civil and cultural infrastructure then enhanced the organized renovations.

In a significantly short period of time, Neve Tzedek turned from one of Tel Aviv's major problems to one of its most desired neighborhood[59]. This was felt already in the end of the 1980's when real estate prices started to ascent significantly[60], and when they continued to raise in the 1990s[61], and much more significantly in the beginning of the 2000s[62].

The success of the neighborhoods regeneration in the 1990's, led to further public and private investments in further renovation and conservation in the 2000's. Neve Tzedek's unique architecture and its picturesque alleys became a desired commodity for local and foreign millionaires[63]. This led to the intervention of even larger entrepreneurs[64,65,66,67,68], which led to further investments in order to attract bigger and wealthier clients[69].

RIGHT TO THE CITY

In Manshiya, the right to live in the city was highly damaged by the evacuation of its residents, and by not offering the residents any alternate housing in the neighborhood or in any part of town. Furthermore, new dwelling units were not constructed at all in Manshiya, and the right to live in the city was clearly disregarded. The right to enjoy the city's infrastructure was severely limited, as the entire area included mainly high-rise private office buildings, luxury hotels, multi lane freeways and a disconnected public park. The public sphere was clearly sacrificed for the sake of the private one.

The entire reconstruction process in Manshiya was led by the economical speculations, which asked attract large-scale corporations and entrepreneurs who will fund the construction of the future central business district, hopping to reap major revenues once the redevelopment is concluded. To assure this assumption, Manshiya's

Gabriel Schwake
ANTIFRAGILITY AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY: THE REGENERATION OF AL MANSHIYA AND NEVE TZEDEK, TEL AVIV-JAFFA

planners asked to create a clean slate from the neighborhood, upon it a functional and efficient business district will be built by attracting large-scale corporations and entrepreneurs. Consequently excluding the citizens from the process of designing their city, and from constructing it. By ignoring the existing communities, the planners ignored their lifestyles, and their right to *difference*.

For many years, the *right to the city* was in great risk, as the citizens were under the danger of evacuation, and their houses were meant to be deconstructed, in the 1980's however, it began changing. The right to live in the city was revived when the existing houses were not designated for reconstruction any more, and by the construction of new dwelling units, as the Tel Aviv municipality encouraged property owners to renovate their houses by giving them greater building rights, financed loans and large public investments in civic and cultural infrastructure. These great public investments in physical and cultural infrastructure benefited the right to enjoy the city infrastructure. The acknowledgment in the neighborhood's community and its history, as well as its unique architecture, recognized the citizens right to *difference*. The local community was greatly involved (still not as active planners) in the planning process, granting them a limited (but existing) right to participate in the planning of their city.

Moreover, the regeneration method chosen by the Tel Aviv saw the citizens of Neve Tzedek as active agents of innovation, as they were encouraged to take an active part in its renovation, granting them the right to take part in the physical construction of their city.

However, as property values in Neve Tzedek increased, the neighborhood began undergoing a process of gentrification. This began limiting the right to live in the neighborhood, as the real estate market was mainly focused on the construction of luxury apartments. Consequently the local businesses began being oriented to serve wealthier clients, and therefore limiting the right to enjoy the city's infrastructure. Larger entrepreneurs began investing in the neighborhood, and eventually took control over the neighborhoods renovation, thus hindering the right to construct the city. The right to participate in planning the city was also hindered, as the new entrepreneurs sought to initiate spot zoning plans, which will entitle them to larger building rights.

ANALYSES

The clear future vision for Manshiya relied on a specified urban daily routine, which included the arrival of thousands of commuters each morning by a developed road system, to the exclusive office buildings. Nevertheless, this envisioned specific daily routine was not realized, as the central business district shifted to others parts of the metropolitan and the vast freeway system was never constructed. Manshiya financial district consequently failed to continue attracting large-scale corporations, which were supposed to maintain its status. The mega structures that were the outcome of a profit minded approach, needed large investments in order to keep functioning as exclusive office buildings, which only large firms could supply. As Manshiya became less profitable, large firms began seeking offices elsewhere, and a vicious circle of physical deterioration and lack of investment was ignited. By relying almost solely on large-scale corporations' economic speculations, Manshiya's planners constructed a business complex, which was made to function only as a leading financial center.

The lack of dwelling units as well as other cultural and public facilities in the neighborhood prevented the evolvement of an around the clock daily urban activity, which could have aided to the emergence of alternate urban functions once the central business district option was not realized. The construction of a multi lane freeway as well as a system of service roads created a barrier and segregated the neighborhood from other parts of the city as it obstructed the movement of pedestrians. The segregation was additionally enhanced when several buildings were constructed upon above ground parking lots, and the connection to the street level was abandoned (see fig 5). This disconnection prevented the development of random activity, which could have contributed to the adaption to the evolving urban system.

Gabriel Schwake

ANTIFRAGILITY AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY: THE REGENERATION OF AL MANSHIYA AND NEVE TZEDEK, TEL AVIV-JAFFA

FIGURE 5 Manshiya's ground level, 2016
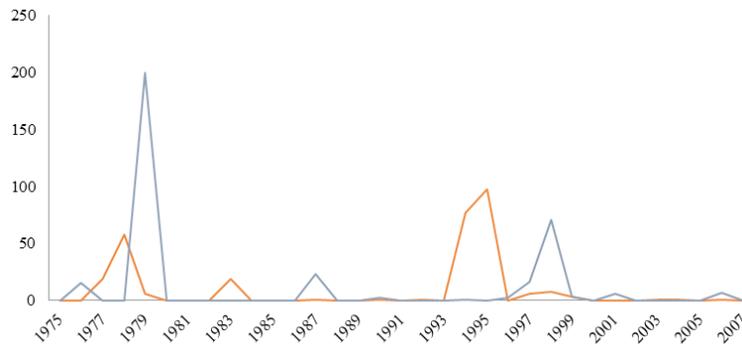
GRAPH 1 Non dwelling construction beginning and end in 1000 m2, Manshiya70


FIGURE 6 Manshiya, 2016

As the large entrepreneurs were preferred over the local community, The Manshiya's Phase-A area (CA 50,000 m²) was divided into 8 lots (cells). The effects of the division of Manshiya into larger cells could be seen in graph 1 regarding constructions beginnings (red) and ends (blue) in Manshiya[11]. In this graph it is possible to notice that the work on site was conducted in large waves of concentrated construction, which spread over a long period of time. In the case where unpredicted change is introduced, such as the relocation of the CBD and the growing need for dwelling units in the city center, it is expected that the adaptation process will be conducted like the construction process: in concentrated waves over a long period of time, as far from flexibility an urban quarter could be.

Moreover, the concentrated construction eventually introduced a significantly large amount of agents were introduced into one cell, making it harder for the neighborhood to adapt to changes. Thus, whenever a renovation process is discussed, the approval of all 100+ property owners is required[71]. Only the agreement to adapt to changes requires several years, resulting in an even greater urban inflexibility. Therefore Manshiya remains an island of deteriorating high-rise office buildings in a sea of freeways and parking lots (see fig 6).

Neve Tzedek of the 1940's and the 1950's was a deteriorating neighborhood. As part of the major Manshiya project, Neve Tzedek was aimed to be demolished in order to make place for the new central district of Tel Aviv. During the planning process the entire neighborhood was put under a construction halt, and all renovations were frozen. However, as the Manshiya project was limited to its Phase-A area, no concrete plan was issued for Neve Tzedek. This further limited all constructions in the neighborhood, drove away all potential investments and led to the neighborhood's further deterioration. Though the fruitful efforts to insert cultural institutions to the neighborhood, which did have some positive effects in the late 1970's Neve Tzedek continued to deteriorate, this tendency continued until the early 1980's.

Gabriel Schwake

ANTIFRAGILITY AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY: THE REGENERATION OF AL MANSHIYA AND NEVE TZEDEK, TEL AVIV-JAFFA
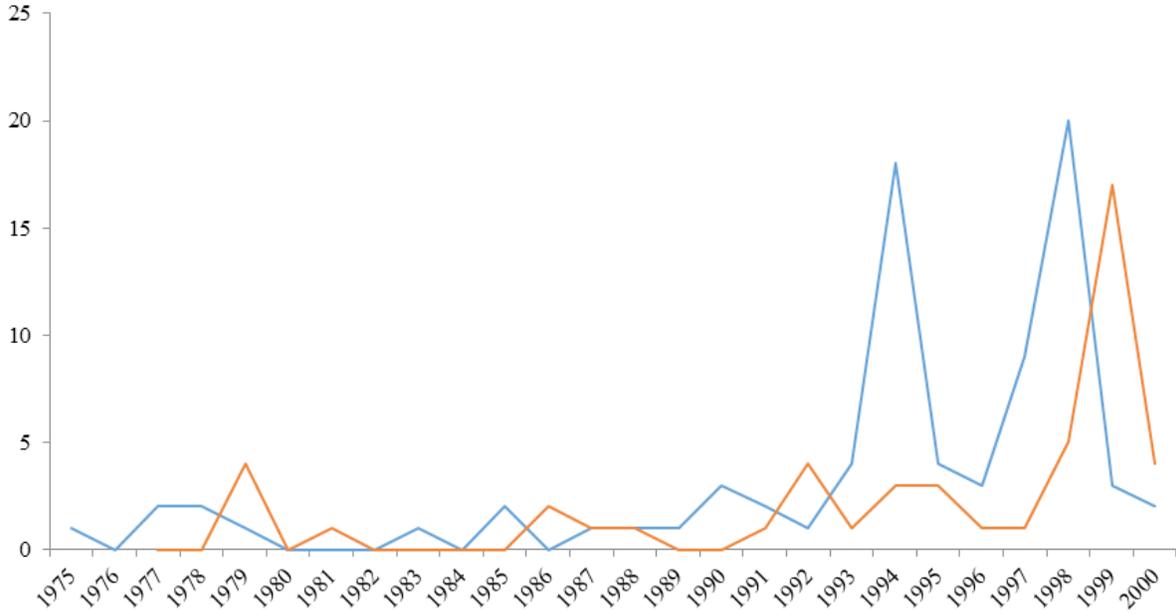
GRAPH 2 Construction beginnings (blue) and ends (red) in Neve Tzedek (1000m2)73
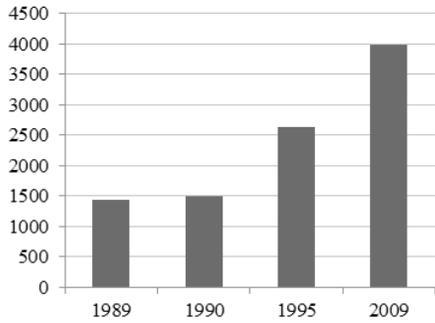

GRAPH 3 Population in Neve Tzede73
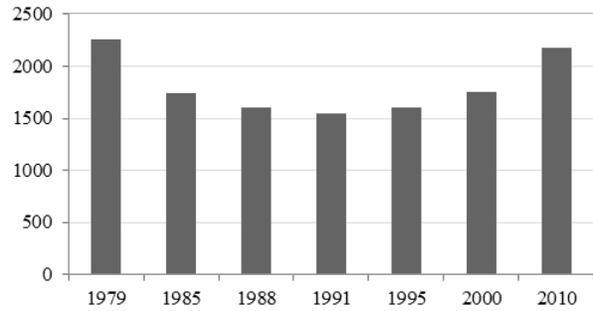
GRAPH 4 Dwelling Units in Neve Tzede74

The renovation plans of the 1980's and 1990's entirely changed this situation. First, the need to introduce a uniform, efficient and rational plans for the area was neglected, as a more complex and humble point approach was chosen. The plan's objectives were to conserve the neighborhood's character, to encourage its renovation and the construction of new dwelling units72. Unlike earlier plans that asked to construct a new civil, business or cultural center.

In the 1980's and 1990's the complexity of the neighborhood was enhanced as a variety of small-scale cultural institutions, businesses, art galleries, cafes and restaurants began settling in Neve Tzedek. This was further enhanced as the neighborhood's connections to other parts of the city were improved, with the renovation of Shabazi St. the renovation of the old train station and other surrounding streets. Neve Tzedek was then able to become an integral part of the city, while still fashionably isolated, attracting a variety of citizens to enjoy the neighborhood's physical and cultural infrastructure.
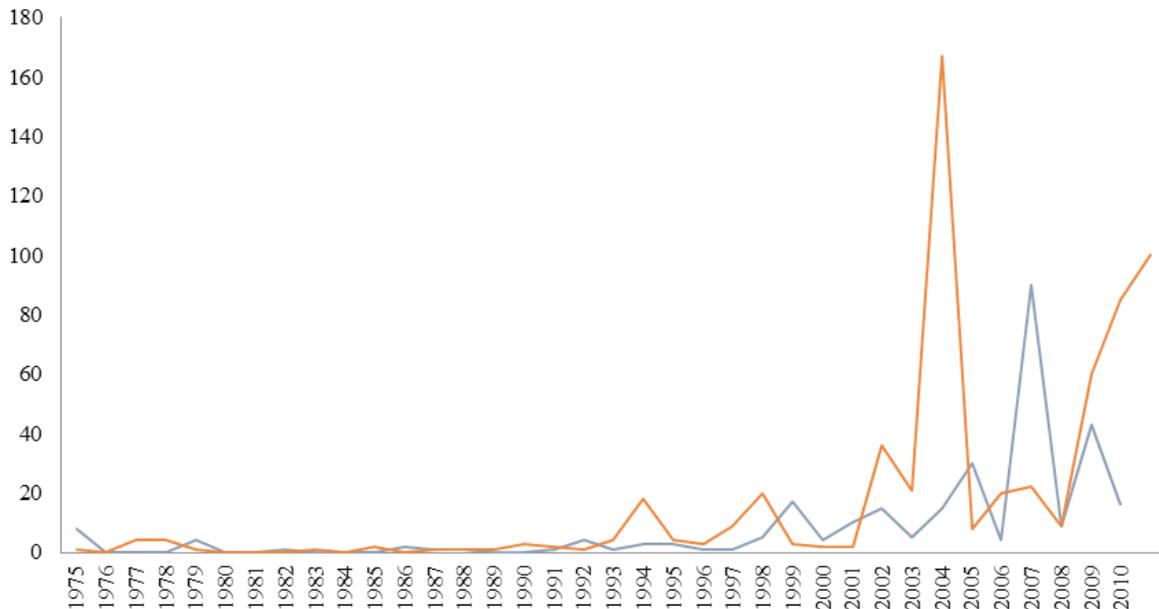
GRAPH 5 Construction Beginning (red) and end (blue), Neve Tzedek78

Maintaining the existing urban grid and parceling divided Neve Tzedek's CA 210000 m² remained divided into 600 cells, with around 1-3 agents in each cell. This ensured the existence of the right to live in the city, and the right to participate in the physical construction of the city. The process of urban diffusion as Hägerstrand had described was therefore very likely to occur, once it became legal and profitable. This aided Neve Tzedek to adjust to the changes Tel Aviv had undergone in the 1980's. As the city began being popular again, an influx of people began seeking dwelling units in Tel Aviv. Neve Tzedek's construction boom was able to offer a growing supply of a variety of dwelling units, and therefore adapting, and taking advantage of the changes in the urban system.

In graph number 2, regarding construction beginnings and ends in Neve Tzedek[75], it is possible to notice that Neve Tzedek stagnated until the early 1980's, when a significant increase in construction beginnings is seen. The construction in Neve Tzedek was conducted in a sequence of relatively small waves, which spread over a short period of time. This points out that the neighborhood was able to transform rapidly and by small-scale construction ventures. This is compatible with the high involvement of the neighborhood's citizens and other small-scale entrepreneurs, who asked to take advantage of the changes in the city by making a good profit in a short time. This corresponds with the growing number of people living in Neve Tzedek, as its population was almost doubled in a less than a decade (see graph 3), and continued to grow significantly afterwards. The number of dwelling units increased in almost 25% between 1990-2010, as the dwelling area had increased by 240% in the same period (see graph 4).

However, since the early 2000's, we are able to notice that construction in the neighborhood began being conducted in larger waves, spreading on a longer period of time (see graph 5). This can be explained by the growing involvement of large-scale entrepreneurs, which sought to increase their profits by combining several lots, or by mainly constructing luxury apartments and villas. This correlates to the significantly high number of entrepreneur initiated spot-planning schemes (20)[76], most of which asked to increase building rights. As well as to the decrease in the population growth in the neighborhood, and to the beginning of its reduction that began in 2010[77].

Gabriel Schwake

ANTIFRAGILITY AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY: THE REGENERATION OF AL MANSHIYA AND NEVE TZEDEK, TEL AVIV-JAFFA

CONCLUSIONS

From the mentioned findings and analyses, it is possible to conclude that the utilitarian profit minded urban planning approach, which sought to introduce an efficient and clean plan for Manshiya, excluded the citizens from living in the city, enjoying its infrastructure, planning and constructing it. This clearly depraved their *right to the city*. Furthermore, this exclusion also eliminated the chance for spontaneous urban activity, which could have contributed to the neighborhoods diffusion ability, enabling it to adopt new raising functions and adapting to the changes in the city life. It is also possible to conclude that the same variables that had made Manshiya inflexible along the years are those that have prevented the further construction on the neighborhood's yet vacated land.

One could conclude that the *right to the city* that was granted in the 1980's and 1990's Neve Tzedek contributed largely to its fragmentation. The neighborhood's fragmentation, which was considered in the 1950's, 1960's and 1970's to be one of its main weaknesses, became in the 1980's and the 1990's the key factor in the neighborhoods regeneration. This fragmentation granted the neighborhood a great flexibility, as well as a relatively great right to the city, and eventually enabling it to become *antifragile,* as it was able to take advantage from the changes in the city life. The success of Neve Tzedek's regeneration concluded in a decline in both the *right to the city* and the area's flexibility. The neighborhood began attracting larger investments and investors, neglecting its complexity, limiting the existing *right to the city* and fragmentation, and rendering it *fragile* once again. From this, it is possible to state that Neve Tzedek owed its success to its flexibility. Its success however, brought an end to its flexibility.

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17th IPHS Conference, Delft 2016 | **HISTORY ▪ URBANISM ▪ RESILIENCE** | VOLUME 01 Ideas on the Move and Modernisation |

Modernisation and Colonisation | *Rebuilding the Urban Fabric: Constraints and Opportunities*

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(UN)HEALING THE URBAN SCAR IN NICOSIA: SPATIAL AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION IN POST CONFLICT DIVIDED CITIES

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Urban separation of cities mostly resulting from political and ethnic conflict is not considered a lasting solution. When a political solution cannot be achieved, which is mostly seen as a necessity for cooperative urban and social infrastructure, the temporary solution for the city's divided landscape and everyday life becomes permanent. Hence, divided cities are arenas where issues around urban resilience and (re)production of space under contested states are more than everyday debate. Nicosia, widely known as the last divided capital city in Europe, serves as the capital of Turkish Cypriots in the north and Greek Cypriots in the south. The United Nations (UN) Buffer Zone formalized in 1974 as an emergency measure against inter-communal clashes bisected the Walled City Nicosia, separating its citizens and breaking the urban unity. The union of the two communities in Cyprus were broken up and the continuity of space became a past. Nicosia Master Plan (NMP), the cooperative planning initiative of the professionals that had been managed before political consensus was reached, created a unique solution for the city. The success of NMP in physical terms stayed limited as the division continued. The opening of the Ledra Gate within the Walled City in 2008 had a symbolic meaning as it would make the two communities feel as if they belonged to the united urban texture and had the potential of encouraging new socio-economic developments and daily interactions. Civil actors from formal and informal groups have gradually stepped forward to strengthen the positive effect of the NMP, bringing life to the Dead Zone of the city. Recent spatial and social transformations along the divide of Nicosia are scrutinized in this paper. It explores the policy and planning responses that are being proposed in divided cities and the solution efforts that are promoted by professionals, citizens and NGOs rather than the states. The analysis is based on qualitative data; the visual and verbal records centred on activities and actions of NMP and NGOs on the field. Within this context the paper focuses on intentions and concrete steps where the Buffer Zone is perceived as a shared space. It also aims to point out an insight into social and spatial (re)production in post-conflict divided cities.

INTRODUCTION

The concept of resilience with respect to urban planning has been the focus of researchers and political decision makers within the framework of environmental, socioeconomic and political uncertainty, hazards and risks[1]. Contrasting with engineering resilience which showed up as a concept much more earlier[2] where the focus is on a single state of equilibrium or stability, the resilient urban system is not really expected to turn to the previous condition[3]. Hence the theory of resilience has evolved from a measurable descriptive concept[4] to a way of thinking which is increasingly applied to a growing number of areas including urban systems where dynamic socio-spatial adaptation and transformation atmosphere is created when citizens, governing authorities and international actors work together.

Divided cities are arenas where issues around urban resilience and (re)production of space under contested states are more than everyday debate. Partition represented by overt signs, walls, and checkpoints represent a clear process of distinction and a conscious choice by one or both parties to establish access restrictions between the 'other'[5]. Cities and capitals can be partitioned with boundaries of race, class, ethnicity, etc. The divisive context for Nicosia is the ethno-national conflict where both groups claim for state sovereignty. Although the reason of division greatly differs between cities, analysing the planning techniques would suggest a relevant context. In Northern Ireland for example, planning was very much integrated to the peace process and used as a tool to manage conflict where in Palestine, it has been used by Israel as a tool to pursue partisan goals and planning is deployed as a means of political control. On the other hand in Beirut the reconstruction after war was carried out by a private company in an elitist manner[6]. Planning and implementation processes realised in these post-conflict and/or divided cities, international policy makers, UN agencies, private contractors have played their roles. However the role of the citizens and NGOs seem underestimated. Preparing plans for buildings and the urban fabric have been the primary goal. Segregation is typically taken like other forms of urban catastrophe without considering the specific economic pressures and social weaknesses[7].

This paper is focused on planning history of divided Nicosia and the Buffer Zone, exploring the planning strategies that has been implemented after partition. It uses the analysis of the involvement of citizens and NGOs to the planning process to highlight the unforgotten dimension when social and spatial (re)production within the context post conflict urban resilience.

BUFFER ZONE AS THE URBAN SCAR

The Buffer Zone in Cyprus stretches from east to west crossing different landscapes of the island. In rural areas the width of the dividing line is 7 km wide while in Nicosia it narrows as thin as 3.3 m[89]. (Figure 1)

Nicosia was accepted as their capital city and administrative core when ruled by the Lusignans, Venetians, Ottoman and British Empires. The first division of the city took place in 1956 under the British Colonial Rule[10] during a period in which the British were able to exploit inter-ethnic differences that led to inter-ethnic violence and the erection of a barbed wire fence known as the 'Mason Dixon Line' that divided the perfect geometry of Venetian Walls into two[11]. Between 1960 and 1963 Cypriots experienced the citizenship of an independent state, the Republic of Cyprus, for the first time in their history. However, in 1963 inter-communal and inter-ethnic violence between Greek and Turkish Cypriots led to a division of Nicosia again[12]. The Green Line disrupted the image of unity meandering along the main commercial axis, formerly the bed of the Phedios River. Although movement from ethnically separated north and south was relatively free between 1968 and 1974, almost none of the Turkish Cypriots withdrawn into autonomously administrated enclaves returned to their original villages[13].

After Turkey's military intervention in 1974, the Green Line was formalized as a border called the Buffer Zone, the 'Dead Zone' which was controlled by a UN peacekeeping Force and divided Cypriots limiting the freedom of movement for citizens in both communities. Cut through the historical centre by the Buffer Zone, Nicosia became the capital city of both the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, 1975 (later the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, 1983) in the north as Lefkoşa and the Republic of Cyprus in the south as Lefkosia. (Figure 2)

SOCIAL AND SPATIAL FEATURES AND FUTURE OF DIVISION

After 1974 communication between the two communities was almost impossible. Nicosia came out to be the place in Cyprus most affected by the partition because the divide became an everyday experience among citizens both socially and spatially. The architectural and environmental quality of Nicosia's historical centre gradually declined. Many dead ends were formed where the streets stopped at a 'wall'[14] and continued on the far side. The centre became the edge and lost its capacity to attract investment and public/civic services. As a result, urban areas began to expand towards the north and south respectively. Some sections showed signs of past violence; a bullet hole or military graffiti. Nonetheless, the wall's purpose was clear, when one wanted to look at the other side from a break or take a photograph, he/she encountered the eyes of a soldier. (Figure 3)

During the late 1970s and early 1980s many Cypriots moved from their ancestral homes in the walled city, which were not regarded safe because of their proximity to the border, to new homes and apartment blocks in the emerging suburbs of the city. This abandonment of the central area resulted in a large number of vacant housing spaces which attracted lower wage foreign workers and settlers.

Division also meant the partitioned restructuring of Cypriot administrative zones and authorities as well as the dissolution of Cyprus' ethnic mosaic[15]. The space of the city was subjected to different plans and practices of urbanization on either side of the divide, as the political power attached to existing buildings changed, especially after the establishment of the administrative bodies of the Turkish Cypriot community in the north[16].

Hence, the union of the two communities on the Island was broken up and the continuity of space became a past. Since 1974, UN-led negotiations have continued for a unified Cyprus. In 2004 the Annan Plan was proposed to the two communities but rejected by the Greek Cypriots in the referendum. The European Union accepted the Republic of Cyprus to be a member state as a de jure whole polity but a half territory. Within this frame the Buffer Zone became the border of EU and Nicosia was branded as the only divided capital of an EU country. The lack of official recognition and legitimization of the North meant that foreign aid and investment was channelled to the Republic of Cyprus, leading and leaving Turkish Cypriots to feel neglected and repudiated by the world.

THE NICOSIA MASTER PLAN (NMP)

The Nicosia Master Plan (NMP) had been developed in the early 1980s following on to a 1978 agreement for the preparation of the common sewage system and a meeting between representatives of the two communities in October 1979. The plan commissioned by the Turkish Cypriot mayor Mustafa Akıncı[17] and his Greek Cypriot counterpart Lellos Demetriades, under auspices of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP)[18] had aimed to secure "the improvement of the existing and future habitat and human settlement conditions of all the inhabitants of Nicosia" by coordinating infrastructural issues and ensuring adequate urban development in both parts of the city[19].

In the first phase, 1981-84, formulation of a general planning consisting of historical analysis, surveys of the buildings and public spaces, projects for emergency support and restoration and a large digital record (a database for future projects) are prepared. In the second phase 1984-85, preparation of a detailed operational plan for the city centre was the priority for NMP team. The rehabilitation of the historic centre was confronted as a multi-dimensional process incorporating architecture, planning, social and economic objectives.

From 1989 to date the implementation phase has been ongoing with emphasis on the improvement of traffic circulation, pedestrianisation scheme, landscaping, and the upgrading of the historic buildings together with the public spaces. The planning approach intended to connect the historic city centre with the developing areas outside the Walled City.

One of the priorities identified in the NMP was the revitalisation of traditional residential quarters within the city centre; Chrysaliniotissa-Arabahmet (1981), Omerye-Selimiye (2003), Phaneromeni-Samanbahce (2004). These twin pilot projects were launched to show that the asymmetrical power relations were clearly avoided and like the Sewage Project it is emphasized that the NMP was a bi-communal attempt counting on a non-political attitude. (Figure 4)

These traditional residential neighbourhoods suffered from a sharp decline in population, which accelerated the deterioration of the buildings due to their proximity to the Buffer Zone. As well as preserving both the buildings and the historic charm of these areas with their traditional street patterns, these projects also intend to give impetus to private investment, give sense of belonging in the district, and to attract younger and more economically-active households into the area. (Figure 5)

With the restoration of buildings with historical and architectural value like the Bedesten from it is also aimed to bring social and cultural life back to the neighbourhood. (Figure 6)

The NMP team formed by Greek and Turkish Cypriot professionals has also paved the way for permanent collaboration between the Town Planning and Housing Departments of the governments and municipalities of both sides. The Department of Antiquities and Museums was also included in this network in the north[20].

Both the infrastructural upgrading project and the historical renovations enacted in 2001 were approved by UNDP and United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS-Habitat). The revitalization of the central area is found to be an important factor in resilience as the commercial areas may hold together potential than residential areas for civil autonomy to sustain against local and international politics. The NMP was even a recipient of the prestigious Aga Khan Award for Architecture in 2007 where the Plan's capacity to bring together the 'other' through urban and architectural renovations "to build a shared space for all people and all faiths" was emphasized as a jury note[21]. In 2011 the architectural Heritage of the Buffer Zone in the Walled City of Nicosia received the Europa Nostra Research Award. However, although the physical recovery was widely recognised and awarded, the formation of the bi-communal movement, participating in the activities and events to meet, interaction and construction a relationship of trust were still limited. Sporadic bi-communal meetings started in the 1970s and 1980s but it was in 1990s that they turned out to be regular activities. Various conflict resolution workshops and bi-communal activities were organised under the control of UN and support of international actors to create a medium for Turkish and Greek Cypriots to understand each other's fears and hopes for a future reunification. Yet, it was still a small group of individuals sharing this experience until 2003. In 2003 travel restrictions across the Buffer Zone were eased with the opening of the border gates through the Buffer Zone. The Ledra Gate, at the periphery of the Walled City, allowed pedestrian circulation for daily interactions, giving civil initiatives a chance to form.

Huriye Gurdalli
(UN)HEALING THE URBAN SCAR IN NICOSIA: SPATIAL AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION IN POST CONFLICT DIVIDED CITIES

MORE OF THE NICOSIA MASTER PLAN (NMP) ▪ THE NEW VISION PROJECT (NVP)

The NVP was an incentive of bi-communal effort to assess the achievements and shortcomings of the NMP that was in action since 1984[22]. The 'Cultural and Culture-related Regenerated Vision' was accepted as the most promising amongst those suggested[23]. Both communities showed their will to put out a New Vision for the Core's further regeneration and overcome the shortcomings of the NMP. After the results of a socio-economic survey carried out by the bi-communal team, the new vision project was decided to be re-constructed with urban heritage-led regeneration strategy[24]. Cultural activities, workshops/seminars, exhibitions, as well as the representation of local community on management boards were promoted as part of the participatory plan. With all the dynamism that the project aimed to bring to the area, the intention was to create a desire for locals to return to the central Nicosia and to recover the Buffer Zone to be Nicosia's urban core once again. (Figure 7) The project was founded on the basis of the lessons learned from NMP experience. The public participation seemed vital for the success of the project and development of appropriate participation mechanisms and tools was the new challenge.

HOME FOR COOPERATION (H4C)

It was in 2005 that the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research (AHDR)[25], initiated an inter-communal educational centre in the Buffer Zone. The financial support from the European Economic Area Grants and Norway Grants (major donors are Norway, Iceland and Liechtenstein, Sweden, Switzerland and the Republic of Cyprus) made the concept of the H4C project possible. In 2011 the H4C was founded as a multifunctional cultural and educational activity centre in the Buffer Zone offering library and archive, offices, conference and exhibition space and a café for the NGOs and local people of Nicosia. (Figure 8)

With the Ledra Crossing open, H4C transformed the Buffer Zone to a bridge, facilitating interaction and connecting the citizens from both sides instead of dividing them[26]. "We came up with an idea of looking for a house in the Buffer Zone, somewhere neutral. This will be the first inter-communal building that promotes research and dialogue and issues regarding history education. To be able to take the perspective of the other is a development" says Chara Makriyanni[27]. The core objective of the initiative was to provide opportunities for NGOs and individuals to design and implement innovative projects, which will help to build the foundations for empowering civil society and build lasting relationships island-wide. The Europa Nostra Conservation Award came to the project that symbolizes the effort of the Cypriot communities working together in collaboration with the international community in 2014. The jury stated that "it constitutes a substantial contribution to the revitalization of Nicosia's United Nations Dead Zone as well as to the wider peace making procedure"[28].

CONCLUSION

Synergy initiated and implemented by the civil society can be unpredictably more than the intended. As more people are involved in the bi-communal activities at bridging places, the lines of the dividing border become blurred if not removed. The formulation of the Nicosia Master Plan have produced significant physical conditions improving both communities' capacity for bi-communal action for the revitalisation of Nicosia as a whole. The Buffer Zone remained at the centre of all the infrastructural projects, urban and architectural renovations and social and cultural activities. It has been reinterpreted, and socially and spatially transformed to a shared cultural heritage, a shared space for today and shared hopes for future.

Through spatial practices, the transformation of the Buffer Zone to be a shared space, with the funding of the relevant authorities and control of the UN, remains the result of the combined efforts of the civil society to try to heal the urban scar in divided Nicosia.

Post-conflict divided cities and societies embodies a challenge when planning is considered as a tool of reconstruction; the process is unpredictable and volatile. The Nicosia Master Plan, the first common project initiated by the two communities has managed to sustain despite the political consensus is not reached. When this unique planning history is scrutinized, the experience indicates that social and cultural issues are the crucial components of spatial (re)production and transformation. The deep understanding of the ongoing process through NMP, NVP and H4C provides awareness that may yield insight for the planning and peace building strategies in post-conflict cities.

Endnotes

1   The etymological roots of the word resilience come from the Latin word resilio, meaning 'to bounce back' as noted in Klein, Nicholls and Thomalla, "Resilience Towards Hazards", 35-36.
2   Matyas and Newell, "Psitioning Resilience for 2015: The Role of Resistance, Incremental Adjustment and Transfornation in Disaster Risk Management", 1-5.
3   Holling, "Engineering Resilience Versus Ecological Resilience", 31.
4   The resilience of ecological systems is defined as the system that continues to function of to persist when changed has been cited as the origin of modern resilience theory as noted in Folke, "Resilience", 253.
5   Oswald, The Social and Spatial Dimensions of ethnic Conflict, 110.
6   Suri, In-conflict/post-conflict: A Role for Planning in Building Peaceful, Inclusive and Resilient Cities.
7   Calame, Divided cities and Ethnic Conflict in the Urban Domain, 49
8   Hadjipavlou, "Multple Stories" 53-75.
9   Constantinou Papadakis, "The Cypriot State(s) in Situ", 125.
10 Demetriades, "The Nicosia Master Plan", 169-176.
11 Papadakis, "Nicosia after 1960", 1-5.
12 By the green pencil line drawn on the map
13 Attalides, *Social Change and Urbanization in Cyprus*, 58.
14 The walls composing the emty zone gave the impression of quickly built separators made of different materials; briquette walls, sandbags, barrels and barbed wire fences in rural areas.
15 Kliot and Mansfield, "The Political Landscape of Partition", 507.
16 Gurdalli and Koldas, "Architecture and Power and Urban Space in a Divided City", 142.
17 Mustafa Akıncı has been elected as the president of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus in April 2015.
18 Bollens, "City and Soul Sarajevo, Johennesburg, Jerusalem", 170.
19 NMP Final Report.
20 Oktay, "An Analysis and Review of the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus and New Perspectives", 241.
21 AKAA 10th Cycle, 2007, 132.
22 New Vision Final Report, 2004.
23 New Vision Outline Plan, 2005.
24 Eleni Petropolou, Revitalizing a Historic Cit – The Case of Nicosia, Legal Instruments and Planning.
25 The NGO for dialogue on history education in Cyprus founded in 2003.
26 Foka, "Shared Space in Conflict Areas".
27 President of the AHDR
28 Europanostra.org/awards/126.

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List of Figures

INNOVATION-ORIENTED PUBLIC SERVICE FACILITIES- PLANNING IN HIGH-TECH INDUSTRIAL PARKS – A CASE STUDY OF NATIONAL HIGH-TECH INDUSTRIAL PARK OF YANCHENG

Jing Xia

Southeast University

This article considers the importance of robust public service facilities planning for technology parks in fast changing China. A key issue is to extend to the type and land use characteristic of public facilities in the technology parks different development stages. We explore three development stages in China's technology parks. In the first stage, the technology park is only a township industrial park, which had no independent service space but integrated with the living space. In the second stage, it is based on a city industry development zone, which had service space only in the residential district. In the third stage, it is owned an innovation environment, and the public service is not only constructed in the residential zone, but also exist in the production area. Through a National High-tech Industry Park of Yancheng study, the paper finds its service facilities are entering the third stage but still have the feature of the first stage in some area, and these space are active and popular. To explain this, we interview some researcher and scholar, the result is this place offers stores and restaurants in the industrial areas. Thus, those innovation talents express their satisfaction to those traditional but convenient public space.

The article offers three key conclusions. First, a proper and satisfying space is important to the public service facilities. Second, the service requirement is different between the industrial zone and residential zone, so the planning' model and service space type is different. Third, innovation oriented stage, the service facilities in the community are focus on the "small but simple",not "large but empty."

Keywords
technology parks, public service facilities, National High-tech Industry Park of Yancheng

V.01 P.209   Jing Xia

INNOVATION-ORIENTED PUBLIC SERVICE FACILITIES-PLANNING IN HIGH-TECH INDUSTRIAL PARKS – A CASE STUDY OF NATIONAL HIGH-TECH INDUSTRIAL PARK OF YANCHENG

TOC

Conservation of modern architecture and urban space in Korea and East Asia: Policy, Innovation and Governance

Chair: Ilji Cheong

PRESERVATION OF FUTURE HERITAGE

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The Seoul Institute.

Even though urban redevelopment contributed to improving urban function and physical milieu for modern Seoul, the uniqueness of place faded away. Now introspection is spurred about the urban redevelopment to erase all the memories of the past centuries and at last lose the identity of Seoul. Enhancing the competitive edge of cultural values in the city, a new approach is proposed to regain its historical value.

However the new approach trapped in conventional system can't be free of conflicts pros and cons to protect cultural heritage. In particular, it is hard to preserve the heritage in modern era, even the contemporary heritage, of which cultural value is still creating. This lack of recognition as a cultural asset puts this cultural asset in danger to be damaged and destroyed, even though it is one of the important resources to make the city culturally unique and rich.

To preserve the modern and contemporary cultural heritage and intensify its role as an element creating and keeping the identity of place, Future Heritage has been explored and preserved since 2012. Future Heritage is the collective memory shared with citizens who have experienced most dramatic changes since the last century in Seoul. On the contrary of cultural heritage managed by the Cultural Heritage Protection Act, its cultural value is recognised by citizens' initiatives. Anyone interested in future heritage can hand in an application for future heritage candidate and it is deliberated by Future H = eritage Protection Committee. They distill valuable collective memory from a candidate as follows:

1) Legacy that makes a huge contribution to the understanding of important figures or events in the history of politics, economy, society, culture, or architecture and urban design,

2) Unique places or landscape that are well known to citizens,

3) Works with great artistic and academic values, reflecting the Zeitgeist in modern and contemporary Seoul

4) Assets that can be of a great help to understand the evolution of life styles in Seoul

As of 2015, total 382 cultural assets are finally registered as Future Heritage after getting consent from property owners. Through the process of exploring tangible and intangible heritage, the value of Future Heritage is recognised and its public awareness is increased.

Based on the social consensus and the voluntariness of owners, the preservation of Future Heritage is just to share collective memories with contemporaries and develop them by the interchange with the next generation. Instead of subsidisation to protect a cultural heritage, therefore its cultural value is informed to the public through webpage, SMS, etc. and its voluntary preservation is praised by issuing a certificate and attaching a plaque. This informal preservation can help to release the tensions among stake-holders and evolve the conventional urban redevelopment to the cultural urban regeneration.

Keywords
modern and contemporary heritage, collective memories, voluntary participatio

BEYOND SOVIET MODEL: INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE AND PLANNING EVOLUTION IN MAOIST ERA'S CHINA

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Pre-reform Chinese urban planning is often described as "Soviet Planning Mode", thus overlook the impact of Mao. The planning history in Chinese context shall perceive it in the vein of its historical development, this article explores planning practice in Maoist Era's China exclude "Soviet Planning Mode". In order to trace the Planning Evolution due to institutional Changes, research selects three typical planning events which are Capital Beijing Planning at the initial stage of new China, People's Commune Planning in the late 1950s, Daqing Planning Pattern in 1960s. The study reveals that urban planning from 1950s-1960s experienced the ideological thought of prudency, learning, idealism and decentralism, its evolving process link to Mao's political and economic policies closely. Besides, in later life of Mao's China, urban planning Thoughts shows a Hybridism state with both Soviet mode and local gene.

Keywords
Soviet Model, People's Commune , Institutional Change, Planning History of Maoist Era's China, Town-Country Hybridism

China begins to participate in global modern plan since 20th, in particular the social practice of socialism pattern since 1949. The Chinese urban planning during 1949 to 1979 has the transitional feature. It is both the continuity of early modern times and the root and soul of urban planning after reform and open-up. Undoubtedly, it has great significance to the development of Chinese current urban and rural planning subject through backtracking and reconsideration on its history. It is always called as "Maoist Era" from the setup of People's Republic of China announced by Mao in 1949 to Mao's pass-away in 1976 as each aspect in Chinese social practice during this period shall embody Mao's personal stigma. Currently, we are in the post-Maoist Era of developmentalism thinking orientation and show incomprehensible rejection for various practices in Maoist Era . When the contemporary planners are talking about the urban planning in Maoist Era, it always makes people emerge the stereotyped image "Soviet Mode". Actually, in terms of academic research, such experimental summary lacks sufficient preciseness as it only grasps certain features in certain times and neglects the evolving logics of the planning practice diachronism evolution. The planning history in Chinese context shall always perceive it in the vein of its historical development. During the recent thirty years, Mao made the strategic choice based on foreign and domestic environment, which influenced each aspect from the policy development to the daily life of common people. The urban planning as the continuity of national development plan has the obvious influence particularly. My research selects three typical planning events except "Soviet Mode" Planing in Maoist Era, which are Capital Beijing Planning at the initial stage of new China, People's Commune planning in the late 1950s and Daqing pattern and three-line construction in 1960s. The three events are put in the framework of Institutional Change for review to try to construct the ideological trend of urban and rural planning in Maoist Era and its evolving prospect.

FROM NANJING TO BEIJING: CAPITAL PLANNING

CAPITAL PLAN OF NANJING

Since the setup of Ming Dynasty in Nanjing in AD 1368, Chinese capital was in Nanjing or Beijing over the past 600 years. In April 1927, Nationalist Party led by Chiang Kai-shek set capital in Nanjing and announced the setup of the first national modern country in Chinese history. In regard to Nanjing's urban planning, it became the superexcellent practice case of pursuing modernism and nationalism by the sovereign states. Actually, Sun Yat-sen had a wish of setting Nanjing as capital. As Sun's follower, Chiang Kai-shek put great passion to the planning of new capital. In 1928, he established Capital Construction Committee and Capital Design Technical Committee and engaged Americans (Henry K.Murphy，1877-1954) and Ernest P. Goodrich，1874-1955) as the consultants. He urgently desired to consolidate country governance through capital planning and construction and announce the sharp rise of a modern country to the whole world.

As Chinese first master plan, the Capital Plan of Nanking compiled through one year's time not only absorbs the planning concepts of European and American scientism and rationalism but also carries forward Chinese traditional planning culture and form through fusion of Chinese and western cultures. In particular to American expert's idea of retaining Nanjing defensive wall as avenue around the city and park around the city, it is not the modern pattern of dismantling city and building the road. In the game of politics and technology, politician in charge of politics reclaims the right. Due to the war, the City Plan of Nanking was not fully implemented, but it confirmed Nanjing's spatial pattern as modern city so that Nanjing Ming Dynasty City Wall and other remains survived in modern construction. (Figure 1)
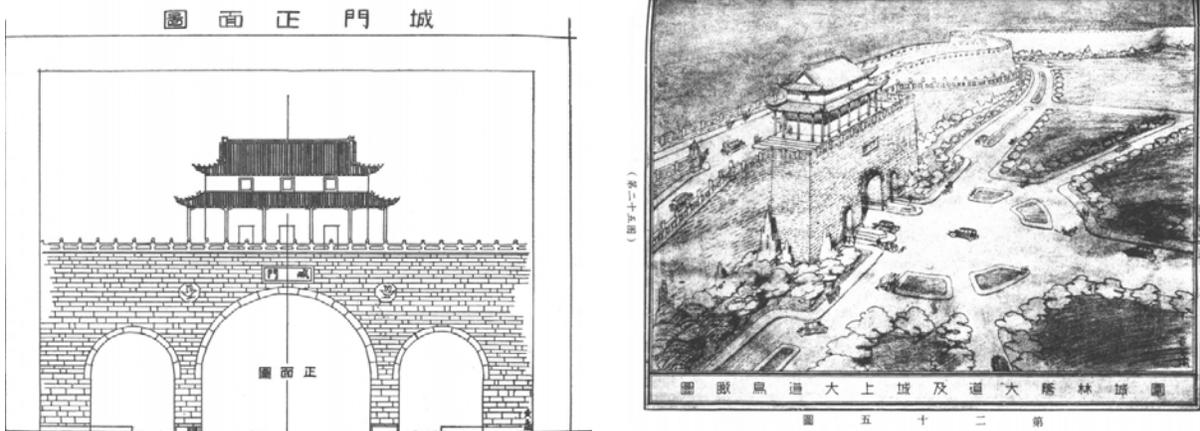
FIGURE 1 in the City Plan of Nanking, Murphy advanced to keep the aerial view of Nanjing defensive wall and its surrounding environment. (1929)

DEBATE ON NEW SOCIALIST CAPITAL BEIJING PLAN

In 1949, 20 years after the City Plan of Nanking, Mao Zedong replaced Chiang Kai-shek and set up People's Republic of China with Beijing as capital. As the new political center, Beijing aroused wide discussion on how to display new requirements of socialist capital based on the old one. Its urban planning also became the important event with attention nationwide. In May, 1949, Beijing set up Urban Plan Committee. Liang Sicheng studying in USA and Chen Zhanxiang studying in Britain and other experts set about to study the capital planning. Meanwhile, Mao Zedong government invited soviet experts, the first socialist country in the world, to work on Beijing's planning. When facing the core problems of utilizing old capital and planning the new one including the confirmation of new administration center, they had serious divergence and formed two opposite opinions of "Outside the City" and "Inside the City". Confrontation between these two powers became the event fixing people's attention in Maoist Era .

"Outside the City" Party takes some Chinese experts headed by Liang and Chen as representatives and stands for leaving the old one and constructing the new administration center. They believe: firstly, the old one has systematic and complete planning and layout and is the model of Chinese ancient capital planning; if inserting the huge work center into it, it will destroy the completeness of historical environment; secondly, the old city has high density with no land available; finally, it can avoid the disadvantages above by finding a new area in the western suburb. If achieving the effect of combining the old one and the new one, it can show the national characteristics of Chinese tradition and create the spirit of time to meet modern demands. It is the famous "Liang-Chen Proposal" (Figure 2).

"Inside the City" Party takes soviet experts as representatives and advocates to set up it inside the old city. They believe: firstly, considering the economic level, it can utilize the original urban facilities; secondly, it has good appearance giving full play to the original value of cultural relics; thirdly, it is so convenient that other areas can surround the old city and closely link with the administration center.

At early years of the new nation, social order was far from the stable state. There were also some areas in chaos caused by local wars. At this time, Mao was prudent and didn't give direct response to the dispute. He supported Soviet proposal more effectively through the pattern of political activities, learned from Soviet Union in various fields and set Soviet concept, culture and technology as the socialistic Chinese developing orientation in future. With the establishment of Soviet development pattern, Liang-Chen proposal lost the supporting basis. Their right of speech was seriously weakened and the proposal became the castle in the air undoubtedly.

BEYOND SOVIET MODEL: INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE AND PLANNING EVOLUTION IN MAOIST ERA'S CHINA

FIGURE 2 Liang Chen Proposal—relationship between the administration center and the old city (1950)

Although Beijing hadn't confirmed its formal urban planning proposal till the end of 1952, the proposals advanced by Chinese and Soviet experts were all implemented. Liang-Chen Proposal was on the shelf and became one pity in modern Chinese history. The planning pattern proposed by Soviet experts happened to hold the same view with the governor's political space appeal. It covers the meaning of policy behind and the technology became the secondary factor.

PEOPLE'S COMMUNE: MAO'S GARDEN CITY

REFLECT: CRITICISM OF SOVIET MODE

The founding of People's Republic of China is the new stage for Chinese urban planning. Under the assistance of Soviet Union, the First Five-Year Plan started modern urban planning with 156 items of industry as center, Soviet planning pattern as the model and gradually formed the planning system in match with highly-planned economic system. However, with regard to China, the fundamental objective of absorbing foreign aid was to support the realistic demands of domestic construction. Starting from the long-term view, Chinese developing trend must experience the transfer from blood transfusion to hemopoiesis. In the Second Five-Year Plan, the number of projects designed by China independently occupied 70%. When Chinese seeking on self-independent developing road touched Soviet authority, both parties began to have divergence. The divergence developed from decoupling of policy orientation at the end of 1950 s to fierce rivalry of ideological orthodoxy at the beginning of 1960s. Soviet Union pressured China by economic means finally. In 1959, Soviet Union withdrew all experts from China, putting an end to the aid.

Hao Xu | Baihao Li
BEYOND SOVIET MODEL: INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE AND PLANNING EVOLUTION IN MAOIST ERA'S CHINA

Without aid, it was necessary to experience the labor pains in the economic construction field. The development of "Central Government Corporationism" orientated by heavy industry became difficult to sustain. Therefore, the central government began to motivate the enthusiasm of local industrialization and tried to launch local government and even country to attend national industrial construction which was monopolized by central government previously, which was great leap forward activity launched during 1958 to 1960. It showed that local industrialization started up rapidly and tried to replace foreign investment input stopped suddenly by concentrated utilization of resources in different units of city and country nationwide so as to keep the high-accumulation state of national industry and realize rapid modernization.

NEW IDEAL SOCAIL SPACE: PEOPLE'S COMMUNE

In fact, Mao thought it was a good thing to lose Soviet aid and a good opportunity for China to develop self-independently. As early as 1957, Mao advanced On the Ten Major Relationships(Lun Shi Da Guan XI); when discussing relevant topics, Mao compared them with Soviet pattern to show a new developing concept on selectable absorption of Soviet development experience. With regard to urban planning, it probed the urban planning roads suitable for China and became the consensus in the planning circle because it gradually exposed the inadaptation of Soviet planning in China with deficient resources in the urban planning work which was set up by simulating Soviet. The politicians and planners widely criticized Soviet planning and construction problems, such as opposition between its high standard and the thought of opposing waste and building the country with diligence and thrift, wide land use and waste, formalism, etc.

Soviet planning pattern was taken down from the house of worship and a new planning pattern was urgently needed to be set up. In the middle of 1950s, establishment of cooperatives in country and the first Five-Year Plan were completed successfully in advance so that the idealism color of CPC leadership level with Mao as the chief began to return back. The theory and publicity department began to concentrate on studying the utopian socialism theory, including new residential quarter pattern (Xin Cun)and cosmopolitism began to emerge in the minds of CPC leaders. Then, people's commune was set up. In people's image, each commune has its own agriculture, industry, university, middle school, primary school, hospital, scientific research office, shop, service, kindergarten and canteen. A plurality of country communes revolved around the city and became the bigger communist commune. For example, in urban and rural system planning, it stipulated that the county population reached 50,000 to 70,000 generally, and the maximal one was 100,000. The population of commune was about 20,000; each commune set up four housing estates with 5,000 people respectively. Therefore, they formed a combined city (Figure 3). This was the ideal urban and rural structure of people's commune. Obviously, it happened to have the same view with relationship between city and country in Howard's garden city concept. Therefore, in terms of planning pattern, the spatial idea of people's commune showed amazing consistency with the fundamental principle of combined city in Howard's garden city.

Such spatial image became the framework document in urban and rural planning at that time and also became the new model of planning in Great Leap Forward period. It was the first time for the planners to advance that the commune center should organize life based on the production unit and concentrate industry, residence and agriculture in a housing estate, instead of dividing it based on the function like that of the past cities. People's commune was developed in country, city and then the whole nation. One commune was like a social cell which could be a Factories, residential areas, schools or any organizations. It was the ideal urban and rural space unit regarded by Mao. As a political activity, it was popularized in a large scope. Figure 4 is the sketch map of the urban and rural unit at that time. It was just like a small autarkic society. The social justice was prominent by the homogeneity of the life space. Many public facilities showed the advancement of multifunction. Meanwhile, super-size central square was also used for mass gathering. The red flag in the geometric center of the square and Mao Zedong statue in the center of the park symbolized the spatial will of socialism.
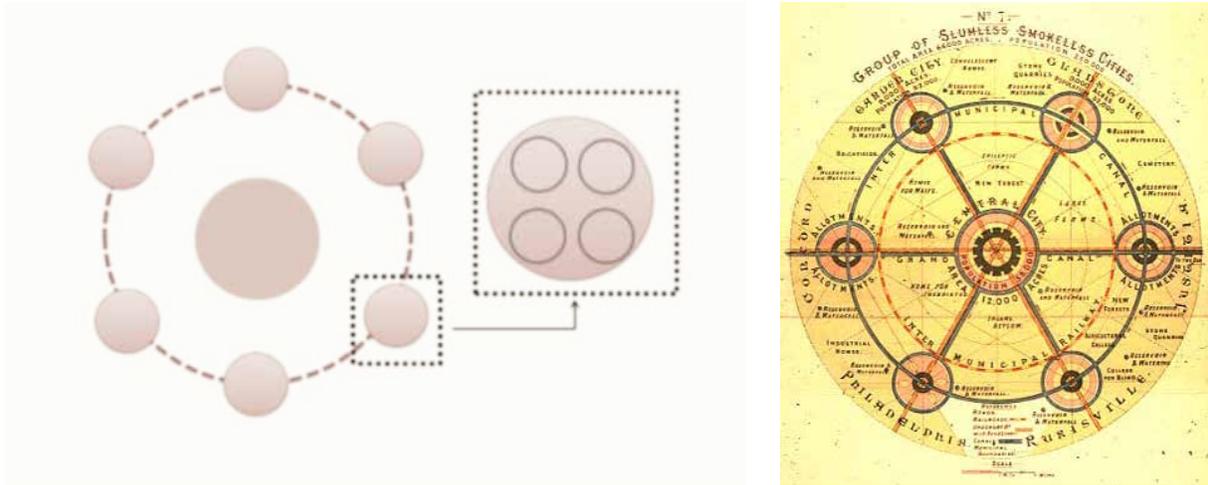
FIGURE 3 People's Commune and Garden City
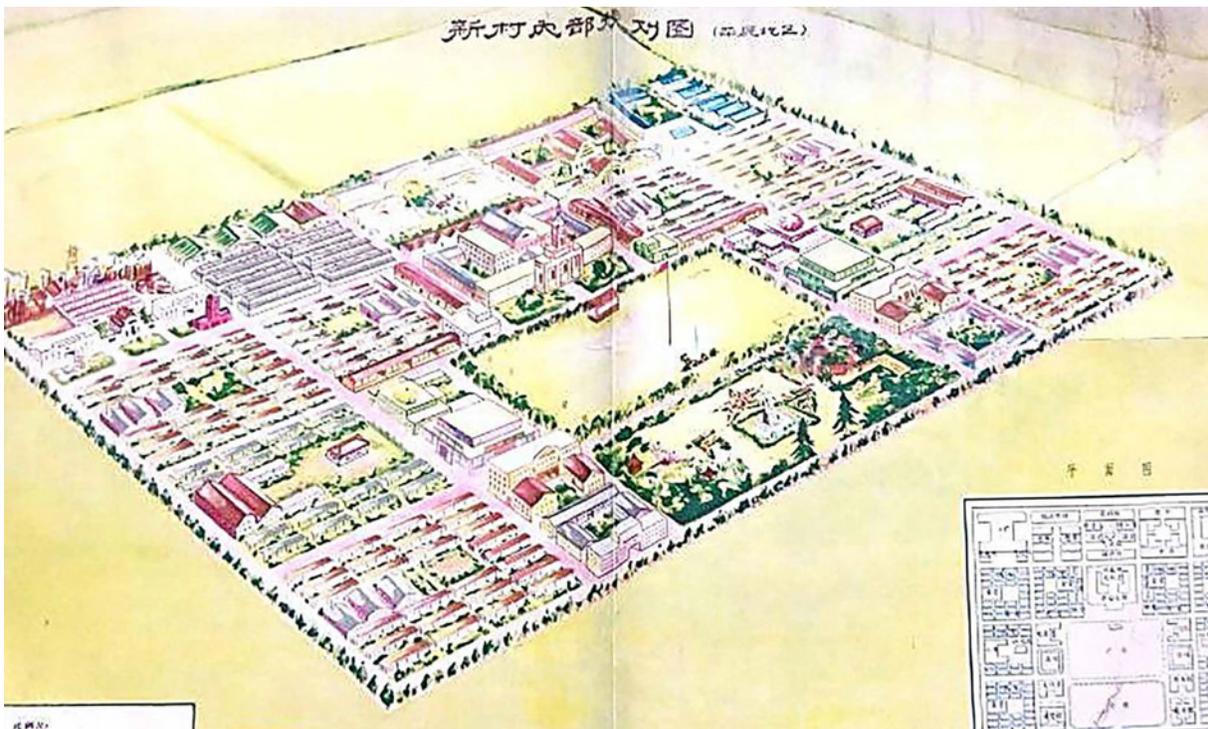
FIGURE 4 Space diagram of People's Commune(1958)

It was undoubted that Mao's exploration on rapidly constructing the socialism influenced Chinese planning practice. Wherein, due to the tension on Sino-Soviet relation, China began to explore and plan the new pattern independently. At this time, Mao's pattern of replacing Soviet planning pattern by commune became the new planning model. Although it seemed the continuity of Soviet in terms of technical manual in surface, it could be taken as one result of path dependence under no other learning object environment. In overall, as the ideal urban and rural space unit, people's commune still generated great influence on Chinese urban planning concept.

Hao Xu | Baihao Li
BEYOND SOVIET MODEL: INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE AND PLANNING EVOLUTION IN MAOIST ERA'S CHINA
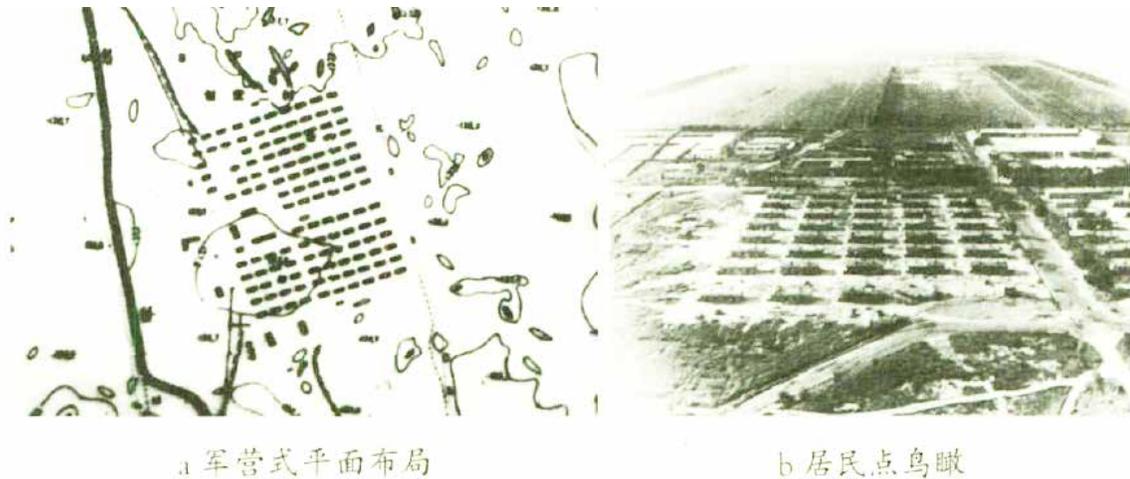
FIGURE 5 Daqing with the housing estate and without city center

DAQING PATTERN: UNIT OF TOWN-COUNTRY HYBRIDISM

DAQING PATTERN

In the Great Leap Forward period, rapid expansion of industry and city brought disastrous consequence. However, at the beginning of 1960, the famine phenomena broke out nationwide, and the urban planning was blamed as one of the factors for promoting the national crisis. State Development Planning Commission had the primary measures for "three-year natural disaster", including reduction of urban population, compression of urban supply, and no urban planning.

Later, the work of compiling urban planning was stopped. Most planners were transferred to the country. Due to the finding of petroleum, Daqing became the construction key nationwide during the whole 1960s. Daqing was reputed as a country-type city and a city-type country and was set up as the model for popularization nationwide. As the resource supply was in extreme shortage, Daqing's residence adopted low standard by a simple walling method of filling in clay in the middle of two fixed boards. Moreover, as Daqing had no local peasant, it solved the problem of insufficient provisionment by utilizing the relatives of external male staff to reclaim and farm wasteland.

Most remarkably, Daqing pushed "non-urbanized industrialization" to the extreme. The city didn't set up the city center. Three large-scale bases developing along the railway undertook the functions of administrative management, research and development and petrochemical engineering production. The site selection of the housing estate was close to the production site (Figure 5). Since 1964, the whole country developed the activity of learning from Daqing in industry. With the promotion of Daqing leader to the National Planning Department, Daqing Pattern was applied to national five-year plan. And it directly influenced the urban planning in national three-line construction.

THREE-LINE CONSTRUCTION: CONTINUITY OF DAQING MODEL

With regard to three-line construction, we can't avoid talking about international situation which China faced at the later period of 1960s. At that time, China suffered the provocation from western countries headed by U.S.A., and the conflict with Soviet Union in the socialism camp also escalated. Due to geological and historic reasons, 70% of Chinese industries were distributed in northeast and coastal region. In an angle of military economics, such industrial layout showed very fragile; the heavy industry in northeast was fully in Soviet's firing range; in the coastal region, the east China industrial region with Shanghai as center was fully exposed in American attacking range. Once war began, Chinese industry would fall to paralysis soon.

Hao Xu | Baihao Li
BEYOND SOVIET MODEL: INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE AND PLANNING EVOLUTION IN MAOIST ERA'S CHINA
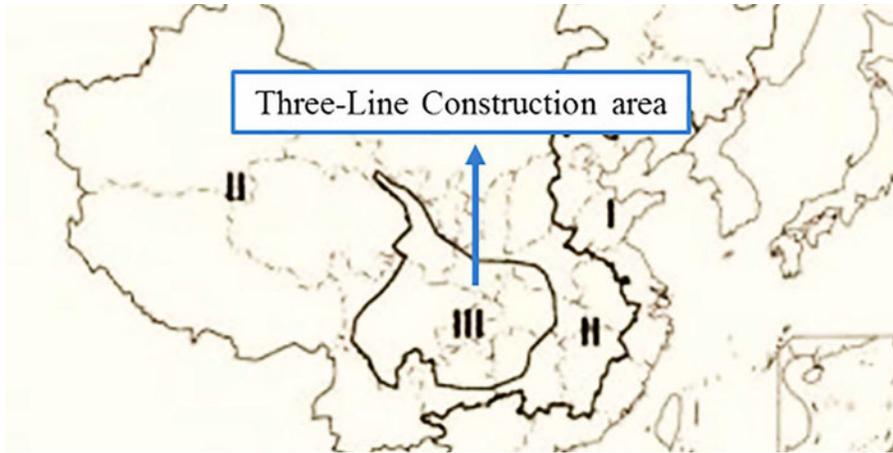
FIGURE 6 Spatial distribution of three-line construction

FIGURE 7 Dispersed Layout of an ordnance factory in Hubei Province

Under the condition of breaking out war possibly at any moment, the three-line construction activity was started up. Three-line construction meant the construction of large-scale national defense, technology, industry and traffic infrastructures with war readiness as the guidance concept in 13 provinces in the central and western regions of China since 1964(Figure6), and it was the large-scale industrial migration process in Chinese economic history .

Dispersion and air defense is the planning subject under wartime, and three-line construction with war readiness as the guidance concept is the protruding embodiment of the planning concept in wartime. In order to cope with the possible war, the military industry or heavy industry was dispersed and hidden in the mountains and valleys. The site was always set in the barren land or rural settlement. The space is formed under the effect of external force giving priority to national plan. Actually, such construction pattern can't form the city. As three-line construction in this type stressed on utilizing terrain, so the layout of the important engineering was hidden to adapt to the demand of war readiness. Therefore, their planning layout was in the banding pattern. The roads extended along the ditch. The buildings were arranged along the street. The industrial production didn't depend on the city and made overall arrangement independently(Figure 7). The site selection and design of the planning in this stage is different from the previous decision making system of the planning. Basically, no planner attends it comprehensively and gives technical guidance, and it is fully based on the realistic conditions in terms of policy and reality. Under the extreme difficult environment, it tries to develop the production and provide the living condition. It is obvious that the policy of not building the city is the extreme expression of decentralism thought, which shows the politician's ideology of perishing difference between the city and the country, and it is also the choice considering that the war may happen at any moment.

CONCLUSION: TERMINATION OF URBAN PLANNING AND ITS EVOLVING CLUE IN MAOIST ERA

FINALITY OF MAOIST ERA

In Chinese modern history, 1976 was the boundary line; this year. Mao Zedong's pass-away and finishing of the Great Cultural Revolution announced the termination of Maoist Era and the open-up of new times. This year, Tangshan was reconstructed and planned after earthquake and became the first city to concentrate national powers for urban planning practice. With the recovery of urban research and urban planning activity, people really realized that it is not feasible without urban planning in city construction. To some extent, Tangshan reconstruction and planning after earthquake was the termination of city-against and no urban planning policy during three years, and it also meant the ending of urban planning in Maoist Era. Since then, Chinese urban planning entered the new period with development orientation.

IDEOLOGICAL EVOLUTION OF PLANNING

The reason for the dispute on Beijing capital planning was the uncertainty of new regime on future development at initial stage. In particular to Beijing as national political center, it had huge significance to socialist country. Actually, the free dispute was allowed officially for long time after foundation of the country, which had direct relationship with the government's prudent attitude in the policy reconstructing process. The Communist Party walking out from the country had no experience in urban planning and governance obviously. In international intercourse, only Soviet Union became Chinese partner. Therefore, since 1953, it became to learn from Soviet Union in overall and set up the centralized planning system in the urban planning field. However, with the breaking of Sino-Soviet relation, China began to adopt a self-developing road. The great leap forward could be taken as the activity from the local region industrialization to overall industrialization aided by Soviet Union. In this stage, along with the interference of planning to the rural area, the ideological trend of the idealist planning in urban planning began to appear. As the ideal unit of city and country, people's commune became the new pattern, and under the circumstance of possible war at any moment, more and more urban plans were based on the realistic decentralism.

Therefore, it can be said that urban planning in Maoist Era from 1949 to 1976 experienced the ideological thought of prudency, learning, idealism and decentralism. Its evolving process can show that it had close connection with national policy .

HYBRIDISM PLANNING THOUGHTS

In the initial stage of urban planning in Maoist Era , it was affected by "Soviet Mode", and in the subsequent developing process, it had close link to Mao's political and economic policies. Three-line construction and Daqing pattern advanced by the space pattern of people's commune were the spatial embodiment and response of Mao's governance pattern. If a part of Soviet pattern comes from the urban planning principle of western modernism, the spatial unit advanced by Mao Zedong is stamped with the stigma of traditional China. For example, people's commune takes canteen as the centre to organize the space, which shows the hungry hardworking people's thought of taking food as the first need in Chinese traditional society. Therefore, in later life of Mao's China, urban planning Thoughts shows a Hybridism state with both Soviet mode and local gene.

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Modernisation and Colonisation | *Conservation of modern architecture and urban space in Korea and East Asia: Policy, Innovation and Governance*

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Figure 1- Capital Design Technical Specialist Office. The City Plan of Nanking. Nanking: Nanking Press, 2006(in Chinese).

Figure 2- Li Hao. "Liang-Chen Project" and "Luoyang Mode": Comparison and Inspiration on the Planning Pattern of Constructing a New Town Near the Old City. Urban Planning International, 2015(3).

Figure 3- Made by Author.

Figure 4- Ningbo Archives Library.

Figure 5- Daqing Archives Library.

Figure 6-Made by Author.

Figure 7- Huang, Li. "A Study on the History of Chinese Modern City Planning, 1949–1965." PhD diss., Wuhan

University of Science and Technology, 2006 (in Chinese).

BEYOND SOVIET MODEL: INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE AND PLANNING EVOLUTION IN MAOIST ERA'S CHINA

RECONSTITUTION OF POST-COLONIAL STREETSCAPE TOWARDS LOCAL REGENERATION

Ilji Cheong

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Most major cities in Asia have a hybrid streetscape influenced from periods of European as well as Japanase colonialization. After gaining their indepence, rather than make city planning choices based on culture or their native history, decissions were usually based on the political or economic systems at that time.

In the case of Korea, until recently, most of its post-colonial heritage buildings from various periods has been torn down and rebuilt to part with their negative history. On the other hand, since 2010, conserving and incorporating post-colonial heritage into the streetscape have increased in many cities throughout Korea. However, the approach used for this historic building conservation has lots of problems from a sustainability standpoint. No critical thinking regarding how the heritage buildings have historical evidence and fit in with the cities was considered before regereration project was hastely carrid out.

In fact, it is difiicult to estimate and define the value of post-colonial streetscape. Nevertheless there are 3 significance points to use a post-colonial streetscape for local regeneration. First, a post-colonial streetscapes have traditionally been the residential area of the local people. Second, they are located in the downtown area of cities where there is good acessiblity and infrastructure. Third, a post-colonial streetscape can be multi-layerd from various influences allowing for creative interpretation and countless ways to design the city.

There is a lot of research on the architecture, urban space and political cultures after colonial eras(Syoji FUNO; 2010, Abidin KUSNO; 2013), the process of conservation and conflicts related to urban planning(Jungyon AHN; 2014) and design types for adaptive reuse(H. MADDEWITHANA; 2012). Research is increasing nowadays because of the change in attitude and the explosion of post-colonial heritage projects.

There is little research on the reinterpretation and reconstitution of anonymous streetscapes. It is difficult to identify their unique value worth conserving because of their lack of significance for the people inhabiting and it may have been changed many times from its originality. As a result, to reuse post-colonial architecture and create streetscapes that resonates with the local people, it is necessary for planners to use their own methods through proper discussion and processes that include the local perception.

In this paper, I will analyze the method for reusing an anonymous streetscape which was made in the colonial era for local regeneration. Through analyzing the various steps of the project and the veiwpoint of specialty committee, I will examine the major points of their design for local regeneration of a post-colonial streetscape.

The project was focused in Booksung-ro in Daegu, Korea, which was changed from an administrative and major transportation city to commercial and manufacturing one in the colonial period.

Through this analysis, I will present the methods how to conserve and reconstitue the post-colonial streetscape. Also I wish to discuss the attitude and situation in other contries.

A STUDY ON THE LOCATION CHARACTERISTICS AND PRESENT DISTRIBUTION OF MODERN ARCHITECTURAL ASSETS IN INCHEON AND GYEONGGIDO

Jeehyun Nam

Gyeonggi Research Institute

The purpose of this research is to clarify the valuable collective architectural assets of the modernization period in Incheon and Gyeonggi Province in order to understand the process of industrial development and chronological urban expansion. During the gradual modernization and industrialization process, Incheon and Gyeonggi Province have experienced continuous political, racial, and social conflicts since the opening of the port. The major registered heritages of the modern period in Incheon and Gyeonggi Province are administrative buildings, banks, religious architectures, offices, etc., which mainly reflect a social hierarchy controlled by established authorities and foreigners during the colonization period. However, in order to balance out the treatment of cultural assets, a recent trend aimed at the lives of the colonial laity has taken root, examining urban facilities, such as infrastructures, factories, warehouses, laborers' houses, markets, etc.

As for the research objects, Incheon used to be a part of Gyeonggi Province until 1981 and these two cities have been developed as peripheral areas supporting Seoul. Incheon has been the most representative open port and Gyeonggi Province has shown rapid progress as the core of the Korean manufacturing industry. However, following the period of local autonomy and the paradigm shift from urban development to urban regeneration, Incheon and Gyeonggi Province face a transitional moment to understand their local identities and historical meanings in the process of industrialization. In particular, it is meaningful to investigate these two cities in the aspect that they reflect two types of industrial growth and urban expansion, the Inland type (Gyeonggi Province) and the Seaside type (Incheon).

In order to figure out the spatial features and urban structure of modernization, we conducted a GIS Analysis on the distribution of architectural assets of the modernization period, which includes unknown assets and unregistered cultural assets. The primary types of modern architectural assets can be divided into eight categories, including infrastructures, industrial facilities, offices, educational facilities, commercial facilities, religious facilities, military facilities, etc. In addition to these, the distribution and locations can be characterized by their functions and industrial roles and routes.

In conclusion, we could find eight categories of unregistered, yet locally meaningful collective architectural assets and representative industrial routes of the modernization period. Also, the characteristics of the neighborhood units of the modern period from the collective samples of the Inland type and the Seaside type could be clarified from the spatial analysis to show how industrial facilities and infrastructures have been organically transformed to citizens lives and urban expansion in the modern era. This research will give a specific viewpoint to consider the modern architectural assets that have an organic connection with railways, industrial facilities, relevant cultural facilities, and common peoples' daily lives and show a possible way to excavate valuable industrial routes and specialized historic districts that can be adaptable for future investigation and management plans in Gyeonggi Province and Incheon.

V.01 P.227 Jeehyun Nam

A STUDY ON THE LOCATION CHARACTERISTICS AND PRESENT DISTRIBUTION OF MODERN ARCHITECTURAL ASSETS IN INCHEON AND GYEONGGIDO

TOC

Portals to the Past: Transfers and Exchanges of European (Post-) Colonial Architecture and Planning Practices

Chair: Pauline K.M. van Roosmalen and Ellen S. Shoshkes

SUCH STRONG WEAK TIES: ARCHITECTS' WORK ABROAD AFTER PORTUGUESE DECOLONIZATION

Madalena Cunha Matos

Universidade de Lisboa.

The downfall of the Portuguese empire occurred later than most other European colonial countries. In 1974 the Carnation Revolution unleashed events which led to democracy in the country and the long-waited for decolonization. Possessing colonies in Western and Eastern Africa and Far-East Asia, Portugal had coped with the corresponding great distances, the dispersal of efforts they incurred and war for thirteen years. The first colony to go had been Goa in 1961; in 1974, Guiné-Bissau's independence was recognized by Lisbon; in 1975, the states of Cabo Verde, São Tomé e Príncipe, Angola and Mozambique gained independence. Only in 1999 was Macau integrated in China; after the end of the occupation by Indonesia, Timor-Leste reinstated political autonomy in 2002. These facts were experienced as traumatic by a nation that had assimilated the auto-image of a huge and transcontinental country - for the last 25 years, also benevolent and non-racialist. Indoctrination was not a monopole of the New State, having started much earlier in the 19th century. The sudden severance of all the immense areas that had been learned in primary school as bearers of the Portuguese colours, the abrupt loss of opportunities, the desperate return of almost 800000 nationals from the colonies, all lent the occurrence the taste of tragedy – despite a fierce resolution of decolonization and the relief to almost every family for war's end. When in 1986 the country joins the EEC, the past is left behind and great expectations are redirected to Europe.

Notwithstanding this seemingly oblivion, a continued interest in the African and Asian countries is to be noticed, much as had for the last 150 years occurred with Brazil, the very first colony to break away. Without the support, or with meagre support from the State, individuals keep travelling, going to work, and establishing links to the ex-colonies. Architects leave once more Portugal – only this time not with the prospect of non-return - to act as builders of the new countries. They proceed as cooperants and arrive shortly after the year of independence, in very diverse personal situations but united in an activist bearing and elated disposition. In Mozambique, they participate in the preservation of historic buildings, the design and programming of 'communal villages' and the planning of squatter areas encompassing Maputo. In Angola and Mozambique, a number of architects stayed after independence; either as cooperants or as fully-fledged new nationals, they took up posts in the government or in the direction of regional planning offices. From much older colonizers' involvement, there is the singular case of Viana de Lima who works in the conservation of historic towns and restoration of historic monuments in Brazil sponsored by UNESCO; and later works in the restoration of forts and other buildings in Portuguese colonial outposts in Morocco, Mozambique and remote Malaysia for Gulbenkian Foundation. This paper proposes to look into these cases of continued connection and to discuss these seemingly weak links between the lands and people of colonization and the after-1974 ex-colonizers.

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE: URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING IN INDONESIA 1920S-1960S

Pauline K.M. van Roosmalen[1] | **Ellen S. Shoshkes**[2]

1   *PKMvR heritage research consultancy, TU Delft*
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This paper provides a transnational perspective on the establishment of modern urban and regional planning in Indonesia, the former Dutch East Indies, by examining the agents and networks that introduced European and Anglo-American planning ideas and expertise to the archipelago from the 1920s through the 1960s: the decades preceding and following Indonesia's independence from the Netherlands in 1949. The authors investigate the role of key individuals including Dutch colonial émigrés H. Thomas Karsten, Jac. P. Thijsse, and Vincent R. van Romondt; visiting Dutch professionals such as Hendrik P. Berlage and Jo M. de Casseres; Indonesian planning officials and academics such as Hadinoto, Soefaat, Suwondo Bismo Soetedjo, and W. Hannie Waworoentoe, UN officials such as the Yugoslavian Ernest Weissmann and UN technical assistance experts such British planners Kenneth Watts, Clifford Halliday and Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, and American planners Willian A. Doebele and Martin Meyerson. A partnership between the UN and Harvard University faculty (including Meyerson, Doebele and Tyrwhitt) was instrumental in establishing first planning school in South East Asia, at Bandung Institute of Technology, in 1959. Additionally, the authors will trace the networks fostered by other educational institutions and international development organizations, as well as professional associations such as CIAM and IFHTP.
There is a growing literature on the transnational exchange of planning ideas between the global East/West North/South (see: Ward 2005, Frank 2006, Kwak 2008, Healey and Upton 2010, et alia.). In examining how this global process of dissemination and cross-fertilization played out locally in Indonesia before and after independence the contribution of this paper is to highlight the patterns of continuity in colonial and post colonial planning thought and practice.
The paper builds on the authors' ongoing research and draws on material in various collections, including the National Archives and Libraries of the Republic of Indonesia and Netherlands, the United Nations Archive, the library and archives of the former Royal Tropical Institute in Amsterdam and the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies in Leiden (now Leiden University Libraries), the Tyrwhitt collection of the RIBA Library Archives in London, and private collections.

V.01 P.233   **Pauline K.M. van Roosmalen | Ellen S. Shoshkes**
CONTINUITY AND CHANGE: URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING IN INDONESIA 1920S-1960S

TOC

DETERMINING FACTORS FOR THE URBAN FORM AND ITS ORIENTATION IN SPANISH COLONIAL TOWN PLANNING: PLANNING THE TOWN OF GUATEMALA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Akihiro Kashima

Setsunan University

In Spanish town planning during the colonial period, basic planning philosophy was often incorporated into urban designs; however, during actual construction, these ideas were rarely realised in accordance with theory. Nevertheless, some of the planning concepts developed during this period provide the basis for principles of modern town planning from the 19th century on. This article examines factors involved in the determination of town size and urban form, terms that were defined through the process of modern city planning. Using the town planning of Guatemala City in the 18th century as a case study, this paper discusses trends in practical planning methods during the colonial period. An analysis of different town plans for Guatemala demonstrates that, in town planning, an area's boundaries were typically designed as straight lines, and that its urban form was based on easily understandable elements of geometrical drawing, rather than locational or geographical features.

V.01 P.235 **Akihiro Kashima**

DETERMINING FACTORS FOR THE URBAN FORM AND ITS ORIENTATION IN SPANISH COLONIAL TOWN PLANNING:
PLANNING THE TOWN OF GUATEMALA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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TOC

INTRODUCTION

During the early modern period, European civilizations had substantial experience in planning towns and urban development projects. The Spanish royalty in particular constructed many 'new towns' in its colonial territories. By the time of the well-known planning laws established in the 1573 *Ordinances of Philip II*, there were already more than 225 new towns constructed by Spain, and by around 1630, about 330 towns had been constructed. It is estimated that more than 900 towns were constructed over the course of the Spanish colonial period. Urban planning was a cornerstone of this rapid growth, and studying the techniques used in these processes offers a window into the nature of the Spanish colonial period.

The 21st century has witnessed remarkable and continued advancements in the digitalization of historical documents. As document storage and analysis technology develops, historical understandings about the conditions of colonial town planning management have improved also. A prime example of this can be found in the General Archive of the Indies *(Archivo General de Indias)* in Seville, Spain, which stores extremely valuable documents and visual materials, such as maps and plans of Spanish colonial towns. Such resources can provide insight into the history of the Spanish Empire in the Americas and the Philippines.

Drawing primarily on documents from the General Archive, this study examines diagrams for new town construction during the early modern period, with the aim of better understanding the practice of town planning. Previous studies have analysed the characteristics of Spanish colonial town planning through texts that outline town planning laws, such as the '*Ordinances of Felipe II* (1573)' and '*Laws of the Indies* (1680)'. This research project goes one step further, incorporating image analysis in addition to an examination of relevant texts.

The methods used in Spanish colonial town planning, such as urban form, planning of streets, blocks and squares, and scale planning are the basic principles of a form of new town planning that emerged in the early modern period. Many of these concepts, and a number of actual construction sites show evidence of a philosophy of town planning that would form the foundations of modern city planning. This paper focuses on factors that determined the size and urban form of these towns, factors that would provide better understanding the town planning methods in the 18th century.

During the Spanish colonial period, town-planning practitioners studied basic philosophy regarding the structure of urban space, but in point of fact, these theories remained unrealised in actual construction practices. The same can be found in other times and regions. For example, Renaissance Italian architects discussed the perfect geometric form at length in their discourses on Ideal Cities, and yet it is well known that towns were rarely designed to follow precise geometric forms, with the exception of cases such as the symmetrical town of Palmanova, Italy. A question arises from this history: '*How was urban form determined in the process of actual town construction?*'

CITY BORDERS AS A DETERMINING FACTOR OF SCALE

The Spanish royalty constructed towns that were fortified with walls and featured grid planning inside the walls' borders. There are many examples of such towns, which were originally enclosed by fortified walls and bastions, such as La Habana, Santo Domingo, Panama, Cartagena, and Trujillo. Royal decrees, which outline requirements for various aspects for the planning of a colonial town, are an excellent resource for understanding the function of scale in town planning. This section highlights the under-examined relationship between walls and scale.

The *Ordinances of Philip II*, issued in 1573, which define the structure of Spanish colonial towns, state various methods of planning in detail but do not make clear declarations about the areas' urban forms. While the document assumes that new towns will be constructed, very little is mentioned about features, such as walls and scale, that should be incorporated in the construction of a new town. The *Ordinances*, which mention the securing of vacant space for development, seem instead to be concerned with establishing the initial construction in a way that can accommodate future urban expansion projects. The goal of the royal decree, then, appears to be preserving orderly continuity between the existing and expanded area [Articles 111, 129, 130 in the *Ordinances*][1]. King Carlos II's representative colonial code, the *Laws of the Indies*, issued in 1680, also pays little attention to the planning of the town wall. This code contains a single provision that defines the distance between the town wall itself and houses near it [Book IV, Chapter VII, Article 12 of the *Laws of the Indies*][2].

The scarcity of attention to town wall construction in town plans may be because, while walls were necessary for defence, they were difficult to design before the actual town was constructed, and so were not included in formal regulations. A close examination of King Philip's *Ordinances* reveals that they intended for streets to be laid out in an orderly pattern that could be repeated as the town expanded [Articles 111, 117]. It could be that town wall construction was not included in the town planning code because a wall would inhibit the town's ability to expand as its population grew. This can be read as evidence that town planners were conscious of the idea of scale, particularly the way that a new town would need to expand as its population increased. Lending further weight to this proposition are documents in which the proportions of town plazas were described in reference to holiday events involving horses [Article 112], and were discussed not relation to the towns' current population levels, but to their estimated increases [Article 113].

TOWN BOUNDARIES AND ORIENTATION IN THE THEORIES OF THE RENAISSANCE IDEAL CITY

In the theories of the Ideal City, advanced by the Renaissance Italian architects, a city's form and the orientation of its streets are highly important. The influential Roman architect Vitruvius, for example, was a proponent of the idea that towns should be planned so that the urban form and streets are adapted to suit an area's wind patterns. It is possible to understand the Vitruvian philosophy of town planning by illustrating a geometrical town model shaping a symmetrical polygon. Very few examples of cities of such polygonal shape, however, have been faithfully put into practice, and it remains unclear to what extent geometrical theories are reflected in actual town planning.

Vitruvian theory recommends a circular shape as the primary urban form [I.v.2; Book I. Chapter V, 2][3], an idea that gives priority to defence in determining the town's urban form. Vitruvius maintains his premise that the town wall is constructed as a border that divides the inside and outside of a town, and numerous chapters in his texts contain descriptions of both the interior and exterior of a fortification. He emphasizes the construction of the town wall and its gates, as well as other public facilities that incorporate defensive, religious, and practical elements [I.iii.1].

Although he does not share Vitruvius' commitment to the circular form, the architect Alberti also considers geographical conditions in the construction of town walls [IV.2, IV.3; Book IV, Section 2 and 3, of the *De re aedificatoria*[4]]. In his designs, town gates were limitedly opened in the walls, for improved defence [IV.5]. Alberti states that the town should be located in the centre of the territory it is constructed within, so that it is possible to view the boundary the territory from the town [IV.2]. This claim is an elucidation of the concept that the 'town' and the 'town territory' are distinct areas: that there is an area outside the town but inside its boundaries, which is the town territory.

PLANNING FACTORS IN THE RECONSTRUCTION OF GUATEMALA CITY

More than two hundred towns were constructed in Spanish colonial territories during the first half-century of the early modern era, and the model of an urban nucleus was established during this period. In comparison with towns in the Spanish mainland, the size of the city block (the *manzana*) was considerably larger, and each lot in a given block was assigned to a particular group of settlers. Population density in these colonial holdings was low, and the towns did not have formal boundaries, a format that contrasted starkly with the military camp cities of medieval Europe[5].

The 18th century, which began a century after Spain's initial colonial efforts of the 16th century, was a period when many colonial towns expanded, development an urban nucleus, or were reconstructed entirely. Overall, the scale of town blocks was reduced, and the number of town blocks inside the town area increased. Some towns during this time maintained a simple grid model, with square blocks, while others diversified from the square shape as the basic block unit This was due in part to the growth of population and commercial activities, and quite a few cases required complete reconstruction because of natural disasters. The town of Guatemala, La Antigua, which because of an earthquake had to be relocated and reconstructed as Guatemala City, is one notable example.

YEAR	EVENTS	POPULATION
1524	Settlement at Iximché (Inland and central Guatemala) by Pedro de Alvarado (Santiago de los Caballeros de Guatemala)	120 (1524)
1527	Village relocation to the valley of Panchoy at Almolonga, Volcán de agua by competition with surrounding villages (Santiago de los Caballeros de Guatemala or Ciudad Vieja)	
1532	Ordinance of Carlos I, July 28th, gives the town of Santiago de Guatemala a title of 'Ciudad (City)'	750 (1530)
1542	September: Town was severely damaged by flood and great earthquake. Royal engineer, Juan Bautista Antonelli, proposes the transfer of the town to the government. (Some researchers suspect the involvement of Antonelli.) October: New town is planned, Antigua Guatemala or merely La Antigua, and relocation determined in 1541. Official name kept 'Santiago de los Caballeros de Guatemala'. Relocated in 1542.	500 (1549)
1573	Ordinances of Philip II, colonial town planning code of Spanish royal	2,000–2,500 (before 1570) 3,500 (1585) 5,000 (1620)
1717	August 27th ~29th, September 29th: Eruptions and earthquakes of neighbouring volcano, heavy damage by Earthquake of San Miguel. Town's transfer studied to La Hermita but reconstruction selected.	
1751	March 4th. Heavy damage by the great earthquake, San Casimiro at Santiago de Guatemala.	
1773	July 29th. Catastrophic damage by Great Earthquake of Santa Marta. Request of the town relocation to Vally of La Hermita (officially 'Nueva Guatemala de la Asunción', and Guatemala City today.) December 13th. Great earthquake. Obtains the approval of the King, Carlos III, for town's relocation.	26,411 (1768–1770, La Antigua before its relocation)
1774	November 25th: Engineer, Luís Díez Navarro draws plan of La Hermita based on the survey directed by the governor, Martín de Mayorga (La Hermita, official name: Nueva Guatemala de la Asunción.	
1774	January 2nd. Official relocation date to La Hermita (takes more years for entire transfer)	5,917
1777	March 22nd. King, Carlos III issued an instruction to carry out the transfer from La Antigua Guatemala within a year.	23,434
1821	Independence	

TABLE 1 A chronological table of the town construction of the capital of Guatemala and the population (Spanish colonial reign)
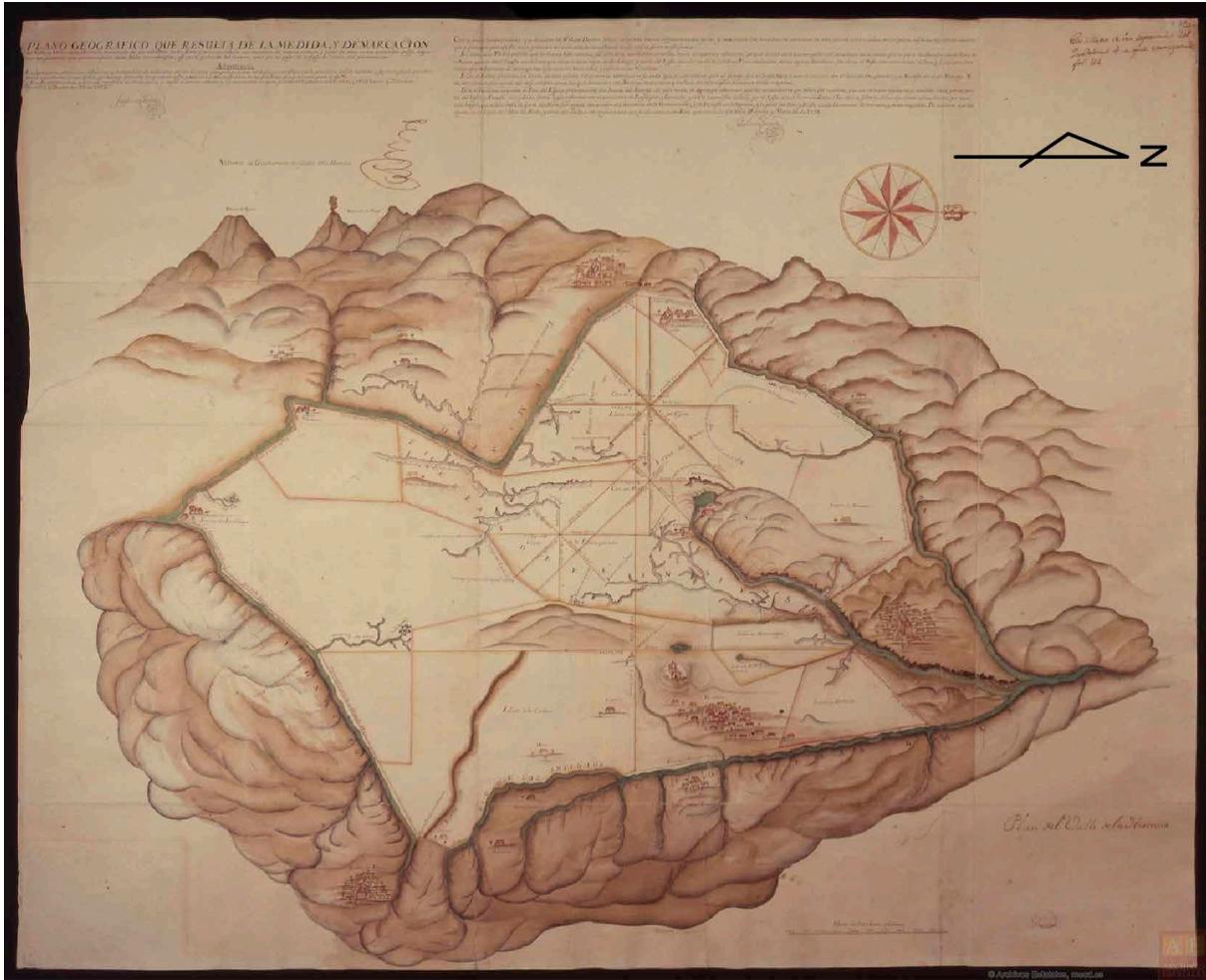
FIGURE 1 Geographic plan of Guatemala City on the basis of the survey
March 12th, 1774 (MP-Guatemala, 207)

Table 1 outlines the chronology of events that lead to the reconstruction of Guatemala City. In 1524, Pedro de Alvarado established the town of Guatemala in Iximché, a region in central Guatemala, and called it Santiago de los Caballeros de Guatemala. The town was later moved dangerously near to a volcano at Almolonga, Ciudad Vieja, and then again in 1542 to a neighbouring area to avoid risk of earthquakes and floods. The town suffered severe earthquakes in 1773, prompting King Carlos III to approve the town's relocation to the Valley of La Hermita. In 1774, plans were drawn for a new town, La Hermita, which is today's Guatemala City.

The General Archive of the Indies in Seville features a wealth of documents concerning the relocation of Guatemala City – the archive's section on the Captaincy General of Guatemala contains 418 maps and plans of the project, as well as many duplicates. Descriptions of the town area are scattered, and provide a variety of indications about what factors determined the positioning of town boundaries. Figure 1 shows a geographic map that describes the condition and boundaries of the *Valley of La Hermita*. In the map, open plains are represented in full scale, and the town territory and the boundaries are defined by geographical conditions such as rivers, hills, and cliffs. Interestingly, there are a few crossings of diagonals in the map, and it contains no information about those diagonals that are represented, despite the fact that the crossings are clear evidence that the engineer was attempting to locate the possible centre of the town.
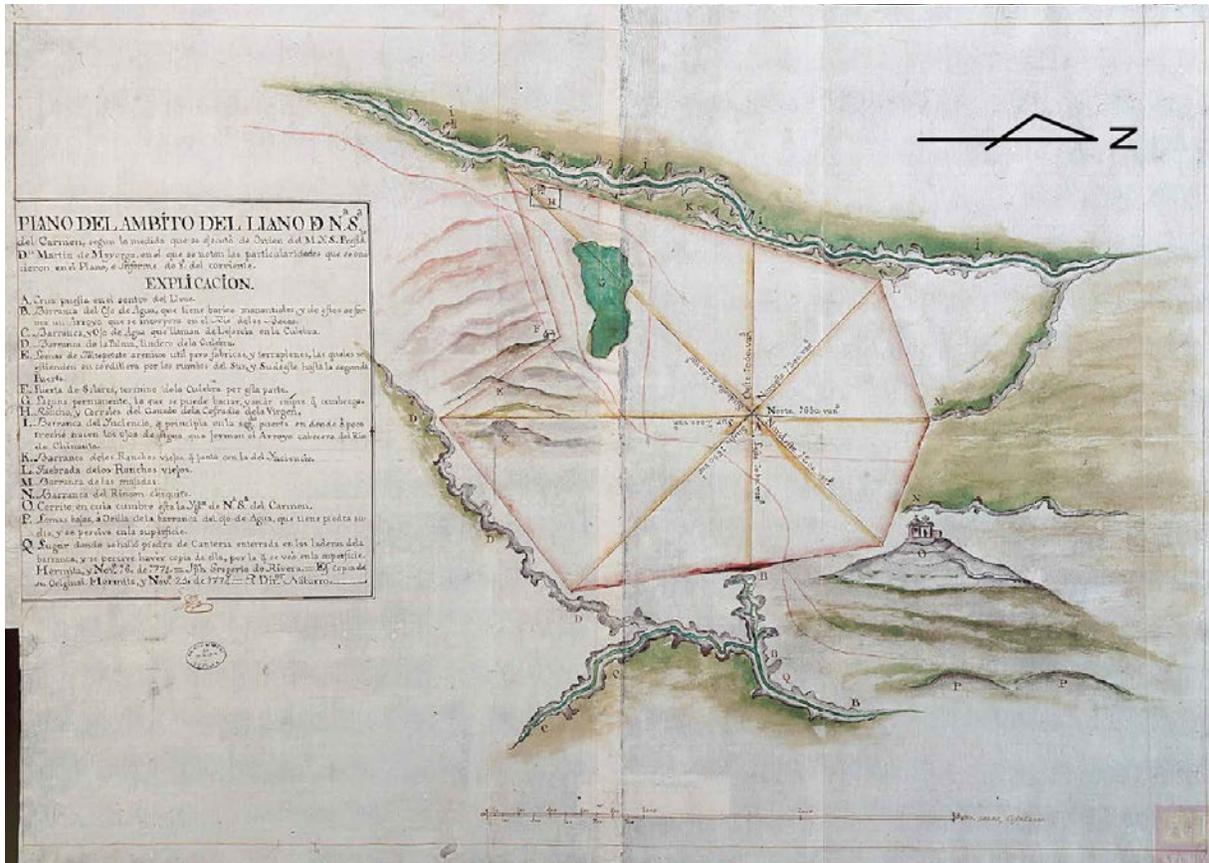
FIGURE 2 Town plan of Guatemala City, November 16th, 1774 (MP-Guatemala, 211)

PLANNING DIAGRAM FOR THE DETERMINATION OF THE URBAN AREA

For the initiative to reconstruct Guatemala in 1774, the governor of the Captaincy General of Guatemala, Martín de Mayorga y Ferrer (1721–1783) designated an engineer, Díez Navarro y Albuquerque, Luis (1699–1780)[6] as the town planner for the new and permanent town of Guatemala City. Díez Navarro drew several plans for Guatemala, among which a provisional planning diagram, Figure 2, provides a helpful example of the process by which he determined the town territory. This diagram, represented in Figure 2, was drawn on November 25th of 1774 by Díez Navarro. It appears to be a rather simple diagram, but it clearly contains the town's boundary, plains, hills, rivers, cliffs, church, regulating pond, farm, and livestock farms. This indicates that the primary object of this drawing was to create a study for the determination of the town territory.

In Figure 2, four diagonal lines outline a polygonal urban area, and these lines intersect in a single point, which is the centre of the town. The diagonal lines follow the cardinal directions south, north, east and west, as well as the intermediate northeast, southeast, southwest, and northwest. Each diagonal, like that of a regular geometric octagon, extends in an almost precisely 45 degree range from the centre, and the urban area itself is demarcated by clear straight lines running between points on the diagonals.

The boundary of the town is constituted by an irregularly shaped nonagon. Eight out of the nine vertices are positioned diagonally, and only one vertex is displaced from the diagonal. Each of the eight vertices of the polygon seem to be related to the geographical conditions as drawn, and the irregular shape of the ninth vertex may have been determined to exist in a position where the town's boundary is refracted on each diagonal.
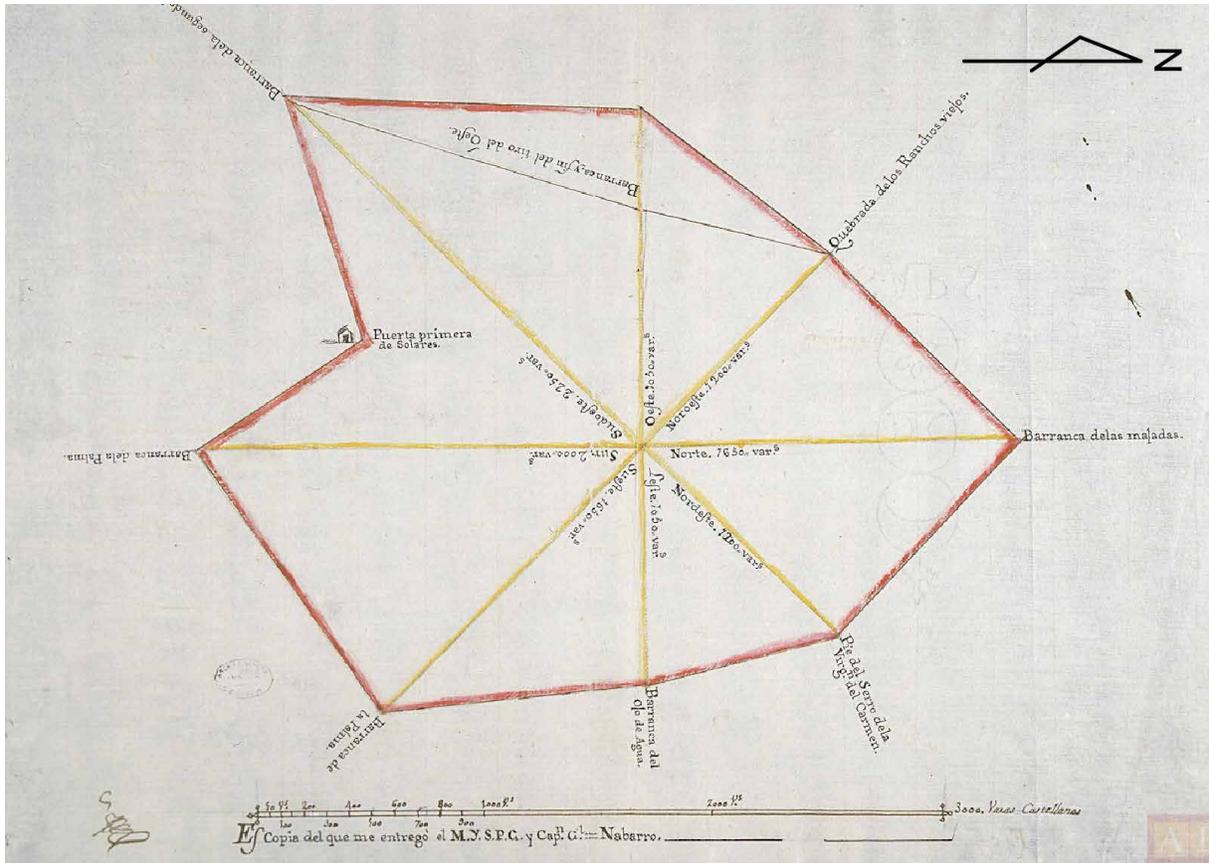
FIGURE 3   Town plan of Guatemala City, February 1st, 1775 (MP-Guatemala, 326)

The General Archive of the Indies preserves another, similar diagram, shown here in Figure 3. The diagram is a copy of an original plan for Guatemala, drawn on February 1st, 1775, from the results of a survey carried out by the engineer, José de Rivera, on November 8th, 1774.

Figure 2 and Figure 3 express the same essential plan for the new town for Guatemala, but the diagrams feature different eastern (upper, in the figure) boundaries. In Figure 2, the boundary of the urban area runs in a straight line between the northwest and southwest vertices, while in Figure 3, the boundary is bent around the west vertex. Given that the two plans refer to the same construction site in the same geographical location, the difference in the assignment of the town's boundary seems to have been determined following the plan's 45-degree division schema. The drawing therefore exhibits a strong geometrical influence in the determination the urban area's form.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GUATEMALA CITY'S THE URBAN AREA AND TOWN CORE

The diagonal lines drawn in both Figure 1 and Figure 2 converge at the town's nucleus. In the geographic plan in Figure 1, it is difficult to say which convergence signifies the final position of the town centre. However, as mentioned above in reference to Alberti's theory of urban form, the urban territory and town itself can be thought of as distinct designations, and the town planners who followed Alberti's idea believed that the town should be surrounded with plains which in total constituted the urban territory.

V.01 P.241   **Akihiro Kashima**

DETERMINING FACTORS FOR THE URBAN FORM AND ITS ORIENTATION IN SPANISH COLONIAL TOWN PLANNING:
PLANNING THE TOWN OF GUATEMALA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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TOC
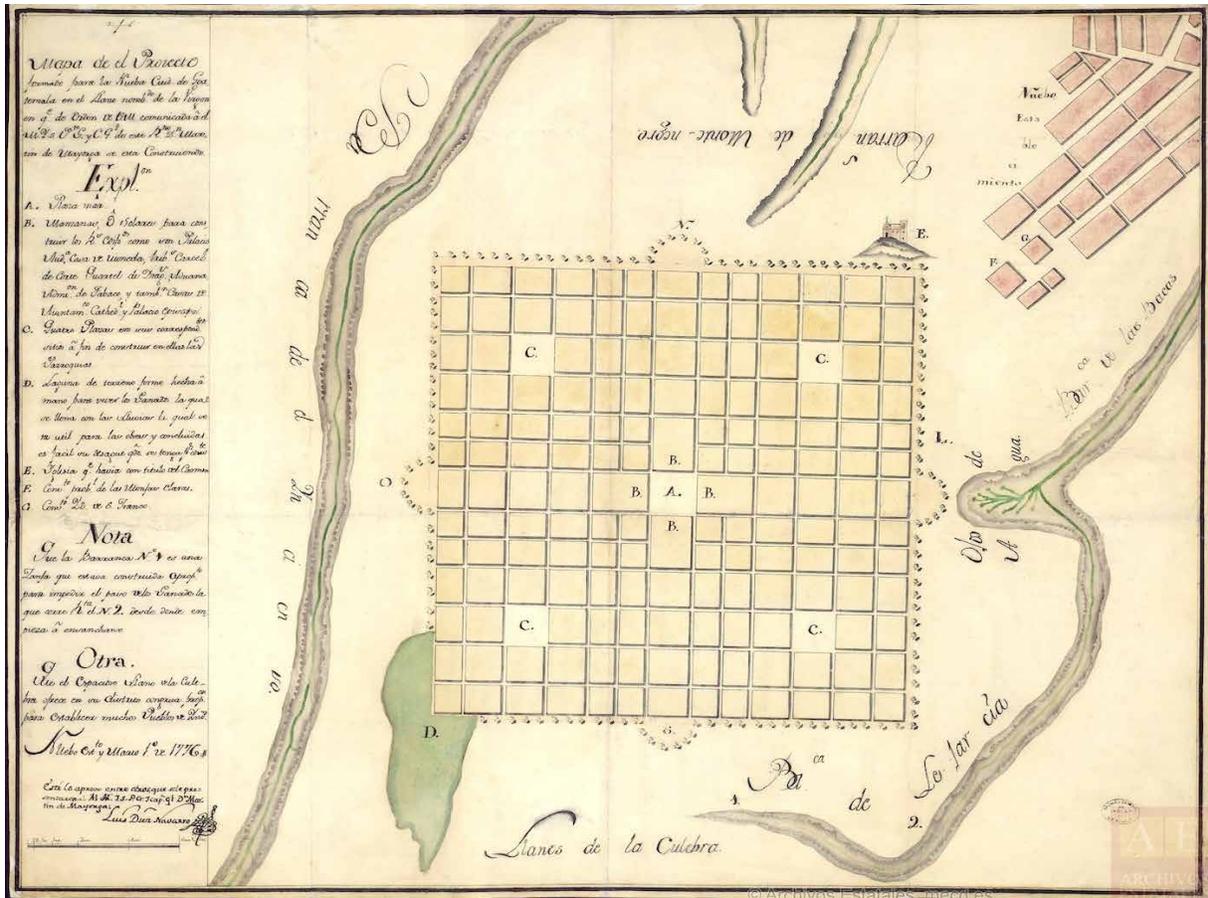
FIGURE 4 New project of town planning of Guatemala City, March 1st of 1776 (MP-Guatemala, 220)

Figure 4, MP-Guatemala 220, from 1776, shows a plan of Guatemala City's town centre, formed by an orderly grid plan, with square blocks. Despite the basic geometric forms, it is not a simple grid plan. The size of the urban area's blocks varies, the interval of the streets is different, and four district squares are distributed throughout the urban area. These designs were intended to foster the development of unique neighbourhoods, with different characteristics. The town is also square and is surrounded by trees, rivers, small mountains, and plains, rather than solid walls, which allowed it to expand as its population increased. The clear definition of the town's nucleus encourages development of the urban area outwards from the centre, onto the vacant areas, a plan that follows Alberti's theories of geometric form, as well as King Philip II's Ordinances.

CONCLUSION

The plans for Guatemala City reflect a method used to design a new town during the Spanish colonial era. In this tradition, the urban form of the town's boundary is influenced by locational and geographical conditions, but still typically consists of straight lines. Moreover, the points along which the boundary lines are drawn are designated not by locational or geographical requirements, but rather by eight vertices that extend from the centre of the town. The urban form is determined by connecting the vertices at a central point, creating a town space in which eight directions, at 45-degree intervals, are clearly expressed. Geometric factors, in other words, are given stronger preference than geographical ones. This suggests a planning method of urban form which, by diagonally connecting the vertexes of the urban form, easily finds the local eight orientation.

Notes on the contributor(s)

Akihiro Kashima is a professor at the Department of Architecture, Setsunan University, Osaka, Japan. Published papers include: 'An Essay on the scale of town planning in the initial colonization found in Spanish colonial laws', Journal of the City Planning Institute of Japan No. 48–3, pp. 219–224, 2013 (Annual Conference 2013, Tokyo); 'Reviewing the Urban Planning History of the Spanish Colonies: Establishment of the Latin American city image', *Toshishi Kenkyu (Japanese Journal of Urban and Territorial History)* No. 2, Society of Urban and Territorial History, Tokyo, 2015. Kashima is currently researching the continuity of the planning philosophy between the early modern and the modern periods.

Endnotes

1   Instituto de Cultura Hispánica: Transcripción de las Ordenanzas de Descubrimiento, Nueva Población y Pacificación de las Indias dadas por Felipe II el 13 de julio de 1573, Ministerio de la Vivienda, Madrid, 1973.

2   Centro de estudios políticos y constitucionales y el Boletín Oficial del Estado (ed.), *RECOPILACIÓN DE LEYES DE LOS REYNOS DE LAS INDIAS, TOMO SEGUNDO,* Madrid: Imprenta Nacional del Boletín Oficial del Estado, 1998, p.22

3   Morita, Keiiti: VITRUVII DE ARCHITECTURA LIBRI DECEM IN SERMONEM IAPONICUM VERSIT, (Tokyo, JAPAN: Tokai University Press, 1969), a version in Japanese translation which contains the Latin version in Valentin Rose, Hermann Müller-Strübing: *Vitruvii Vitruvius Pollio, De architectura libri decem,* (Teubner, 1867).

4   Alberti, Leon Battista. *De re aedificatoria. On the art of building in ten books,* Translated by Joseph Rykwert, Robert Tavernor and Neil Leach, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1988.

5   Terán, Fernando de(dir.), Aguilera Rojas, Javier(ed.), *La Ciudad Hispanoamericana, El Sueño de un Orden,* Madrid, 1997, p.115

6   Díez Navarro y Albuquerque, Luis(1699-1780) is an engineer who played an active part in military construction in Barcelona, Cádiz, Mexico among other things. Also was a military architect who contributed to the new planning of the Guatemala City.

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RESTORATIONS OF HISTORIC URBAN PATTERN UNDER DIFFERENT LAND OWNERSHIP, A COMPARATIVE RESEARCH OF NANJINGO, BERLIN

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A recent trend in China sees an increasing number of historic cities seeking overall protections of their old towns after more than two decades' radical urban renewals brought about by the economic boom. But in most cases, as the traditional urban pattern has been severely damaged from large-scale redevelopment, how the restoration project could be conducted becomes one essential issue. In the last decades, both urban redevelopment and urban protection of Chinese cities drew lessons from western theories and experiences. However, the fundamental difference between China and western countries, regarding the issue of land tenure, inevitably results in differences on relevant plan strategies and means of their realization. Against this backdrop this research is attempting to make a comparison of two projects aiming at the restoration of historic urban pattern in Nanjing(China) and Berlin(Germany).

Nanjing, a famous ancient capital of China, launched overall protection for its South Historic Town in 2009. The reconstruction of Mendong Changledu Area as the pilot project is meant to restore the historic urban pattern that was erased by large-scale demolition in 2006. With rigid planning regulations their primary strategy, it is hoped that the traditional street system and building form could be restored. The traditional urban pattern is a morphological result under the private ownership while the current planning mechanism and redevelopment mode are based on state ownership and characterized by mass expropriation and large-scale plot pattern. Under this condition, the concept "Renewal Unit" is developed in the Conservation Plan as a substitute of property boundary in controlling the building scale, in which the antique courtyard houses can be rebuilt.

Unlike certain European cities whose old towns remain largely unchanged throughout the 20th century, Berlin was destroyed in the 2nd World War. The urban pattern radically altered under its divided status as well as the separated post-war reconstructions. Since the German reunification in 1990, large-scale redevelopment took place in the inner city, aiming at a urban restoration and integration. Berlin Townhouse Project on Friedrichswerder, located in the once East Berlin, is a typical housing redevelopment under the principle of critical reconstruction and seeks the re-privatization of state owned land. With the change of land tenure, the state owned land should be re-subdivided and distributed for private development through bidding process. To keep the integrity of the urbanscape, a regulatory planning framework is set up. But meanwhile the freedom for architecture design is given to meet the individual demands.

Important issues in the research are as follows. How can the restoration be understood in the context of urban history and institutional transformation? What are the differences of planning strategies and means of realization in both cases and how the institutional difference serves to exert their influence? The ultimate intention of the comparison is to find out the common principles for the restoration of historic urban pattern, going beyond the institutional divergence.

Kewords
Urban Restoration, Urban Pattern, Land Ownership, Comparative Research

Ideas on the Move and Modernisation

Entangled Histories of Cross Cultural Exchange

Global Connections

Chair: Stephen Ward

THE WORK OF THE JAPANESE SPECIALISTS FOR NEW KHMER ARCHITECTURE IN CAMBODIA

Kosuke Matsubara

University of Tsukuba

Cross cultural exchanges are an important aspect in the development of modern architecture. Multiple flows of ideas have shaped the architecture of Cambodia in the second half of the 20th century. Western designers shaped Cambodia's architectural and urban form, but the country also saw collaboration from Japanese practitioners and this paper explores their respective roles and paradigms. Helen Grant Ross and Darryl Leon Collins, for example, regarded the 1960s as the age of New Khmer Architecture in Cambodia. They have explored the French-educated architect young Cambodian leader Vann Molyvann, who led this age as an architect-administrative official. However, the fact that there were some Japanese architects who collaborated on some of these projects is not well known. In particular, Gyoji Banshoya (1930-1998) and Nobuo Goto (1938-2000), two students of the Japanese leading architect Kiyoshi Seike, officially participated in projects during the 1960s and wrote plans, reports and articles. Based on new resources found in the private libraries of the Japanese planners, this paper discusses New Khmer Architecture based on the largely unknown fact that some Japanese architects participated in projects in Cambodia.

INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND OF RESEARCH

In 1960's, the trend of Cambodian architecture was called *New Khmer Architecture* lead by the architect-administrative official Vann Molyvann (1926-) who realized many urban and architectural projects ,and finally became a minister. However, Cambodia, just after its independence, was a poor country and the projects were realized thanks to the international cooperation. The specialists dispatched from the United Nations were French specialists represented by Vladimir Bodiansky one of the chief technicians of Le Corbusier, Gerald Hanning one of the old stump of the office of Le Corbusier as well, and three Japanese specialists who were disciples of the architect Kiyoshi Seike, Gyoji Banshoya(1930-1998), Nobuo Goto(1938-2000) and Setsuo Okada(1933-) . They officially participated in projects during the 1960's and wrote some plans, reports and articles. There activities in Cambodia may be considered as an early example of urban design work implemented by Japanese international cooperation.

Based on the introduction of new resources found in their private library, the purpose of this paper is to examine the possibility to discuss *New Khmer Architecture* from a new viewpoint based on the unknown fact that some Japanese architects participated there. In general, the question of how to manage the modernization of historical spatial composition of the city was a common interest shared by the French, Japanese and Cambodians alike. In this paper, I will examine this question in the international context composed of the movement of CIAM, the participation of Banshoya, and supervision by the young Cambodian leader Vann Molyvann. Based on the analysis of the process the Japanese specialists got involved in *New Khmer Architecture*, and on the evaluation of the contents and realization of their works from the viewpoint of "reconstitution of historical space", I will clarify an aspect of the history of urban planning based on the international cooperation.

LITERATURE REVIEW AND RESEARCH METHOD

After 1970 the Cambodian civil war was started, and most of participants and documents of *New Khmer Architecture* were lost because of the brutality of *Khmer Rouge*. As a result, little has been known about *New Khmer Architecture* except for the master piece of Helen Grant Ross and Darryl Leon Collins in 2006, which does not refer to the work of the Japanese specialists. Vann Molyvann himself wrote his doctoral thesis not about *New Khmer Architecture* but about the history of urban development in the South East area. Bodiansky and Hanning wrote some reports in architectural journals at that time, but the detailed information including primary sources are still unknown. They didn't refer to the works of the Japanese neither. Information provided by the Japanese themselves were limited for very few descriptions in journals and their own CV.

In this paper, however, the author uses some primary sources newly founded in the private library of Goto including planning documents, maps, texts and photos. Here I will compare the new information obtained from his library with the facts already known. In addition, I carried out some field surveys composed of observations of the site, interviews to the relevant persons including Vann Molyvann to compensate my hypothesis.

PARTICIPATION TO CAMBODIAN PROJECTS

THE BACKGROUNDS OF THEIR PARTICIPATION

Born in 1930 in Tokyo, Gyoji Banshoya studied at the Tokyo Institute of Technology (TIT) under the supervision of the famous Japanese architect Kiyoshi Seike. After his graduation and realization of his first masterpiece, the Square House characterized by its one-pillar structure, he went to Paris in 1953 with the scholarship from the French government. He studied modern architecture under supervising of George Candilis, Vladimir Bodiansky and Gerald Hanning. Following Hanning, Banshoya then went to French-ruled Algiers and worked for the planning agency for some years to become a French modernist architect. Hanning finished his work in Algiers in 1959 and then started to work for the Service of Urban Planning and Housing in Cambodia as UNDP specialist for 4 years.

In January 1962, Banshoya was also appointed as a UNDP technical assistance officer thanks to the recommendation by was his ex-supervisor Hanning[1], and was sent to the Direction of Urban Planning of the Ministry of Public Enterprise and Information in the Kingdom of Cambodia[2]. Just after gaining independence from French Indochina in 1954, Cambodia had asked the United Nations to cooperate in the reconstruction of their new capital. His main counterpart was Vann Molyvann who graduated from the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris. Banshoya's mission was only for one year, and he worked as a member of a team led by ATBAT members, just as he had in Algiers.

Here, Banshoya met a man eight years his junior, Nobuo Goto, who also graduated from TIT. He would later become Banshoya's most trusted collaborator in Damascus. Goto, who soon joined them, was so strongly fascinated by the project in Cambodia, especially the Olympic Stadium, that he dropped out his graduate program at TIT. Seike stated that he nicknamed Goto "*Kume Sennin* (an unworldly man from *Kume*)", because he frequently traveled and never settled down. *Kume* is a name of place in Japan where *Kume Sennin* used to live. There is a legend saying the origin of *Kume* is from Khmer. That is why Seike gave him this nickname. After this first visit in Cambodia, he started his own field work about traditional Khmer houses in Phnom Penh and Angkor Wat. Later, he went to Damascus to support Banshoya elaborate the master plan of 1968, and then went to Paris to work for French planner Michel Ecochard's office.

According to Seike, one reason why Banshoya and Goto went to Cambodia was the fact that Michio Fujioka (1908-1988）had been carrying out an architectural investigation in Cambodia during and after the World War II. Fujioka was a great architectural historian at that time and he wrote some books about Angkor Wat. As an intellectual at that time, Fujioka recognized the importance to introduce Japan to the culture of Cambodia under French rule. Becoming a TIT professor of after the war, he taught architectural history, including his research on Khmer architecture. And for certain, Banshoya and Goto, who were the TIT students, learned plenty of knowledge in his lecture about this oriental culture which was still largely unknown in Japan, and became interested in Cambodian architecture[3].

TEAMWORK UNDER BODIANSKY

Regarding the management of these international projects, I quote a reminiscence of Bodiansky, the senior member of the team. According to Bodiansky, the most important work on this project was the promotion of the collaboration between the French and Cambodians. For Bodiansky, a strict construction manager who made efforts to support CIAM and his own team ATBAT, a well-organized collaboration was the sole solution for the problems such as limited time for investigation, and the delay of building materials. He made a rationalized construction site where young Cambodian members and French specialists trained themselves. As a result, he made a strong Cambodian team headed by Van Molyvann of that Banshoya and Goto were members. Banshoya's wife recollects that he was a very serious and gruff man, like a mathematician.

THE WORK OF JAPANESE SPECIALISTS

HYPOTHETICAL CONTRIBUTION OF GYOJI BANSHOYA ON THE URBAN AND ARCHITECTURAL PLANS

According to the CV of Banshoya written in French, the projects in which he participated were as follows:

1   *Stade olympique (70,000 personnes), piscine, gymnase (8,000 personnes), de Seop Games à Phnom-Penh.*
2   *Plan d'aménagement de détails de la ville de Phnom-Penh (400,000 habitants)*
3   *Plan de masse au1/500ème de Front de Bassac à Phnom-Penh (5,000 habitants)*
4   *Plan d'exécution des nouveaux quartiers de Sihanoukville*
5   *Réseau routier de Sihanoukville*

Project No. 1 was realized for the 3rd South Asian Football Cup in 1964[4]. It is well known that the planners tried to reconstitute the spatial composition of Angkor Wat and reflected it in the design of the stadium. In particular, the pools surrounding the stadium, stages simulating the stairs, and the effective use of water (Fig.1). Project No. 2 was a district plan for Phnom-Penh, which had a population of 400,000 that was rapidly growing. The figure 2 shows a district plan centering around a new international hotel beside a tributary from *Tonlé Sap*, which is the *Bassac*, a tributary of the Mekong. Project No. 3 was a district plan composed of a pair of apartment buildings called "White House" and "Gray House", and a national theater[5]. The district plan was realized along the *Bassac* and later the district became a popular quarter[6].
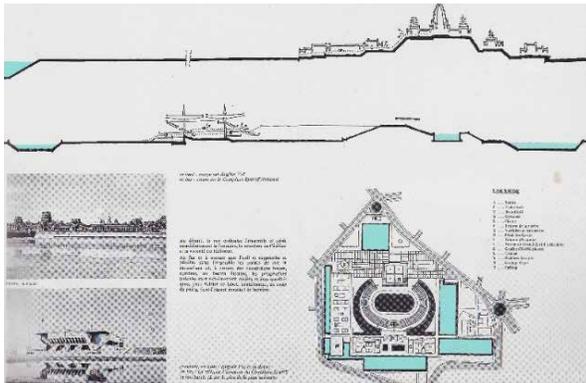
FIGURE 1 Concept of the Olympic Stadium based on the spatial composition of Angkor Wat
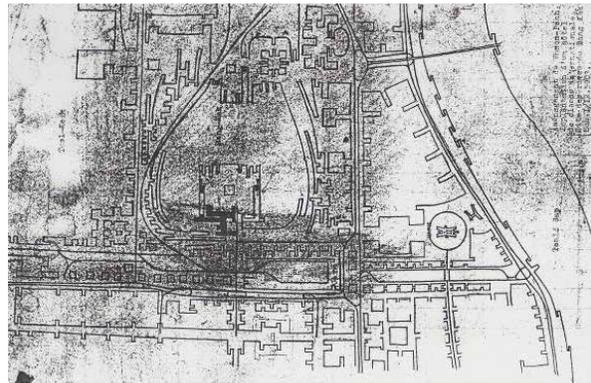
FIGURE 2 1962 District Plan centering around a new international hotel.

Surrounded by the Cardamom Mountains, Sihanoukville was a new city planned for the first deep sea port in Cambodia. Project No. 4 was also a district plan of the seacoast elaborated in 1962 (Fig.3) along the city's first master plan elaborated in 1959 thanks to BCEOM (Bureau central d'études pour les équipements d'outre-mer) and USOM (United States Operations Mission). As Figure 3 shows, the plan includes rationally planned modern collective houses and facilities for leisure and tourism. Project No. 5 is supposed to be some complemental work to finish the National Road 4 connecting Sihanoukville with Phnom Penh.

However, their implementation was cancelled due to the civil war[7]. The city was later developed to be the second city of Cambodia under a new master plan in the 1990s.

Kosuke Matsubara

THE WORK OF THE JAPANESE SPECIALISTS FOR NEW KHMER ARCHITECTURE IN CAMBODIA
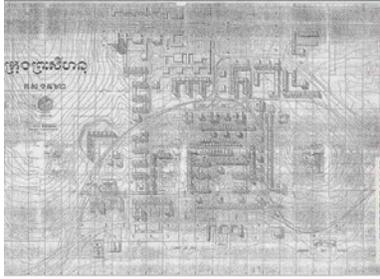
FIGURE 3 District Plan of Sihanoukville in 1962
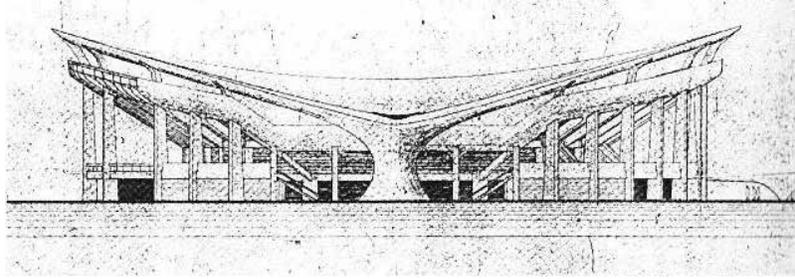
FIGURE 4 The initial design for the Olympic Stadium looks like "Karagasa Structure"

Banshoya collaborated again with some members of CIAM and completed his mission in the former French protectorate of Cambodia. Though Banshoya's mission in Cambodia was limited to one year, it was significant as his first assignment as a UNDP specialist. He would continue to be a UNDP specialist till the 1970s, when he elaborated the master plan of Aleppo.

All the projects are well known as the result of collaborative works of young Cambodian architects lead by Molyvann and French UNDP specialists. And it is considered that the role of Banshoya was also that of a young assistant. However, I think some hypothesis can be noted here. For example, the initial design and structure of the whole stadium seems as if it has only one main pillar (Fig.4)[8]. The revised and realized version of the stadium was divided into four parts, but still each part had only one pillar. Why did they stick with one pillar structure? Here I remember the fact that Banshoya's first masterpiece adopted the "*Karagasa* Structure," which means "having only one pillar". So my hypothesis is that some influence of Banshoya was reflected in the design of this stadium.

DESIGN SURVEY AND EXPERIMENTAL HABITAT OF NOBUO GOTO

Because Banshoya moved to Beirut, Goto succeeded Banshoya's work, but in his own way. Goto also worked on the same projects above with Banshoya, but at the same time, he worked for a housing project titled *Habitat Experimental* (Experimental Habitat) under supervision of Hanning. This project was published in the French magazine *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, explaining their concepts[9]. Here Goto worked with another young Japanese Setsuo Okada who is good at the structural engineering.

The concept of their *Habitat Experimental* was to provide functional and low cost houses that inherit the many merits of traditional Khmer houses based on their modernist policy. The method of construction applied here was so-called "*Autoconstruction*" which means a construction by amateurs, especially by the residents themselves. The target city was Sihanoukville, where the population was supposed to be rapidly grown because of the inflow of workers for the new port. In some villages in the Cardamom Mountains, they carried out field survey on many Khmer houses. Their survey was design survey of traditional housing areas indicating the basic plan of the area, the façades of houses, the townscapes, and the characteristics of local plants and landscaping (Fig.5).

Kosuke Matsubara

THE WORK OF THE JAPANESE SPECIALISTS FOR NEW KHMER ARCHITECTURE IN CAMBODIA

FIGURE 5 Result of the survey in a village of Cardamom

FIGURE 6 Photo of a traditional house

FIGURE 7 Photo of Prototype built in Phnom Penh
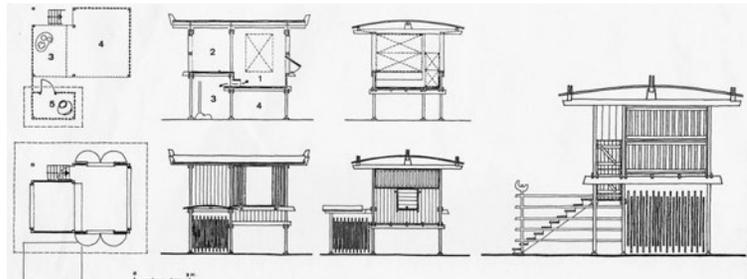
FIGURE 8 Plan of the prototype.
1. Living Room, 2. Sleeping Room, 3. Kitchen, 4. Storage, 5. Watering Place
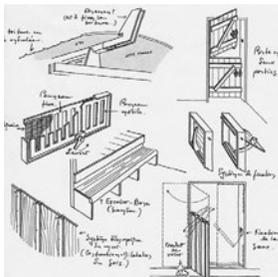

FIGURE 9 Illustrations of the devices of the prototype
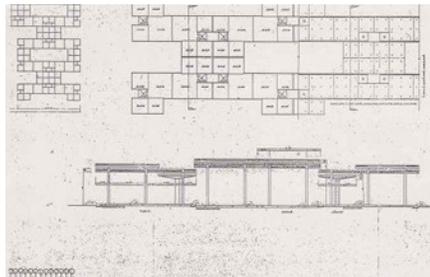
FIGURE 10 Plan of Market Place
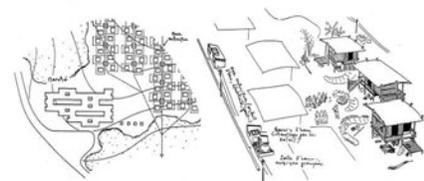
FIGURE 11 Layout plan composed of Housing Area along a corridor and Marketplace

Figure 6 shows a raised-floor-style houses which are quite popular in the area. It is small and simple, but it is obvious that a great deal of traditional wisdom accumulated by the residents is adopted here. For example, the use of natural and low cost building materials, good ventilation in the house thanks to the openings, and safety assured by the raised-floor, etc. Goto and Okada took many pictures of traditional houses and analyzed them thoroughly in their own way. For example, it is interesting that they even referred to the traditional architecture of South Japan from the viewpoint of using of wood and aesthetics.

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Under the supervision of the Service of Urban Planning and Housing, they realized a prototype of their experimental habitat in 1962 in a city area of Phnom Penh. As a characteristic of "*Autoconstruction*", this house was constructed by few people within two days. The first day is for making the framework, while the second day is for roofing and installing the walls.

As Figure 7 shows, the wooden prototype house was so-called raised-floor-style, which was clearly influenced by the traditional houses they researched. In fact, as the plan (Fig.8) shows, principal elements of the traditional house such as living room, sleeping room, kitchen, storage and watering place were adopted, as was a traditional layout. So there is no essential difference between new and old as far as the general plan is concerned.

However, the prototype was rationalized in some points. For example, building materials are standardized. As the sketches (Fig.9) show, many small but new ideas are adopted in the details (Table 1). Two stages doors, windows with ventilation system, stairs as benches, ornament-supporting roofs, tin roofs and expansible wall systems, etc. These are not traditional, but some devices they invented through their experience abroad were inlaid. For example, Hanning had much experience in low cost housing, incorporating traditional elements from Algiers and other African countries. Goto had also learned many things from Seike, who was struggling to balance the new and old in the context of Japanese low-cost housing. It seems clear that they were trying here in Cambodia as well to reconstitute the historical spatial composition based on their modernism.

In addition to the housing project, they also suggested a method to build a marketplace (Fig.10). Its basic idea is just to provide a structure of roofs and pillars to make a covered market. They explained it was standardized and "is applicable to any size and site condition, and extensive anytime". The appearance of the structure remind us of the results of the village survey in Cardamom.

Finally, they suggested a layout plan for a housing area composed of their raised-floor houses and standardized market place (Fig.11). The houses are built along some "corridors" or streets planned in parallel and equipped with water and sewer services and electricity. According to their explanation, stations containing one shower, toilet, and kitchen are built to be a utility center for four families. Also, further modernization in near future was supposed based on the corridors.

Now, the overview of their plan was roughly clear. Corresponding the demand of housing in the new city of Sihanoukville, the planners suggested a modern Khmer housing area along with a marketplace. Certainly, this type of housing area was supposed to be realized in some area described in the 1962 district plan to which Banshoya contributed. It can be said that Banshoya contributed to the elaboration of the district plan, and Goto lead the planning of housing areas to compliment the district plan. This is the essential relationship between Banshoya and Goto's contributions.

NO.	ORIGINAL TEXTS IN FRENCH	SYNOPSIS IN ENGLISH
1	Porte en deux parties	Two Stages Door
2	Système de fixation, Panneau mobile, Panneau fixe	Window with Ventilation System
3	Escalier-Banc	Stair as Bench
4	Ornement et à fixer la toiture	Ornament supporting Roof
5	Toiture en tôle ondulée	Tin Roof
6	Système télescopique sur murs	Expansible Wall System

TABLE 1 List of the devices (Translation from French)

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, I pointed out that two Japanese architects Banshoya and Goto did in fact work on projects in Cambodia in 1960's the golden age of modern Khmer architecture. Banshoya participated in huge projects such as the stadium, collective houses and the master plans. While Goto also supported the work of Banshoya, he investigated his own interests and found his own way with his experimental habitat.

What is important is that these French-influenced Japanese architects always tried to cherish the historical composition of space and incorporate it in their modern planning policy.

In concrete, Banshoya's first piece "the Square House" was a low cost house which harmonized Japanese tradition and modernism. His work in Algiers titled "Temporary Housing Replacing Tin-Roofed Shelters" was also adopting the traditional housing plan with patio supporting the separation of public and private. And here in Cambodia, under supervising of Banshoya, his senior Goto tried to reconstitute the spatial composition of traditional Khmer house and suggested the plans of modern Khmer house and housing area.

Based on the findings of this paper, I will continue to examine the master plans in Beirut, Damascus and Aleppo of that evaluation has not yet been justified.

Acknowledgements

Notes on contributor(s)

Kosuke Matsubara is associate professor of the university of Tsukuba, Japan. Specializing in the urban planning history of the MENA region, he published a book in French titled *Conservation et Modernisation de la ville historique de Fés, Maroc*, ILCAA, 2014. He received in 2016 the East Asia Planning History Prize for his article "Gyoji Banshoya (1930-1998): a Japanese planner devoted to historic cities in the Middle East and North Africa" published online in *Planning Perspectives*.

Endnotes

1   Here Banshoya supported his former colleagues, V. Bodiansky and G. Hanning, who had been sent to the ministry as well. Their Cambodian counterpart was Vann Molyvann, the director of Urban Planning, who had just come back from France. Vann Molyvann, *Modern Khmer cities.* (Phnom Penh : Reyum), 2003.

2   From Banshoya's CV.

3   Kazuo Shinohara, a classmate of Banshoya, testified that he studied in the lecture of Fujioka, Kazuo Shinohara, *Jutaku Kenchiku* (*Housing Architecture*). (Tokyo : Kinokuniya Shoten), 1964.

4   Guy, Lemarchands. «Phnom Penh: Capitale de l'Etat indépendant du Cambodge» In *Phnom Pemh, Développement urbain et patrimoine* (Paris : Atelier parisien d'urbanisme, 1997), 44-49.

17th IPHS Conference, Delft 2016 | **HISTORY ▪ URBANISM ▪ RESILIENCE** | VOLUME 01 Ideas on the Move and Modernisation |

Entangled Histories of Cross Cultural Exchange | *Global Connections*

5   Lisa Ros, «Logements du « front Bassac » ou cité Sihanouk,» In *Phnom Penh à l'aube du XXIe siècle* (Phnom Penh :Atelier Parisien d'Urbanisme, 2003), 66-69.

6   Julien Mingui, «Front du Bassac: histoire triste d'un grand immeuble blanc,» In *Phnom Penh à l'aube du XXIe siècle* (Phnom Penh :Atelier Parisien d'Urbanisme, 2003), 62-65.

7   Molyvann, *Modern Khmer cities*, 185.

8   Nobuo Goto, Goto Nobuo Works, (Tokyo, 2003) 25.

9   Gerald Hanning, Nobuo Goto and Setsuo Okada, "Readapter l'Autoconstruction Tentative Cambodgienne (1963). « *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 167(1973) : 20-22.

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Figure 1 : Lemarchands, Guy (1997)
Figure 2 : Private library of Nobuo Goto
Figure 3 : Private library of Nobuo Goto
Figure 4 : Private library of Nobuo Goto
Figure 5 : Private library of Nobuo Goto
Figure 6 : Hanning, Gerald, Nobuo Goto et Setsuo Okada (1973)
Figure 7 : Hanning, Gerald, Nobuo Goto et Setsuo Okada (1973)
Figure 8 : Hanning, Gerald, Nobuo Goto et Setsuo Okada (1973)
Figure 9 : Hanning, Gerald, Nobuo Goto et Setsuo Okada (1973)
Figure 10 : Private library of Nobuo Goto
Figure 11 : Private library of Nobuo Goto

COLIN BUCHANAN'S AMERICAN JOURNEY: A CASE STUDY OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOBILITY AND MUTATION OF PLANNING IDEAS AND PRACTICE

Stephen Ward

Oxford Brookes University

In Autumn 1962, the British planner, Colin Buchanan, made an extensive eight-week tour of the United States. His purpose was professional and official, part of a major British government study to find an appropriate planning response to the long term problems of urban motor traffic. Buchanan's intention was to learn and draw lessons from American experiences that could be applied to Britain, then becoming a mass motorised society. He also made other short visits to several European cities, mainly in West Germany but also Stockholm and Venice. This resulting exotic knowledge was then integrated with a larger volume of British-based contextual, conceptual and practical studies that Buchanan and his six-strong working group had been preparing since spring 1961. The results appeared in late 1963 in what became the most important government planning document of 1960s Britain, Traffic in Towns. This report's analyses and conclusions have exerted a huge influence on British urban planning and have had a major international impact. The report and the great volume of work quickly flowed into the private practice that Buchanan established with his research team made his reputation as the foremost British planner of his generation. Although Buchanan's work stimulated much contemporary comment and has regularly been re-examined since 1963, relatively little attention has been given to the role that foreign examples played in shaping his thinking. This paper is therefore a detailed investigation of Buchanan's American visit and the impact it had on formulating this seminal report. His other short European visits are also considered but, because no original evidence of these has survived, the depth of possible examination is limited. By contrast, the available contemporary detail on the American visit opens a window on to Buchanan's personal views and contemporary British attitudes to the United States. In a wider sense, this investigation is also a case study of how investigative visits can be used to mobilise urban policy knowledge internationally. It also shows how exogenous experiences, by the way that they supply positive and negative lessons can inform, and to some extent, shape city and national policy. This connects it to a growing body of work within political science, urban geography and planning theory, as well as the more empirical studies into the international diffusion of planning undertaken by other planning historians. Although this paper uses insights from these other disciplinary traditions, it is based primarily within the planning history field. The documentary research on which it is based draws extensively on published and unpublished source materials. The latter include Buchanan's own account of his American journey, other files from the UK National Archives and Buchanan's own personal papers recently deposited at Imperial College, London. Additionally, this article makes use of contemporary and subsequent comment and draws on recent historical work about Traffic in Towns.

V.01 P.261 **Stephen Ward**

COLIN BUCHANAN'S AMERICAN JOURNEY: A CASE STUDY OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOBILITY AND MUTATION OF PLANNING IDEAS AND PRACTICE

TOC

THE "MAYOR CONFERENCE PROJECT": THE MAKING OF THE MODERN CITY DURING THE COLD WAR

Sujin Eom

UC Berkeley

This paper examines the Second Japan-American Pacific Coast Mayors' Conference held in Seattle in 1953, whose main purpose was to create an environment for Japanese and American city officials to discuss common problems and share solutions facing port cities in the Pacific. What is more important was the national tour of US cities offered to Japanese delegates thereafter, which provided opportunity for them to observe American cities firsthand and translate the urban experience into their own local settings. After their return to Japan, Yokohama city officials embarked upon the remaking of the city's Chinese quarter modeling on American Chinatowns. Highlighting how this making of Chinatown reflected Japan's important political economic transition in the Asia Pacific region as well as changing relations with its neighboring Asian countries and the United States during the Cold War years, this paper sheds new light on the dialectical relationship between relationality and territoriality in the production of urban space.

REINVENTING DOWNTOWN ACROSS THE ATLANTIC- DETROIT AND THE HAGUE

Conrad Kickert

University of Cincinnati

This presentation compares the rise, fall and rebirth of downtown Detroit, Michigan and The Hague, Netherlands over the past century. The presented research focuses on the remarkably similar challenges that both urban cores have faced, the various planning and design strategies that both cities have deployed to counter them, and their functional and morphological outcomes. The research adds to and challenges the current body of knowledge on downtown planning history by adopting new methods in digital humanities, augmenting traditional qualitative archival research with morphological and functional mapping. The combination of methods enables the unveiling of shared patterns of central decline and renewal between both cities – regardless of their ostensible socio-economic, cultural and political differences. The detailed comparison between these two case studies challenges the common notion of insurmountable Transatlantic differences, and sheds new light on the agency of city planning in reinventing the urban core.The two case studies are indeed hardly comparable at first sight – while The Hague's inner city consistently wins design, commerce and tourism awards, much of downtown Detroit continues to suffer from abandonment as the city that surrounds it hemorrhages residents and jobs. Yet an historical approach reveals that both city centers have in fact faced a remarkably similar path of socio-economic decline and morphological erosion over the past century, especially in the prewar years. The suburbanization of residents, followed by retail activity and jobs from the early 20th century onwards resulted in a similar pattern of fringe slum formation and early urban renewal in both urban cores. Simultaneously, both cores welcomed the unprecedented modernity of department stores and offices heralded by new construction and transportation technologies. Across the Atlantic, downtown had specialized itself as a business and commercial district well before World War 2 – but its hegemony was increasingly challenged by new suburban development.The paths of both urban cores only significantly began to diverge in the postwar era – even though their predicament of looming obsolescence was quite similar. The differing support for city planning played an important role in this bifurcation. While The Hague had suffered significant citywide damage throughout World War 2, Detroit's economy had greatly benefited from wartime manufacturing, which hardly bolstered its downtown. With prosperity and economic activity increasingly moving out, Detroit both had the sense of urgency to reinvent its urban core, as well as the financial and political means to do so. While the Motor City radically altered its downtown landscape, The Hague had no lack of plans to follow suit, but suffered from a lack of financial, material and political support for downtown renewal. In a sense, the Dutch government capital was preserved as it 'survived' the most radical postwar era of city planning, with Detroit still overcoming the scars of the 1960s today. By matching the apparently unmatchable, this presentation focuses on the pertinent role of city planning and its support in shaping the downtown landscape in apparently opposite cultural contexts.

Change and Exchange of Planning Ideas in Latin America

Chair: Roberto Rocco and Anna Maria Fernande

THE VALUE OF MEDELLIN'S SOCIAL URBANISM AS A BEST PRACTICE

Letty Reimerink

Independent researcher

In the last decades Latin American planning models have been recognised for their innovative character and impact. One of the countries that features prominently in this list is Colombia. Yet, despite some local successes, the value of these models as best practices is limited, since circumstances vary enormously, even within the same country. I will demonstrate this on the basis of the Medellin planning model of social urbanism, which was developed and realized between 2004 and 2012 and gained huge international attention. The essence of social urbanism is a combination of physical, social and institutional measures with the aim to diminish violence and inequality in the city. The focus is on improving mobility, constructing public buildings as landmarks and as a representation of the state, creating public spaces and investing in education. Social urbanism has dramatically transformed the city although it has not reached all its goals. I will describe the social urbanism model by looking into the specific circumstances in Medellin that led to its development. Medellin has a culture very different from other regions in Colombia, where a cooperation between the city administration and the business elites has deep historical roots. Its successful public utilities company provided the financial base for this huge urban transformation, a situation that is quite unique to this city. The decentralization of power in the 90's has made Colombian mayors much more influential and independent. On the governance level it is therefore interesting to make a comparison with the other successful Colombian example of urban transformation, that of Bogotá under mayors Antanas Mockus (1994-1996 and 2000-2003) and Enrique Peñalosa (1997-1999). In both cities strong, independent mayors played a key factor. However, differences in historical and cultural background and in the financial position of the two cities led to different outcomes over the years. Given all these different local circumstances, what are the general lessons to be learned from social urbanism and what is its value as best practice?

Keywords
social urbanism, Medellin, Bogotá, best practice, financing, governance

CONDITIONAL URBANISM IN SAO PAULO: REFLECTIONS ON CONTEMPORARY PLANNING INSTRUMENTS

Eliana Rosa De Queiroz Barbosa[1] | **Nadia Somekh**[2] | **Bruno De Meulder**[3]

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Space production suffers contemporarily from an absence of linearity, regularity and continuity in urban development, with important spatial consequences. Cities find in the fragment the minimal unit of development. This process, however does not take shape the same way everywhere in the world. Meanwhile there is a worldwide discussion on urban projects, participation and right to the city, empirical observation allows to conclude that the contemporary Brazilian city is not materializing accordingly to the discourse - nor with the same instruments of different contexts – despite based on the same theoretical premises. In this proposed paper, an analysis of Lapa and Barra Funda´s redevelopment will be done by revisiting the planning instruments and how they materialized. Besides zoning, we will address Urban Operations, which are planning instruments designed to implement urban projects in Brazil. Despite its origin, urban operations promote what here will be framed as Condition Urbanism. This critical assessment also questions the sovereignty of zoning as the major regulatory principle in Sao Paulo, promoting what here will be called an FAR Urbanism, which endorses city development spontaneously, improvision plot by plot, according to market convenience, the material outcome of the policy. Observing the materialization of the site promoted by means of distinct plans, regulations and projects, the historic approach will be used to explore the site´s materialization, interweaved by district paradigms. In one hand it will map the FAR Urbanism represented by zoning and its spontaneity when materializing the territory. In another, the "Conditional Tense" Urbanism - in which private stakeholders "could", "should" or "would" adhere to the municipality's plans - represented by the Urban Operations Água Branca will be mapped and explored, confronting the aims of the Urban Operation to its spatial outcomes. The hypothesis here is that in this form of Conditional Urbanism, regulations can only speculate on what will be materialized, but not define it. Finally, the consecutive attempts to implement urban projects on this site will be addressed.As an outcome, one intends to reach an understanding of the contemporary urban form of this area, marked by this sequence of successes and the failures on guiding urban development that characterizes the experience on planning instruments in Sao Paulo.

THE POLITICAL MEANING OF INFORMAL URBANIZATION: CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISONS ON THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF INFORMALITY

Roberto Rocco | Jan van Ballegooijen

TU Delft

Democracy's success depends not only on the ability of formal institutions to respond to the legitimate demands and rights of citizens. It also depends on how these citizens are able to enter the political realm in order to claim their rights. Exclusion from formal political structures has deep-reaching consequences and is reflected on the built environment as well. In many cases, informal urbanization can be the physical expression of the absence of rights and deficiencies in the rule of law. In this sense, informal urbanization is not a pragmatic solution for the lack of formal housing in developing countries, but the sign of non-inclusive political systems. Informality can therefore be seen as the expression of exclusion from the rule of law and the protection it offers to citizens. It often creates all sorts of distortions in the relationships between citizens and political power. However, these forms of exclusion in the realm of housing can also stir up the political awakening of the urban poor. Vibrant socio-political movements originating in informal settlements in cities of the Global South are sometimes rather effective in demanding their rights, forcing governments to improve the livelihood of citizens. Urban informality can thus become a vehicle for social, economic and political emancipation and lead to the democratization of governmental institutions.This paper explores the mutual relationship between the struggle for political inclusion and processes of informal urbanization in Brazil have led to changes in the planning practice. It investigates the theme of democratization and political emancipation in relation to the development of new planning frameworks and laws.

Keywords
political inclusion, positive rights, informal urbanization, modernization in Latin America

TERRITORIAL PLANNING IN CENTRAL AMERICA IN THE TWENTY FIRST CENTURY: COMMON TRENDS, ORIGINALITIES, AND CHALLENGES

Carlos E. Ferrufino

Universidad Centroamericana

This paper studies the transformation processes occurred in the field of territorial planning in Guatemala, Belize, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, and the Dominican Republic during the XXIst. century. All countries have undertaken major conceptual and political changes in their planning systems in the last 15 years through the approval of national planning legislation, policies, plans, and guidelines. These instruments are concerned with: environmental issues, particularly climate change adaptation and economic development. Moreover, a new Territorial Planning Agenda has emerged within the Central American Integration System (SICA) providing with a new regional framework that fosters change at the national level. Nonetheless, national particularities persist, related with different planning histories, and institutional designs. Some countries maintain predominant urban planning practices whereas others are more oriented by environmental concerns or national development strategies. In this scenario common challenges appear in terms of: institutional design, articulation between national and local levels, and addressing urgent social issues. Future perspectives for territorial planning in Central America will be related to: resolve institutional conflicts, gaps and overlaps; strength professional capabilities; consolidate the social relevance of the discipline and the pursuit of regional agendas without losing the diversity of current pluralistic approaches.

FIGURE 1 Source: own from official documents

INTRODUCTION

This paper studies the transformation processes occurred in the field of territorial planning in Guatemala, Belize, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, and the Dominican Republic during the 21st. century. In the last 15 years, all countries in the region have undertaken major conceptual and political changes in their planning systems. Countries have invested important resources to prepare national planning policies, regional and metropolitan plans, and planning guidelines for municipalities. Many of these efforts have gone beyond the scope of traditional physical planning and have assumed more comprehensive, communicative, and strategic approaches. New practices are concerned with: environmental management; economic development; participation, and social inclusion. Simultaneously, a new Territorial Planning Agenda has emerged within the Central American Integration System (SICA) which constitutes a comprehensive framework to promote change at the national level. Nonetheless, national particularities persist. These are related with different planning histories, disciplinary origins, and institutional designs. In countries like El Salvador and Panama, urban planning is still dominant; whereas in Honduras or Nicaragua environmental risk management has been the driving force behind policy change. In Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic, territorial planning is strongly connected with national development planning. Institutional settings also differ from country to country. Housing and Urban Development Ministries still play a main role in planning and coexist with new national planning secretaries and boards. Additionally, autonomous and innovative practices have emerged in municipalities, to address issues as: finance, land policy, gender, and public participation. All this has occurred in the context of rapid urban expansion and critical social conditions, particularly violence. This paper intends to review these processes of change through a comparative analysis of policies, legislation, and planning instruments. Article is divided in three main sections.

Carlos E. Ferrufino

TERRITORIAL PLANNING IN CENTRAL AMERICA IN THE TWENTY FIRST CENTURY: COMMON TRENDS, ORIGINALITIES, AND CHALLENGES

First, it analyses the historic precedents of planning in the region, emphasizing different points of departure, dominant approaches towards the discipline, and institutional organization. The second part focuses on current processes, underlining regional trends and national originalities. Finally, the third section discusses challenges and perspectives for planning practice in Central America and opens the gate for final conclusions.

TERRITORIAL PLANNING IN CENTRAL AMERICA: A HISTORY OF DIVERSITY (2000-2015)

A cross cutting vision of territorial planning processes in the countries of SICA rapidly confirms the diversity of approaches that have historically prevailed in Central America. This diversity is notorious considering the size of the countries and their apparent homogeneity. Figure 1: Central America: eight countries of the Central American Integration System (SICA)

STRUCTURAL FRAGMENTATION

Structural fragmentation of Central American geography and history is well defined in the literature. Diversity is a dominant attribute of the region in environmental, cultural, institutional, and economic terms, in sharp contrast with the size of a territory which is smaller than most Latin American countries[1]. Eight sovereign and highly centralized states share a common space with different landscapes, political organizations, ethnicities, and languages. Diverse planning orientations such as national development planning, traditional urban planning, and an emergent environmental approach coexist within the region.

After structural adjustment reforms in the 1990s, Costa Rica was the only nation in Central America that maintained a national development planning system, led by its Economic Development and Planning Ministry (MIDEPLAN). The rest of the countries eliminated during reform previous planning ministries and boards. National planning ceased to be a matter of central government interest in the last decade of the XX Century.

It was not until the last ten years that other Central American countries started to reconstruct national planning systems at the top level of their executive branches. These new systems have taken the form of Presidential Secretaries in El Salvador and Guatemala, and a Planning Ministry in the Dominican Republic. The advent of these new organizations is one the main regional novelties and has permitted to rediscover the relation between strategic national development and physical planning. Still, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama have not created this sort of institutional apparatus reflecting the persistence of liberal and sectoral approaches.

Since the late 1960s planning in Central America had a dominant urban perspective. This is notorious since the region was the less urbanized within Latin America, though characterized by the existence of "large cities in small countries"[2]. One of the consequences of this approach was that housing and urban development ministries had the main responsibility for planning, following the traditional comprehensive planning paradigm[3]. Another result of this emphasis was that plans and practices were focused on the metropolitan areas of the capital cities. Sharp distinction between urban and rural planning still persists in countries like Panamá where the Housing and Territorial Planning Ministry (MIVIOT) exclusively concentrates in city planning.

At the end of the 1990s new planning practices emerged connected to environmental issues, particularly risk management. This was the result of large scale disasters such as Hurricane Mitch in Honduras and Nicaragua in 1998, and earthquakes in El Salvador in 2001. Environment ministries were created in all countries and incorporated territorial planning in their agendas. Within this context Honduras approved its Territorial Planning Law in 2003, and El Salvador prepared its National Territorial Plan in 2004. International agendas like Rio Agenda 21 and the Kyoto Protocol, facilitated to incorporate sustainability and climate change adaptation into these exercises. This heterogeneous universe of practices indicates the vitality of planning in Central America country, though each nation has a particular interpretation of the scope and structure of the field.

DIFFERENT AND DYNAMIC INSTITUTIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

In 2015 each country presents different institutional organizations to conduct territorial planning. Traditionally this was the responsibility of housing ministries, which is still the case of Panama, and was until recently in El Salvador and Costa Rica. Other arrangements exist in: the Dominican Republic, where the planning function belongs to the Economy, Planning, and Development Ministry (MEPyD); Guatemala, where it is assumed by the General Planning Secretary of the Presidency (SEGEPLAN); and Nicaragua, where the responsibility falls into the Nicaraguan Institute of Territorial Studies (INETER).

Nonetheless, a growing conscience about the multidimensional and multi stakeholder nature of planning has led to permanent debates on how to design and operate more complex institutional structures. These new organizations are expected to connect physical, economic, environmental, and development planning, as well as land policies and public investment according to new strategic planning paradigms[4]. At the bottom of this discussion is the pursuit of a more efficient and comprehensive model to organize state intervention within the territory[5]. Since 2012, in El Salvador, the National Development and Planning Council (CNODT) integrated by six ministries and three representatives of municipalities, conducts territorial planning. In 2014 Costa Rica established an "Environment, Energy and Territorial Planning sector" in order to coordinate public agencies related with territorial issues. In the Dominican Republic 12 national agencies form the "Territorial Planning System" led by MEPyD[6]. These boards tend to be the result of previous interagency agreements within the executive, which proves that in the case of planning: "institutional form follows practice".

COUNTRY	NATIONAL POLICIES AND PLANS	YEAR
Panamá	Territorial Planning Law	2006
	Sustainable public investment plan (2015-2019)	2015
Costa Rica	National Development Plan (2010-2014)	2010
	National Territorial Planning Policy (2012-2040)	2012
	National Territorial Plan (2014-2020)	2013
	National Development Plan (2014-2018)	2014
Nicaragua	National Human Development Plan (2012-2016)	2012
Honduras	National Territorial Planning Law	2003
	Country Vision (2038)	2010
	Country Vision Law	2010
	Government Strategic Development Plan (2014-2018)	2014
El Salvador	National Territorial Development Plan	2004
	National Development Plan (2010-2014)	2010
	Territorial Planning Law	2011
	National Development Plan (2014-2019)	2014
Guatemala	Plan K'Atun (2032)	2014
Dominican Republic	Constitution	2010
	National Development Strategy 2030	2010
	National Development Strategy Law 2030	2012
	Territorial Planning and Land Use Law	2015

TABLE 1 National planning policies and plans in Central America (2010-2015)
Source: own from official documents

CURRENT PROCESSES AND PRACTICES

NATIONAL PLANNING PROCESSES

One of the main novelties of planning processes in Central America is the approval of new national planning frameworks. Table 1 synthesizes a list of planning policies, plans, and laws approved in the last decade.

Table illustrates how planning practice at the national scale in Central America has gained momentum in the last five years despite differentiated institutional frameworks. As Healey announces[7], this provides territorial planning with a strategic vision and apparent strong political support. This may signify that a broad consensus exists on the need for state intervention in the territory.

REGIONAL AND METROPOLITAN PLANNING PRACTICES

In the last 10 years, Central American countries have undertaken consistent efforts to plan at an intermediate level between the nation and municipalities. There is a general interest in the official creation of "planning" or "development" regions in order to favour coordination among central government agencies as in the cases of Honduras and the Dominican Republic. MIDEPLAN in Costa Rica has produced regional development plans for the Chorotega and Huetar Caribe regions. The Vice Ministry of Housing and Urban Development (VMVDU) in El Salvador prepared 14 regional plans from 2004 to 2011[8]. In Guatemala, SEGEPLAN has also produced regional plans for Petén and other regions. These planning exercises have contributed to open the debate on how to incorporate the participation of municipalities, civil society organizations, and regional stakeholders in the planning process[9].

Simultaneously, a new generation of metropolitan plans, is currently being prepared, as reported in table 2.

COUNTRY	CITY	PLAN	YEAR
Panamá	Panamá	Atlantic and Pacific Metropolitan Area Plan (AMPA)	2015
Costa Rica	San José	Grand Metropolitan Area (GAM) Plan	2013
Nicaragua	Managua	Metropolitan Region Plan	2015
Honduras	Tegucigalpa	Central District Development Plan	2014
El Salvador	San Salvador	Territorial Development Plan (PDT-AMSS)	2015
Belize	Belize	Urban Development Plan (2030)	2014

TABLE 2 Recent metropolitan plans in Central America (2010-2015)
Source: own, from various sources

Some cases are relevant to underline. First, Guatemala and Santo Domingo remain to be the only capital cities lacking valid metropolitan development plans. In Tegucigalpa planning was originated by a civil society initiative *"Arriba Capital"* coordinated by the Architects Association[10]. Finally, the case of San Salvador is notable for being the only city in the region with an autonomous metropolitan planning office (OPAMSS). The persistent expansion of all Central American capital cities permits to suppose that this sort of practice, mainly focused on traditional land use and infrastructure issues, will still be relevant in the future.

TERRITORIAL PLANNING PRACTICES AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

Planning practice at the local level in Central America can be analysed from two complementary perspectives. On one hand, it is relevant to study how national and local governments interact in the framework of new national planning systems and policies. On the other hand, it is possible to identify multiple, sometimes innovative, local practices.

A regional trend exists towards the creation of new local planning guidelines delivered by national government. Apparently, national agencies do not pretend to produce local development plans but expect to devolve this function to municipalities, however providing standardized orientations. Table 3 indicates national planning guidelines produced in different countries.

These national guidelines have produced relevant results. In El Salvador, at least 90 Strategic Participatory Plans were elaborated from 2012 to 2015[11]; 100 municipalities have followed national guidelines in Guatemala[12], and 38 others have done it in Costa Rica[13].

Additionally, there is a rich universe of municipal planning practices, particularly in capital and medium size cities. In 2007, the municipality of Guatemala putted in place an autonomous property tax system integrated to land use regulations that permitted the city to finance a new public transportation system. In 2012, the city begun to capture land value increments to finance highway investments. Special assessment contributions are regularly applied in many cities in Honduras in order to promote the implementation of local development plans. León, in Nicaragua, created municipal land banks to conduct urban expansion and provide space for social housing[14]. Livingston in Guatemala has successfully implemented an alternative planning methodology to promote gender equality[15]. Santa Tecla in El Salvador created an innovative Strategic Development Plan methodology that resulted in new Participatory Planning Councils[16].

These experiences raise two questions for national planning policy: how to promote innovation at the municipal level without replacing local initiative? How to disseminate innovative local practices at the national scale?

COUNTRY	NAME	AGENCY	YEAR
Panamá	Guidelines to prepare municipal plans and schemes	MIVIOT	2015
Costa Rica	Guidelines for Local Human Development Plans	MIDEPLAN	2010
	Guidelines for Urban Development Plans	MIVAH	2010
Nicaragua	Territorial Planning Methodologies	INETER	2008
Honduras	National norms for territorial planning	SEP-DEPN	2015
El Salvador	Guidelines for Local Strategic Participatory Plans (PEP)	SSDT&D	2011
	Guidelines for Municipal Urban Development Plans	VMVDU	In process
Guatemala	Guidelines for Municipal Development Plans	SEGEPLAN	2011
Dominican Republic	National Municipal Monitoring System (SISMAP)	MEPyD	2015

TABLE 3 National guidelines for local territorial planning in Central America
Source: own, from official documents

Carlos E. Ferrufino
TERRITORIAL PLANNING IN CENTRAL AMERICA IN THE TWENTY FIRST CENTURY: COMMON TRENDS, ORIGINALITIES, AND CHALLENGES

COMMON CHALLENGES

Despite the diversity of national experiences, territorial planning in Central America faces common challenges and opportunities: the articulation with other public policies; the relation with strategic infrastructure projects; the emergence of Central American regional planning agendas; and the persistence of common social problems.

PLANNING AND OTHER PUBLIC POLICIES

Territorial planning is to be articulated with other public policies. Nonetheless, many overlaps and contradictions persist in Central America, particularly involving the fields of housing, economic development, and environment. This is the case of El Salvador where the new project of a National Housing and Habitat Law (2015) includes several land use regulation instruments. Frequently, housing projects promoted by the public or private sectors encourage urban sprawl in contradiction with planning orientations, particularly in cities like Panamá, San José, and Guatemala.

Tensions also arise between planning schemes and economic development strategies in two related domains: private investment attraction and tourism. Central American countries share aggressive foreign investment attraction strategies, which provide fiscal benefits and diminish labour and environmental regulations that tend to ignore planning guidelines and reinforce regional inequalities. Countries like Costa Rica, Panamá, and the Dominican Republic have specific touristic planning orientations, independent from regular territorial planning instruments. Historically Tourism Ministries in these countries have been reluctant to participate in multi stakeholder spaces to coordinate planning regulations in sensitive areas like coast lines.

These conflicts also appear between planning and environmental policies. On one hand, all countries have approved environmental policies, laws, and plans. However, many of these instruments have no spatial expression. Environment Ministries in El Salvador, Costa Rica, Panama, and Dominican Republic have approved "environmental zoning" regulations, independent from other planning considerations. In these cases, territorial planning is still pending to become an integrative policy to provide coherence to social, economic, and environmental demands. Planning in Central America is still to achieve equilibrium between "green, profitable and fair" development[17].

Climate change adaptation offers planning new opportunities for policy articulation. Costa Rica aims to be the first "carbon neutral" country in the World, which includes measures related with forest protection, urban expansion, and transportation systems. Similar situations occur in El Salvador[18], Dominican Republic, and Guatemala where new national climate change adaptation policies and plans have been approved in the last five years.

STRATEGIC INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS

After the authorization of the Panama Canal Expansion in 2005, all Central American nations prepared key investments in infrastructure such as ports, highways, railways, and airport expansion, in order to improve connectivity between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. However, most of these investments are disconnected from territorial planning schemes despite their impacts on the organization of the territory at the national scale.

Other large scale urban projects like Santo Domingo's subway and Bus Rapid Transit systems in several capital cities are not articulated with urban plans and tend to ignore the influence of transportation over the city as a whole. Only Panama's subway generated a Special Urban Plan for its influence zone[19].

NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR INTEGRATION: REGIONAL AGENDAS

Since 2009, the Central American Integration System (SICA) promoted a new set of regional policies and agendas in key topics associated to Territorial Planning, such as: Integrative Risk Management (2013); Rural Development Strategy (2010); Climate Change Adaptation Strategy (2014); Housing and Habitat Agenda (2015), and the Territorial Planning Agenda (2011). Although these instruments have an indicative nature they promoted debate within national governments and contributed to the approval of planning instruments in the Dominican Republic and Costa Rica. The introduction of these multinational planning guidelines may provide orientation for the future development of planning practice within the region.

COMMON PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES

Despite the persistent heterogeneity of national planning policies and practices in Central America, countries face four common problematics: environmental vulnerability, insecurity, urban expansion, and institutional organization.

Central America's exposition to multiple environmental hazards has been well studied. The region suffered more than $10 billion losses related to disasters in the last three decades[20]. This means that national, sub national, or local plans should incorporate climate change adaptation measures in order to protect lives and infrastructure and foster resiliency. This underlines the call for a stronger articulation between environmental and planning organizations.

Social threats, particularly public security, also represent a fundamental challenge for planning in the region. Four Central American cities: San Pedro Sula, Tegucigalpa, San Salvador, and Guatemala, are among the 25 most violent cities in the world, and in general the subjective perception of insecurity has grown in the region in the last ten years[21]. This calls to explore the linkages between planning and security policies in terms of: liveability conditions in urban neighbourhoods, housing policies, public space provision, and gain a deeper understanding of the spatial expressions of violence.

Central America is still the less urbanized sub region within Latin America, only 54% of its population lives in cities. However, rapid urban expansion persists and poses two challenges for planning: first, social inclusion policies, in terms of access to urban services and social segregation[22]; second, urban sprawl and low density growth with its consequences in terms of environmental degradation, cost of infrastructure provision, and pressure over transportation systems.

Finally, all Central American countries face complex challenges in terms of their planning institutional organization. The region still has to resolve the relation between the national and local scales to encompass: "top-bottom" policies through national development strategies and "bottom-up" approaches that acknowledge municipal planning creativity and initiative. Additionally despite the vitality of planning in the region, Central American nations are still to improve their planning capacities, through the provision of financial and human resources to public agencies, including capacity building.

 Carlos E. Ferrufino
TERRITORIAL PLANNING IN CENTRAL AMERICA IN THE TWENTY FIRST CENTURY: COMMON TRENDS, ORIGINALITIES, AND CHALLENGES

CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE PERSPECTIVES

Central American countries represent a valuable laboratory to study planning practices and debates in Latin America. Within a relatively small space, diverse experiences, institutional settings, and approaches towards planning coexist. In the last decade, four main processes have transformed the field of territorial planning in the region: the creation of new national planning policies and instruments; second, the diversity and vitality of local planning practices; third, a permanent debate over the design and implementation of multi-scale, and multi-stakeholders planning systems; finally, the emergence of multinational planning strategies and agendas.

These convergent processes concur with several unresolved issues. All countries still evidence numerous gaps and overlaps between environmental, economic development, housing, and urban planning institutions as well as between national and local governments. Frequently public investments do not respond to planning orientations, while large infrastructures are not planned to achieve larger social and territorial objectives. Similarly, risk management, climate change adaptation, and natural resources management have not necessarily been integrated into planning instruments as environmental agencies tend to have an autonomous agenda in terms of urban and regional planning. Finally, urgent social concerns, such as: rapid urbanization, social inclusion, and violence, remain topics to be addressed by territorial planning. Future work in these areas may contribute to consolidate planning's social relevance in the region.

Which are the future perspectives for territorial planning in Central America? Previous processes and current trends call attention on three fields. First, planning is to consolidate its role in state – market relations, particularly around issues like property rights regulation, urban development finance, and land use law. Second, all countries are called to strength planning capabilities within public, private, and social actors in terms of their political and technical skills and resources. This means creating new academic programs, promoting research, and refining planning methodologies in order to consolidate participation. This may signify supporting a communicative approach to planning[23] that demands new professional capabilities in terms of mediation and conflict resolution. Nonetheless, if planning in Central America is to promote innovation, it should not renounce to diverse conceptual approaches at different scales; nor should it ignore different stages of advance in specific countries. Probably for planning history and future regional agendas in Central America, pluralistic and flexible methodologies, both in terms of plan design and implementation will remain at the basis of upcoming evolution.

Which could be future lines of research for planning in Central America? Three key issues may be relevant: first, analyse the impacts of policies, plans and laws in terms of sustainability, social inclusion, and economic development; second, discuss the coherence of theoretical approaches behind these instruments; and finally, characterize the profile and role of planners in these processes in order to understand the micro politics[24] of planning in developing countries.

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17th IPHS Conference, Delft 2016 | **HISTORY ▪ URBANISM ▪ RESILIENCE** | VOLUME 01 Ideas on the Move and Modernisation |

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MISSING LINKS IN PLANNING FOR URBAN RESILIENCE: A MEXICAN CASE

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After a number of dramatic natural and man-made disasters in Mexican cities in the last decades of the past century (earthquakes, floods, landslides), a disaster relief system has been developed and consolidated in the country. However, the approach of the State's intervention remains a top-down policy, where the federal government provides for assistance and funds most of the reconstruction at the local level. The seemingly successful disaster insurance system might not encourage local governments to adopt a preventive approach on urban planning, since they tend to over-rely on federal assistance for reconstruction and make little use of urban planning as a tool for risk prevention.This paper wonders whether officials as well as the population have set urban risk prevention within the planning agenda. It is our belief that risk prevention is not really perceived as a planning matter at the grassroots and this might hinder the construction of a more resilient community. Through the case of the city of Minatitlan (near the Gulf of Mexico), the research explores how in a highly corporate political and socio-organizational environment, there is a serious lack of bottom-up initiatives for risk prevention. The city is located on the banks of the Coatzacoalcos River (the third largest river in Mexico), and is exposed to natural hazards –floods, and technological hazards –the first refinery in Latin America was founded here in 1905, and the city now hosts a number of oil-related industries. The development of the city is closely linked both to the river and the oil industry, and has been shaped by the hazards represented by them. Informal land occupation, in a time when land use planning was nonexistent in the region, was the norm when urbanizing the area and people have coped with risk ever since the early days of the settlement. Today, risk areas are occupied by disadvantaged populations, but also by middle-income households and some public (crucial) facilities such as markets, bus station and governmental offices.

In a situation of daily coexistence with risk, few strategies are developed at household level for reducing exposure to hazards, and risk acceptance seems to be the norm. An analysis of risk representation through press review (over 400 local newspaper articles, relating to 4 catastrophes in the area), shows how top-down assistance is the norm in disaster relief, and denotes a quasi-total absence of a representation of risk prevention as a matter of urban planning. The case study aims to illustrate two major faults of the Mexican disaster prevention policy: one is the weak connection among urban planning and risk prevention resulting from a dissociation among resources and responsibilities for local governments, and secondly, reinforcing the former, the prevailing risk perception at local level. As long as local populations and authorities do not problematize risk prevention as a planning matter, and a call for better urban planning remains absent from grassroots demands, there is little hope that the community increases its resilience.

NARRATIVES OF A TRANSFORMATION: THE ROLE OF SPACE IN THE ADVENT OF NEOLIBERAL PLANNING IN BOGOTA

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This text aims to explore, with a critical perspective intellectually rooted in postcolonial theory, one among the most controversial urban transformations of postmodern Latin America: the one that took place in Bogotá chiefly between 1993 and 2003, and that dealt primarily with the city's public space. By focusing on the *spatial* aspects of change (according to Henri Lefebvre's trialectics of social, physical and mental space) and, within that, on the urban processes and projects that determined a detachment between *imaginary* and *real* Bogotá, the article aims to critically query the most prominent and first case of postmodern urban transformation in Colombia, through the analysis of the contestation that such change introduced between *official* and *unofficial* urban narratives.From the analysis of the diversity of urban narratives that emerged from a specific case – the *alameda*2 El Porvenir, this work locates the urban transformation experienced by Bogotá within those local/global phenomena of rapid urban development that seem to call with growing force for the epistemological reformulation of the symbology and role of *space* in postmodern cities, as well as for more critically aware theorisations of its codes of production.The analysis of the narratives emerged from the case of the *alameda* El Porvenir will help to clarify and, hopefully, start relocating the contested "success" of the neoliberal urban agenda that, locally, has been driving urban transformations in Colombia since then. While, regionally, it has contributed to change the way public space is conceived (and planned) in Latin American cities.

INTRODUCTION

Chiefly between 1993 and 2003 Colombia's capital, Bogotá, underwent an unprecedented series of urban transformations and regeneration processes that started to attract – initially with increasing curiosity, then with admiration, the attention of the international urban academia, design professionals and institutions. This *Renaissance*, or the urban *Revolution*, of the city through its public space, as some scholars defined this phenomenon[3], represented an unrivalled urban case in Colombia until that moment, and one of the most interesting similar cases hitherto in postmodern Latin America.

Because of this, the decade 1993-2003 has repeatedly been the object of local and international planning researches; mainly according to two approaches, often combined:

a) on the one hand, a techno-scientific and quantitative approach, that tends to systematise cases like the one of Bogotá with several others in the so-called Global South[4]; in the attempt to "reveal law-like regularities, to naturalise the forms of socio-spatial disorder, enclosure and displacement, that have been induced through the last several decades of neoliberal regulatory restructuring"[5]. This methodology is epitomised, in the field of planning theory and history, by what Henri Lefebvre used to call the *realistic illusion6*: the illusion of natural(istic) simplicity, of a transparent world that can be utterly unveiled and deciphered through quantitative analyses.

Such positivist "regularities" are meant to control the unprecedented and often alarming growth of cities through mathematics, by reducing cities to allegedly coherent bounded settlements and flattening their social space and inherent diversity;

b) on the other hand, a triumphalist approach of both local and international scholars and professionals that presented Bogotá (or, more recently, other Colombian cases) as an engine of innovation, democracy and economic prosperity; according to self-referential *doxa* and planning tautologies rooted in the continuous evocation of the *common good, the happy city,* supposedly *democratic public spaces*, and other socio-spatial key formula[7] typically belonging to neoliberal regeneration strategies.

At the same time, however, the advent of a neoliberal national economy in Colombia accompanied this urban transformation[8] in the capital city. Such combination determined a rather considerable change in the way local mayors led the development of Colombian major cities[9], as from 1988 they started to be directly elected (rather than being nominated by Colombia's President[10]).

Moreover, thanks to the innovations brought forward by the 1991 Constitution, mayors (and, among them, particularly Bogotá's mayor) gained a new, considerable independency from the National Government, which included a substantial economic autonomy.

Nonetheless, all of these aspects, together with the many other elements[11] that contributed to the renovation and neoliberalisation of the bureaucratic, planning and regulatory system in Bogotá, have been already largely discussed by local and international experts[12].

This work, however, contends that the global urban academia has left considerable lacunae in its analyses and multiple celebrations of the new planning model that materialised in Colombia at the turn of the millennium.

Lacunae that deal primarily with the fracture existing between the undeniable rise of new planning practices (which were kicked off, on the one hand, by the 1991 Constitution and, on the other hand, by its application in Bogotá between 1993 and 2003) and the alarming undertheorisation of the anisotropic urban processes that have been taking place therein since that moment.

This gap also corresponds to another abiding discrepancy: the one between spatial theory and spatial practice; that, in an intellectual act of precocious avant-garde, sociologist and philosopher Henri Lefebvre already highlighted in the 1970s.[13]

In the case of Latin America and of many other *developing*[14] realities, such gap is not limited to the pervasive urban problematique that rises from the lack of articulation between theoretical and practical realms.

In fact, it also capitalises on a peculiar history in the Western world: that of colonisation, whose postcolonial[15] legacy is too often superseded in those considerations dealing with architecture, urban design, planning policies and planning history alike.

The postmodern Latin American case of neoliberalising planning strategies, which is here epitomised by the 1993-2003 urban restructuring in Bogotá, can be easily inscribed in such idiosyncratic intellectual and historical tendency.

Because of this, the overall starting point of this paper is the contention that to dig more in depth into instrumentally local case studies such as that of the *Renaissance* of Bogotá, from the critical point of view of a postcolonial and panoptic reconstruction of its narratives, will ultimately help to progressively disembroil and supersede some of those theoretical platitudes and reductionist perspectives in which Western history of planning has been persevering for, to many extents, centuries.

As an epistemological critical inquiry, this paper will chiefly focus on one specific, though particularly meaningful, case study: the *alameda* El Porvenir, located in the South-western periphery of Bogotá.

Such analysis was rooted in a mix-method, qualitative approach, mainly on-site; given the lack of critical scholarship on the urban case of the *alameda*, however, the part of archival research was limited to the analysis of the planning framework in which such project was located (namely, the first *POT16* and the *Operación Estructural Tintal-Corabastos*[17], within which the construction of the *alameda* was planned and took place).

The main part of the analytical work, therefore, consisted in a qualitative inquiry of the diverse narratives (i.e. both *official* and *unofficial* ones) that emerged from the case of the *alameda*, from its construction in 2000-2001 to date. Such inquiry dealt in particular with explanatory and semi-structured interviews (with former mayors, planners, historians, architects, street vendors living and working nearby the *alameda* El Porvenir, daily users of the *alameda*, etc.), progressive journaling and on-site field notes.

BOGOTA 1980S-1990'S: A SHORT CONTEXTUALISATION

At the beginning of the 1990s, Bogotá was a metropolis of over six million inhabitants, a fast-growing population[18], one of the highest urban densities in the world; insufficient and inappropriate previous planning attempts to control its demographic and spatial explosion[19] and an overall condition of urban decline, also propelled by citizens' disaffection and the lack of a proper cultural integration between *Bogotanos* and other Colombian immigrants[20].

As the preferential theatre for striking actions of terrorism, in the 1980s Bogotá was being affected by the national conflict especially in its public realm, both institutionally and spatially. Together with the narratives of those urban witnesses who lived such years in first person, the comparative literary analyses of texts like Juan Gabriel Vazquez' *El Ruido de las Cosas al Caer* or Laura Restrepo's *Delirio,* among many other distinguished literary texts dealing with urban life in Bogotá in the 1980s and early 1990s, unveil a mental and psychological public space that was avoided and feared by citizens, who preferred the security of private spaces and well known people to the uncertainty of public places and strangers.

The national situation, however, started to change during the second half of 1990s. In fact, while Colombia was opening its economy to the global neoliberalisation of its internal resources, and adopted a new Constitution[21], its major cities were witnessing a series of unprecedented institutional and socio-spatial changes that it is worth mentioning shortly.

After former mayor Jaime Castro (1992-1994) operated a remarkable financial rescue of the city from its imminent bankruptcy[22], Bogotá's alarming financial situation was completely restored by his successor: philosopher, mathematician and professor of the National University Antanas Mockus (1995-1997; 2001-2003) who, after two mandates as mayor of Bogotá, would have subsequently run for presidential elections in two occasions[23].

The international reverberation that Mockus' unconventional campaigns and out of the ordinary public initiatives had at the local, national and international level (both in civic and academic terms) has been hitherto not only unparalleled in Bogotá, but it also arrived as a breath of fresh air in an epoch of stagnant institutional despair and urban decay.

Many were the unconventional techniques and policies that this academic, then politician, employed in Bogotá[24] in order to *teach* its inhabitants how to be better citizens: from mimes to the excellent *Obras Con Saldo Pedagógico* program, in some of the most deprived neighbourhoods of the city. Such pedagogic approach, that he brought directly "from the class to the street", was praised my many, locally as much as internationally[25], but also criticised by some as a bombastic conceit to act, once again, according to mere top-down logics that portrayed citizens as inferiors.

What it is certain, however, is that from approximately 1993 to 2003 Bogotá had been reforming its socio-spatial condition at an unprecedentedly rapid pace – according, however, to a misguiding logic of as accelerated as ephemeral urban explosions/implosions that, after less than a decade, would have brought to a new urban (physical, social and mental) decay[26].

A more dramatic, neoliberal change – not only in the image of the city but also in its spatial-economic structure, was introduced by mayor Enrique Peñalosa (1998-2000, 2016-): an economist chiefly trained in the United States and who from the United States' neoliberal planning model derived more than a feature for his urban agenda[27]. If the *Public* was the imperative interest according to Antanas Mockus' urban agenda of righteous tax economy, civic respect and participatory budgeting, Peñalosa's motto was to capitalise on the available city finances to maximise the physical construction of public infrastructure in the city.

Sanctioning an era of depoliticised ideological rubrics and urban technocrats who naturalise "aggressively market-oriented and authoritarian prescriptions of urban transformation"[28] in order to attract international attention and foreign investors, Peñalosa's is still welcomed today by the international academia and planning discourse as an unrivalled Latin American case of excellent urban practice.

The colonial centre, the financial centre and the wealthy neighbourhoods in the North-east of Bogotá were soon equipped with new public infrastructure, paving, plazas, parks and libraries. Other design interventions were also realised in poorer and marginalised neighbourhoods of the city (*Figure 1*). However, while the results of the former interventions almost immediately revealed their market-led intentions, by multiplying enormously the land value of some key urban enclaves, an equally convincing social and strategic articulation was completely missed in the latter type of interventions.

FIGURE 1 View of the urban systems (libraries, plazas, cycling ways, parks, TransMilenio routes, etc.) that were constructed in the 1995-2003 timeframe. (Red elements mark plazas, walkways and other public places in the city centre).
Source: Giulia Torino, Bogotá: Narratives of a transformation. From global (hi)stories to local tales. Graduate thesis, Pp. 70-71. University IUAV of Venice, 2015.

The long-standing, colonially inherited, socio-economic and socio-spatial gaps had thus been exacerbated by means of what is primarily claimed to be the space of democracy par excellence: the public realm.

Despite the social, economic, physical and even cultural revitalisation of the most deprived neighbourhoods of Bogotá have been representing an impellent call for the post-Constitution city mayors; and despite the urban agenda of Peñalosa itself claimed to be located at the heartlands of those "urban age discourses" on the resolution of spatial inequality in the Global South, the analysis of cases like that of the *alameda* El Porvenir, the Tercer Milenio park, the San Victorino square, or more generally the overall 1998-2003 urban restructuring strategies[29], contends that such agenda actually did not contribute in opening any breach into the several socio-spatial walls that have been dividing the city since its colonial foundation. Nor it did put an end to the city's long-standing top-down planning practices, that have been historically moved by either triumphalist personal ambitions or, more recently, oversimplifying "urban age reasoning"[30].

This lack of a holistic, long-term and articulatory planning vision brought Bogotá's urban system to collapse again, soon after the second mandate of Antanas Mockus (2001-2003). In fact, as long as new projects were being built, such fracture was apparently concealed by a renovated interest in the public realm and by the illusory appearance of a radical change. Nonetheless, as soon as a different political agenda intervened (namely the one of mayor Lucho Garzon; who, after Mockus' second administration, decelerated the "building fever"), the apparent *Renaissance* of Bogotá manifested all of its intellectual, operational and spatial weakness.

The mirror city, between *entity* (being) and *image* (appearing): the failure of the a*lameda* El Porvenir

So far we have introduced that theoretical and historical contextual backdrop that frames the history of the *alameda* El Porvenir, and that makes its re-lecture more intelligible.

Every urban transformation introduces a certain level of contestation in the human environment it touches. Such contestation, moreover, happens to be greater and harsher in those socio-spatial contexts that have long been characterised by high levels of inequality. This was certainly the case of Bogotá and of the *alameda*.

In such context, the official and steadily top-down planning approach that was applied did not only, as we already mentioned, conflate the existing socio-spatial injustice, but was also accountable for the ontological binarism that blossomed during the years of the transformation: the one between spatial *entities* (i.e. the actual physical, social and mental spaces that were shaped, or induced, by the urban change) and *images* (i.e. what such spaces and narratives claimed to be and, at the same time, came to be in the international urban imaginary).
Such manifold binarism is synopsised, in the case of the *alameda* El Porvenir, by the antagonistic narratives that emerge when analysing from a very close perspective and with a qualitative methodology the legacy of that urban project.

What this last paragraph aims to unveil, at least partially, is therefore:

A   how the actors, who shaped the *official* narratives that deeply modified the global perception of the urban change, used certain planning tools in order to construct a precise public imaginary of the *alameda*;

B   how such twofold narratives can emerge from an alternative and critical cartographic representation of the same *alameda*;

C   why this matters for the history of planning.

Due to its strategic position at the western edge of the city, in that fringe of territory located in-between the last drapes of urbanity and the resisting boost of its rural counterpart, the *alameda* El Porvenir represents, as we said, an exceptional instrumental case study in the critical relocation of the urban transformation in Bogotá. In particular for what concerns the timeframe 1998-2003.

The *alameda* epitomises not only a physical threshold, but also a symbolical one. With other peripheral areas (especially of the urban South), it emblematises the acute fragmentation of the Colombian society into *estratos*31, sharp spatial divisions and social taboos that get reflected, in their most spectacular manifestation, in the socio-economic division of the population throughout Bogotá's urban space.

In the 1998-2001 urban agenda, moreover, the *alameda* represented a fundamental historical and political threshold: from rural Colombia to *urban age;* from wasteland to key development site of an urbanised *megacity;* from XX century modernity to XXI century postmodernity[32].

Together with the overall change in paradigms that, in this vision, the urban shift shall have carried: global competitiveness and attractiveness, economic productivity and an intense epoch of architectural and urban construction.

At the smaller scale, however, further sensible and intelligible thresholds in the *alameda* remind us the inner reality of socio-spatial injustice that characterises Bogotá.

If observed more closely, in fact, the *alameda* is not simply a limit by itself but it also is made of limits, physical and mental: gates, lattices, fences, grazing lands that look abandoned but for the occasional presence of some cows, tyres rearranged here and there as to form a barricade, and also few green lands, that (perhaps with the only exception of the local park of the 96th Avenue) have low to none social activity, nor design. They all stand as separations between the designed path of the *alameda* and its spatial surroundings. (*Figure 2 and 3*)
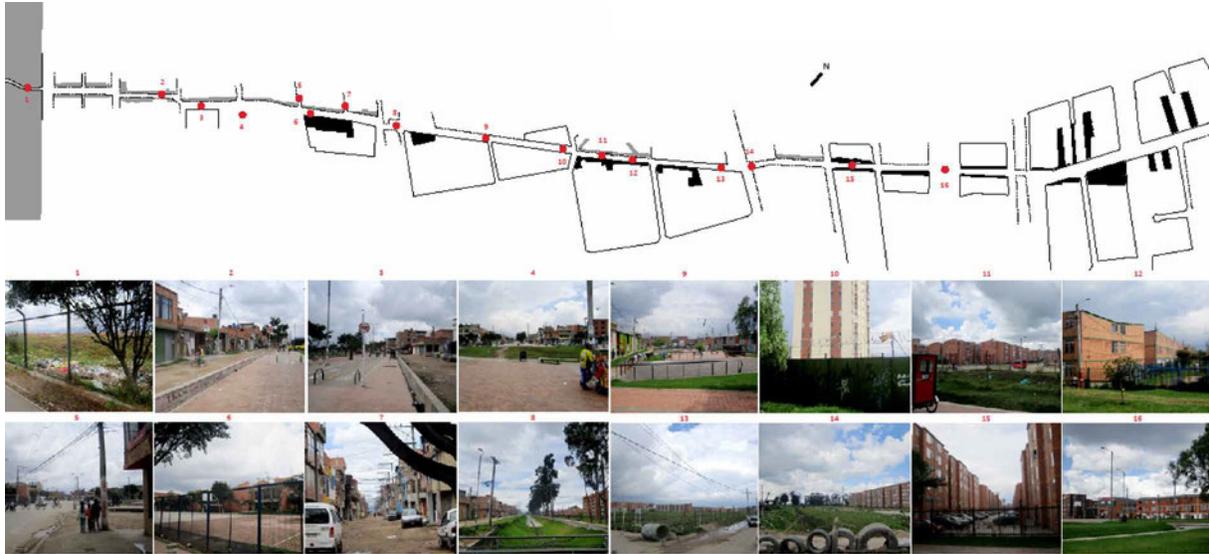
FIGURE 2 Thresholds and barriers of spatial exclusion, alongside the alameda El Porvenir.
Source: Giulia Torino, 2015.

These physical thresholds of limitation and inaccessibility sum up to those mental barriers shaped by the fear of local people to access certain public spaces nearby (or, in some cases, on[33]) the *alameda*, hence turning them into a far more fragmented grid of conflictual territories than the eye alone would suggest.

When walking or cycling on the *alameda,* everything would convey the inability of this urban project to get integrated with its surroundings, to constitute a porous and articulated urban system that could increase the socio-spatial accessibility of this marginalised area of Bogotá. This lack of articulation with the spatial surroundings is also the case of the wider strategy that embraced the project of the *alameda*: the so-called *Operacion Estructural Tintal-Corabastos*, which we already introduced[34].

The urban infrastructure of the *alameda* El Porvenir was configured as a single strip of concrete and bricks, that presents no anisotropic interaction with the rest of the city. Albeit it won local and international prizes[35] and was overcharged with the herculean task of "generating better human beings"[36] alone, as both its designers and the former mayor who envisioned it argued, it testifies instead the failure of the *urban age myth* in Bogotá to meet the reality of its human nature (*Figure 4*).

Since its completion in 2001, the urban infrastructure of the *alameda* gave light to a whole urban system of both formal and informal economic, social and cultural activities that raised unplanned from, and yet dependent upon, the new infrastructure: that *kinetic city* that Rahul Mehrotra postulated as the counterpart, or rather the balancing element, of the *static city*[37].

Such activities could be read as a positive signal of burgeoning economic, social and cultural life that the *alameda*, albeit involuntarily, encouraged. However, if looked with more attention, we would notice that such *spatial life* (namely, the social life of people in the urban space) entails the inability of traditional and neoliberal planning schemes to overcome the barriers of spatial injustice that still govern a city like Bogotá.

FIGURE 3 From official to unofficial narratives: these photographs were taken respectively with parallel and perpendicular shots, from the alameda El Porvenir (the former narratives being presented in several national and international occasions, including the Biennale of Venice in 2006, where Bogotá was awarded the Leone D'Oro). Source: First set of photos: courtesy of MGP Arquitectura. Second set of photos: Giulia Torino, 2014.

In other words, according to an ambivalent logic of simultaneous inclusion and exclusion, the *alameda* as public space and urban symbol created a series of conflictual binarisms. While it created new possibilities for a cheaper and more sustainable urban mobility, in a city governed by high levels of air pollution and challenging traffic conditions, it also helped (together with many other projects of the 1998-2003 urban reconstruction) to generate an untrue imaginary, according to which an unassuming and rather perfunctory planning project could indeed solve the *spatial* (i.e. social, mental and physical) long-standing problems of urban peripheries in Latin America.

The lightheartedness with which the international urban opinion welcomed, and even reinforced, the serpentine tautology according to which the problems of the *urban poor* could be solved through mere quantitative urban design, planning and architecture tools, corroborates not only the gap between the declarations of the 1998-2003 urban agenda – that *shall* have considerably diminished urban injustice and segregation in the city – but also the gap between spatial *entities* (i.e. the actual physical, social and mental spaces that were created, or shaped by, the urban transformation in Bogotá) and *images* (i.e. what such spaces and narratives came to be in the international urban imaginary) that was therein created.

This logic of simultaneous inclusion (affirmation) and exclusion (negation) of unofficial and diverse narratives from the official urban agenda of the *alameda* ultimately resulted in the creation of a triple binarism in its space: physical, social and mental.

The ultimate result was a dramatic fracture between the *image* of a city – and of an entire urban transformation that never truly reflected the multiplicity of its spatial narratives – and the actual city made of new, often conflictual and alienated, urban *entities.*

Such *entities* have very rarely been the object of the subsequent and numerous researches and studies that were applied to the case of Bogotá from an urban design (architecture), planning and urban sociology perspective. The focus, on the contrary, has rather been kept, in most of cases, on the *imaginary* city that some rhetoric and triumphalist transformation discourses have hitherto cherished.

What this research argues, therefore, is that what was analysed and celebrated by a great deal of the local and international urban discourse were not the spatial *entities* that actually resulted from the urban shift introduced by the neoliberal transformation, but rather those *images* that its persuasive urban tautologies created.

Giulia Torino
NARRATIVES OF A TRANSFORMATION: THE ROLE OF SPACE IN THE ADVENT OF NEOLIBERAL PLANNING IN BOGOTA

Already in 1972 Italo Calvino, in his unparalleled masterpiece *Invisible Cities*, had foreseen the very nature of postmodern metropolises as shaped by the neoliberal planning system, by arguing that in such cities "the eye does not see things but *images of things* that mean other things[38]".

Once again the exclusion of *subaltern groups*[39] from the official urban tale, driven most of all by the 1998-2003 urban agenda, turned the *alameda* (as epitome, in this sense, of the overall urban *Renaissance* in Bogotá) into a twofold urban reality, a mirror. On the one hand, an internationally winning *design-demagogy* that is still praised for its supposed accessibility and public focus on marginal urban areas. On the other hand, a fallacious justification of market-led regenerations and neoliberalising urbanisation processes, that ultimately did not improve spatial justice in Bogotá at all[40].

CONCLUSIONS

While Lefebvre argued that the fetishisation of space, as operated by philosophers, discredited the *social and physical* dimensions of it by privileging the mere mental space[41], in today's planning mainstream discourses the contrary is also true: the physical, quantitative, dimension of space (which includes its global economic dimension42) superseded both the social and the mental dimensions, progressively neutralising the possibility for spatial articulation and effective connective strategies, that are the product of both theoretical practice43 and social practice.

If, as Lefebvre argues, space serves in the establishment of a *system* (a planning system, for instance), then spatial practices are directly connected to the representation, over a spatial canvas, of an overall social system that – as in the case of Latin America, and of Bogotá in particular, is the product of long-standing colonial traditions that are, to great extents, also spatial:

A   physical, like the archetypical segregation of certain social and ethnical groups to the margins of the colonial city;

B   social, as the fundamental disparity that existed, culturally, between *colonised* and *coloniser*, and whose legacy is still clearly perceivable[44];

C   mental, like the hybridity embedded in the cultural binarisms that were introduced by colonial thought, whereby a perfect antagonism and homogeneity within each opposed group was only theoretical and apparent (i.e. *imaginary*), but never actually confirmed by historical facts[45].

Because of this, it is to many extents surprising that such a commented and well-known urban transformation like the one of the decade 1993-2003 in Bogotá, that determined to a great extent the advent of a different planning system in Colombia and of considerable planning advancements in the so-called Global South, has been considered and analysed so far most often from the mere restrictive point of view of positivist considerations and quantitative statistics. These incomplete, and therefore often fallacious, evaluations were limited, as we repeatedly highlighted, to the quantifiable aspects of the local change, as if such a complex spatial environment as one among the very most unequal, dense and socio-economically diverse cities in the world could be successfully represented through statistically measurable variables. And as if such variables could be enough to determine the future development of a city with over eight million inhabitants and a considerable variety in socio-economic disparities and cultural backgrounds.

It is only from this critique that the present paper deliberately avoids a redundant attempt to review all over again the already widely discussed technical characteristics of the past urban transformation in Bogotá (while, however, suggesting some bibliographical references to them). Its primary aim, instead, is to address the need for a thorough and critical relocation and articulation of contemporary spatial theory for Latin America's peculiar urban conditions (and other geo-cultural similar cases alike), through a combined theoretical and pragmatic approach in the analysis of local and distinctive case studies (namely, in this case, the *alameda* El Porvenir).

In front of the inadequacy of modernist urban paradigms (e.g. conceptualisations of the *urban* as a bounded settlement ruled by foreseeable and precise rules and configurations[46]), that still deny the predominance of *kinetic* and ever-evolving socio-spatial processes over *static*, socially void and circumscribed spatial conformations, an alternative and diachronic review of the most recent planning history of Bogotá might help in visualising with new detachment and more critical objectivity the conditions of new urban paradigms that are flourishing globally.

If we keep on considering cities as empirical objects and flat, countable entities, discourses on planning that justify the existence of colonial binarisms will continue to mystify urban space and urban theory in a way that will not allow the rise of new, necessary, urban theorisations that can lead to more just spatial conditions in our increasingly unequal and segregating human environments.

"In vain" – said to the great Kublai Kan the world's most famed explorer, Marco Polo: the social archetype of a globalised world of fluid spatial relationships – "shall I attempt to describe Zaira. I could tell you *how many* steps make up the streets rising like stairways, and the degree of the arcades' curves, and what kind of zinc scales cover the roofs; but I already know this would be the same as telling you *nothing*. The city does not consist of this, but of *relationships* between the measurements of its space and the events of its past."[47]

In the last few decades, the rapid tightening of the grip of demeaning, quantitative and generalistic chichés on some key urban realities in the Global South[48] have progressively brought planning history and theory to perilously overestimate the role of urban professionals in the process of city-making, while underestimating the panoptic legacy that the shadows of the colonial thinking left on our way not only to perceive *cityness* in the Global South, but also to interfere with it.

There are things urban professionals just do not (and cannot, despite their claims) design, nor plan: a city, a neighbourhood, a centre, a periphery. At the most, they can voluntarily create certain spatial (i.e. physical, social, mental) conditions that *may* stimulate the creation of a city, a neighbourhood, a centre, a periphery; that *may* make a certain development more likely than another. In any case, however, they most certainly cannot create "better human beings", as the official narratives of the 1998-2003 urban agenda[49] still claim to have done.

Notes on contributor(s)

Giulia Torino is a '16 PhD candidate at the University of Cambridge, whose background and interests span through architecture, planning and urban studies, philosophy and social sciences. Holding a BArch and a MSc (both Magna Cum Laude) from the University IUAV of Venice, she also studied at the Illinois Institute of Technology and at the University of Sheffield, worked as urban designer at the Department of City Planning in New York City, as assistant editor in academic journals of urban studies and social sciences, and as volunteer for a West African architecture NGO, among others.

Endnotes

1   This article summarises some of the issues proposed in the author's own Master dissertation (MSc in Architecture & Urban Studies) completed in March 2015, that was developed among the University Iuav of Venice (Italy), the University of Sheffield (United Kingdom) and the University of Los Andes (Colombia): Giulia Torino. "Bogotá: Narratives of a transformation. From global (hi)stories to local tales". Graduate thesis. Venice: University IUAV of Venice, 2015.

2   A pedestrian street that takes its features from European *boulevards* and, in Bogotá, from the main walking paths that used to cross the colonial centre.

3   See: Alan Gilbert. 'Urban governance in the South: How did Bogotá lose its shine?', in Urban Stud, 2014; Alcaldia Mayor de Bogotá, D.C., La Bogotá del Tercer Milenio: Historia de una revolución urbana. Bogotá D.C.: 2000.

4   See: Jennifer Robinson, Ordinary cities, London: Routledge, 2006, for a postcolonial re-location of the role of such definition in postmodern planning theory and urban studies.

5   Neil Brenner and Christian Schmid. 'Towards a new epistemology of the urban?, in City 19 (2-3), 2015, P. 157.

6   Lefebvre, Henri. The production of space, P.29. Wiley-Blackwell, 1992.

7   See, for example: Castro , Lorenzo and others (eds.). Bogotá: El renacer de una ciudad. Bogotá D.C.: Editorial Planeta Colombiana S.A., 2007; Dalsgaard, Andreas. Bogotá change (film). Copenhagen: Elk Film, 2009; Hagen, Jonas. 'The world learns from Bogotá'. The VisionRIViewpoint, 2005; Montezuma, Ricardo. 'People power: The citizens behind Bogotá's urban revolution', Sustainable Transport 14, 2002; Montgomery, Charles. Happy city. London: Penguin Books, 2013.

8   To which others followed and, among them, the case of Medellín is certainly the one which has been receiving the highest international attention in the last few years.

9   Julio Dávila. 'Being a Mayor: Four views from Colombia', Environment and Urbanization 20 (1): 37-57, 2009.

10 "Mayors were elected initially for a period of two years, subsequently increased to three and, since 2004, to four-year terms. Mayors can seek re-election although not for successive terms." Ib. p.39

11 For an overview, see for example: Alcaldia Mayor de Bogotá, D.C., La Bogotá del Tercer Milenio: Historia de una revolución urbana. Bogotá D.C.: 2000; Castro , Lorenzo and others (eds.). Bogotá: El renacer de una ciudad. Bogotá D.C.: Editorial Planeta Colombiana S.A., 2007; Gilbert, Alan. 'Buen gobierno urbano: Evidencia de una ciudad modelo?', in *Bogotá: Progreso, gobernabilidad y pobreza*. Bogotá: Universidad del Rosario, 2008.

12 See: Cifuentes, Camilo. 'El urbanismo y lo urbano en la transformación de Bogotà. Discursos expertos y palabras de los habitantes'. Dearq n .11, 2012; Dávila, Julio and Alan Gilbert. 'Bogotá: Progress within a hostile environment', in: D. J. Myers and H. A. Dietz (eds.). *Capital City Politics in Latin America: Democratisation and Empowerment,* Pp. 29-63. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2002; Dávila, Julio D. "La transformación de Bogotá", in F. Cepeda (ed.), *Fortalezas de Colombia*, Pp. 417–439. Bogotá: Editorial Planeta, 2005; Del Castillo Daza, Juan Carlos. 'El urbanismo público', in: Camilo Salazar Ferro (ed.) Bogotá y lo Público, Vol. 1, Pp. 47-58. Bogotá: Universidad de los Andes, 2003; Galvis, Armando Luis. '¿El triunfo de Bogotá? Desempeño reciente de la ciudad capital'. Documentos de Trabajo Sobre Economia Regional n 183. Banco de la Republica, 2013; Gamboa Samper, Pablo. 'El proyecto del espacio público'. Bitácora Urbano-Territorial 3, 1999; Gilbert, Alan. The Latin American city. London: Ed. LAB, 1994; et al.

13 Lefebvre, Henri. The production of space. Wiley-Blackwell, 1992.

14 As Jennifer Robinson argues in: Jennifer Robinson. Ordinary cities. London: Routledge, 2006, and Homi Bhabha maintains in: Homi Bhabha, The location of culture. London and New York: Routledge, 1994, such binarisms of developed/developing countries, formal/informal urbanisations, first/third world, must be overcome – in change of planetary and cosmopolitan considerations that avoid Western bias in order to compare and analyse diverse urban case studies around the world more critically, creatively and equally.

15 "Postcolonial criticism bears witness to the unequal and uneven forces of cultural representation involved in the contest for political and social authority within the modern world order. Postcolonial perspectives emerge from the colonial testimony of Third World countries and the discourses of *minorities* within the geopolitical division of East and West, North and South". Bhabha, Homi K. The location of culture, P. 17. London and New York: Routledge, 1994.
For an introduction to postcolonial theory as related to urban space, see for example: Escobar, Arturo. Encountering development: The making and unmaking of the Third World. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012 (1995); hooks, bell. "Choosing the margin as a space of radical openness." in Yearning: Race, gender, and cultural politics, Pp. 203-09. Boston: South End Press, 1989; Mignolo, Walter. "Coloniality of power and decolonial thinking." In Cultural studies 21 (2-3): 155-67, 2009; Simone, AbdouMaliq. For the city yet to come. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004.

16 Namely, the first planning system that was introduced (although, as many argued, too late) to regulate urbanisation processes in Colombia's cities. For a detailed description of the first *Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial* (*POT*) in Bogotá see: Alcaldia Mayor de Bogotá, D.C. – Departamento Distrital de Planeación. POT 2000: Documento técnico de suporte. Bogotá D.C.: 2001.

17 Alcaldia Mayor de Bogotá, D.C. – Departamento Distrital de Planeación. TEP (Taller de Espacio Público): 1998-2000. Bogotá D.C.: 2000.

18 Due to the massive migration from the countryside started during 1950s and 1960s all across Latin America, which decupled the population from 630,315 to 6,302,881 inhabitants in fifty years. Source: *Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística,* (DANE) <http://www.dane.gov.co/>.

19 For an overview of previous modernist planning attempt see: Dávila, Julio. Planificación y política en Bogotá: La vida de Jorge Gaitán Cortés. Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, 2000; O'Byrne Maria Cecilia (ed.), Le Corbusier en Bogotá. Bogotá: Universidad de Los Andes, 2010.

20 Who had been arriving from the whole country especially since the 1950s, to a great extent as a result of the particularly harsh and sanguinary internecine conflicts of the period called *La Violencia* (historically limited to the decade 1948-1958, but whose legacy ultimately converged into the dramatic violence of the 1980s drug cartels and the simultaneous fratricidal war among State, guerrillas and paramilitary groups). For a short introduction to Colombian contemporary history see: Ricardo Arias Trujillo. Historia de la Colombia contemporanea (1920-2010). Bogotá D.C.: Universidad de Los Andes, 2013.

21 Correa Henao, Nestor Raul. Constitución politica de Colombia. Bogotá D.C.: Comisión Colombiana de Juristas, 1997.

22 José Salazar Ferro. Bogotá 1992-2005: The reversal of the crisis and the planning scheme. Bogotá D.C.: Universidad de Los Andes, 2006.

23 For a visual, albeit partly novelised, narration of Mockus' political life see: Andreas Dalsgaard, Life is sacred (film). Copenhagen: Elk Film. 2014.

24 For a detailed list of Mockus' urban programs see: Berney, Rachel. 'Pedagogical urbanism: Creating citizen space in Bogotá, Colombia'. Planning Theory 10, 2011; Castro , Lorenzo and others (eds.). Bogotá: El renacer de una ciudad. Bogotá D.C.: Editorial Planeta Colombiana S.A., 2007; Mockus, Antanas (interview with). 'Ciudad, urbanismo y educación'. Monográfico n. 17, 2009.

25 See, by way of example: Berney, Rachel, 'Learning from Bogotá: How municipal experts transformed public space'. Journal of Urban Design 15, 2010; Dalsgaard, Andreas. Bogotá change (film). Copenhagen: Elk Film, 2009; Dalsgaard, Andreas. Life is sacred (film). Copenhagen: Elk Film, 2014; Salazar Ferro, José. 'Bogotá's recovery process', in: Megacities: Urban form, governance, and sustainability, André Sorensen and Junichiro Okata (eds.), Pp. 311-344. Tokyo, New York: Springer, 2011; et al.

26 This sequence of socio-spatial phenomena, as observed from a diachronic perspective, also serves to epitomise how the nature of the urban stands in kinetic socio-spatial processes rather than in static physico-spatial configurations (as the majority of architectural and planning mainstreams continue to maintain).

27 More than a reference for Peñalosa's planning system, in fact, could be found both in Robert Moses' and Michael Bloomberg's urban transformations of New York City, respectively in the 1920-60s and in the early 2000s. See, respectively: Robert Caro. The power broker: Robert Moses and the fall of New York. London: Vintage, 2004; Alexandros Washburn. The nature of Urban Design: A New York City perspective on resilience. Washington D.C.: Island Press, 2013.

28 Neil Brenner and Christian Schmid. 'Towards a new epistemology of the urban?, in City 19 (2-3): 151-182, 2015.

29 For a critical overview and analysis of the 1993-2003 planning projects and urban strategies see: Torino, Giulia. Bogotá: Narratives of a transformation. From global (hi)stories to local tales. Graduate thesis, Pp. 53-63, 68-75. Venice: University IUAV of Venice, 2015.

30 Neil Brenner and Christian Schmid. 'Towards a new epistemology of the urban?, in City 19 (2-3): 151-182, 2015.

31 *Estratos*: neat divisions of the city's urban tissue into a series of economic levels (six, in total), partly related to economic land value, that ultimately converged into a socio-spatial segregation of the city's most deprived, on the one hand, and wealthiest neighbourhoods, on the other hand. Under former mayor Gustavo Petro, chiefly between 2013 and 2015, there had been a fervent debate on the possibility to eliminate the *estratos* logic in Bogotá's planning system, which also called into debate several exponents of the United Nations. See for instance: '¿Llegó la hora de acabar los estratos?'. El Tiempo, 15 July 2014; 'Distrito presentará proyecto de ley para eliminar estratos', El Espectador, 25 October 2013.

32 In other words, Colombia's entry into the claimed 'urban age' that leading planning scholars postulated, especially referring to the so- called 'megacities of the Global South'. See for example: Burdett, Ricky and Deyan Sudjic. Living in the endless city: The Urban Age project by the London School of Economics and Deutsche Bank's Alfred Herrhausen Society. London: Phaidon Press, 2011; Peñalosa, Enrique and Susan Ives. "The politics of happiness", in Yes!Magazine, 2004; Urban Age South America. Cities and social equity. Inequality, territory and urban form: Detailed report. London: London School of Economics, 2009.

33 See for example, out of a plethora of similar articles that were published in Colombia, since 2001 – hence immediately after the construction of the *alameda*: 'La vía peatonal Alameda El Porvenir se sumerge en el olvido y está a punto de desaparecer', El Tiempo, 24 June 2010.

34 For a more detailed description of this urban strategy see: Alcaldia Mayor de Bogotá, D.C. – Departamento Distrital de Planeación. POT: Operaciones, Pp. 40-49. Bogotá D.C.: 2001.

35 For example: the *Leone D'Oro* at the Venice Biennale of 2006; the first urban design prize at both the *Quito Biennale* and the Colombian *Biennale* in 2002.

36 As one of its chief designers stated at the presentation of this project at the Van Alen Institute of New York City, in 2003. Reference: author's interview with *MGP Arquitectura* and original presentation material as supplied to the author by *MGP Arquitectura* in Bogotá, in November 2014.

37 Rahul Mehrotra. 'Foreword' in Felipe Hernández et al. (eds.) Rethinking the Informal City: Critical Perspectives from Latin America, Pp. xi-xiv. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2010.

38 Italo Calvino. Invisible Cities. London: Vintage, 1997. P. 13

39 Gayatri Spivak. 'Can the subaltern speak?', in Cary Nelson, Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture, Pp. 271-313. Chicago: University of Illinois Print, 1988.

40 As most of the urban professionals that were interviewed on this topic confirmed. See: Torino, Giulia. Bogotá: Narratives of a transformation. From global (hi)stories to local tales. Graduate thesis, Pp. 88-93. Venice: University IUAV of Venice, 2015.

41 Henri Lefebvre. The production of space, P.6. Wiley-Blackwell, 1992.

42 Sassen, Saskia. The global city. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991.

43 Henri Lefebvre. The production of space, P.5. Wiley-Blackwell, 1992.

44 Homi Bhabha. The location of culture. London and New York: Routledge, 1994.

45 On the concept of *postcolonial ambivalence* see: Ibidem, P. 31 et al.

46 Neil Brenner and Christian Schmid, 'Towards a new epistemology of the urban?, in City 19 (2-3): 151-182, 2015, P. 165.

47 Italo Calvino. Invisible Cities. London: Vintage, 1997. P. 10

48 Which, as global researches both at the governmental and academic level show, became the very pivotal concern of planning practice and theory.

49 Which was just recently reintroduced in Bogotá, since January 2016.

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NARRATIVES OF A TRANSFORMATION: THE ROLE OF SPACE IN THE ADVENT OF NEOLIBERAL PLANNING IN BOGOTA

"OFF-PLANNING", THE RESILIENT STRATEGY OF MODERN LATIN AMERICAN CITIES

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Latin America is the most urbanized and unequal region in the world. According to the statistics the South-continent has 634 million inhabitants and approximately 80% of them reside in urbanized areas, as the result of inequality, 190 million of urban dwellers live in squatter settlements. Still the general idea, the megacities of the region only concentrate 14 percent of the population, while more than a half of urban inhabitants live in secondary metropolis. The outside urbanization represents the linking element between this city-typology, and thus, border fabric is fundamental in confronting the new urban challenges.The integration projects for the squatter settlements have been concieved from conventional planning systems: superblocks; serial housing; habitat production by participation processes; public space; and architectural artifact as public space. Nonetheless the efforts of the spatial professionals, the other metropolis are built parallel from the 'inside planned city'; the 'outside settlements' unveil the planning of 'what if' as the dominant Latin American urban fabric. Hence, this paper argues that if we turn off the city-planning relationship, and remap the urban remains, it will be possible to create a new resilient theory beyond cityism, revealing the 'what if' as the key piece of the planetary urban strategies.The outside urbanization is not free of hegemony, oppression, power forces and spatial injustice. However, it represents the geographical resilience, the Terra Incognita, where new planning ideas should be thought. Using examples from Mexico and Brazil, I firmly propose the theoretical concept of the 'off-planning' based on four new research findings: 1) Squatter settlements as the proto-cities of the 21st century; 2) Post maps as tools to re-shape the idea of city; 3) Hyper-hybridity as the new urban condition; 4) Putting the other urbanization first: for a reversed history of Latin American cities. This assemblage represents the initial step in the long way process to build another kind of engagement with the urban reality. Only then will it be possible from the 'off-planning' to create resilient strategies that they might consider the elsewhere as a valid returning place.

Keywords
Latin American Cities, Planning, Resilient Strategy

URBAN ACUPUNCTURE AND INCREMENTAL HOUSING: TWO KEY CONTRIBUTIONS OF LATIN AMERICA TO URBAN DESIGN

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An intense debate regarding the relevance of urban planning and design pervades our field, as we face an overwhelming explosion of urban entropy throughout the tropical and sub-tropical regions of the world. What role are the urban designer and planner expected to play amidst the relentless expansion of self-built areas? How is the colossal presence of the latter altering our field? Latin America faced its first urban explosion between the 50s and the 70s, while some of its favelas are a century old (Providencia, Rio de Janeiro). The region has a long tradition of rethinking design and planning within the constraints of unplanned expansion. Several design and planning experiments have been developed in this territory and shared across national borders. Of these, two are of particular interest: the urban acupuncture scheme deployed by Jaime Lerner and his team in Curitiba, Brazil; and the incremental housing projects that have been designed and built in the region for six decades, the latest version of which, Elemental, is the most broadly acknowledged today. Incremental housing stems from a deep engagement with informal growth, as it becomes interpreted and formalized through the lens of modernity; and urban acupuncture has proved to be an efficient strategy of urban integration, as the following paradigmatic cases proposed for analysis demonstrate:

Urban Acupuncture – Precedents and Case Studies

– Urban Acupunture, Curitiba (Jaime Lerner)

– Centralidades urbanas, Barcelona (Manuel de Solá-Morales)

– Urbanismo social, Medellín (Alejandro Echeverri)

– Favela Bairro Project, Rio de Janeiro (Jorge Mario Jáuregui)

– Educational Acupuncture, Sao Paulo (Paulista School)

– Vertical Infrastructures, Caracas (Caracas Think Tank, Matías and Mateo Pintó

– D´Lacoste, Espacios de Paz)

– Van Eyck Style Puntual Interventions, Buenos Aires (Villa Tranquila – Flavio

– Janches y Max Rohm; Villa 31, Javier Fernández Castro y Jorge Mario Jáuregui).

– Decentralization and Civic Acupuncture, Quito (Hernán Orbea)

– Regional Acupuncture; Paraná, Brazil and Santa Fe, Argentina

– San Diego-Tijuana border, US-Mexico (Teddy Cruz)

Incremental Housing – Precedents and Case Studies

– Previ-Lima, Lima, Peru

– Habracken´s supports

– Incremental housing experiments of Modernity (50s and 60s)

– Elemental-Chile

Cross-Cultural Juxtapositions, Collaborations and Confrontations in Urban Form

Chair: Johnathan Farris

URBAN FORMATION AND CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION IN MUGHAL INDIA

Rukhsana Iftikhar

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India was comprised of many villages before the arrival of Muslim. Those Muslim invaders, who conquered India and established their rule, essentially belonged to the urban ruling classes. In early Turkish Empire (1206 – 1266), ruling classes have developed numerous urban centres across India. In Muslim period, Iqta system provided opportunities to Turko – Afghan communities to have luxurious life style which provoked skill workers, artisan and architect to migrate from villages to urban centres. Early towns and cities flourished around the military garrison. These towns also emerge as cultural centers with the passage of time. Early cities like Daultabad, Fatehpur Sikri and Shahjahanabad (Old Delhi) were royal capital cities. Some of the major cities like Kabul, Agra, Allahabad, Lahore and Multan were developed near major road (Grand Trunk Road). Many towns like Dholpur, Jodhpur, Sirohi, Asirgarh and Ajmer were inhabited near non metalled roads . European travelers also narrated the glory and significance of these cities and towns in their accounts. They compared Indian cities with Europe, like Fatehpur Sikri was larger than London and Delhi was not less urbanized than Paris. These urban centers were not only the administrative units but also considered as cultural centers in Mughal State. Emperors sometimes generated the economic activities in these urban centers. Many factories in Delhi, Agra and Fatehpur Sikri supplied many precious articles in the King's wardrobe. People brought their masterpieces in the capital cities just to get the acknowledgement of kings and nobles. This paper analyzes the development of major urban centers in the period of Mughals (most illustrated dynasty of the Muslim civilization). It also highlights the cultural transformation of Muslims under the influence of native rulers. It also deals with the mediatory classes which were so powerful in these urban centers. These classes paved a way for English rule in India.Urbanization was its zenith in the age of great Mughals. Many of the Mughal cities like Delhi, Agra,Ahmadabad, Benaras and Cambay are still survived and having a rich culture of cosmopolitan cities. (It is an oral presentation.)

THE RENAISSANCE OF POST-WAR METROPOLITAN PLANNING IN MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA 1949-1954

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This paper examines the context to the preparation of Melbourne's first statutory metropolitan planning scheme in 1954. Metropolitan planning initiatives in Australia before World War Two were few and far between. The agency officially charged with devising, promoting and implementing a new regional-scale planning scheme in 1949 was the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works (MMBW). Three themes structure the discussion. One is the avowed openness to international ideas and expertise which flavoured the appointment of the first chief metropolitan planner although it was ultimately a local professional who was chosen. Two is the disavowal of a visionary planning approach in favour of a more politically-pragmatic and business-like incrementalism. Three is the endeavour to secure broad citizen acceptance of the proposals highlighted by a series of major public exhibitions in late 1943 and early 1954. The paper revisits these and other key events in the narrative to establish metropolitan planning oversight on a secure footing in Melbourne. The campaign proved successful. The MMBW was confirmed as Melbourne's regional planning authority in December 1954, thenceforth permitting regional planning to be woven into the bureaucratic machinery of state government. From that point, planning debate shifted decisively from a general one of whether or not to plan to the more substantive issues of plan implementation.

V.01 P.311 **Robert Freestone | Marco Amati | Peter Mills**
THE RENAISSANCE OF POST-WAR METROPOLITAN PLANNING IN MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA 1949-1954

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TOC

INTRODUCTION

In this paper we briefly review the progress towards the formal solution of the 1954 metropolitan plan for Melbourne. We focus on three issues: the different international influences that held sway and influenced the content and style of planning; the government's careful re-casting of planning as a pragmatic discipline; and the concerted public relations campaign to convince the public of the need for planning. In this way, planning was accepted as a state responsibility and metropolitan planning firmly entrenched by the mid-1950s.

BACKGROUND

As the Second World War drew to a close Australia embraced the need for town planning. Decades of pre-war propaganda that underscored inadequate infrastructure, lack of environmental protection, deficiencies in the provision of open space, speculatively-driven suburban land subdivision, and housing shortages bore fruit in a raft of British-influenced town and country planning legislation in most Australian States in 1944-1955. Melbourne, the capital of the state of Victoria, followed this trend and like all the state capital cities (with the exception of Brisbane) had to contend with a jigsaw of local authorities defying metropolitan oversight. A pre-war, US-inspired, Metropolitan Town Planning Commission had advised the state government on a range of proposals including residential, business and open space land use zonings but this initiative had been terminated with the onset of the Great Depression. The post-war reconstruction era successfully revived the arguments for more planning and the first comprehensive town planning legislation was introduced in 1944 to provide for preparation of local authority planning schemes oversighted by a new state-agency, the Town and Country Planning Board. In 1949 new legislation installed the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works (MMBW) as the authority to prepare a metropolitan-wide planning scheme. In 1954 the MMBW, which was a legacy public utility for water and sewerage from the 1890s, was confirmed as the "continuing" planning body for Melbourne.[1]

In the development of this combined solution of statewide legislation, a metropolitan plan for Melbourne and the decision to make the MMBW the planning authority, the Victorian Government took a variety of measures to shape the content and public reaction to planning. Australia was a site of overlapping influence during the reconstruction era with both US and UK styles of planning making impacts. In addition, planning was being newly shaped as a discipline, distinguishing itself from architecture and engineering and striving for public and professional legitimacy.

The planning strategy around which this paper revolves has been described and analysed by various commentators.[2] It was prepared for a future population of 2,500,000 people contained within an urban footprint of about 700km². The chief planner E.F. Borrie in his Introduction to the two-volume report explained that the study which took several years to appear was "based on a sound factual survey, has been formulated with high ideals of community needs and civic development, and ... has been modified having regard to economic and practical difficulties to present what we firmly believe to be a sound and practicable basis for the guidance of the future civic development and improvement of Melbourne."[3] The report's summary identifies the key problems and policy responses. Of the "many" problems uncovered through civic surveys, the main ones were listed as: low-density sprawl; decline in the liveability of the inner city; need for industrial area planning; congestion in and around the CBD; broader constraints on the movements of people and goods; lack of sites for community facilities; lack of recreation areas; and concern with protection from the effects of aerial warfare. Six key principles were enunciated: (i) limitation of the urban area; (ii) zoning of specific areas for various community purposes; (iii) decentralisation within the urban area of industry and commerce; (iv) provision for an adequate road communication system; (v) reservation of adequate areas for all community needs; and (vi) preservation of existing opportunities for civic improvement.[4] The plan was a product of its times, going as far as gesturing to the moral panic of the cold war era. Dispersal was a major theme, and the overall accent was on efficiency rather than equity. The strategy was generally well received. The influence of overseas planning and development ideas, particularly from the US, has already been noted.[5]

CONTENDING WITH INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCES

The willingness of Melbourne planning advocates to look abroad for inspiration and exemplars was already established from the earliest years of the organised town planning movement from the 1910s. In the post-war years the international influences impinging on planning continued. The English influence over Melbourne's planning was bolstered by visits from the legendary Patrick Abercrombie in 1948 and William Holford in 1951 who had succeeded Abercrombie as Professor of Town Planning at University College London and was technical advisor to the English Ministry of Town and Country Planning. Holford reiterated the need for steadfastness in applying the plan, but his comparison to the situation in London was couched in visionary terms, recommending to his audience that they should follow the lead of London, which had set its eyes on an ideal city. Holford also reinforced the importance of winning over the public: "selling town planning to the people is undoubtedly the State's biggest and most important public relations job to date."[6] Neil Abercrombie, Patrick's son, who had worked as a planner in Australia since the late 1940s opined that it was necessary to "launch the whole project in a blaze of brilliance and publicity calculated to stimulate the interest of even the most morbidly dull individual."[7]

The recruitment of the MMBW's first metropolitan chief planner in 1949-50 was also international in flavour even though the successful applicant was already on staff. At their first meeting to appoint a planner on 15 December 1949 the Board's selection committee resolved that the Chief Planner position should be advertised widely. Advertisements were to be placed throughout Australasia, Great Britain, Canada, USA and South Africa for application to close 31 March 1950. Overseas applications were to be lodged with the Agent General in London with a view to review by Patrick Abercrombie.[8] The Secretary of the Town and Country Planning Board forwarded letters from English architects L. Griffiths and P.C. Chapman who were thinking of migrating and might be of use.[9]

In April 1950 the MMBW Chairman, J.C. Jessop, wrote to the Committee setting out Abercrombie's comments on the six overseas applicants that he had picked out as the best, as well as another late applicant. The Chairman of the committee was to check with further referees supplied by Abercrombie as to the qualities of the seven applicants, with a view to arranging interviews.[10] Applications for the Chief Planner position were received from F. Roland, M.W. Wallach and W.H. Hollis of New York. The Minister of Housing also contacted the Committee to notify he had received a letter from the Trade Commission Service in London recommending the architect-planner G.A. Crockett.

Despite having had success in attracting international interest in the position, the Planning Committee decided that "the appointment of a Chief Planner come from local applicants and a consultant be appointed from overseas" (this latter idea was shelved). The MMBW Chairman advised that he had been doing his own investigations of overseas applicants and it seems as a result recommended "the committee consider the question of selecting an applicant from the Australian list for appointment." Outwardly the Board was keen to underscore the international dimension to their recruitment campaign but on 23 May 1950 the decision was made to appoint E.F. Borrie, the MMBW's Chief Engineer of Sewerage. According to the *MMBW Officers' Journal,* Borrie was selected "from among a large field of both local and overseas candidates for the position of Chief Planner."[11]

Borrie, an internal and organic appointment, was nonetheless a conduit of international influences. In 1937 he was sent overseas "to study and report on sewerage systems in Britain, America, France, Germany and other countries." During the war he was also director of Engineering at the Allied Works Council.[12] Subsequent to his appointment he spent six months in Europe, Britain and the United States in 1952, leaving in April and returning on 5 October "studying latest town-planning ideas in the larger cities of Europe, Britain and the United States."[13] His report from this study tour dealt primarily with the provision of more highways, bridges and roundabouts to solve the traffic problems of the city. The local broadsheet, *The Argus* reported with approval that "Borrie is no armchair planner. He has been around seeing what other cities can do – particularly in the USA – and he talks in a business-like way."[14] Borrie reported that "active town planning overseas had brought about:

Better road communications, more efficient public transport, good city parking areas, and rebuilding of sub-standard areas."[15]

Increasingly, Melbourne's problems were being seen as akin to those of West Coast American cities, particularly Los Angeles.[16] Consequently, Charles Bennett, the Director of a recently expanded City Planning Department at the City of Los Angeles who visited for a fortnight in 1953 was given a warm reception.[17] The visit, organised by the Town and Country Planning Association (T&CPA) and sponsored by the Myer Foundation, had an agenda to "awaken public interest in planning generally, and meet both professional and voluntary planners".[18] Bennett made several addresses and his visit specifically helped focus "public attention" on the forthcoming metropolitan plan as a "vital planning event in the history of the State".[19] He addressed a combined meeting of the Australian Planning Institute Melbourne Division and the T&CPA at Kelvin Hall in the city on 11 August 1953.[20] He spoke at the August general meeting of the Royal Victorian Institute of Architects under the title "Planning is for the People". He praised the plan for its sound research and for its good zoning pattern "designed for the convenience, comfort and efficiency of the people", and describing its highway plan as "first class". Overall he emphasised the link between planning, efficient city operation and successful business, a link which found a receptive audience in Melbourne.[21]

As part of the public relations campaign surrounding his visit, Bennett was photographed with Borrie atop a CBD building opining on the need for a proper civic centre.[22] He was invited to address an MMBW Board meeting on 11 August 1953. During his visit Bennett was also given an official reception by the Melbourne City Council, where he produced something of a manifesto on pragmatic planning. Planning "aimed primarily at preventing greedy individuals of the present generation from cluttering up a city's future with bottle-necks, blighted areas, industry remote from housing and other faults which already annoyed and impoverished the modern citizen."[23] Bennett explained how the problem of sprawl had been addressed in LA using zones in an article he wrote for the *Australian Municipal Journal*.[24] Entitled "Melbourne Plan Sensible, Practical', the emphasis on sensible and practical planning arrangements was a major ideological theme of the period to which we now turn.

PLANNING MOVES FROM A VISIONARY TO A PRAGMATIC FOCUS

The disavowal of visionary planning by Bennett appealed to the instincts of E. F. Borrie and the MMBW. A number of planning commentators in Australia in the early post-war period had regretted the fact that that they did not have the *tabula rasa* occasioned by German bombs upon which to play out their schemes.[25] A wartime Australian Army Education Service text described the expansive possibilities for rebuilding Coventry: "The destruction ... has given English townplanners a marvellous opportunity to build a new city."[26] The Melbourne approach proved more gradualist. Borrie observed that "During recent discussion in England, a senior planning official informed me that in the immediate post war enthusiasm for planning, which was fostered by the realisation of the opportunities presented by war damage, economists had expressed the view that redevelopment throughout the country was possible in 25 years. It has now been realised that ... this is not practicable and the very necessary improvements in the conditions of living in the larger towns must be achieved more gradually."[27]

Such attitudes had roots earlier in the century. Even in the 1920s there had been indications of a turn to pragmatic planning, particularly in the US. In a 1927 article on town planning in America, F.E. Dixon wrote of the principle which drove the Chicago Plan Commission. "City planning is held to be the job of the whole community".[28] The Metropolitan Town Planning Commission had certainly adopted a pragmatic approach and that culture still resonated into the 1950s. The problems which Sydney was having at that time in implementing its visionary green belt in the image of Abercrombie's for London were also keenly observed. Borrie moved plan terminology away from the British green belt concept towards a more neutral "Rural Zone".

The pragmatic turn was taken up with particular gusto in the early 1950s. In an article in the *Australian Municipal Journal* in 1951 titled 'Town Planning Notions of the Western World', L.T Frazer, Deputy City Engineer in the City of Melbourne, explained the rationale for pragmatic as against visionary planning. "A controversial point among planners is that idealistic plans do more harm than good. In England, during the latter part of the war and subsequently, many ideal plans and planning schemes were produced in the heat and enthusiasm of the moment. Generally nothing physical has been done because the plans were too ambitious and beyond economic possibilities. The testing time has come out in council meetings when it has been found that the arguments put forward for the radical changes recommended in the plans do not withstand hard technical scrutiny or financial accounting."[29]

A speech from the Archbishop of York, a noted town planning and housing reformer, was reprinted in the *Australian Municipal Journal*. He spoke of a new reaction against the visionary planning of the immediate post-war period. "There has been a reaction from the splendid plans drawn up for the rebuilding of our cities. Great work was done by those who prepared these schemes; they gave visions as to what the city might be. But their cost was ignored. They were often the expression of ideals rather than of practical schemes which could be effected. The result has been irritation and impatience over schemes which would cost far more the heavily-burdened tax and rate-payers could afford."[30] Thus not only is the visionary scheme undemocratic, it also cannot be effected.

In 1952 a reviewer of Brown and Sherrard's new Australian text *Town and Country Planning* started by addressing the problem of visionary planning. "There is much popular misconception in regard to town and country planning [...] Unfortunately, this misconception extends to many Parliamentarians and Municipal Councillors, who are inclined to regard the subject as the unpractical idealism of dreamers. This attitude has been unfortunately fostered by some utopian but unobtainable plans that were prepared by early enthusiasts who, in their zeal for perfection, overlooked the economic and practical considerations."[31] The same year J.C. Jessop, Chairman of the MMBW, reiterated similar sentiments to ground the MMBW's approach. Rejecting the perception of the planner as a "dreamy-eyed, long-haired individual who spends most of his time living above the clouds", he defined the planning mission as "an organized effort to apply common sense to ensure that a community will enjoy all the modern amenities at the lowest possible economic cost". Far from being locked away and drawing "pretty pictures", the planners' task was to explain proposals to the public and in that way they "will accept all that is involved in town planning."[32] The MMBW's promotional activity is taken up as a third strand of the Melbourne story below.

ENGAGING THE COMMUNITY

The alignment and depiction of planning as a pragmatic exercise was further projected through a range of promotional activities to sell the new plan including public lectures, radio talks, print publicity, coverage in the popular media and a major public exhibition. The organisation and staging of the exhibition brought together several years' work "by the town planning staff of the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works"[33] during a week-long "premiere" in which town planners, economists, architects, engineers and sociologists showed the public what they will gain from the plan. This was a calculated effort to bring the public on board as Borrie described in arguing for a more aggressive press approach. "What some of these good folk have perhaps overlooked is the importance of timing. The policy we have been following is a calculated policy and will, I believe, bring the most effective results."[34]

The exhibition was opened by the Minister of Public Works, the Hon. S. Merrifield, MLA in the Palmer Hall of the Melbourne Public Library on Monday 16 November 1953.[35] A second showing was arranged at the National Gallery in February 1954 and another at Myers in April of the same year. On the first weekend, the MMBW officers expected 10,000 visitors to pass through the exhibition, along with showing of the colour film 'Planning

Melbourne's Future'.[36] By Saturday 28 November, the day before the end of the exhibition, more than 25,000 visitors had seen the exhibition.[37] When the exhibition closed on the Sunday, more than 30,000 had visited. A guestbook at the exhibition reflected a positive impression overall: "It seems to be entirely practical, and my only criticism is that I should like to see it brought into force much sooner." (Mrs G. Coalstad, Heidelberg) Mr Borrie said the "there was a much greater understanding and appreciation of town planning today than in 1929, when Melbourne last had a plan, which was pigeon holed. The reason was that city problems today were more acute and more obvious, and much nearer to the people".

CONCLUSION

Australian governments followed a global trend of entrenching planning using legislation during the early post-War period[38]. On the surface, governments in the UK and Australia enthusiastically endorsed planning as a means of "winning the peace". Yet, governments were aware that legislation was not enough to ensure a well-planned future. Instead, the focus turned to knowledge exchange through international means, tempering the visionary nature of planning to avoid it being seen as utopian, and rolling out a concerted public relations campaign[39].

Melbourne illustrates this trend well with the additional complexity of being a site of waxing and waning influence from both US and UK styles of planning. Melbourne is also unique in Australia for the government's commitment to allow planning responsibility to rest with an extant metropolitan utility, the Board of Works. While this ensured that planning sat within the heart of expert-driven organization dedicated to urban management it also meant that planning had to carve an intellectual and professional space in an organisation dominated by engineering concerns. The 1954 metropolitan plan itself, while a cautious trend-tidying template, represented a landmark in Melbourne's planning history and secured a permanent state-endorsed metropolitan planning apparatus.

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RESILIENCE, DESIRABLE AND UNWANTED: HISTORIES OF NEGATIVE PLANNING AND ITS PERSISTENT EFFECTS ON SOUTH AFRICAN URBANISM (1940-1975)

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Despite the '40 lost years' of apartheid, South African cities have demonstrated an astounding positive resilience as they have continued to function in ways that have provided opportunities to millions of migrants, domestic and international. Of course, the conditions under which majorities have had to live are not by any means always positive. Yet there are features of the urban that have persisted despite the destructions wrought by apartheid planning that constitute forms of resilience. At the same time, whilst an argument may be constructed in favour of positively resilient aspects of urbanisms, three further points emerge in the South African experience. First, it may be argued that 'the people' rather than the physical city have proved resilient. Secondly, some of the most resilient elements less happily derive precisely from plans of the segregated and oppressive past, whilst newer plans sometimes seem ephemeral by comparison. In consequence, some forms of resilience could be described as negative. Thirdly, the quarter century of post-apartheid urban policy and planning has rather weakly struggled to overcome the negative 'resilient' aspects created in the past, and to engage positively. The purpose of this paper is thus to explore varied meanings of resilience in South African cities and to contribute to enrichment of thinking about resilience in contemporary conditions around the world. The sources for the paper include archival, documentary, and related types, and the argument of the paper includes revisiting the account of planning history made in perhaps more optimistic earlier times of post-apartheid (see for example Mabin and Smit 1997). The paper searches for evidence of diverse tangible and intangible structures that support positive social and physical resilience and rebuilding, as well as identifying negative elements in the persistence of urban forms, urban visions, governance structures and policy making that undermine recovery from periods of oppression, destruction and difficulty.

Keywords
resilience, apartheid, negative aspects, urbanisms, rebuilding, structures, forms, visions

V.01 P.319   Alan Mabin

RESILIENCE, DESIRABLE AND UNWANTED: HISTORIES OF NEGATIVE PLANNING AND ITS PERSISTENT EFFECTS ON SOUTH AFRICAN URBANISM (1940-1975)

TOC

MADRID VS BARCELONA: TWO VISIONS FOR THE MODERN CITY AND BLOCK (1929-36)

Jean-Francois Lejeune

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The paper proposes a comparative analysis between two parallel moments in the growth of modern architecture and urbanism in Spain before the Civil War: in Barcelona with the works of José Luis Sert and GATCPAC (1931-1936), and in Madrid with the works of Secundino Zuazo (1929-1936). Unique in this comparative situation is the fact that both architects spearheaded, at the same time, a master plan for their city and built an experimental block whose urban and architectural characteristics concretized their morphological and typological conception of the modern city. The comparative process intends to emphasize the presence of two major spheres of influence and two fundamental visions of modernism—equally radical in spite of the Barcelona bias in the historiography—in pre-Civil War Spain: Le Corbusier in Catalonia and German modernism in Madrid. Sert and his friends from the GATCPAC group developed the Plan Macía for Barcelona (31-36) in collaboration with the Swiss-born Le Corbusier. Beyond some radical transformations of the historic center, the plan proposed a morphological and typological revision of the Cerdá grid based upon Corbusier's concept of the "immeuble à redents." During the same years, Sert, along with Subirana and Torres Clavé, built the Casa Bloc as an experimental block that was to serve as model for the new expansion of the city (1931-36). In Madrid, Secundino Zuazo, in collaboration with German planner Herman Jansen, won the competition of 1929 for the Madrid master plan and its focus on the northern sector of the city along the Paseo de la Castellana. Between 1930 and 1931, he built the Casa de Las Flores housing block, a re-interpretation of the Viennese Hof with influences from Adolf Loos and the rural-based vernacular of Castile, which he had proposed as the primary typology in his master plan. The paper will argue that, even though these two visions of the city and blocks strongly differed in morphology and typology, both embodied a modern and Mediterranean approach to the city and urban life, which contrasted in many ways with contemporary examples in Northern Europe. Eventually, the master plans were not implemented, but the buildings, damaged or mutilated after 1936, have been renovated or reconstructed. They remain as two exceptional references in the short history of modernism in pre-Civil War Spain, as well as continuous sources of inspiration for contemporary housing in Spain.

Keywords
Urban Planning Madrid, Urban Planning Barcelona, José Luis Sert, Le Corbusier, Secundino Zuazo, Herman Jansen, Modern Block

Cross-Cultural Dimensions of Urban Green Space and Community Mapping

Chair: Theodore Eisenman.

EVOLUTION OF COMMUNITY MAPPING IN PUBLIC SECTOR URBAN PLANNING: CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA

Amanda van Eeden

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Public participation as part of urban planning processes has historically been a varied and contested space. Different levels of public participation are evident from practise and are generally dependent on a range of influences, including the specificities of the planning issue at hand, its objectives, the approach of the practitioner, and the wider policy and legislative environment. Increasingly, it has been recognised that urban planning issues cannot be addressed solely through technical expertise of the planning professional. Collaborative urban planning processes have grown in prominence in recent times, particularly as part of local scale urban planning processes, where the public and other stakeholders' views are regarded as critical to shaping positive outcomes. With this shift, a range of techniques and tools have been employed as a means to enable more effective public involvement and collaboration and to bring to the fore valuable local knowledge.

Traditionally, baseline information such as contained in census, and socio-economic surveys have formed the data backbone informing (especially "top down") public sector urban planning processes. With the advent of Geographical Information Systems (GIS) and its advances, the ability to spatially display and analyse and even model future performance within the urban environment has enhanced these efforts. However, with a more localised "bottom up", collaborative planning focus where local knowledge is emphasised as the critical source of knowledge, a new focus on the role of spatial analytical techniques has arisen. One of those techniques reflects active involvement of the public in the collaborative production of knowledge through processes such as "community mapping". These techniques have demonstrated success both in terms of what they bring to the nature of the public participation process including levels of trust and ownership, but also in shaping the planning proposals and interventions. There is a strong legislative basis for public participation in South Africa since the end of apartheid (post 2000), it has been in practise where the specific challenges of its operationalising have been faced. Effective public participation on municipal level has become all the more critical in the face of urban planning challenges facing the Country including rapid urbanisation, high levels of inequality, crime and violence and a host of service delivery challenges, which are all experienced at a local scale. As such, urban planning is beginning to engage more strongly with collaborative planning processes and the use of related techniques and tools in efforts to shed its history of "top-down" approaches. In this context, the paper reflects on the evolution of community mapping as a technique used to strengthen local planning programmes and associated public participation processes. The paper provides a literature overview on advantages that relate not only to the final product, but also the manner in which the technique can be utilised as a means of interactively and collaboratively developing knowledge and uncovering spatial issues, patterns and opportunities. The progressive emergence of this tool at municipal level in Cape Town reflects promise in terms of adding new levels of depth of public participation in local planning processes.

V.01 P.325 **Amanda van Eeden**
EVOLUTION OF COMMUNITY MAPPING IN PUBLIC SECTOR URBAN PLANNING: CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA

TOC

URBAN TREE PLANTING IN PARIS SINCE 1600: BETWEEN PATH-DEPENDENCIES AND PARADIGM SHIFTS

Lucie Laurian

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The history of urban forestry management sheds a unique light on the evolution of the relationships between cities and nature, and on how these relationships play out in urban policies and actions. Since they live on average 80 years, decisions regarding urban trees are at once contemporary, highly path-dependent on practices of the last century, and highly influential on the coming century. This places urban trees at the intersection of century-scale cultural developments and changing trends within each cultural-historical period. In Paris, we can track over 400 years of municipal urban forestry practices. In addition to trees in parks and gardens, the Paris municipality has implemented large-scale programs to plant street or "alignment" trees since the early 17th century. Haussmann's 19th century infrastructure works included major – though little recognized- green infrastructure investments. The Second Empire saw the doubling of the number of trees along streets and boulevards from 50,000 to 95,000 (about the current number of trees), along with the first major effort to diversify tree species. Inheriting this program, the current municipality has shifted its urban forestry focus toward sustainable management. For instance, the city uses no chemical applications for pest control, plants diversified, adapted, regional and climate-resilient species, focuses on flowering trees to support the bee populations of the 300 Parisian beehives, and has created small orchards in primary schools. The municipality owns and manages its own dedicated tree nursery and two municipal horticulture schools. It has also setup an open access real-time tree management database for ongoing tree surveillance and tracking, and for public information. Finally, the recognition of exceptional trees enhances the public visibility of these longstanding urban forestry programs. This paper presents the historical context of the development of Paris' urban forestry policies and practices over four centuries. It then discusses the connections between these practices and prevailing views of cities, nature, urban form, aesthetic and sanitation priorities in French culture over the last four centuries. Recent shifts are then analyzed in light of several urban public policy criteria: economic expediency, political commitment to, and framing of, sustainability, and climate change preparedness. Finally, I conclude with a discussion about the lessons urban forestry can teach us about the tensions between cumulative trends (whereby each era builds – or rather plants- on the last) and rapid paradigm shifts.

TREE PLANTING AND MANAGEMENT IN TWENTIETH CENTURY PHILADELPHIA: ACTORS, DRIVERS, AND OUTPUTS

Theodore Eisenman[1] | **Laura Rigell** | **Lara Roman**

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Municipalities are showing substantial interest in urban greening, defined here as the introduction or conservation of vegetation in cities. Tree planting is a prominent expression of this movement, and in the United States cities are pursuing ambitious canopy cover goals and large scale tree planting initiatives – some of which aim for a million new trees within the decade (Young 2011). Yet, there has not been much research on the historical, sociopolitical, or institutional bases of this activity (Pincetl et al. 2013). This presentation seeks to address that gap by assessing twentieth century tree planting and management in Philadelphia, focusing on actors, drivers, and outcomes in the public realm. The investigation addresses the twentieth century because the preceding era has been fairly well covered. In City Trees: A Historical Geography from the Renaissance Through the Nineteenth Century (2006), Henry Lawrence conducted an in-depth history of urban trees wherein Philadelphia figures quite prominently. Likewise, Thomas Campanella's portrait of the American elm in New England touches on nineteenth century city tree planting and management writ-large (2003). These histories identify aesthetics, civic improvement, and national identity as important drivers of U.S. urban tree planting. They also conclude that by the end of the nineteenth century, American cities were characterized by a vast sylvan landscape, and tree planting had become an established component of municipal practice that framed the green city ideal as "a model for the world" (Lawrence 2006, 221). Based on a review of literature, historical analysis of similar depth in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries is lacking. To address this gap, research will be conducted based on municipal and newspaper archives, meetings with city and nonprofit staff, and aerial photographs. If appropriate, findings will be organized in chronological periods. To situate contemporary practice in historical context, the discussion will conclude with a comparison to tree planting in earlier periods as well as potential implications for future practice.

V.01 P.329   **Theodore Eisenman | Laura Rigell | Lara Roman**
TREE PLANTING AND MANAGEMENT IN TWENTIETH CENTURY PHILADELPHIA: ACTORS, DRIVERS, AND OUTPUTS

TOC

A HYBRID STREAM: NATURE, TECHNOLOGY, AND HISTORY IN THE CHEONGGYECHEON RESTORATION PROJECT IN SEOUL, SOUTH KOREA

Yeonsil Kang[1] | **Chihyung Jeon**[2]

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The Cheonggyecheon Restoration Project (2003-2005) was an urban initiative to "restore" the 5.8-kilometer stream in central Seoul by demolishing elevated highways and peeling back the decades-old concrete pavement. A massive civil engineering project in itself, the restoration work caused heated debates on whether it brought back "an environmentally friendly civic jewel" or resulted in a humongous "fish tank" with artificial water supply and meticulously engineered riverscapes. In this study, we examine the entanglement of nature, technology, and history along the new urban landscape in Seoul by following the processes and effects of Cheonggyecheon restoration. What does it mean to "restore" a stream that has been in close contact with human society for hundreds of years? How are nature, technology, and history molded into this new, or restored, urban landscape? What kind of place has the restored Cheonggyecheon become? We argue that the Cheonggyecheon restoration project produced a nature-technology-history hybrid. During the restoration process, scholars, urban designers, and city government officials had a serious debate on how to restore the stream to its "original state." On the one hand, they had different opinions about the right proportions of natural and technological elements in the restored Cheonggyecheon. On the other hand, the urban history of the stream was subject to different interpretations, and thereby to different measures of restoration. As Cheonggyecheon was becoming an "organic machine," a mixture of nature and artifice, its historical role and status within the city added a very important dimension to Seoul's new urban amalgam. The restoration of Cheonggyecheon also had implications for the city's socioeconomic history and future. The restored stream became a place of erasure and denial of the "Cheonggyecheon people," whose life and work had been tightly embedded in the stream's physical and social structure. Displacement of Cheonggyecheon people during the restoration project destroyed the finely organized social and industrial ecology that had been built along the stream over several decades. Given the history of Cheonggyecheon as a place for the urban poor, the restoration project can be considered as yet another example of slum clearance. The restored stream may be loved by many visitors strolling around it, but it has become an urban "non-place," devoid of identity, history, and human interactions.

Keywords
urban stream, nature-technology-history hybrid, nonplace, restoration, Seoul

Planners' Portrait Gallery

Chair: Michael Hebbert

VICTOR GRUEN: A PARADOXICAL ROUND TRIP BETWEEN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES

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Fifty years ago, Victor Gruen (1903-1980) – now usually relegated as a footnote in most of the histories of architecture of the Twentieth Century, was one of the most influential architects in the occidental part of the world. Two reasons, at least, could explain the oblivion regarding his work: First, his aim was to design the architecture of everyday life, mainly intended for the middle class caught in the Post World War II euphoria of mass consumption. Second, his architecture and planning refer mainly today to a double failure: the shopping centre failed to be the new urban centre he had imagined for the suburb; the shopping mall (or pedestrian mall) failed to save the city centre from the decline – and sometime the ruin – speeded up by the development of the shopping centre. Actually, his thought seems to most of the critics at least paradoxical. Recognized as the "father" of the shopping center, Victor Gruen Associates was acclaimed for building new regional shopping centres all over the United-States. On the other side, as early as the mid-fifties, he alerted his contemporaries to the dangerous phenomenon that was hitting most of the American cities, changing them into "doughnuts": the depopulation of the cores and the increase and development of the suburbs. To fight against chaotic suburban sprawl and the death of the downtown, he urgently called for comprehensive planning at the metropolitan scale, as the only means of preventing simultaneous expansion of the "dough" and irremediable ruin of the "hole". The pedestrian shopping mall designed for the downtown area as part of a revitalization plan integrating – with the help of the three-dimensional planning – all the essential functions of the city – traffic, business, shopping, housing – was thus imagined as the counterpart of the regional shopping centre. Born in Vienna, Victor Gruen never forgot his European background and always kept in mind an idealized image of the European City. His architecture and planning are a transposition, in the second half the Twentieth Century, of this idealized image, with the hope that it would built a better urban environment. Back in Europe, mid-sixties, he urged his contemporaries not to reproduce the mistakes made in the United-States, and to focus their attention on the city centres of the old as well as of the new towns being designed. This is another paradox of Gruen's career: once back in Europe – retired from Victor Gruen Associates –, he started a new activity in Vienna (Victor Gruen International) and created a new foundation (Victor Gruen Association for Environmental Planning), working fervently to brink back life in the city centres while Europeans were dreaming about the American shopping centre. This paper will focused on this second part of his career during which Gruen worked in France, Belgium, Italy, Swiss, Austria with the aim to understand Gruen's major influence on so many projects for new towns or city centres revitalization plans.

HANS BLUMENFELD & URBAN RENEWAL – THE RESILIENCE OF URBANISM IN THE CRITICAL 1960S

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There is a growing interest in the intriguing figure of German city planner Hans Blumenfeld, due to his international experiences that exemplified the exchange of ideas between Europe, the Soviet Union and North America (Hein 2014, Joch 2014) and because much of his work in North America took place at a critical juncture for urbanism (Klemek 2011). Following stints in the USSR and the US, Blumenfeld arrived in Canada in 1955, where he worked for Metro Toronto until 1961 and then as a professor at the University of Toronto and a special advisor to the city of Montréal. My aim is to study the Canadian writings of Blumenfeld from the 1960s to show how he redefined the discourse of urbanism on the urban renewal in order to maintain the authority of the planner. Recent works have showed that the 1960s were a shifting period for urban planning, marked by the end of the CIAM and the collapse of the transatlantic urban renewal order (Mumford 2000, Klemek 2011); but less has been done to understand the resilience of urbanism as an expert discourse in spite of the shockwave. Analyzing the theoretical actions of Blumenfeld will provide some answers. By taking on the critiques addressed to urbanism, Blumenfeld tried to modify the planner's language to answer and fight back: no more "slum clearance" or "blight area," the focus would now be on "obsolescence" and "rehabilitation." Moreover, he turned away from large demolition projects to propose smaller, more dispersed and less photogenic actions. He also marked the difference between the problems of the city and the problems in the city, arguing that urbanism alone could not solve the housing problem of the poor in the city, although it certainly was part of the solution.

However, even if the discourse and actions had changed, as shown by the Montréal project for La Petite Bourgogne in the mid-1960s compared with the Plan Dozois ten years earlier – two cases that I will analyze closely – resistance continued to grow and to rally against the authority of the planner. Recognizing the richness of citizen participation, Blumenfeld nevertheless attacked what he considered immoderate critiques on two fronts. First, he engaged a dialogue with activist thinkers like Jane Jacobs. Turning her own critique against her, he suggested that her criticism of urbanism had created a new form of dogmatism. He also showed that, by acting like interest groups, activists couldn't take future generations into consideration; and, since built forms were a constraint on the liberty of the future, urban policy needed to be based on serious projections of future demands. Consequently, he criticized professionals, like his old colleague Harry Lash, who focussed too much on participation, thus anticipating the debates of the following generation on the value of the communicative turn in planning. Even if the plan must, and will, evolve over time, planners cannot rely only on planning as a process; they have to draw some rational ideas about what to do with the city.

V.01 P.337 **Frederic Mercure-Jolette**
HANS BLUMENFELD & URBAN RENEWAL – THE RESILIENCE OF URBANISM IN THE CRITICAL 1960S

TOC

CONSTANTINOS DOXIADIS AND THE EKISTICS MOVEMENT

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The planning firm of Constantinos Doxiadis (Doxiadis Associates) was one of the largest engineering, architecture and planning consultancies in the world in the postwar decades. Its projects ranged from housing programs to new towns in over forty countries. Doxiadis himself was the jet-setting impresario of the modernizing regime, with contracts from the Ford Foundation, the World Bank, as well as with a host of national governments. He produced dozens of books, hundreds of articles and planning reports on his planning concepts. He is most closely associated with his design theory known as Ekistics, or the science of human settlements. The Ekistics movement was a media-savvy promotional machinery with assets that spread Doxiadis's message far and wide. The Ekistics Society became the magnet for an assembly of charismatic futurists probing alternative visions of global human settlements, many of whom attended his famous Delos Symposia and wrote regularly for his Journal of Ekistics, begun in partnership with Jacqueline Tyrwhitt in 1955. The Athens Technological Institute (founded in 1958) and its Center of Ekistics became an international command center on the future of cities. Its seminars and conferences were a catalyst for high-spirited discussion among mid-century visionary thinkers. More research is needed on Doxiadis and his city-building theories. Even less is known about the Ekistics Movement as among the most important international planning networks of the twentieth century. This conference paper will examine Doxiadis and the membership and activities of the Ekistics Movement as linchpins in the development of a postwar planning culture and fulcrum of visionary planning ideas. Rather than privileging Doxiadis Associates' planning projects, the paper will concentrate on the Ekistics Movement and the Journal of Ekistics as a communicative network and knowledge regime utilized by a wide array of planners, architects, and global thinkers in the 1950s and 1960s. The Journal of Ekistics in particular published original articles and reprinted articles from top professional periodicals in what amounted to a media campaign of extraordinary magnitude and influence. The idea of "human settlements" became the leitmotif for imagining the future of cities. Of particular interest is the role of Jacqueline Tyrwhitt in the Ekistics Movement and her role as interlocutor for the journal. Renowned urban visionary Buckminster Fuller contributed regular articles as did the most important American and European urbanists of their day. The paper will discuss the urban imaginary produced by the thinkers allied with the Ekistics Movement and how their concepts were disseminated through Ekistics meetings, the Athens Technological Institute, and the journal itself.

THE PARADOX OF GORDON CULLEN: BETWEEN INTERNATIONAL CELEBRITY AND A LIMITED CAREER ABROAD

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The British draughtsman, journalist and "townscape consultant" Gordon Cullen had a paradoxical position in the post-war international planning scene. He acquired early international celebrity thanks to his editorial work at *The Architectural Review* and the publication of his book *Townscape*. However, he never managed to establish a broad international professional practice even if he was at first recruited for consultancy abroad by the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations.

INTRODUCTION

Thomas Gordon Cullen became well known after publishing articles in the professional journal *The Architectural Review* (AR) between 1947 and 1959. A vast majority of these articles actually belonged to the famous "Townscape" editorial campaign officially launched in December 1949. The co-owner and shadow editor in chief of the review, Hubert de Cronin Hastings, was behind it but he let other members of the editorial board develop the campaign. Indeed, Cullen, personally recruited by Hastings in 1946, became the main voice, and draughtsman, of the campaign for a decade. Before his recruitment, Cullen was educated as an architect at the London Polytechnic. He became known at first in the architectural milieu through his graphic work for key modern architects like Raymond McGrath and then Tecton. Even if he worked as a draughtsman, his role was not subaltern and he helped these firms in theorising their practice. He developed also an urban critical position in 1940-41 close to the future "Townscape" campaign[1].

In keeping with Hastings' thinking, Cullen developed his ideas in the campaign, which significantly evolved during its first decade.[2] It went from the debate on the post-WWII rebuilding policy to a harsher criticism of the national new towns policy in 1952. Then in 1954, after the arrival in the editorial board of the "young angry man" Ian Nairn, Cullen and Nairn collaborated on a global attack of the deterioration of the English townscape and landscape. Cullen officially left the AR editorial board in 1959 and the campaign continued without him. His main articles from the campaign were republished with a theoretical first part in the form of a book simply entitled *Townscape* in 1961.

The campaign and Cullen's articles quickly attracted a broad interest at first in the UK and the Anglophone world at large and then in other cultural spheres. Some famous newspapers published articles about the campaign diffusing it to a general British audience. Beyond the campaign, the renown of the AR itself reached beyond the British architectural milieu. Indeed, since the thirties, a club of brilliant authors formed the editorial board and at least one of them, the poet John Betjeman, was celebrated well beyond architectural criticism circles. During the war, the AR also developed a very special visual identity through experimental layout. So through these features, which greatly exceeded what is expected from the professional press, the AR became the most famous architectural journal in the post-war Anglophone world and surely one of the most famous in other cultural spheres.

So, it is not surprising that the book *Townscape* achieved a broad international success. Published at the same time in the UK and in the US, it apparently quickly became popular in the Anglophone world, and really took off after a reduced, paperback version, *The Concise Townscape*, was published in 1971.[3] After a failed attempt to translate it into French, the first series of translations were published in the seventies before a more recent second series making it available in eight languages today.[4] The name of Gordon Cullen, mainly attached to this sole book, became renowned. Moreover, the publication of the book is closely linked with the development of a consultant carrier abroad; he left the editorial board after being involved in the planning of New Delhi and wrote the introduction while there, in 1959.

Beyond the international fame acquired through the "townscape campaign," Cullen already had overseas experience before entering the AR editorial board. At the beginning of WWII, he reported for military service but was rejected because of a medical problem. He went on to participate in the war effort by working on some exhibitions with Misha Black for the Ministry of Information. In 1944, the architect Robert Gardner-Medvin, who assembled a team in charge of a "development and welfare" programme in Barbados, recruited him for civil service.[5] This team focused in particular on "building research" in order to develop housing and public facilities according to local materials and climate. Arriving by boat, Cullen didn't work on the planning issues but rather, in collaboration with Leslie Creed, on "construction systems" for the schools, producing a step-by-step self-construction guide intended to enable the islanders to develop their own buildings.

Thus, by the end of the fifties and the beginning of the sixties, Cullen has achieved international celebrity and had already worked abroad. So it is not surprising that he developed an international career after leaving the AR editorial board in order to become "townscape consultant." However this international career was uneven. The first years, between 1958 and 1962, were spectacular; he worked in India and in the US for the two biggest US foundations of the time, the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, in collaboration with two key persons, the planner Albert Mayer and the landscape architect Ian McHarg. In India he participated in big planning teams working alongside the best experts in their fields on the two main Indian metropolises, New Delhi and Calcutta. In the US he was invited by the University of Pennsylvania, which was one of the most advanced in planning at the time and also worked in six of the main cities of the Northeast and the Midwest.

However, his international career abruptly ended by the beginning of the sixties and during the following decade Cullen devoted his consultancy to domestic commissions. It was only in the early seventies that he was again commissioned for studies abroad including a touristic study in Northwest Argentina for the Organisation of the American States and an early study for the Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines new town near Paris, France. Nevertheless, these few commissions were limited in terms of scale and issues, in particular regarding the early ones. In the eighties, he also developed some teaching activity, which in particular led to an international summer school held in his family summer house in the village of Biot on the French Riviera. Again, it was limited in scope given his international celebrity at the time. A careful analysis of his international activity during these two periods reveals the reasons for this contrast[6]. It also sheds light on the larger questions linked to transnational consultancy during the second half of the 20th century: the relation between theory and consultancy, the role of planning cultures, etc.

A SPECTACULAR INTERNATIONAL DEBUT IN CONSULTANCY BETWEEN INDIA AND THE US

Cullen launched his consultanting career in 1958 with a series of three international commissions from two major US foundations, the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations. During this period, they were involved in planning as this topic became a key post war issue. These commissions more or less originated in the same first commission that made a link between Cullen's work as a journalist at the AR and this new career. In April 1958, Cullen and Nairn published a portfolio entitled "Scale of the City" in *Fortune* magazine used as illustrations for the article "Downtown is for People" by the young journalist Jane Jacobs. This article was included in the series "The Exploding Metropolis" edited by William "Holly" Whyte in 1957-58. The origins of that commission remain unclear; Cullen had already illustrated a first article for *Fortune* published in June 1957[7] and there were relationships between the AR and *Fortune*'s sister professional magazine *The Architectural Forum*[8]. The portfolio was a short analysis of the spatial qualities of some American cities' downtowns. Nairn come to the US but Cullen didn't; Nairn took pictures and Cullen made the drawings in England[9]. However, the portfolio played an important role in developing the celebrity of Cullen in the US.

The real involvement of Cullen abroad originated in 1957 when the Ford Foundation asked the US planner Albert Mayer to assemble a team of consultants to help the Indian Town Planning Organisation (TPO).[10] Among the team coordinated by the sociologist Gerald Breese and then the planner Edward Echeverria, Mayer organised a "civic architect" position and asked Gordon Cullen to take it.[11] For Mayer, "civic architecture" corresponded to "one of the most important and significant elements in the whole complex content of a plan. It is the physical and spiritual working out in the third dimension of the thinking and research which go into the plan." He clearly stated that it didn't include "detailed architecture building by building" but rather "the square, the vista, the complex of elements." It seems Mayer secured this position for Cullen early on; Mayer stated with enthusiasm that "he has combined provocative verbal criticism with equally suggestive and evocative sketches of existing architecture and of ideas of his own." Clearly the work for *Fortune,* described with admiration as a commission "to search out, discuss and illustrate good and bad civic architectural conditions," played a key role even if he didn't know that

Clément Orillard
THE PARADOX OF GORDON CULLEN: BETWEEN INTERNATIONAL CELEBRITY AND A LIMITED CAREER ABROAD

Cullen actually didn't come to the US for this. He also appreciated Cullen's work with Tecton, a firm he "knew well and favourably," and cited his work in Barbados in a letter to the Ford Foundation.[12]

Cullen was recruited for three months, travelling in December 1958-January 1959 from England to Mumbai by boat before reaching Delhi and returning to England in April 1959[13]. It seems he mostly stayed in Delhi, only travelling only once, going 254km to the North to visit Chandigarh, which was in construction. While he rejected "Corb" planning as it was "absolutely anti-urb," it seems he was fascinated by the architecture of his Secretariat building in the Capitol Complex.[14] He also participated in a "Seminar on Architecture" at the then young Lalit Kala Akademi along with Mayer, his collaborator Edward Echeverria, the French architect Eugène Beaudouin invited by the Ford Foundation, and Catherine Bauer Wurster who was visiting India.[15]

Despite the initial enthusiasm of Mayer, it seems the position of Cullen in the team was not so comfortable in particular regarding his relationship with the planners including Mayer. In his diary, he complained for instance that he was "absolutely fed up" with not being respected "by planners" and that "Albert did the double talk denigrating but opening."[16] The issue of densification, a central point in the discourse of the "Townscape" editorial policy appears to have been a main point of discussion between Cullen and Mayer.

After publishing a short version in the AR issue of January 1960, he eventually produced a separated report for the Ford Foundation published in February 1961 and entitled "The Ninth Delhi." In its introduction, the chairman of the TPO clearly stated that the report did "not represent the views of the Town Planning Organisation" even if he hoped that the reader would "find these striking sketches and statements thought-provoking." The first pages were devoted to a synthesis of the "Townscape" discourse that was reused as the introduction of the book *Townscape*. Then Cullen dealt with Delhi through a historical and geographical analysis of its articulation with its region, warning about sprawl and asking for a separation between town and countryside, and a pictorial inventory. His proposals focused mainly on several specific sites more or less along a North-South axis. For the Central Vista from the Rashtrapati Bhavan to the War Memorial, the Parliament neighbourhood (Figure 1), and Connaught Place he discussed how to reinforce their characteristics through densification. He also discussed the possibility of creating a new civic centre between Old and New Delhi along the Ram Lila, how to rehabilitate the Old Delhi, and the valorisation of the site of the Jama Masjid. All these proposals were detailed through sketches and illustrated by striking drawings showing a contemporary Delhi associating colonial architecture and modern buildings, sometimes high-rises.

FIGURE 1 Design proposal for the outskirts of the Indian Parliament, New Delhi, 1960.


FIGURE 2 The reorganisation of the public space in front of the Betsy Ross House, "Independent Town Study," Philadelphia, 1960.

Following this first experience, Cullen again became associated with the Ford Foundation when the Indian government requested help in 1961 for the planning of Calcutta. In 1959, under the hospice of the World Health Organisation, the Indian government decided, because of the pressure of the quick changes in the whole metropolitan area, the necessity of a master plan for the improvement of the water supply, sewerage and drainage. The Ford Foundation played a key role by offering advice and assistance in setting up the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organisation (CMPO).[17] Echeverria lead the new team.[18] Cullen appears to have been listed since its origins as the consultant in charge of "civic design" for a longer period of six months between August 1961 and January 1962.[19]

For this commission, he sailed to India traveling this time with his family: his wife, Jacqueline, and his daughters.[20] The position not only of Cullen but also of the whole Ford Foundation team was apparently less comfortable than in Delhi as they looked at a complete planning work while the CMPO was in charge at first with a master plan dealing with a sole topic. Cullen produced a report before leaving, which was not published despite an article that came out in the 1964-65 issue of the Indian *Annual of Architecture, Structure and Town Planning*.[21] Again, he focused on discussing several sites facing densification – Dalhousie Square, the New Market Area, the Maidan, etc. He explicitly articulated these elements at a larger scale along a 10 miles circuit with governmental, professional and commercial precincts, as illustrated by the title, "Calcutta: The Linear City." However, the article showed also a work that was more fragmented than the Delhi study. It associated this proposal with general reflexions about climate and city life and less elaborated sketches or drawings.

Between these two studies in India, Cullen sailed to another country, the US, to work for another foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation. Nonetheless, this commission, undertaken jointly with Nairn, was much more hazardous showing the limits of his work as an international consultant. The difference with the Indian commissions was that his name was not the first considered, Ian McHarg, a Scottish landscape architect trained at Harvard's Graduate School of Design during the Joseph Hudnut-Walter Gropius years, was rebuilding the Department of Landscape Architecture at the School of Fine Arts at the University of Pennsylvania with the help of the Rockefeller Foundation since 1954. In 1957, he decided to expand the two-year programme into a four-year program organised around several themes including "townscape". However, despite having worked in Britain during four of the years of the "Townscape" campaign, he proposed to recruit the landscape architect Peter Shepheard who was close to the AR but didn't participate in the campaign[22]. Then he proposed two members of the AR editorial board who, again, were not the main authors of the campaign and it is finally the AR editor who urged the Rockefeller Foundation to recruit Cullen and Nairn.[23] This constrained commission was erratic.

Nairn and Cullen were supposed to work together on a book provisionally entitled *Townscape USA* but they came separately.[24] Nairn embarked for a car tour of the suburbs and the countryside across the US from November 1959 to January 1960 while Cullen visited several downtowns and key persons from April to June 1960: New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Pittsburgh, Chicago, and Boston. Cullen was also a visiting professor at the University of Pennsylvania's School of Fine Arts, participating in juries and apparently working on a proposal for the valorisation of Philadelphia's heritage. This "Independence Town" proposed a redevelopment of the city core west of Independence Mall. It included a global scheme organised around a transformation of this section of Market Street as a new central square and details on the reorganisation of the outskirts of specific historic landmarks: Independence Hall, Christ Church and its Burial Ground, Friends Meeting House, and Betsy Ross House (Figure 2).[25] However, his work in the US seems to have gone nowhere. There were no echoes to his "Independence Town" proposal. The project of the book was split into two manuscripts and only Nairn's was published despite the fact that Cullen completely laid out his manuscript entitled "Urgent West."[26]

Clément Orillard
THE PARADOX OF GORDON CULLEN: BETWEEN INTERNATIONAL CELEBRITY AND A LIMITED CAREER ABROAD

AN UNEVEN FOLLOWING ABROAD: SOME SMALL COMMISSIONS AND A SUMMER SCHOOL

At the same time Cullen launched an international consulting career he also pursued a more fruitful career of consulting in Britain, with more long-lasting results. Even before going to Calcutta, Cullen was recruited by Graeme Shankland to join a team involved in planning Liverpool. Then, he worked in the sixties and in the seventies on urban proposals for several public authorities such as the Camden Borough Council, the Cities of Bolton, Northampton and Peterborough, the Kent County Planning Council, the Buckinghamshire Departments of Architecture and Planning, etc. before ending his career with commissions for the London Docklands Development Corporation and the Scottish Development Agency.

If, sometimes, he worked alone as an independent consultant, he worked mainly within teams[27]. These teams built upon his own professional network, which went back to his studies at the London Polytechnic, his collaboration with McGrath and Tecton, the professional milieu around the AR and the Festival of Britain in which he participated, etc. Beyond his work as "townscape consultant" he also worked as an illustrator for British firms or architects.

Cullen also directly received some small international commissions in the sixties. They were connected with the diffusion of his publications but only one led to work. In August 1966, for instance, the architect Francisco Javier Blanco, president of the new Governor's Committee on Aesthetics and Natural Resources from Puerto Rico, invited Cullen to help the committee to prepare a first report about the environmental problems of the island.[28] In this letter he made explicit reference not only to the book *Townscape* but also to the AR and the New Delhi work. After studying the travel options, Cullen quickly renounced sailing. Instead, he proposed, like for the *Fortune* portfolio, to form a team with Nairn, who could travel to the island by plane. Despite the acceptance of Blanco, it seems this commission went nowhere.[29]

One of the only similar commissions, which succeeded, was a study for the touristic development of Northwest Argentina. It was a part of a larger national effort to develop a first Plan Nacional de Desarrollo Turistico de la Argentina developed by the Direccion Nacional de Turismo with the technical assistance of the Universidad de Buenos Aires and was finally funded and published by the Division of Tourism Development of the Organisation of American States. It focused on planning control proposals for the preservation of scenic and folkloric small towns and villages. In 1968, Eduardo Ellis, a young architect and professor at the Universidad de Buenos Aires began an exchange with Cullen after knowing him through his publications[30].

Ellis, who was yet a key actor in the modernisation of architecture, had just received a grant from the Consejo Nacional de Investigacion Cientificas and Tecnicas (CONICET) for a study trip looking at "perception of the urban scale"[31]. He eventually met Cullen a first time at his home after spending one year at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and then Paris' Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes.[32] He quickly became a friend of the family and ended his study trip in Biot, the village where the family had a summer house.

In his earliest letters, Ellis invited Cullen to Argentina to join the touristic study and, at first, Cullen accepted since Graeme Shankland was associated with this project.[33] However, in 1972 Cullen was forced to give up travel and he proposed instead again the configuration experimented more than ten years ago with the Fortune portfolio; Nairn, who was supposed to fly to Latin America for the Sunday Times would go to Argentina to be "his eyes" there.[34] Finally, Nairn didn't go and Cullen was seconded by Antony Meats, an associate from Shankland & Cox. Meats went to Argentina in April and May 1973 and, when back in Britain, worked on the "townscape proposals" with Cullen.[35] Thus, the report published in 1974 is a mix between the analysis of the general region and some specific sites drawn up by Meats and the proposals for three sites, the town of Cafayate (Figure 3) and the villages of Humahuaca and Tafi del Valle designed by Cullen and Meats dealing with preservation districts, control of the residential sprawl, valorisation and extension of the public spaces and some programs. All the illustrations of the report, including the first part, were drawn by Cullen.

Clément Orillard
THE PARADOX OF GORDON CULLEN: BETWEEN INTERNATIONAL CELEBRITY AND A LIMITED CAREER ABROAD
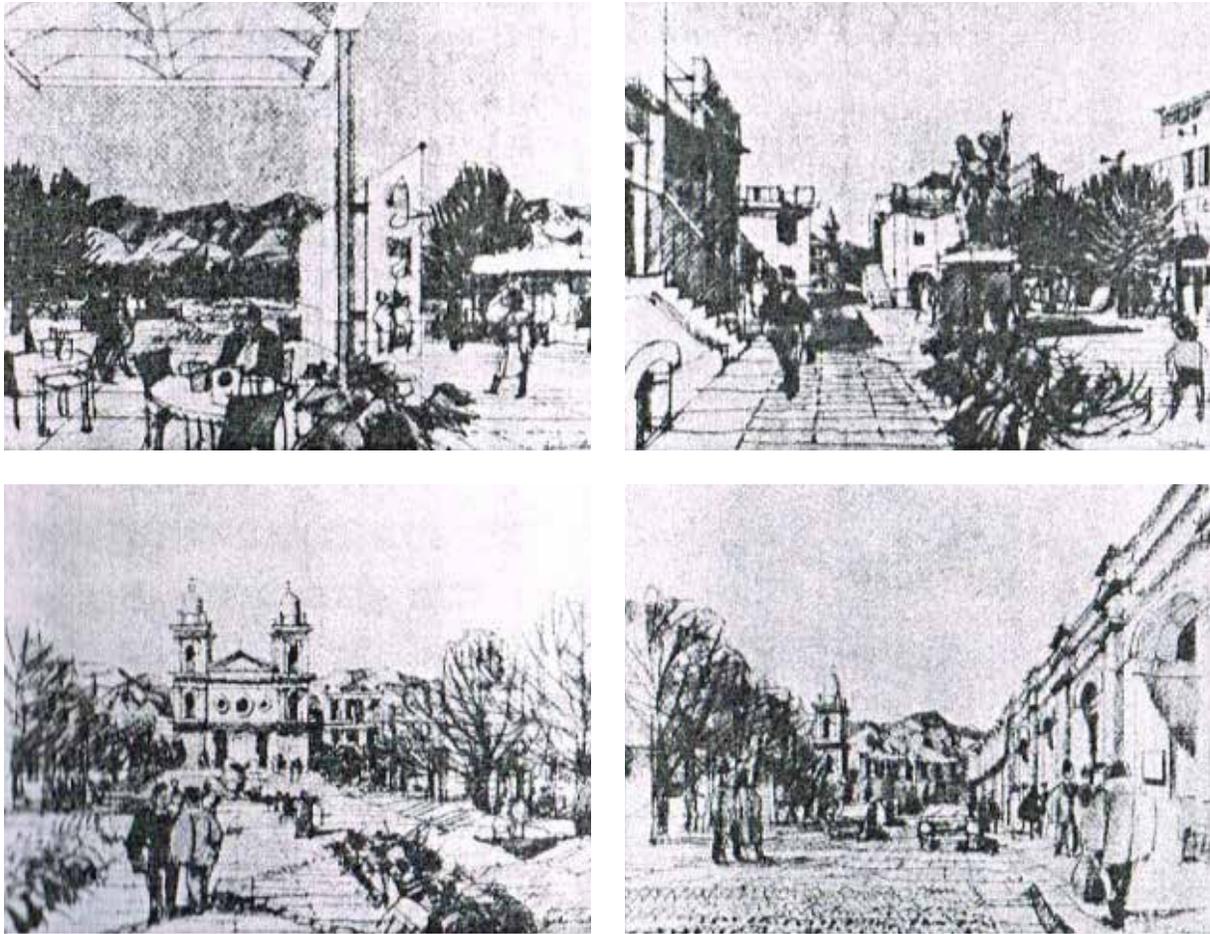
FIGURE 3 Townscape proposals for the city centre of Cafayate, Argentina, 1974.

The other commissions abroad usually came through other consultants in his personal network. For instance, one of his first commissions abroad during the seventies was a study in 1971-1973 for one of the new towns of Paris Region, St Quentin en Yvelines, which harkens back to his pre-war network. Jock Kinneir, the famous graphic designer, invited Cullen, along with a French sociologist, to work with his firm Kinneir Calvert Tuhill (KCT) for a study for the new town contracted in late 1971.[36] Cullen probably knew Kinneir from the Festival of Britain and they seem close in their correspondence.

The scope of commission from the *Etablissement public d'aménagement* [public corporation] seemed confused from the beginning. After a meeting with Kinneir, Cullen proposed to divide the job between the members of the team, with Kenneir working on the physical orientation, the sociologist working on social hierarchy or ferment and then Cullen dealing with the concept of "the communicating town" through a "practical 'phrase-book' of the environment and the analysis of an English new town and a French existing town.[37]

Apart from that, Cullen worked also on the Centre des 7 Mares, which was already programmed by the public corporation and designed by the French architect Philippe Deslandes in a functionalist style with mono-functional buildings resting on an artificial concrete ground separated from a park. Upon the basis of Deslandes' plans, Cullen made proposals for some changes trying to give the character of enclosed square to the public space on the artificial ground in articulation with the park[38]. However, a meeting in October 1972 made clear the programme and the design could not be changed and Cullen's work became limited to theoretical issues.[39]

FIGURE 4 Extract of the "Identity Kit" chapter, study for Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines, 1974.

FIGURE 5 Announcement in Dutch of "The Biot School" written by Rudi Kegel, 1984.

In the final bilingual report entitled "*La signalétique urbaine*" [urban signage] in French and "Aspects of Communications in the Urban Context" in English, his work appears relatively limited and strange. Not only does it seem limited to only one chapter entitled "Identity Kit for a City," but, in contrast with his usual work, this general text discussing general features is illustrated by very basic kid-like sketches from a notebook (Figure 4).[40] The reason for this choice is not clear but can be seen as an ironic answer to the *Etablissement Public*. Nevertheless, the entire KTC work about this new town aparently did not go very far although some limited element in terms of signage were finally used.

Cullen also participated in other international studies linked to his British network. For instance, he worked a second time on the Barbados with the Church Village redevelopment study in Bridgetown published in 1978. This commission was linked not with his pre-war work but with a member of his post-war network, the architect and planner David Gosling who was commissioned and assembled the team after working there in 1964 and in 1970.[41] Gosling corresponded with Cullen as of 1968, but it is only after a first collaboration in 1974 on the study of the British private new town of Marycutter and another for a competition bid for the planning of Porto Santo in the Portuguese archipelago of Madeira that he asked Cullen to join a commission in Barbados[42]. In this work, it seems Cullen limited his participation to a "townscapist" analysis of the proposed redevelopment.

In the eighties, his commissions abroad seem to come to an end, as he became heavily involved with big public urban renewal agencies of the Thatcher administration. However, his international action didn't vanish but changed from consultancy to teaching. Indeed, since middle of the seventies, the education milieu opened its doors to Cullen, beginning with contact from Oxford Polytechnic's Joint Centre for Urban Design.[43] However, his main teaching activity went into the opening of a summer school on the French Riviera where the parents of his wife lived, in the small village of Biot where the family had a summer house. The first session was organised in 1980 and the school ran at least until 1986[44].

As the 1981 flyer explained, it was a one-week seminar running two times in June alternating courses in the basement of the Cullen family house and exercises in the village:

Clément Orillard

THE PARADOX OF GORDON CULLEN: BETWEEN INTERNATIONAL CELEBRITY AND A LIMITED CAREER ABROAD

"Studio work involves slide talks on the origins of a visual vocabulary through Townscape, Conservation and Regeneration. Its applications are illustrated by planning studies and case histories taken from professional practise. There are also simple specific studio exercises in urban design. It is intended that the course should be flexible so that a person may concentrate on one part whilst becoming aware of the general subject.

The real classroom starts just outside the studio door in the town itself. Drawing exercises and planning problems are posed in a living world where you walk through the shadows you are studying to buy a loaf of bread."[45]

This school was international from the beginning as it was mainly supported by two foreign architects, one American and one Dutch, who where teaching in schools of architecture. The first key person was the American architect Dennis Grebner, professor at the University of Minnesota, who organised the school through Townscape Ltd., the company he created with Cullen to represent him in the US. The other one was Rudi Kegel, professor at the then Technische Hogeschool Delft now Delft University of Technology (Figure 5). Nevertheless, the 1981 session announcement attracted interest beyond these two countries, in UK of course but also in Sweden and Belgium.[46] This international teaching activity was not limited to the Biot school. Through a participant in the Biot school, the department of city planning of the Acadamie van Bouwkunst in Amsterdam invited Cullen for a one week design workshop in March 1983 that dealt with the interaction between the central station and the river IJ[47].

CONCLUSION

The uneven international career of Cullen, which associated small commissions during more than two decades after a four year spectacular debut, is clearly linked to his personality and personal life. First he was shy, which was a problem for developing consultancy. He was also unable to fly, which explains why he had to sail for a work overseas, thus increasing the delays for each commission. His family also grew by the beginning of the sixties. He was not happy far from them and despite the fact that they went in Calcutta, it was the only time they travelled with him.

Moreover, the professional context itself explained these limitations. He never sought to have and international l career. Albert Mayer presented him with what seems to be the first of consultancy proposals in 1958, when he was still a member of the AR editorial board. Graeme Shankland's asking him to join his Liverpool planning team in 1961, probably changed the situation in a major way.

Add to this his probable disappointment with the first big international commissions he received, even if he had a clear position in the Ford Foundation teams. Despite Mayer's personal involvement in his recruitment for the Delhi team, Cullen was frustrated by what seemed to him to be a lack of confidence and his position was not firm. Clearly, the civic design issues were not as important as more pragmatic ones, such as sanitisation, in particular in Calcutta. The work done for the Rockefeller Foundation probably also frustrated him because the working relationship between himself and McHarg didn't pan out and because his manuscript was never published. After 1962, he went back abroad but only working with teams of close colleagues or friends. He tried to transform two commissions to include Nairn, who could fly, and he also worked with colleagues with whom he collaborated with first at home. Even in running the summer school, he was seconded by two admirers.

However, there was a more important explanation: there were not that many overseas proposals. Indeed, one apparently finds traces of no other proposals in the archives, and this despite Cullen's increasing celebrity after the publication of *Townscape* in 1961 and its first translations in the seventies. Being a internationally renowned author didn't parlay into international commissions. He was not alone. During the same period, other key theorists whose publications became international successes never developed a career abroad. It was the case of the American Kevin Lynch who authored *The Image of the City,* which was translated into several languages faster than *Townscape* and who developed both a career as an academic and an urban designer.

On the contrary, several designers without theoretical activities succeeded in establishing international careers. This scenario raises the question about the post-war relationship between theory and practice at a transnational level. Some pioneers in planning theory such as Patrick Geddes and Joseph Stubben transformed their international celebrity into commissions abroad. Maybe Cullen and Lynch exemplified that international celebrity in theory didn't mean an international professional career in the post-war years.

However, the theoretical discourse they produced was for a great part idiosyncratic; the "Townscape" editorial policy of the AR was rooted in a very English architectural context while the research done by Lynch at MIT was attached to the field of urban design, which remained exclusive to the US universities during a decade. The success of their discourse abroad was much more based upon a local appropriation that often fed into a different kind of practice. Here is maybe the point that changed after WWII; publishing in planning and architecture greatly increased and made possible the diffusion of discourse at an international scale, but the practices were increasingly developed at a national scale with the creation of strong national policies, administrations, professional organisations, and education in planning.

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Notes on contributor

Trained as an architect, Clément Orillard is maître de conferences (Associate Professor) at the École d'Urbanisme de Paris (UPEC/UPEM) and researcher at the Lab'Urba. His main research field focuses on the transnational perspectives on the disciplinary and professional structuring the built environment, with particular reference to the emergence of urban design and the individual contributions of Kevin Lynch and Gordon Cullen. He works also on the development of French *urbanisme*: the planning history of the Paris region and the co-construction of public and private actors in public urban developments such as new towns.

Endnotes

1   Clément Orillard, "Gordon Cullen beyond *The Architectural Review.* Some New Perspectives from his Personal Archives."
2   See Mathew Aitchinson, "Townscape: Scope, Scale and Extent," Erdem Erten, *Shaping «The Second Half Century»: the Architectural Review, 1947-1971,* Powers, Alan, "Townscape as a Model of Organised Complexity," and Anthony Raynsford, "Urban Contrast and Neo-Toryism: on the Social and Political Symbolism of *The Architectural Review*'s Townscape Campaign."
3   The first version was published by the Architectural Press in UK and Reinhold in the US.
4   In 1967, a translation in French was proposed to the publisher Dunod, who eventually turned it down because they were translating Kevin Lynch's *The Image of the City* and it was seen as being too close. The Japanese and Italian versions were published in 1975 and 1976 but the Spanish translation, apparently done in 1974, was published only in 1981. It was later translated in Serbian (1990), Portuguese (2009), Polish (2011), Chinese (2011).
5   Iain Jackson, "Tropical Architecture and the West Indies: From Military Advances and Tropical Medicine, to Robert Gardner-Medwin and the Networks of Tropical Modernism"
6   This is done in particular through the analysis of his personal papers now stored at the University of Westminster archives and the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation archives. They are referenced as follows: UoW/CUL/X = University of Westminster archives / Cullen papers / box ; FF/X/X = Ford Foundation archives / grant / folder ; RF/X/X/X/X = Rockefeller Foundation archives / record group / series / box / folder.
7   Gilbert Burke, "Britain: 'The Crust is Cracking'."
8   Douglas Haskell, editor of *The Architectural Forum,* published articles in *The Architectural Review* in the thirties. See Peter L. Laurence, "Jane Jacobs, the Townscape Movement, and the Emergence of Critical Urban Design," in John Pendlebury, Erdem Ertem and Peter J. Larkham (eds.), *Alternative Visions of Post-War Reconstruction: Creating the Modern Townscape,* London: Routledge, 2015, 216-226.
9   Clément Orillard, "Tracing Urban Design's 'Townscape' Origins. Some Relationships Between a British Editorial Policy and an American Academic Field."
10 This body, attached to the Ministry of Heath, was created two years earlier by the national government to produce a master plan for Delhi. This first attempt to develop planning in India was part of the 1957 Delhi Development Act.
11 Gerald Breese was the director of Princeton's Bureau of Urban Research and Edward Echeverria regularly collaborated with the firm Mayer, Whittlesey & Glass. The other members were the urban sociologist George Goetschius, the regional planner Britton Harris, the economist Bert F. Hoselitz, the traffic expert Walter C. Hedden, the policy analyst Archie Dotson, the sociologist Marshall Clinard. Ravi Sundaram, *Pirate Modernity: Delhi's Media Urbanism,* 43.
12 Letter from Albert Mayer to Walter Rudlin, December 17, 1958 [FF/PA57-205/4].

13   Letter from Walter Rudlin to Douglas Ensminger, December 18, 1958 [FF/PA57-205/4].

14   Delhi Diary [UoW/CUL/33]. He made some pictures of it and a drawing he showed in a small exhibition he organised in 1980. Beyond Le Corbusier, he probably already personaly knew Jane Drew who was involved in the MARS group and participated to the Festival of Britain. In his personal archives, a 1969 letter from Drew beginning with "Dear Gordon" and signed as simply "Jane" shows some close links [UoW/CUL/56].

15   This seminar was organised by the architect Achyut P. Kanvinde and inaugurated by the Prime Minister Nehru. See Achyut P. Kanvinde (ed.), *Seminar on Architecture.*

16   Delhi Diary [UoW/CUL/33].

17   Prabuddha Nath Roy "Calcutta: The Myth of Decay" and Swades Kumar Bhattacharya, "Calcutta's Water Supply," in B. Dasgupta, M. Bhattacharya, D. K. Basu, M. Chatterjee, T. K. Banerjee (eds.), *Calcutta's Urban Future: Agonies from the Past and Prospects for the Future,* 100-101 and 255-256.

18   In 1960, Mayer retired and Echeverria became an associate, along with Walter Conklin, and the firm name was changed to be Whittlesey, Conklin & Echeverria. Letter from Julian H. Whittlesey to Paul Ylvisaker and Robert Culbertson, March 2, 1961 [FF/61-217/4].

19   "Ford Foundation Team Schedule – In India, 29/7/61" [FF/61-217/4]. The change from "civic architect" to civic design" probably reflected the development of urban design or civic design as a new academic field. See Clément Orillard "The Transnational Building of Urban Design: Interplay Between Genres of Discourse in the Anglophone World" In the first document entitled "Ford Foundation Consultant Team. Preliminary List of Candidates. April 28, 1961" [FF/61-217/4] more than one candidate is considered for all the positions except for the "civic design" position; only the name of Cullen is listed. As the work was built upon expertise fed by the US universities, the team was much larger than the Delhi one including only Echeverria and Archie Dotson from the Delhi team. The others were the physical planner Julian Whittlesey, the economists George Rosen and Stanislaw Wellisz, the physical scientist John Carroll, the social planner Paula Echeverria, the traffic planners Wilbur Smith and Hugh Nynn, the transportation engineer Dr. Katahira, the firm Parsons, Brinkerhoff Quade & McDonald for bridge and tunnel engineering, the housing management specialist Elizabeth Wood, the regional planners Brian Berry and Northon Ginsberg, the survey specialist Donald Belcher, the industrial planners William Bredo and Richard Morse, the political scientists Myron Weiner and Satish Arora.

20   Interview with the Cullen family.

21   Gordon Cullen, *Civic Design Studies* and Gordon Cullen, "Calcutta, the Linear City," *Annual of Architecture, Structure and Town Planning.* Cullen also illustrated the article CMPO, "Towards a New Calcutta." See also Santosh K. Gosh, "Calcutta Urban Growth and Built Form" in B. Dasgupta, M. Bhattacharya, D. K. Basu, M. Chatterjee, T. K. Banerjee (eds.), op. cit., 153.

22   "Interviews: visit of C. Gilpatric to Institute for Urban Studies, School of Fine Arts, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 7 May 1958" [RF/1.2/200/456/3900] and School of Fine Arts, University of Pennsylvania, "A Proposal to the Rockefeller Foundation for Research in the Design of the Urban Environment," June 2, 1958 [RF/1.2/200/456/3901].

23   "Interviews: C. Gilpatric with I. McHarg, 24 April 1959" [RF/1.2/200/456/3901].

24   Letter from Ian Nairn to Gordon Cullen, November 7, 1959 [UoW/CUL/33].

25   Ten wide leafs probably from a paperboard are stored in Cullen's archives presenting this project through drawings with comments.

26   Random House published Nairn's manuscript under the title *The American Landscape* but refused to publish Cullen's manuscript. A friend of Jane Jacobs at first enthusiastic also eventually renounced. See Clément Orillard, "Tracing Urban Design's 'Townscape' Origins." The manuscript, the layout and the contacts are stored in the archives [UoW/CUL/53 & 54].

27   Clément Orillard, "Gordon Cullen and his Changing Practice."

28   Letter from Francisco Javier Blanco to Gordon Cullen, August 16, 1966 [UoW/CUL/39]

29   Letter from Gordon Cullen to Francisco Javier Blanco, October 26, 1966 and Letter from Francisco Javier Blanco to Gordon Cullen, November 2, 1966 [UoW/CUL/39]. In a letter to Nairn on January 31, 1967, Banco said the plane tickets are enclosed, but in a letter on February 27, the Chairman of Puerto Rico Planning Board asked him to come as if no plans had yet been made.

30   Letter from Eduardo Ellis to Gordon Cullen, July 16, 1968 [UoW/CUL/56]. It refers to earlier correspondence probably lost.

31   Antonio Battro, "De Biot a Pumamarca: la exploracion del espacio y de la escala humana." Ellis taught at the University of Buenos Aires as of 1956. He was a member of the "Casas Blancas" movement, a local version of critical regionalism, and built with Claudio Caveri in 1956-57 the church Nuestra Señora de Fatima in the suburbs of Buenos Aires, which was and is still considered as a key piece of Argentina's architectural history. Ellis and the psychologist Antonio Battro eventually participated in the UNESCO project "Growing up in Cities" led by Kevin Lynch published in 1977.

32   Letter from Eduardo Ellis to Gordon Cullen, July 8, 1969[UoW/CUL/56].

33   Letter from Gordon Cullen to Eduardo Ellis, May 23, 1971 [UoW/CUL/56].

34   Letter from Gordon Cullen to Eduardo Ellis, January 14, 1972 [UoW/CUL/56].

35   Antony Meats and Gordon Cullen, *Programa de desarollo turistico del NOA: Estudio del paisaje urbano en los pueblos del noroeste,* 1 [UoW/CUL/66].

36   Letter from Jock Kinner to Gordon Cullen, December 13, 1971[UoW/CUL/49].

37   Letter from Gordon Cullen to Jock Kinneir, March 16, 1972 [UoW/CUL/49].

38   Four plans on trace paper from schematic sketches to detailed design are stored in the archives [UoW/CUL/49].

39   EPASQY, "Compte-rendu de la réunion du 27 octobre 1972 à Buloyer" and letter from Jock Kinneir to Gordon Cullen, December 19, 1972 [UoW/CUL/49].

40   Kinneir, Calvert, Tuhill, "La signalétique urbaine," EPASQY, 1974, 69-82 [UoW/CUL/49].

41   David Gosling and Associates, "Church Village – Final Report," November 1978, 7-12 [UoW/CUL/80].

42   Letter from David Gosling to Gordon Cullen, February 19, 1968 [UoW/CUL/47]. At this moment, Gosling was working at the Irvine Development Corporation. He eventually left for the University of Sheffield in 1972. About Marycutter and Porto Santo, see David Gosling, *Gordon Cullen: Visions of Urban Design,* 101-109 and 118-119.

43   A research project "The Oxford Connection" undertaken with the Joint Centre for Urban Design is cited in a first document in 1974.

44   A first session is cited in a letter from Gordon Cullen to Rudi Kegel, December 29, 1980 [UoW/CUL/72] and a leaflet was produced for the publicity of the 1986 session [UoW/CUL/60].

45   "Urban Perception – Gordon Cullen's 1981 Seminar BIOT France," 2 [UoW/CUL/99].

V.01 P.351   Clément Orillard

THE PARADOX OF GORDON CULLEN: BETWEEN INTERNATIONAL CELEBRITY AND A LIMITED CAREER ABROAD

46 Letter from Fritz Wulz to Gordon Cullen, May 27, 1981 and letter from Johann van Geluwe to Gordon Cullen, March 16, 1981 [UoW/CUL/72].

47 Letter from Hans van der Made to Gordon Cullen, October 23, 1982 [UoW/CUL/57] and Academie van Bouwkunst, Amsterdam – Afdeling Stedebouw, "Werkweek Ontwerpen Maart 1983 – Gastdocenten: Gordon Cullen en Peter Barker – Centrale Ij-oevers Amsterdam" [UoW/CUL/99]. The other invited critic, Peter Barker, was working at the Milton Keynes Development Corporation.

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Image sources

Figure 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5: University of Westminster archives, Gordon Cullen papers.

THE LAND USE SOCIETY AND THE BRITISH BRANCH, INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR REGIONAL PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT – TWO PLANNING NETWORKS IN POSTWAR BRITAIN

Michael Hebbert

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The paper explores the membership and activities of two overlapping networks of academics, consultants and professionals in postwar Britain, the Land Use Society (founded in 1950), and the British Group of the International Centre for Regional Planning & Development (founded in 1957). Meeting in London for discussions under Chatham House rules, they sought to fill deficiencies in the expertise available within central and local government for the policy requirements of Britain's postwar planning legislation. In pursuing their domestic agenda both networks were open to transnational exchanges of knowledge within the planning movement worldwide. Names such as Francis Amos, Sylvia Crowe, Blaise Gillie, David Glass, Gunther Hirsch, Jimmie James, Emrys Jones, Leslie Ginsberg, Otto Koenigsberger, Nathaniel Lichfield, Frank Layfield, Derek Senior, Percy Johnson-Marshall, Gerald Wibberley and Christie Willatts demonstrate how in the first postwar decades the broad disciplinary basis and holistic perspective of the planning movement served as a counterweight to the particular interests of lobbyists.

Keywords
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V.01 P.353   **Michael Hebbert**
THE LAND USE SOCIETY AND THE BRITISH BRANCH, INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR REGIONAL PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT –
TWO PLANNING NETWORKS IN POSTWAR BRITAIN

TOC

THE SCHOOL OF PLANNING CLUB (1948-1956) AND THE ORIGINS OF THE REGIONAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION

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This paper examines the origins of the Regional Studies Association (RSA) in the context of the activities of the School of Planning Club, which was formed in 1948 by alumni of the School of Planning and Research for Regional Development (SPRRD). SPRRD continued the work of the School of Planning and Research for National Development (SPRND), established in 1934 as part of the Architectural Association School under the direction of E.A.A. Rowse, to teach regional planning along lines inspired by Patrick Geddes. The Regional Studies Association (RSA) was founded in Britain in 1965 in order to: "promote education in the field of regional studies (... which relate to the economic, physical and sociological problems of development in major areas) by the exchange of ideas and information; and to stimulate and aid studies and research into regional planning, development and functions and to disseminate the results of such research." To commemorate its fiftieth anniversary in 2015, the Association commissioned an institutional history, authored by historian James Hopkins, which was published both as a book (Knowledge, Networks and Policy: Regional Studies in Postwar Britain and Beyond (Routledge 2015) and in pamphlet form available on the RSA website. In his statement introducing the pamphlet, Association Chairman Andrew Beer cited as noteworthy themes both the important foundational role played by Sir Peter Hall, and the evolution of the Association "from a relatively insular organisation with a focus on the United Kingdom and its policies to being a truly international organization." Significantly, Hopkins took issue with an account of the origin of the Association by Michael Wise, a founding member. Wise traced a direct link, via the School of Planning Club, between the Association and the Geddessian line of planning thought taught at SPRND. Hopkins argued that Wise under-emphasized the contribution of another group of actors, who studied regions using quantitative methods, along the lines promoted by Walter Isard as Regional Science. Examining the activities of the School of Planning Club between 1948 and 1956, this paper contributes a more nuanced look at the early history of the Association that suggests additional dimensions of the origin story not fully appreciated either by Wise or Hopkins, one that emphasizes both the School of Planning Club as a transnational community of scholars, and the key role Jaqueline Tyrwhitt played in founding and establishing the Club. The paper draws on archival material in the Tyrwhitt collection in the RIBA Library Archive and the Architectural Association Archives.

V.01 P.355 Ellen Shoshkes
THE SCHOOL OF PLANNING CLUB (1948-1956) AND THE ORIGINS OF THE REGIONAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION

TOC

ARCHITECT MASATO OTAKA (1923-2010) AS URBAN DESIGNER: RE-EVALUATING HIS THOUGHTS AND PRACTICES IN URBAN PLANNING AND DESIGN

Naoto Nakajima

University of Tokyo

Masato Otaka (1923-2010) is a well-known architect as a member of the Metabolism Group, which was the most important post-war Japanese architectural movement organized in 1960. He proposed the concept of "Group Form" with up-and-coming architect Fumihiko Maki and realized some architectural and urban design projects including Sakaide Artificial Land as an alternative model of urban redevelopment and Hiroshima Motomachi Apartment as an pioneering model of high-density and high-rise residential block in 1960s. He became a leading star architect before the end of 1960s in Japan. However, he had been gradually dropped out from the front line of architectural design since the early 1970s. Why did he stop presenting his architectural design works in architectural media? An architectural journal picked up Otaka's works after more than 5 years interval in 1974. He wrote in an essay for the issue as below.

"Towns and villages are getting worse while high number of buildings are constructed. Nevertheless, architectural media is filled with many new design works. I am dissatisfied with such a current situation. "Only one project in 10 works he presented in the issue was an architectural design work. All other projects were practical urban design and planning works.

Otaka worked behind the scenes of important big-scale planning projects with planners and engineers from the Japan Housing Cooperation and local governments after 1970's. For example, he was involved in the Tama Newtown construction project as the biggest postwar new town in Tokyo metropolitan area and the Minato-Mirai 21 project as the distinguished urban scale conversion project in Yokohama. On the other hand, Otaka kept a commitment to village planning based on agricultural cooperativism looking for an ideal community-based improvement which had been already lost in urbanized areas. In addition, he continued to be an advisor of the mayor of Miharu, a small local castle town where he was born. He involved many professionals and citizens in environmental design and planning of Miharu. In this paper, I will re-evaluate the forgotten achievement of Masato Otaka in the field of urban design and planning, including his philosophy about urbanism. I'd like to discuss how urban designer should be in reference to the career of Otaka.

V.01 P.357   Naoto Nakajima
ARCHITECT MASATO OTAKA (1923-2010) AS URBAN DESIGNER:RE-EVALUATING HIS THOUGHTS AND PRACTICES IN URBAN PLANNING AND DESIGN

TOC

THE REGIONALIST VISION OF HENRY WRIGHT: LESSONS IN SUSTAINABILITY

Kristin Larsen

University of Florida

This paper examines archival writings of landscape architect, architect, and planner Henry Wright, his contemporaries in the Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA), and more recent explorations of new regionalism, green infrastructure, and sustainability to assess the elements of Wright's community planning, site design, and broader regionalist ideas that prefigured these modern movements. As Planning Advisor to the New York Commission of Housing and Regional Planning, his contributions towards a 1926 proposal for statewide planning form a critical component of this examination. His book, *Rehousing Urban America*, published in 1935, just a year before his death, advocates for more efficient design and development of moderate income and working class housing. Further, his lesser known articles on town planning, land development, and the economics of housing design offer arguments for regionalism and affordability consistent with sustainability principles. These proposals include new town designs integrating intensive mixed use urban areas punctuated with outlying parks as part of a balanced regional network of communities. A comparative and critical analysis of these contributions within the context of his RPAA colleagues and regional scholarship today highlights his legacy.

INTRODUCTION

Though lesser known than his Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA) colleagues – architect Clarence Stein, urban critic Lewis Mumford, and conservationist Benton MacKaye – Henry Wright played a key role in implementing and promoting communitarian regional planning ideals in the 1920s and 1930s. In doing so, he embraced what Stephen Wheeler characterizes as "ecological regionalism" and more recently Philip Berke describes as "environmentally sustainable urban form".[1] After earning his degree in architecture at the University of Pennsylvania in 1901, Wright returned home to Kansas City working initially in the architectural firm of Van Brunt and Howe.[2] A "short trip abroad" in 1902 made a particularly profound impression on him. Reflecting back, he observed about a visit to Waterford, Ireland, "I passed through an archway in a blank house wall on the street to a beautiful villa fronting upon spacious interior gardens. That archway was a passage to new ideas . . . I learned then that the comforts and privacy of family life are not to be found in the detached dwelling, but rather in a house that judiciously relates living space to open space, the open space in turn being capable of enjoyment by many as well as by few."[3]

Given these broader interests, when the opportunity arose, he began work with nationally prominent landscape architect George Kessler in 1903 to assist in designing the World's Fair site in St. Louis. Subsequent jobs in park, boulevard, and subdivision design soon followed. In Kessler's firm, he honed his expertise in site planning, including grading and infrastructure development. A 1913 article in the Architectural Record describes his layout of Brentmoor Park in St. Louis, "It is the intention here more especially to bring out the value of group planning and placing of residences in the proper relation one to another, rather than to give detailed attention to any one of the buildings."[4] After a period of private practice, Wright was among a group of prominent landscape architects and architects employed in Washington, D.C. with the Emergency Fleet Corporation designing communities for war workers during World War I. As Town Planning Advisor, his interest in working class housing and efficient site design deepened. Through Robert Kohn, who oversaw the program, he met Stein, Mumford, and MacKaye, among the cofounders of the Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA) in 1923. During the 1920s and until his death in 1936, his advocacy and practice embraced many of the elements that came to characterize new regionalism, green infrastructure, and sustainability.

As a regionalist, Wright does not sit easily within Emily Talen's category of "planned communities" where she places him and his colleague Stein.[5] Rather than "utopian ideas" regarding "the correct functioning of society within urban areas and the formation of new towns, villages, or neighbourhoods according to specific principles,"[6] Wright designed sites to accommodate open space and buildings to achieve efficiencies in design and capital outlays and also longer term operation and maintenance of the project. Further, his attention to the region, most evident as Planning Advisor to the New York Commission of Housing and Regional Planning from 1923-1926, attests to a broader planning process that more inclusively addressed existing conditions and growth pressures as well as local and regional needs. As Carl Sussman (1979) notes, Wright and his RPAA colleagues developed their housing and new town philosophies from a basis in regionalism,[7] what Berke calls bioregionalism – "melding [the Garden City's] polycentrism with the idea of self-sustaining communities in natural regions."[8] This paper begins by introducing Wright within the context of the RPAA and then reviews recent material to characterize these concepts related to modern planning movements. After identifying criteria of these movements, I more closely examine Wright's own writings, to indicate key elements aligned with these criteria, documenting his legacy to regional planning, green infrastructure, and sustainability in site and housing design. That legacy is more profound than anticipated, attesting to the need to revisit and better understand the historic linkages between these key ideas in planning and design.

WRIGHT'S PLACE WITHIN THE RPAA

In his assessment of the "collaborative genius" of the core membership of the RPAA, Kermit C. Parsons labels Wright "the analyst" – whose attention to detail combined with a visionary quest for perfecting his work complemented the approach of his partner Stein "the manager."[9] These skills resulted in Stein supporting Wright to be the principal author of the 1926 proposal for a state-wide plan for New York. Like the rest of his colleagues, Wright was a communitarian regionalist rather than a metropolitanist, defining the region based on its characteristics, including topography, climate, ecology, culture, economy, history, natural resources, soil, and geography.[10] Consistent with the tenets of Howard's garden city, cities and towns sought an interconnected balance with the surrounding countryside rather than service to a major metropolitan area.[11] Scottish biologist and planner Patrick Geddes also significantly influenced the RPAA membership. He visited the U.S. and attended an RPAA meeting shortly after the group formed. After reading Geddes' 1915 book Cities in Evolution, Mumford began corresponding with him, encouraging him to visit as the RPAA was instituting its mission. Certainly Geddes' holistic regional perspective and call to survey before planning resonated with the membership. As he noted in his book, "each true design, each valid scheme should and must embody the full utilisation of its local and regional conditions, and be the expression of local and regional personality. 'Local character' . . . is attained only in course of adequate grasp and treatment of the whole environment, and in active sympathy with the essential and characteristic life of the place concerned."[12] Wright, like the other RPAA members, considered this communitarian regionalism an integral aspect of his philosophy and practice.

Within this context, the communitarian regionalist viewpoints among the RPAA membership differed. Addressing regionalism more consistently and explicitly in their writings, Mumford and especially MacKaye focused on a broader rural and ecological context. Meanwhile, Wright and Stein adhered to a more urban perspective consistent with their education and training. Roy Lubove characterizes Wright and Stein's emphasis in his classic exploration of the RPAA, "The kernel of the RPAA's program was the cooperation of the social architect and planner in the design of large-scale group and community housing, financed in some measure by low interest government loans, and directed toward the creation of the regional city."[13] Indeed, the regional city became their touchstone.

DEFINING THE NEW REGIONALISM, GREEN INFRASTRUCTURE, AND SUSTAINABILITY

Tracing the philosophy of the RPAA as foundational to current movements in the new regionalism, green infrastructure, and sustainability, modern scholars document a normative approach that privileges place, broadly defined, with an emphasis on decentralization resulting in a balance between the natural landscape and interconnected, discrete communities.[14] In his study examining historical and current characteristics of regionalism, Wheeler identifies recent planning initiatives such as Peter Calthorpe's work in the Salt Lake City region, state-wide growth management efforts, and concepts of liveability and sustainability that link equity, environment, and economics. Holistic and interdisciplinary with efforts to mitigate the negative externalities associated with growth and focus on physical, social, and economic planning, the new regionalism reflects many of the elements advocated by the RPAA.[15] Further, Michael Neuman's exploration of planning and landscape architecture's reengagement with physical design, which he terms "regional design," involves "the arrangement of human settlements in harmony with the regional landscape. It considers the way a system of places – cities, towns, and villages – is connected via infrastructure . . . and cushioned from each other by large landscapes that allow the settlements to 'breathe' . . ."[16] This description of current practice restores updated elements of the garden city as the preferred means to accommodate growth.

The garden city, which RPAA members rechristened the regional city, acted as a defining principle for their advocacy and practice. Ebenezer Howard's garden city integrated landscape as a key design element that, especially as translated and envisioned by Wright and Stein, had circulation and other functional and social uses beyond aesthetics.[17] Berke defines the "polycentrist" vision of the RPAA as essential to current "green community dimensions,"[18] including "harmony with natural systems, human health, spiritual well-being and renewal, and liveable built environments."[19] While he does not attribute it to the RPAA, his final dimension of "fair share community," which "minimizes use of the earth's resources and the harm imposed on other places in pursuit of the community's own goals,"[20] also exemplifies the work of the RPAA membership, including Wright.

These dimensions mirror the characteristics of sustainability, defined as "a dynamic process in which communities anticipate and accommodate the needs of current and future generations in ways that reproduce and balance local social, economic, and ecological systems, and link local actions to global concerns."[21] Certainly understanding current and future needs as a means to "balance local social, economic, and ecological systems" within a broader region resonated with the RPAA. As their founding documents maintain, the purpose of the organization was to "study man's physical environment as influenced by social, economic and aesthetic needs and the technical means of creating new environments [and] serving these needs – with special emphasis on America and the future."[22] The outcome of this study, a regional plan, "would be defined not by boundary lines but by conditions geographic, climatic, and economic, having to do with natural resources . . . so that industry, housing, shopping, farming, recreation and the amenities of life would yield a maximum of comfort and convenience to all."[23] The resulting "cluster of balanced cities" or regional city would offer "a more intimate relationship between the producers of things so that we may minimize the senseless waste now involved in transportation to and from city and countryside."[24] Liveability, place-based economy, sensitivity to natural systems and features, and balance all reflected key elements of the RPAA's communitarian regionalism. A proposal to draft a plan for the State of New York was among the key initial projects the group embraced with Wright as the primary author and illustrator.

STATE PLAN FOR NEW YORK

In 1923, New York Governor Alfred E. Smith established a commission to examine the status of housing across the state. As a long-time supporter of the governor and emerging expert on housing Stein was appointed chair and advocated for a broadening of the commission's name and mission to embrace regional planning as a key issue related to housing need. As the RPAA maintained in its defining principles, "The provision of adequate homes for workers is inseparably tied up with the problems of regional and city development."[25] The New York State Commission of Housing and Regional Planning conveyed its report to the governor in May 1926 "containing a series of studies of forces which have shaped the economic history of the State" with the intent "to find a basis for state planning."[26]

With the assistance of MacKaye, who collected the required data, Wright drafted maps and diagrams and wrote the narrative documenting the evolution of state conditions – physical, economic, and social – through a series of epochs and called for a system of regional and statewide planning to properly direct future growth. The first epoch of statewide development that resulted in "scattered small-scale industry serving local markets" struggled due to a lack of fully understanding and taking advantage of the natural resources available and produced fragmented and isolated communities.[27] The second epoch harnessing steam power and railroad networks resulted in greater concentrations of population creating health, economic, and congestion crises. The current epoch of electric power and the automobile if not properly directed through regional planning agencies and a statewide plan to provide overall structure promised an acceleration of these conditions resulting in "intense city concentration . . . [and] the loss of human values."[28] Further, Wright documented the "economic wastes of congestion" including artificially high land prices and over-burdened transportation networks, which have an impact on both personal travel and the cost of goods.[29]

Kristin Larsen
THE REGIONALIST VISION OF HENRY WRIGHT: LESSONS IN SUSTAINABILITY

Concerns about protected watersheds, the extension over time of New York City's reach for its water supply, and the location of the state's park reservations in relation to its population centers also documented the environmental impacts of the state's growth without planning oversight.[30] As Wright observed, "The best utilization of the State must be governed by the physical contour and distribution of resources."[31] Modeling Geddes' valley section, a cross section of a region identifying opportunities for human activities based on environmental and geographic characteristics, Wright prepared a map of the region from low lands on the shores of Lake Ontario to the slopes of the Adirondack Mountains promoting the survey of the landscape to inform subsequent planning (see Figure 1).[32] More importantly, the composite maps illustrating regional opportunities for development, protection, and reforestation anticipated the more sophisticated layered mapping that landscape architect Ian McHarg popularized over a generation later as a tool to better assess natural systems and opportunities for conservation and development (see Figure 2).
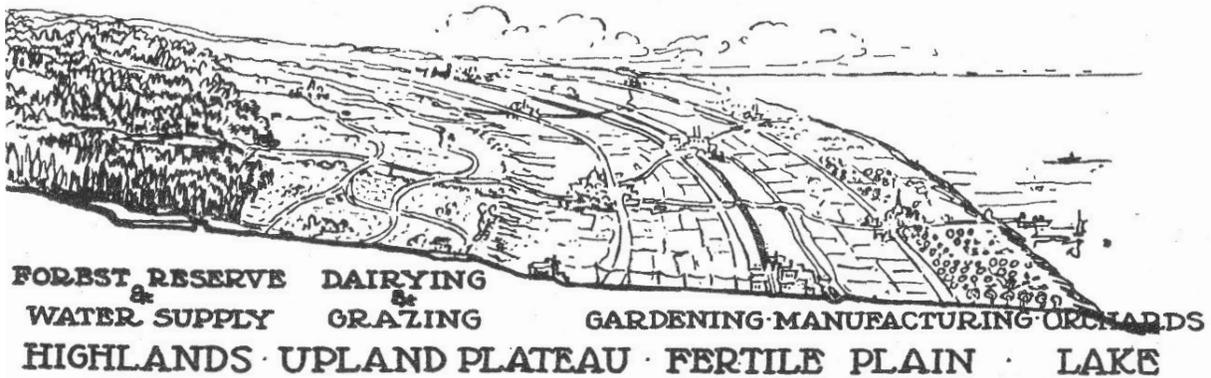
FIGURE 1 Visualized Regional Development of a Typical Section of the State. Showing the designation of land based on characteristics from the lake shore on the right to the mountains on the left.
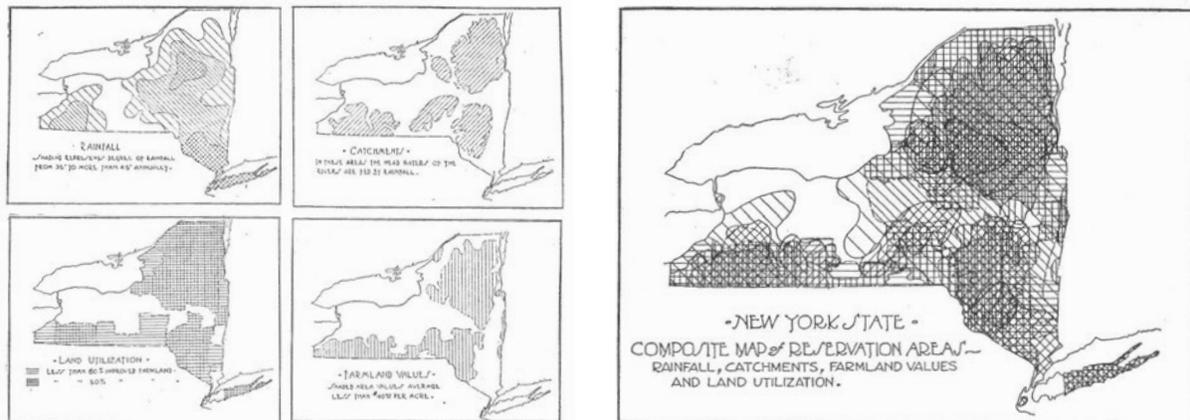
FIGURE 2 Composite Map of Reservation Areas. Those areas with the most hatching in the composite map of rainfall, catchments, farmland values, and land utilisation are best suited for reforestation.

Kristin Larsen
THE REGIONALIST VISION OF HENRY WRIGHT: LESSONS IN SUSTAINABILITY

The region then would provide the basis for planning. As Wright maintained, "A State plan will not attempt to limit this local action with hard-and-fast outlines; it would, rather, attempt to help the several regions solve their problems" by facilitating coordination among these regions along holistic plans "based upon accurate and comprehensive knowledge."[33] With the promise of decentralization, properly anticipated and managed, a new era of networked regional cities was possible. Throughout the period of the 1920s and until his death in 1936, Wright consistently honed his vision, detailing the design and function of these communities from the individual housing unit to the street network, neighbourhood, and park system. Efficiency, affordability, and quality of life were critical considerations in communitarian regionalism.

In 1935/36, Wright's design with fellow town planner Allan Kamstra and architects Albert Mayer and Henry Churchill of a federal greenbelt town, Greenbrook, New Jersey, offered a template of what might be possible in a regional city. The agency overseeing the program, the Resettlement Administration, intended the greenbelt towns, based on Howard's garden city concept and Wright and Stein's adaptation at Radburn, New Jersey, "America's first scientifically planned garden town," to offer a model "for orderly, efficient expansion" of the metropolis.[34] Wright and his colleagues intended these to be "demonstration[s] in modern community building" through the application of careful analysis and planning methods.[35] The concept then was more than the mere application of Clarence Perry's neighbourhood unit concept.[36] At Greenbrook they applied clustered housing to optimize the use of open space, superblocks to accommodate flexible site design, a mixture of housing types and uses to establish complete communities, and infrastructure developed in response to anticipated use rather than standardized expectations. Though the only one of the four planned greenbelt towns never developed, Greenbrook reflected the maturation of Wright's innovation in housing and site design that anticipated many later sustainability and green infrastructure concepts.

EFFICIENCIES IN HOUSING AND SITE DESIGN

As Wright maintains in his 1925 contribution to the RPAA landmark issue of the *Survey Graphic* entitled "The Road to Good Houses," "Building houses individually takes an extravagant amount of land; yet it provides neither sufficient garden-space or privacy."[37] Instead he argues, efficiencies gained in clustering housing, building streets based on the amount of trips generated by adjacent land uses, introducing large scale development techniques to save on construction costs, and designing and planning for the "complete community" creates a more desirable and healthful living environment as opposed to the crowded tenement or the wasteful sprawling suburbs.

Just five years later, Wright outlined a more comprehensive and detailed vision of urban design using the Radburn Idea to envision an intensively developed community with the apartment house as the primary residential unit (see Figure 3).[38] "Improvements are to be had, first through a better disposition of space in streets – open spaces and building areas, and second, through a regulated maximum bulk or density which may be secured either through a proper relation of built to open space on each individual site, or, better, a combined bulk and pooled open area for each given block."[39] This city to accommodate over one quarter million population in a 3-square mile area included a higher density residential/commercial core bounded by major thoroughfares with less intensive detached and row house neighborhoods at the edges. It featured a street system designed to block cut-through traffic, a combination of neighborhood parks, larger city parks, and park belts comprising just over 25% of the city's land area, and industrial jobs easily accessible just outside the 1 ½ mile radius from the center.

By 1931, as a recognized expert in large-scale design, construction, finance, and management, Wright was appointed Research Secretary to President Herbert Hoover's Committee on Large-Scale Operations of the Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership. In that capacity, he documented the benefits of a large-scale approach to develop complete communities containing amenities such as child care and parks and designed to consider the relation between interior and exterior spaces to ensure adequate light and air (see Figure 4).

Kristin Larsen
THE REGIONALIST VISION OF HENRY WRIGHT: LESSONS IN SUSTAINABILITY
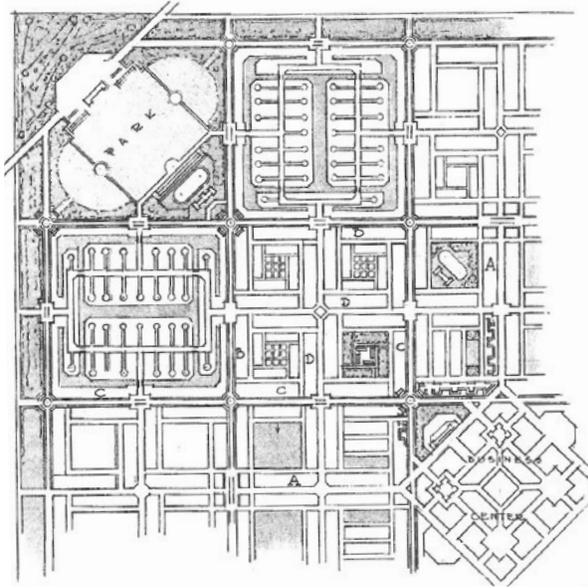
FIGURE 3 A quarter section of Wright's Regional City. Showing the denser urban center, the street system (designated A, B, C, and D). The design of neighborhood streets closer to the business center discourage cut through traffic. Neighborhood parks and the larger park at the corner have different functions.
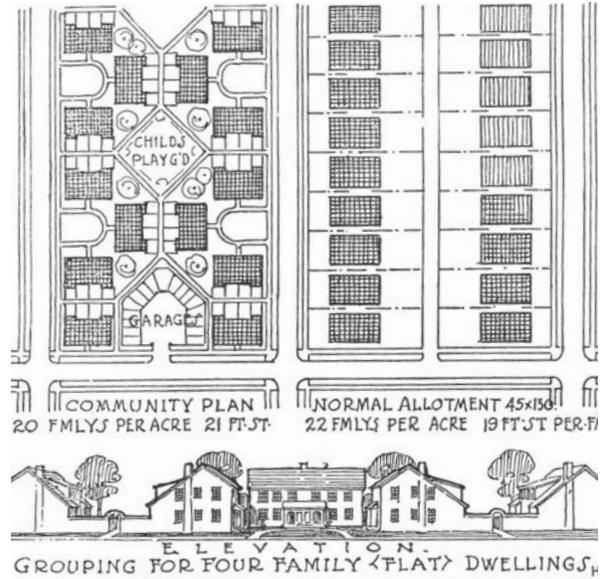

FIGURE 4 Grouping for Four-Family Dwellings. As Wright explains in his note for this illustration, "Another way of rearranging individual houses so that wasted space is converted into playground, and windows no longer look straight into one another as with the upper right."

Using Sunnyside Gardens, Radburn, and the recently completed Chatham Village as examples, he addressed the focus of the committee on "the application of the best technical experience and business practice to the production, ownership, and operation, on a sound income producing basis, of low-cost dwellings of desirable standards, planned so as to provide socially integrated communities."[40]

His ongoing research and advocacy in housing, as member of the American Institute of Architects Committee on the Economics of Site Planning and Housing, as founder of the Housing Study Guild, and as key participant on the National Association of Housing Officials (NAHO) Housing Commission attest to this comprehensive approach to addressing housing need.[41] With *Rehousing Urban America,* Wright had the opportunity to articulate the compilation of this vision "to the technicians who must plan and to those who must be prepared to conduct and maintain the new communities appropriate to our social advancement."[42] Most of the book is dedicated to detailed studies of interior designs for individual attached residential units assembled in various recommended configurations as the building blocks of communities. Attention to construction and maintenance costs forms a central component of his study as does again examples of his and Stein's work, his other projects, and architects he admired in the U.S. and overseas, particularly in Germany.

At the same time, as he does in many of his other publications, Wright adopts a comprehensive outlook to provide context for these more detailed housing studies. To address this issue of truly "rehousing urban America," he acknowledges the need to consider both rehabilitating the central city and introducing new methods of developing and designing group housing as part of complete communities in the outlying areas as alternatives to suburban sprawl. All of these issues are interconnected. "The success and value of any housing scheme must be looked upon with respect to what will and should be done about many other aspects of the preservation and improvement of our cities; such as the forms and location of future industrial activity, and the spread of employment with suitable disposition of increased leisure time."[43]

Kristin Larsen
THE REGIONALIST VISION OF HENRY WRIGHT: LESSONS IN SUSTAINABILITY

In his book, Wright also anticipates the loss of city population – though his references to the "breakdown of industry" and loss of urban population to the country appear related more to the crisis of the Great Depression than to the current issues associated with city abandonment and shrinking cities in the U.S. today. But his caution then remains relevant, "We are not going to be content to cut off all outward expansion; but on the other hand, if we dash about in uncertainty, first doing a little slum clearance, then rehabilitating a section of blight, and then improving our methods of land subdivision and expansion, with no co-ordinated purpose, we are going to end in chaos and a more general breakdown of our cities than anything suggested by our present difficulties."[44] Coordinated planning, particularly at the regional level was essential to fully understand current conditions and anticipate and accommodate future opportunities.

LEGACIES AND IMPLICATIONS

In affordable housing, new town design, and communitarian regionalism, Wright consistently connected cost efficiencies, functionality, and site design for health and livability. Starting with the individual unit, he grasped the dynamics between interior floor plans, site characteristics, and community building and applied this insight broadly to understanding and engaging regional needs and opportunities. Even prior to the Great Depression, he advocated for government engagement to close the housing gap for the lowest income, and durable construction materials and techniques to secure lower operating costs for the long term, a key consideration in sustainability today. Yet, concerns regarding health revolved more around housing condition, play facilities, and layout, particularly regarding air circulation and adequate natural light, than the complexities today of opportunities for adequate exercise and local access to healthy foods. Similarly, considerations of diversity did not extend to race but rather focused on introducing a range of housing types to accommodate various lower and working class incomes. Today social equity has broader implications than income. Wright's application of composite mapping offered a sophisticated means at the time to create a more holistic regional perspective; his approach anticipated the more robust layered mapping popularized by Ian McHarg in the 1960s and 1970s. His integration of park systems and protection of watersheds reflect a consideration of natural networks through identification and protection but also as functioning systems, a prequel to green infrastructure.

Arguably the new regionalists of today encounter a much more complex regional landscape with greater political fragmentation and significantly more layers of governmental and non-governmental activity and oversight as well as shrinkage and abandonment as additional concerns. Yet the roots of new regionalism as well as sustainability and green infrastructure can be found in Wright's work as a houser, architect, and planner. In his 1932 indictment of contemporary planning practice, Wright intoned, "The fact that we propose to cast [subdivisions] in new and novel forms, to adopt the advanced principles of super-block planning for the gridiron or even the curvilinear landscape method, or to plan various closely related areas on the theory of 'neighborhood units'– all of these merely begging the issue, of what the actual needs and absorption abilities of the city really are and of what to do with the growing dry rot at the center of the city."[45] He then outlined what he believed to be the best approach. "What we need is not more miles of arteries or more acres of plans or even more *planning vision,* but more business common-sense effort in the interest of selecting and developing from the welter of excellent plan ideas, a sensible and well-balanced and economic program which will conserve the best resources of each given area for the eventual, most efficient and well-coordinated operation of a comfortable existence for all its population."[46] His application of these elements, in a sustained and integrated way, offers a model to guide current research and practice.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Notes on contributor

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29   Ibid.

30   Ibid. See plates 39, 46, 47 on pages 58, 62, and 63 respectively.

31   Ibid, 70.

32   See Volker Welter, *Biopolis: Patrick Geddes and the City of Life* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002) for a discussion of Geddes' regional ideal illustrated in his valley section which reflected Geddes' place-based philosophy of cooperation among workers over time within the context of the valley region. Similarly, the town and country evolved in balance, not in opposition to each other.

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36 Ayyoob Sharifi, "From Garden City to Eco-urbanism: The Quest for Sustainable Neighborhood Development." *Sustainable Cities and Society*, 20 (January 2016): 1-16.

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38 See Kristin Larsen, "The Radburn Idea as an Emergent Concept – Henry Wright's Regional City," *Planning Perspectives* 23, no. 3 (2008): 381-395 for more regarding Wright's adaptation of the Radburn Idea.

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Figure 1: New York Commission of Housing and Regional Planning. Report of Commission of Housing and Regional Planning to Governor Alfred E. Smith and to the Legislature of the State of New York. May 7, 1926, Plate LVII, 82.
Figure 2: New York Commission of Housing and Regional Planning. Report of Commission of Housing and Regional Planning to Governor Alfred E. Smith and to the Legislature of the State of New York. May 7, 1926, Plate LIII, 79.
Figure 3: Henry Wright, "The Place of the Apartment in the Modern Community," Architectural Record 67, no. 3 (1930): 207-238, 232.
Figure 4: Henry Wright, "The Place of the Apartment in the Modern Community," Architectural Record 67, no. 3 (1930): 207-238, 217.

Cities of Multiple Identities

Chair: Margarida Louro and Francisco Oliveira

THE LOST IDENTITY OF IZMIR

Fatma Tanis

TU Delft

Port cities are distinguished from other cities by their waterfronts, which were shaped by economic and cultural transactions between each city and its networks. Trade-related activities prepared the conditions for accelerated globalisation with economic changes. The Ottoman Empire supported commerce and production in Western Anatolia after 16th century. Many European merchants thus moved to Izmir in accord with an agreement made by the Ottoman Empire in order to maintain commercial events. Afterwards, the city developed as a culturally diverse entity due to its port activity. The waterfront and arguably the whole structure of the city have been influenced by cross cultural exchanges. Study explains how shifting networks have created a unique palimpsest of structures and actor networks between 16th and 21st century in Izmir, a port city on western coast in Turkey. This paper explores the transformation of Izmir's urban form and identity. Different architectural practices such as Dutch, British, French, Italian, Greek were concretised on Izmir's waterfront and have become a part of the city's identity. Nevertheless, political decisions, governmental policies, fires, earthquakes, planned and unplanned events changed the waterfront and caused gaps in history told by its built environment. This study analyses the vicissitudes in the planning history of Izmir's waterfront.

INTRODUCTION

The city of Izmir has had the identity of a port city since its establishment in 3000 BC. But the port-city identity of Izmir reached its peak in the nineteenth century, when the city became the main entrance port of Europe to Western Anatolia, especially in connection with the industrialization processes underway all around the world[1]. The second wave of globalization based on the rapid intensification of waterborne trade, the larger size of steam-driven shipping and the resulting increased volume of shipments, together with the direct connection of docks to hinterlands through rail, required the creation of massive and extensive infrastructures such as large extended docks, canals, railway depots, bridges, shipyards, etc.[2] In this period, British and French companies were involved in designing warehouses, train stations, and other infrastructure in Izmir and its hinterland. This was the case until the third generation of globalization, in which an exchange of ideas was based on port-related relations. Robertson (2003) identifies the third wave of globalization, in which we are now immersed, as having started in 1945 and being linked to the post-World War II, and accelerating until today. The breaking point overlaps with de-industrialization and containerization in the case of port cities. This means that the Izmir case in involved in two major time intervals. The first period begins with the first globalization wave and lasts until de-industrialization covering two globalization waves. After de-industrialisation, the factories directly connected to the port were closed and became vacant. Only few of them were conserved (the Gas Factory and the Wheat Factory), but others such as the electric factory became abandoned. Izmir's industrial heritage is located right behind the port facilities. This area declined after de-industrialisation. The factories except Gas Factory and Wheat Factory became vacant.

The political decisions mostly concerned about the waterfront of Izmir between New Port and Konak. This paper focuses on the planning history of waterfront, which has been facing with numerous disasters such as great fires, war, earthquakes as well as political decisions. The decisions and natural disasters caused the looses of the cross-cultural based port identity of Izmir.

As a result, Izmir is facing the loosing the port identity and becoming more a city, which is located on the waterfront. This paper seeks about the wrong decisions, planned or unplanned destructions and contemporary approaches that caused the losses of the port identity of a port city.

PORT IDENTITY OF IZMIR

Izmir was settled down around B.C. 3000 on a peninsula in –present day- Bayrakli. It was thought that the first port was located in this area.[3] Izmir has been known as a port city since the ancient times.

First sea commerce initiatives achieved the peak point in ancient times -called as -golden age in B. C. 650 with the East Hellen civilization[4]. In B.C. 400s, Alexandre moved the city to Kadifekale (Pagos) inner port was in use.[5] This inner port was developed by Genoese.[6] As Strabon noted, the inner port was used until the mid XVIII[7]. Chandler[8] explained that the closure of the inner port caused by the floating and its bringings. Figure 1 shows the shifts of the ports in Izmir through the history.

In 1261, Nif (Kemalpasa) Agreement between Byzantine and Genoese gave priviledges to the Genoese merchants in Izmir. The Genoese dominated the waterfront of Izmir between 13th and 15th century. Fuhrmann[9] indicates that the major Ottoman port cities, and especially their waterfront districts, became the prime site of the symbolic engagement of the opposing views of Europe and the Empire, for the sea was the Empire's primary link to Europe, bringing its merchandise, money, travellers, repatriates and also its cannons to the Ottoman shores. Meyer[10] points out that the network of port cities on the Mediterranean Sea represented the most important trade centre in the world in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Trade relations between Izmir and other ports increased due to

Fatma Tanis
THE LOST IDENTITY OF IZMIR

cotton cultivation especially in the Aegean region and Izmir thus became the centre of the eastern Mediterranean trade.[11] Due to location of Izmir on the Aegean coastline, it has always been attractive for oversea traffic.[12]

Kasaba[13] indicates five major factors about the Mediterranean region which became important for European commerce in the nineteenth century:

1   Increasing European demand for raw materials and agricultural products for their industry.
2   The British intention to communicate with the colonies in India through the Ottoman Empire.
3   The disruption of the economic relations between the United States and Britain which forced the British industrialists to look for new sources for raw materials which had been obtained from the U.S. previously.
4   The French Revolution and the following wars influenced local merchants, especially in the western Ottoman Empire. They maintained the trade in the Empire.
5   The British policy to break Napoleon's trade block in the region.

Since the European merchants involved the port actions in Ottoman Empire, Izmir's whole structure has been influenced by the commercial activities and the port identity developed in order to maintain the port activities. Railways are the proof of the mentioned relations. Izmir's hinterland is a rich with its agriculture products, especially with raw cottons, olive oils, waxes, dyes, leathers etc.

Queen Elizabeth I gave allowance for involving to the to 12 British merchants for 7 years in Ottoman in September, 11, 1518.[14]

Ottoman Empire made an agreement with France in 1535. According to agreement, Levantines settled in Izmir in order to maintain commerce between Europe and Ottoman Empire. On the other hand Ottoman Empire was supporting the multicultural ethnicity between its border. Gulfen Iren describes the complexity of Izmir as following:[15]

"They named Izmir "Gavur Izmir." In Izmir, Muslims lived within a Levanten world. My grandfather was educated in Al-Azhar in Egypt but he read books in English and French, played the piano, rode horses. In the Izmirian dialect, nouns commonly derive from Greek, Italian or French. For example, an oval serving plate is known as piyate. A fork is peron, an apron, prostela. The cuisine of Izmir is mainly Greek and Armenian."

According to Goffman majority of the economical changes happened in Izmir during 17th century.[16] Author noted that Izmir became a cosmopolite city in 15-20 years. Trade tradition transformed into the global scale.[17] Livorno, Genoa, Messina, Trieste, Ancona, Venice, Marseille, Amsterdam and London constituted Izmir's port network in 18th century.[18]

During the time, France replaced Venice in the Levant, notably in especially in 1718. Afterwards, commercial activities increased between Ottoman and port of Marseille. Ottoman Empire has provided privileges and concessions for the merchants in 1740. Izmir became the most important port of the Ottoman Empire, handling one quarter of all Ottoman trade according to an agreement between France and Ottoman Empire. Accordingly, a regular line of postal steamships between Marseille and Izmir was established. The first post office in Izmir was founded by French in May, 1, 1812.[19]

The port and hinterland connections were playing important role in case of Izmir's commerce network. First of all the goods should be collected from local farmers. Rums, Armenians and Jewish people were providing communication between European merchants and Ottoman good producers[20]. This is why they were called as commissioners in this complex commercial network. Main companies were mostly French and British and the communications were made by Jewish, Rums and Armenians, because these people were able to speak with the locals and living in Ottoman Empire for a long time in contrast to the Levantines.

Fatma Tanis
THE LOST IDENTITY OF IZMIR
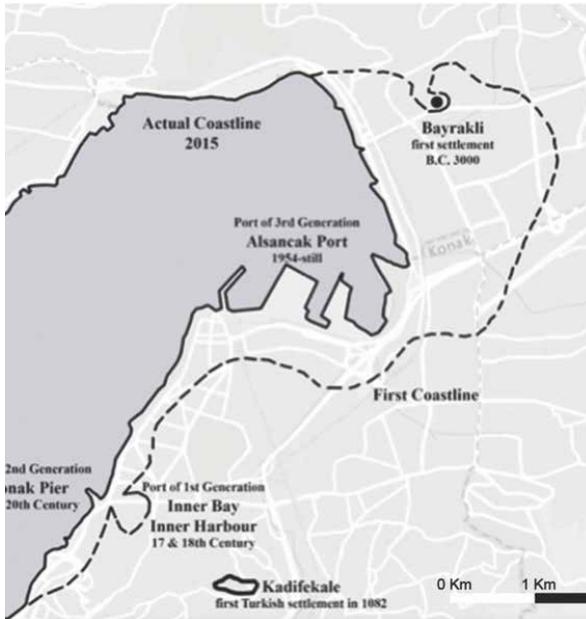
FIGURE 1 The Shift of Izmir Port (map is recreated based on the sources Beyru,1827; Inalcik, 2013 with additions by Tanis, 2015)
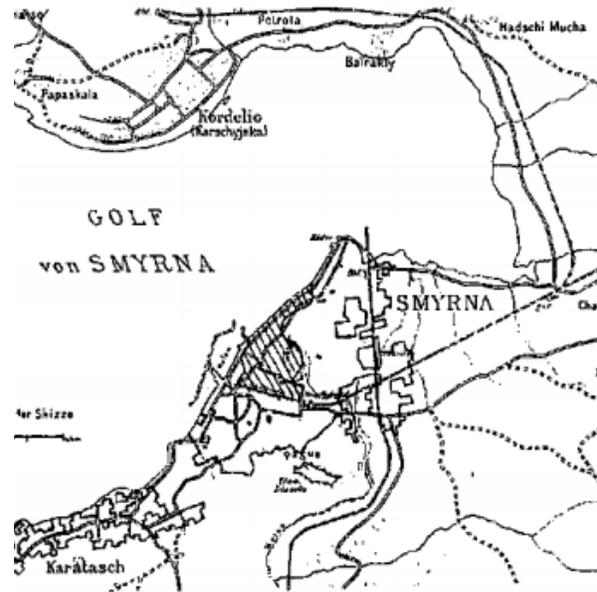

FIGURE 2 The map is showing the burnt part of Izmir after Great Fire 1922.

Sir Joseph Paxton, George Whyte, Augustus William Rixon and William Jackson were the founders of first railway company with the name "Izmir'den Aydin'a Osmanli Demiryolu" in May 1857.[21] Izmir-Aydin Train Line was completed in July, 1, 1866[22]. Izmir-Kasaba train line's prerogative was given to Edward Price in July, 4, 1863, but afterwards it was handed over to the French company, which was directed by Belgic native Georges Nagelmakers[23]. Basmahane Train Station began to build in 1864 and completed in Turgutlu (Kasaba) in 1866.[24]

The inner port was not suitable for handling and loading facilities anymore in 16th century[25] as mentioned before. Threrefore the idea of renewal of the port became important in 1860[26]. John Charnaud, George Guarracino and Alfred Barker from Britain founded a company to build a new port for Izmir in 1867.[27] Mentioned group was agreed with the Dussaud Brothers, who were in charge to built Cherbourg and Marseille Ports.[28]

After mid 18th century, Merchant families decided to settle in suburbs like Bornova and Buca and built very glorious houses with high exterior walls.[29] They wanted to catch the luxurious life in Europe.[30] Within this approach, city of Izmir extended to the rural areas with cross cultural architectural approaches.

As Evliya Celebi described Izmir in 1671:[31]

"There are 260 enormous ports and cities where goods are loaded and unloaded under the reign of Ottomans. However Izmir is more famous than all of these cities. Because there are 18 non muslim kings that became friends with the Ottomans all over the world, and they all have consulate in Izmir Their traders bring over all kind of commodities and products of all nations to Izmir. A thousand ships come to Izmir and a thousand of ships leave Izmir, and all the commodity is sold here every year."

Along those years Izmir had 40 café houses, 200 taverns and entertainment places, and 300 warehouses for traders.[32]

Fatma Tanis
THE LOST IDENTITY OF IZMIR

Andre Marchais has applied to Ottoman Empire in order to provide lighting with gas. But his initiatives weren't realised after his death[33] afterwards, Glasgow based "Laidloux and Sons" company built the Izmir Gas Company and provided electricity to Izmir first of all in June, 25, 1864.

It can be claimed thus, commercial activities along the port relations did not only shaped the waterfront and also it shaped whole city structure, applied the innovative developments to the city and brought western notions such as banking system, hotels and insurance companies.

MAN MADE AND NATURAL DISASTERS IN IZMIR

Izmir faced with natural and planned destructions in its history. Izmir had many disasters such earthquakes and fires. These events caused to loosing some part of the accumulated port heritage of Izmir.

Gursoy noted that almost all earthquakes were followed by fire and caused damages in the city.[34] According to travellers and the historians, Izmir's trade life was heavily effected by a destructive earthquake on July, 10, 1688. Three of fourth of the building were destroyed including costums buildings.[35] Frank Avenue was the most harmed street.[36] This is the first most devastating event, which erased the some part of the cross cultural heritage in Izmir. Most of the bonded warehouses and caravanserais of European traders were destroyed by the fire after earthquake.[37]

Izmir was suffered by the fires in following years in 1742 and 1763. Half of the city was burnt down in 1742 and all Frank neighbourhood was destroyed by fire in August, 6, 1763[38].

Izmir had great fires in 1688, 1737, 1763, 1778, 1797, 1834, 1841, 1842, 1845, 1852, 1861, 1882 and 1992.[39] No doubt, Izmir's face has changed during the time with these great fires. The most destructive one was the Three quarters of the city were demolished by Great Fire in 1922 (Figure 2).[40] Previously, Izmir had may great fires and earthquakes. But after war, Izmir lost some part of the port related heritage. One observer from the British war ship expressed the Great Fire as following:[41]

"It was a terrifying thing to see even from the distance. There was the most awful scream one could ever imagine. I believe many people were shoved into the sea, simply by the crowds nearest the houses trying to get further away from the fire ... Many did undoubtedly jump into the sea, from sheer panic."

Kordonboyu has been playing important role for the image of Izmir (Figure 3). It reflected the face of the city in whole time. Kordonboyu was under transformation since 17th century. The shoreline has changed during the time with filling the sea. Belle Vue was planned by Dussauds on the filled area on the shore.[42] Dussaud Brothers constructed 3245m long dock wall between Konak Sari Kisla and Alsancak Railway Station in 1874.[43] Previous shoreline extended app. 100m. with the project. 1250m of 3245m was used for commercial purpose and port facilities.

After the Republic of Turkey was founded, Izmir was faced with transformations along the waterfront. Housing need was increasing after the great fire and war damage. After series of disasters, together with internal immigration, rebuilding became more important. In 1952, an international competition was launched to rethink about the development plan especially for burnt part of the city. The jury was consisted of Rauf Onursal (Mayor of Izmir), Kemal Ardoga (Head of Municipal Department of Infrastructure and Construction), Prof. Paul Bonatz (Istanbul Universitesi, Ord. Prof.), Sir Patrick Abercrombie (Head of Chamber of British Architecs), Mithat Yenen (M. Sc. Architect, Vice Chairman of Iller Bankasi).

Fatma Tanis
THE LOST IDENTITY OF IZMIR

FIGURE 3 Belle Vue in 1910s. The buildings were not for commercial uses. There were not even a single building for commercial uses between Punta and Belle Vue.

FIGURE 4 Present day view of Kordonboyu. Ground floors are in use for commercial activities and higher floors are for residential purpose.

FIGURE 5 3-4 storey apartments and 8-9 storey apartments in 1950s.

FIGURE 6 A Levantine House between 8-9 Storey Buildings.

FIGURE 7 A High-rise building behind Levantine Houses.

According to legislation of competition, René and Raymond Danger plan should be followed. Dangers Plan was based on existing pattern of historical Izmir. Plan concerns about the modernization of a nation together with its historical roots. It was an opportunity to work on burnt field in order to think about the resilience of the city and to concretise nationalist and modernist movement after war. Modern image of city was created thus with this project. It was planned according to Beaux-Arts Planning Approaches with wide boulevards.

First prize winning project was designed by Architect Kemal Ahmet Aru et. al. For a while, Izmir's waterfront between Gundogdu Square and New Harbour was dominated by 3-4 storey buildings (Figure 5).[44] These buildings were known as family apartments. It created resilient environment in waterfront of Izmir, after Great Fire following the after war era's needs. 3-4 storey apartments were located within green gardens. But unfortunately Izmir lost this image in few decades due to further planning approaches. This period witnessed the most convenient planning decisions after republic founded.

Two storey Levantine Houses along the waterfront were constructed around late 19th century.[45] Although some of Levantine houses were saved from the great fire, after a law entitled "*Kat Mulkiyet Kanunu*" Condominium Act, Izmir's waterfront faced with rapid development. Even it took a place in the literature with the name "Yik-Yap-Sat", which refers to "Demolish-Reconstruct-Sell". The reason of this rapid development was related to increasing population due to internal immigration to Izmir. The population increased from 230.000 to 400.000 between 1950 and 1960.[46] The immigration triggered after 1950s. Izmir faced again with housing shortage. 3-4 storey modernist apartments were thus destroyed. Between 1955 and 1983, the waterfront of Izmir has reshaped with horizontal concrete wall of 8-9 storey raw-buildings. Only few Levantine Houses reached to present day as shown in Figure 6.

Between 1964 and 1973, the mayor Osman Kibar (commonly known as asphalt Osman) caused many destructions as well.[47] Building quality decreased within these years. The only intention was demolishing, reconstructing and making money through selling more apartments.

In 1987 and 1988, another mayor Burhan Ozfatura allowed the high-rise buildings in waterfront. First high rise buildings were erected right behind the valuable and rare Levantine's houses, which saved from fires and demolitions. Today, skyline includes high-rise buildings without considering its history, identity and the built environment.

Man-made disasters damaged Izmir's waterfront more than the natural disasters. Money – based decisions took the place especially after 1950s. Izmir has a wide opportunity to expand the city from the city core. Instead of demolishing the heritage, development plans for metropolitan area would be improved by the actors.

CONCLUSION

Fortuin and de Meere indicate cities tend to develop whatever resources they have. They explain these resources as local identity, social and cultural capital, administrative networks, economic factors, the quality of the body of public servants, the housing stock, and so on. During a project, social, physical and economic developments interact, not only of the government or professional organizations, but also of individuals in society. They also point out that the city is a connection and therefore a network of mutually influencing developments, comprising countless actors, both inside and outside of administrative boundaries.

Since the ancient times, Izmir hosted port actions, even though it was interrupted by wars, attacks, fires. After all events, the city of Izmir had recovered the port identity and maintain it. It is important to recover and to not lose the port identity, which is based on port related actions in frame of cross-culturalism. Therefore, the port identity of Izmir should be considered as a priority in order to develop sustainable regeneration for its waterfront with sustainable identity. If not, Izmir will be faced soon with losing its port identity and becoming a city, which is located on waterfront.

On the other hand, first impression of a port city is consisted of a view from sea towards to city. After natural or man made disasters, Izmir's waterfront has lost this impression as well. The concrete high storey row-housing apartments don't reflect Izmir's identity. It interrupts as well as the connection between sea and the city. Izmir has failed in terms of resilience of a city after sequence of events like man-made and natural disasters. We should better to stop immediately and rethink about the future of waterfront or Port City Izmir, in order to avoid further wrong decisions. Otherwise 5000 –year- old Izmir will loose its importance and identity within a century.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Notes on contributor

Fatma Tanis recieved a bachelor degree in architecture from Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University in 2013. She earned a master of science degree from Istanbul Technical University, Architecture Department, History of Architecture Programme with the thesis entitled "The Waterfront Regeneration Projects and Contemporary Design Approaches of European Port Cities". She is a PhD Candidate in History of Architecture and Urban Planning, TU Delft. Her research explores how shifting networks have created a unique palimpsest of structures and actor networks between 16th and 21st century in Izmir, a port city on western coast in Turkey.

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東京ポップ POP TOKYO - BETWEEN TRADITION AND MODERNITY

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The main question of this research is defined by the "multiconditions" that characterizes the culture of Japan, and mainly its capital, Tokyo, into its multiple aspects of urban and architectonic approaches. In this sense can you define a Pop Tokyo as a present condition of the capital of the Japan? This proposal explores a very contemporary vision about Japan and the city of Tokyo that touches its various urban areas: urban planning, architecture, urban sustainability, safety, metropolitan ways of life, etc... A journey that brings out on one hand the ancestry and tradition and on the other the bold modern condition between pop and minimalist. A complex and paradoxical vision, which produces support for a wide reflection on the contemporary urban condition. The best and worst of the city, united in a global vision of the twenty-first century, which had, has and will always have, as defined Aristotle, the ultimate goal of *happiness*... In this sense, the proposal presented, systematizes on one hand the historical contrast of a city that became the capital of the country in 1868, which until about 100 years lived closed on itself in a perfectly feudal system, and that in less than a century it was assumed as a megalopolis with over 12 million inhabitants. A city with several cities, with multicultural senses, feelings and tendencies. A city where system, security, hygiene are slogans on par with a crime rate that is 0.3 per 100 thousand inhabitants... The proposal focuses like a phenomenological view through the city, its most characteristic, exotic, fancy neighborhoods. Deciphering streets, shops, products which runs routes well organized transport and systematized, where it neatly line up to enter a metro carriage or bullet train that connects cities more than 400 kilometers per hour. This actual Tokyo is support for a contemporary reflection that seeks above all to systematize the contrast ratio that today makes up this mega city. Pop Tokyo so advocates the intrinsic relationship between tradition and modernity. Relationship that has always guided the evolution of cities along the world's urban history. It is effectively resume this paradox which makes the relevance of the topic and its presentation within the program of this conference. A research that focuses the contemporary urban condition and its framed by the research project Houses for a Small Planet that is being developed at CIAUD – Research Centre of Architecture, Urbanism and Design at the Faculty of Architecture of Lisbon.

THE DIPLOMATIC QUARTERS IN RIYADH. A WESTERN-SHAPED NEIGHBOURHOOD IN AN ISLAMIC CITY?

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Riyadh, the capital of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, is a complex relatively young city. One of its major districts was built ex-novo during the eighties as part of a governmental input to define Riyadh as capital of the Kingdom. Albert Speer III and Partners thus designed the Diplomatic Quarters (DQ) as an enclave built in a major spot on the Valley Hanifa, in a proximity to Riyadh's first urban settlement. DQ's urban fabric, landscape, and major core have been locally and internationally recognized as a main example of local identity. The paper analyses the DQ's urban planning by highlighting the elements that leads to the interpretation of identity, such as landscape integration, district configuration and mostly the Major Core's urban spaces and typologies. The paper will question the validity of the identity discourse, and will show the DQ challenges facing Riyadh's modern urban planning. Finally, this paper expects to raise awareness on the need to revisit from a historical perspective a main district in one of the fastest growing cities in the world.

V.01 P.383   **Maria Margarita Gonzalez Cardenas**

THE DIPLOMATIC QUARTERS IN RIYADH. A WESTERN-SHAPED NEIGHBOURHOOD IN AN ISLAMIC CITY?

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TOC

INTRODUCTION

In the southwest area of Riyadh, following the valley known as *Wadi Hanifa*, a district for diplomats raises as an oasis in the dessert. Built during the eighties, this urban development known as *Hay Al Safarat*, has limited access and connections within the city. Organized in two wide tree lined boulevards, that smoothly follows the contour escarpment, once inside the Diplomatic Quarter (DQ) a variety of buildings housing worldwide embassies have in common a fence that isolates them from the main alignment[1]. However, only half kilometre from the main gate, a fortress like building appears showing traditional architectural aesthetics: three floors height mud colour fortress with zipper like parapets, adorned with relatively small windows. This area known as the DQ's Major Core rests enclosed by tall walls, and only accessible through pedestrian gates located in specific points: two clock towers placed on the opposite extremes of the core, and the fortress' main gate. This gate is a right angle threshold leading to the main plaza named *Al Kindi*. Relatively less important accesses are surrounding the core, and connecting the parking areas. Like a city within the city, this Major Core recycles elements of local traditional architecture and urban spaces.

Riyadh is the capital of one of the biggest twenty economies in the world: the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The kingdom has become largely urbanised, with a surmounted rate population's percentage of 91.5% in urban areas[2]. Evolving in an extremely short period of time into an urban society, many of the Kingdom's cities were designed following a National Planning agenda on the heads of mainstream urban planners: Georges Candilis for Dammam, Kenzo Tange for Mecca City and Contantinos Doxiadis for Riyadh.

Developed under the *Dynapolis* conceptual idea, Riyadh streets were strategically oriented to Mecca, representing according to Doxiadis "a symbol for a Moslem city" and a place "governed by the spirit of Arabia."[3] A later master plan reintroduced the radio centric organization to control urban growth. Finally, a metropolitan plan MEDSTAR has been implemented since 2010, specifically oriented to solve urban sprawl as well as to enhance citizen's appropriation.

Many local scholars have raised questions about Riyadh's lack of identity, but for now there is no common conclusion.[4] The lack of identity seems to be a conflict originated since the implementation of a modern urban fabric disregarding traditional social habits and beliefs.[5] The road oriented urban fabric built in the late sixties emphasized low housing densities, and encouraged the disappearance of street social interactions in an increasingly car dependent society.

Riyadh has become according to the World Bank, one of the fastest growing cities in the Middle East[6]. At the same time it is looking to become a major financial hub in the Gulf area.[7] Within this context, the Diplomatic Quarters built in the 1980s aside of any master plan, has been pointed out by local scholars as an example of Riyadh's urban identity. Indeed, this simple appointment raises questions related to the environment and the appropriation of this specific district. How has this large-scale planned environment become a main example of identity? Which are the urban and architectural elements that enhance this interpretation?

RIYADH AND THE ISLAMIC/ORIENTAL IDENTITY

The discussion about city's identity and its relation to the urban fabric in the Saudi Arabian context achieved its peak during the late seventies, decade known as the years of the oil boom, when scholars were insisting in going back to the "traditional urban languages and valid features of architectural heritage."[8] The rebirth of traditional architectural images was emphasized in Riyadh with the design and construction of Qasr Alhokm, a judicial quarter often refer as an example of a cultural context's construction.[9] The construction of this district revealed the strength of Arriyadh Development Authority as urban contractor and regulator. It runs in parallel with

Maria Margarita Gonzalez Cardenas
THE DIPLOMATIC QUARTERS IN RIYADH. A WESTERN-SHAPED NEIGHBOURHOOD IN AN ISLAMIC CITY?

the establishment of the Aga Khan Award (1977), which according to Al Naim, "encouraged traditional Islamic practices in the contemporary architecture of the Muslim World."[10] In addition, such ideas concurred critical regional analysis, lead by Kenneth Frampton[11].

At that time, local scholars do not hesitate to recognize main elements of the so-called Islamic City, in order to nourish the neo-traditionalist debate. Some publications will highlight the clues of Saudi traditional architecture and urban features, making appear clock towers or warning and defence walls as main characteristic structures of the Saudi urban environment[12]. However, it is well known that such features are present in the Islamic ottoman environment, and therefore such ideas turned to be a contemporary interpretation of colonial cities in the region.

Indeed the Islamic city as urban space has been the centre of numerous analysis and controversies. Jane L. Abu-Lughod's paper written in 1987 is one of the first critical regard to the generalizations previously raised by orientalists. At that time, Abu-Lughod, along with Eugen Wirth, Besim Selim Hakim and Jean Claude Garcin[13] insisted on the conformation of the Islamic city through a morphological process based in legal, political, cultural and religious systems, differentiating an Islamic City from an Oriental one. No specific physical features were related to the Islamic urban fabric.

More contemporary analysis highlighted how much privacy issues are extremely important in the Islamic city, perhaps as much as architectural ones.[14] In fact, as Raymond explains, there is no possible description related to a "Muslim" city, as many orientalists tried to prove during the fifties.[15] Therefore identity is the ability to adapt an urban form to local climate and social conditions. Thus, the road system and the cul-de-sac (found in the ancient east), the house with central courtyard (found in the hot climate cities of the Antiquity), and the division of the city in quarters (found in oriental cities with a variety of monotheistic religions such Damascos), are not urban elements related exclusively to the Islamic city. On the contrary, the *souq* as a central business district is probably "the only and fundamental distinctive criterion for the Near Eastern City, which can be considered as Islamic cultural heritage."[16]

After the introduction to the Islamic city, it is difficult to highlight the urban and architectural elements representing the idea of identity in Riyadh's DQ. Developing an artificial version of the Islamic urban fabric, a limited version of critical regionalism, and a modest premature version of New Urbanism Theory, this paper draws a caution attention to this artificially planned settlement.

THE DIPLOMATIC QUARTERS IN RIYADH: AN ENCLAVE IN THE QUEST OF IDENTITY.

Riyadh is a contemporary city that has no morphological particularities. Developed aside a fertile valley, the "most significant natural feature in the region"[17], the city has two heritage enclaves difficult to identify in the contemporary urban landscape. The first one, Al Diriyah, an old traditional town of mud houses build in both sides of the valley. The second one is the wall of the ancient city and its fortress Masmak, the place where King Abdulaziz Ibn Saud restored his power over Riyadh and will later established the country. Despite its other urban Islamic features, such as mosques and minarets, the city can be compared in terms of physical landscape with any other motor age metropolis in deserted landscapes, such Houston.

Riyadh's urban planning history has followed a sequence of trials and errors. First efforts to establishing Riyadh as capital were not particularly favourable towards the urban space. The first important date is 1953, when King Abdullah ordered to move all ministries from Jeddah to Riyadh, leading the construction of a large housing area known as Al Malaz.[18] Isolated form the previous urban fabric, Al Malaz was original planned as a big "modern" community inspired in the Home Ownership Loan Program developed during the thirties by Aramco

(Saudi American oil company) in North East Saudi Arabia.[19] The district in Riyadh contains a central park, and metropolitan services such a football stadium, a hospital and a zoo. Nearby the railway station, Al Malaz did not turn to be the modern centre that the government was expected to develop. Instead, the construction of the airport on the north of the city encouraged the urban sprawl. Al Malaz construction marks the very first time that Riyadh was adopting a gridiron urban pattern including detached villas as main housing typology. The city will later adapt this as a unique typology with an always-growing need from people to use their homes as an expression of their personal and social identities.[20]

During the so-called oil boom phase of Riyadh's urban development,[21] the idea of enforcing the city as the capital of the kingdom was perhaps the strongest commitment coming from the central government. After the plan developed by Doxiadis in the late sixties, and its further development lead by the French National Enterprise SCET, the city has been in a fast process of urbanisation that did not stop private urban sprawl developments, and enhance to continue building the already adopted detached housing typology. The modern urban space full of roads and cars, as Menoret has pointed out "turned individuals into mere cogs in a disciplinary mechanism"[22].

Within this context of trial and error, the DQ was built in the eighties as an early seventies initiative to complete the establishment of Riyadh as the capital of the Kingdom (Figure 1). Designed as an exclusive environment for diplomats, the district covers an area of 800 hectares, and was expected to house a population of 25000 inhabitants.[23] Originally planned and supervised by an urban established bureau, Arriyadh Development Authority, the quarter is divided in 5 housing clusters around the major linear core, adapting to main landscapes features: the DQ is surrounded on the west by a branch of the Wadi Hanifa, and has been strategically separated from the main highway according to a precise landscape design reusing land construction debris[24]. Relatively isolated from the rest of the city, the strategic location helps to preserve the security levels that this area needs.

Designed by a team lead by the German architect Albert Speer (third), it included the german landscapers Bodeker, Boyer and Wegenfield; and the local consultant firm Al Beeah group. The original master plan's completion took more than 8 years, and will later include a necessary revision in 2005. The urban morphology that the DQ recreates is based on a hierarchy of roads, distributed in a systematic organization around a central park, which is reproduced in five different districts with similar characteristics. These roads are visible and easy to recognize according to different scales: two wide tree lined boulevard, aligning the Major Core and embassies; secondary roads housing mainly apartment buildings, and ambassadors residences, leading to district major parks, where the Friday mosque is located; and dead-end-roads leading to pocket parks and aligning a limited groups of detached and row houses. In addition, a network of pedestrian paths is supporting walking distance connections, especially to religious buildings and sport arenas, reducing the use of cars. The built area includes different housing typologies, either detached or in a row, that during the eighties clearly responded to architectural local requirements such avoiding excessive exposure, both visual and solar. However all houses and apartment buildings are separated from the urban space by a fence. Recent typologies show a more westernized approach, in which windows are neither preventing visual contact nor solar radiation.

At first glance, this enclave is built using morphological elements of the "traditional Arab city" as stated by Albert Speer III[25]. However, as explained before, the idea of cluster is not a form of the so-called Islamic urban fabric. The dead-end-roads, designed to develop the idea of living in a neighbourhood, barely set common norms in terms of vicinity. If Islamic societies organized themselves in communities[26], the DQ is far from developing the idea, as long as it enhances the construction of detached houses surrounded by fences, like in the rest of Riyadh, having as a result an urban place of invisible people, even if multiple nationalities are coexisting together. It is indeed a high quality built urban environment, but a lifeless space.

FIGURE 1 Diplomatic Quarters Original Plan.

On the contrary, DQ parks are organized in a systematic way, having the main park at the centre of the cluster, visibly connected to dead-end-roads' pocket parks, and to peripheral medium size parks (Figure 2). The last ones are connected through pedestrian pathways recreating the idea of natural open-air promenade surrounding the enclave. Main and peripheral parks are the most active and attractive spots in the DQ, and have become popular among visitors destinations, hosting citizens of all origins during the weekends. Landscape design was thus achieving a critical regionalism version of the typical Arab city. The parks were designed following a precise recognition of climatic and natural local features, an implementation of local materials and flora, in addition to understanding the cultural landscape of contemporary Riyadh: a city in the dessert where foreigners are an important engine of the society.

DQ's construction process has not finished yet, giving the perception of loneliness in many of its main areas. If having a souq and a central business district are part of the Islamic city's identity, they will be found in the DQ's major linear core, designed by the local consultant company Al-Beeah.

Maria Margarita Gonzalez Cardenas
THE DIPLOMATIC QUARTERS IN RIYADH. A WESTERN-SHAPED NEIGHBOURHOOD IN AN ISLAMIC CITY?

FIGURE 2 Diplomatic Quarters Clock Towers at the Major Core Entrances.

FIGURE 3 Diplomatic Quarters Clock Towers at the Major Core Entrances.

FIGURE 4 DQ's Major Core internal courtyard. In this particular case the corridor becomes a balcony to avoid women's exposure.

Maria Margarita Gonzalez Cardenas
THE DIPLOMATIC QUARTERS IN RIYADH. A WESTERN-SHAPED NEIGHBOURHOOD IN AN ISLAMIC CITY?

FIGURE 5 Al-Kindi Plaza during a weekend celebration.

DIPLOMATIC QUARTERS- MAJOR LINEAR CORE.
BUILDING A TRADITIONAL CENTRE

Encouraging higher densities and compactness, the DQ's major linear core is perhaps one of the rare spaces in Riyadh in which different cultures coexist together. If new rules are set up all over the DQ, they become evident in the major core: no dress codes are enforced (female black coat –*abbaya*- is not a must), besides being a gender segregation free zone.

Housing only 20% of the DQ's residents (approximately 4500 residents) the urban fabric in this area works as a high-rise scale building, but it careful reduces the impact of collectiveness and promotes the benefits of proximity. The Major core works as a fortress only accessible for pedestrians (Figure 3). Architecture clearly exhibits traditional elements mentioned before. But urban space on the contrary encompasses a reinterpretation of the modern block apartment building dividing the corridor to include an urban space. Corridors are connected to public courtyards (Figure 4), and the main square, Al Kindi Plaza, where the major mosque and shopping areas are located, enhancing a vibrant social space (Figure 5).

Privacy being the main issue in the DQ major linear core, the urban design introduces different levels to accommodate the public sphere. Thus town houses are located on the first level, in a semi private-public scale placing shops and offices on the ground floor. This level of privacy is achieved thanks to the housing typology combined with urban elements. As shown in figure 6, upper pedestrian connections are designed to establish the level of privacy that the Islamic city could demand. In addition, it ensures the feeling of living in a community. With no physical distances between the houses, the neighbourhood enhances social interaction.

Maria Margarita Gonzalez Cardenas
THE DIPLOMATIC QUARTERS IN RIYADH. A WESTERN-SHAPED NEIGHBOURHOOD IN AN ISLAMIC CITY?
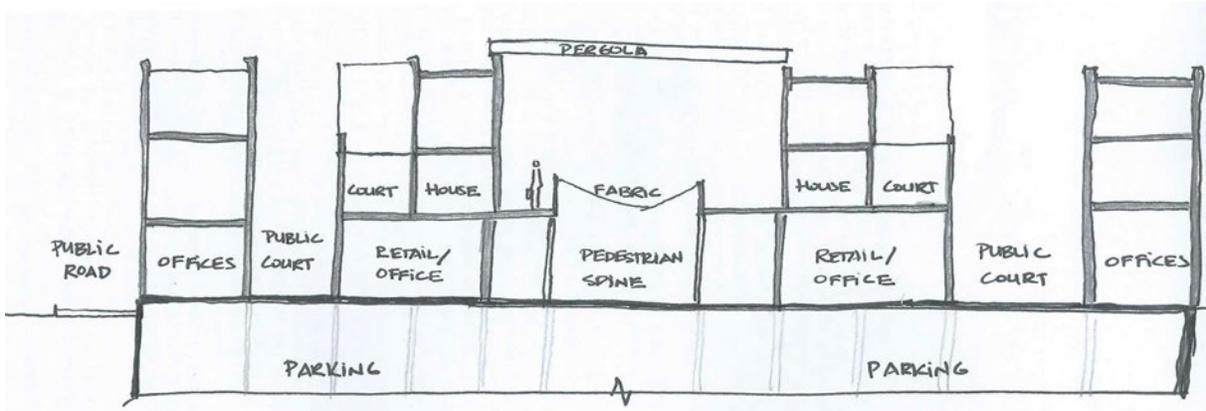
FIGURE 6 Major Core's organization section.

The upper levels have such a degree of privacy, that women, who are usually in the private Islamic household, can risk of avoiding to visit the lower public level. The upper level areas corridors are connected with bridges completely protected and covered from external views. In a kind of local balconies and wall screens (*mashrabysa*), small openings allow women to see downstairs, but not the opposite. In some spots, the public spaces have been covered with fabrics and pergolas to reduce the extreme sun radiation, and at the same time to enhance the privacy of the housing units. It preserves a climate comfort in summer and in winter. On another hand, the house shows as well a higher level of privacy. When the door is in front of the corridor, an anti-chamber preserves the private space, which sometimes becomes an open-air lobby with the townhouse's door in the opposite direction.

Finally, the cars are separated from the housing level, located exclusively in the basement, and having no direct contact with the housing units. However it solves circulation clearly as long as all housing units are connected through elevators and emergency stairs within the parking area, and corridor to access houses open to the sky which give an idea of being in the city and not in a building. The car thus disappears from the urban landscape, solving within the limits one of the biggest problems of the city: mobility, and specifically, female mobility. Environmental quality is thus achieved by reducing car-contact as much as possible.

The fortress with sandy looking like mud walls, and the urban space that separates public from private spaces, are the main clues to understand the scholars' local interpretation of identity. However, going deep into details, the major core is more an early promotion of New Urbanism ideas. The paradox of this building resides in the fact that it is deliberately looking to appear as a longstanding handmade architecture: no sharp edges, *Sharfat* or zipper like parapet to promote air movement, housing and office door no higher than 2 meters, no apparent concrete frame (lintels) for windows or doors. As a conclusion, using new materials to regress time, as if identity was only a museum reproduction.

THE TOWNHOUSE TYPOLOGY: ASSERTIVENESS IN AN ECONOMIC BOOM?

From outside, the housing building follows the physical description of a fortress, with the house's external walls almost completely solid. The triangular shape openings that worked in the traditional Najd plateau house as weather regulators, in its Major Core comes often as small openings, minimizing the street views.[27] In addition this shape is repeated on top of the building as an archetypical element [28]reproducing homogeneity and a sort of vernacular pattern.

FIGURE 7 Major Core's pedestrian connection. Townhouses are accessible only from the first level. Even at that level, privacy and climate control is keep as much as possible, avoiding large openings.

The building offers an atypical housing lifestyle for Riyadh. Neither a compound, nor a suburban detached house typology, the townhouse contributes to build a housing fabric in which services are not apart (Figure 7). With a housing average density a lot higher than any other area in Riyadh, the major linear core contains a housing typology that responds accordingly to dessert climate conditions. Since Riyadh has suffered from using imported housing typologies that barely respond to local culture[29], the housing units are in this case responding to local constraints.

There are four variations of the same townhouse typology, but in all cases they work as a compacted shell. The house follows the courtyard typology implemented in harsh climates all over the world: houses are inverted towards a courtyard in which social life happens.[30] The courtyard allows minimum solar radiation, and at the same time reduces the excessive heat, having only three of the four sides built. Each house's courtyard is a narrow space no bigger than any other room. Openings towards this court depend on the room's location: either living or dining, rooms have large sliding doors facing north, making the courtyard an extension of the social space. In addition, the house indoors' spatial segregation that has been recognized as imported if not imposed by the government[31], can be easily avoided if needed.

The housing building and the townhouse typology thus offers privacy levels by reconsidering the place of pedestrians and its difference with other public spaces, including corridors, pathways, and roads. The levels of privacy are therefore achieved in the way that intrusion from the outside world is limited. Accesses to the houses are minimized to certain spots recreating the idea of living in an apartment community. This physical separation works effectively isolating the private housing accesses from the public space.

As a conclusion, housing spaces could be similar to Riyadh's traditional houses, but they have been configured in different ways. However, the identity of an Islamic city cannot be analysed from the housing's private space. There is the image of the city, meaning the external perception of the private sphere that counts for all. In that respect, with only 50% of Saudi population among DQ residents[32], the recognition of the DQ as part of Riyadh's identity remains in the photogenic attraction of its major spots.

CONCLUSIONS

The Diplomatic Quarters is an essential place in the city. Highly recognized and valued by the local community and by scholars as a place that reconstructs the city's identity, it turned to be extremely successful in terms of attraction. During the weekends, main spots as Al Kindi Plaza and district parks are usually full of visitors. Locals and foreigners have found in the DQ urban spaces that the city does not offer, among others a social freedom prohibited in every sphere of the society.

The paper has shown that DQ's major core's townhouse building is indeed readapting typologies climatic appropriated, besides the private-public level differentiation that secures privacy issues exclusively found in Islamic Societies. In addition, the pedestrian structure works emphatically to worldwide movements of environmental impact reduction, showing effective solutions for harsh climates. If the DQ parks are capturing the very essence of the territory, climatic, visual and formal, and achieving a real correspondence with the environment, the DQ's major core built a climatic, visual and formal space suitable for it.

However, not all urban elements are participating of the DQ identity recognition. First, the five district housing units continued to be detached and isolated by fences, encouraging Riyadh's most criticized elements associated to its lack of character. As a result, roads surrounded by fences do not facilitate social interactions as expected; despite the presence of community design strategies such pocket parks in dead-end-roads. Second, external reproduction of historical elements reduces the DQ major core's architecture to a mere reproduction of a formal identity. The historic Islamic city achieved values that should be rethought in a contemporary way. Reproducing architectural elements will not guarantee the preservation of Islamic traditions, and will promote artificial understanding of a formless need: cultural recognition.

One remained question is the potential influence that the DQ has had in Riyadh's current urban fabric. Should the city be built with this kind of fortresses all over the space in order to preserve its Islamic identity? Could the DQ become a role model as a typical building block for Riyadh's 21st century urban society?

Despite the high quality of its construction, the DQ remains nowadays a quiet and isolated district, secluded under a strict access control support by terrorist threats. The number of visitors decreased since 2003 terrorist attacks, making of the DQ a photogenic identity historical reference for a large majority of Riyadh's citizens.

Disclosure Statement

I, Margarita Gonzalez Cardenas, declare that I have no conflict of interest to declare.

Notes on contributor(s)

Margarita Gonzalez is an architect and assistant professor at Prince Sultan University. She holds a masters degree in history of architectural and urban project, and a PhD in Urban Studies. She has been previously awarded by EHESS, FURS, and recently by the Organization Women in Visual Arts based in Madrid Spain for a Studio Design project conducted in Riyadh. She is currently interested in Riyadh's urban open spaces, and women's city space appropriation. Margarita is expecting to publish her first book on 2017. Previous publications include the translation of Le Corbusier's conferences in Bogota among others.

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V.01 P.393   **Maria Margarita Gonzalez Cardenas**

THE DIPLOMATIC QUARTERS IN RIYADH. A WESTERN-SHAPED NEIGHBOURHOOD IN AN ISLAMIC CITY?

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Image Sources

Figure 1: Arriyadh Development Authority.
Figure 2, 3, 4, 6 & 7: Margarita Gonzalez, 2016. Please notice that Figure 2 is not included yet.
Figure 5: Al Beeah Group Architects. www.beeah-info.com

V.01 P.394 **Maria Margarita Gonzalez Cardenas**

THE DIPLOMATIC QUARTERS IN RIYADH. A WESTERN-SHAPED NEIGHBOURHOOD IN AN ISLAMIC CITY?

THE TWO FACES OF URBANITY: EXPLORING GLOBAL AND LOCAL VALUES: TWO URBAN STUDIOS IN TAKSIM SQUARE AND ALONG THE SHORES OF THE GOLDEN HORN IN INSTABUL

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Since the 18th century, the irritating but also fascinating scenes of urbanity –a complex phenomenon with cultural, social, political, economic, temporal, spatial, functional, and formal dimensions– have been described in literary works. Many seemingly opposite facts –such as individuality/ society, freedom/loneliness/socialisation, anonymity/strangeness/identity/belonging, diversity/chaos/segregation, indifferent city-dweller/ initiative citizenship– have been revealed through literary works, travel and utopian writing, urban theories, scientific studies, manifestos, and newspaper articles. On the one hand, there are those who advocate a life outside the city because they consider the problems produced by the city and the phenomenon of density –which they perceive merely in quantitative terms– as unsolvable problems. On the other hand, there are those who see the production of loose urban fabric as a solution or those who accept the (seemingly) opposite facts of urbanity as positive values and therefore support city life. All of these ideas are still as actual today as they were in the past. We often are unable to use our citizen rights to the city, to encounter different classes (social/ethnic/religious), to experience heterogeneity as an aspect inherent in city life and in the route of our daily life –following the orders of the capitalist system mainly organised around work– and we are often drawn into the same districts on the same paths. Our perception of our urban environments may get monotonous and shallow, but the irritating yet fascinating features of the first big cities still exist and may be grasped and brought into consciousness. Throughout their architectural education, especially in urban design studios, students can be encouraged to investigate the rhythm of their daily life, the conditions of their urban environments, and discovering the city as an intellectual and sensual programme, so that the phenomenon of urbanity can be grasped not just on formal, but on various other dimensions as well. This study focuses on the process and outcomes of two urban studios located in Taksim Square and along the shores of the Golden Horn in Istanbul. Taking the multidimensional content of urbanity into account, acquired theoretically through literary works and studies on urban planning and its history, the main aim of these studios has been the phenomenological understanding of the dynamic content of urbanity by the students. Through creative analysis of permanent/temporary spaces engendered by the diversity of user profiles and actions discovered on phenomenological excursions, students examine the qualitative values of density and global and local dynamics. We believe that designing spaces as 'prototypes' helps highlight the multidimensional content of urbanity. The present study aims not only to highlight the multidimensional content of urbanity, but also to encourage its discussion in architectural design education and to emphasise the positive contribution of theoretical readings and phenomenological studies to urban design studios. The present study also aims to emphasise the beneficial correlation of global and local dynamics as the two faces of urbanity; important more than ever for the big cities of the 21st century if we advocate for a vivid and resilient city life and citizens.

Keywords
Urbanity and urban design studios, Creative analysis process, Phenomenological excursions, Prototypical space proposals, Global and local dynamics for urban resilience

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