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The Impact of Economic and Demographic Changes in the City of Athens during the Inter-war Period (1922-1940)

Ntonou Efstratiadi, Anna; Nielsen, Tom; Dragonas, Panos

Publication date:
2016

Document Version:
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Ntonou Efstratiadi, A., Nielsen, T., & Dragonas, P. (2016). *The Impact of Economic and Demographic Changes in the City of Athens during the Inter-war Period (1922-1940)*. Paper presented at 17th International Planning History Society Conference, Delft, Netherlands.

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17th IPHS Conference ▪ Delft 2016

HISTORY URBANISM RESILIENCE

VOLUME 04

Planning and Heritage

International Planning History Society Proceedings



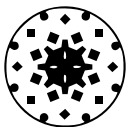
17th IPHS Conference ■ Delft 2016

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17th IPHS Conference, Delft 2016 | **HISTORY ■ URBANISM ■ RESILIENCE**
VOLUME 04 Planning and Heritage

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 world in the modern era.

Convenor

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.

Editor

Carola Hein, TU Delft

Design

Sirene Ontwerpers, Rotterdam

Editorial Assistance and Layout

Phoebus Panigyrakis, TU Delft

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ISSN 2468-6948 (print)

ISSN 2468-6956 (online)

ISBN 978-94-92516-02-2



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
Professor and Head, Chair History of Architecture and Urban Planning, TU Delft

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Keynote

PLANNING HISTORY, AND CULTURAL RESILIENCE: A POSTCOLONIAL PERSPECTIVE

Jyoti Hosagrahar

Director, Division for Creativity, UNESCO

INTRODUCTION

We are faced today with urban challenges that seem unprecedented. As climate related extreme events become increasingly frequent, the notion of resilience has come to forefront. But there is also increasing frequency of destruction and disaster brought about by conflict. More than 60 million people live as refugees, fleeing violent conflicts, persecution, and natural disasters. And most recently, we have Brexit. What does it mean for future of our cities to face financial insecurity and migration under duress? How do we build resilience in the face of conflict? How should we plan our cities to be resilient and secure when we have challenges to financial and food security, and violence and lack of basic safety is a fact of urban life in many parts of the world? The idea of planning for resilience in cities seems more urgent today than ever. I would like to do three things today. First, reflect on the role of planning history at this urgent moment that is also an exploration of the relationship of planning history with planning practice. Second, consider some concepts of resilience the contribution of culture and cultural heritage to urban resilience. And finally, I want to look at the historiography of planning history from a postmodern perspective

PLANNING HISTORY AND THE CURRENT URBAN CRISIS

Planning history, as Gordon Cherry often reminded us, helps us understand how things came to be the way they are. In the context of prevailing global concerns of climate change and violent conflict and the resulting large scale migration, planning history can play the crucial role of helping us understand how cities and regions came to be the way they are and explain local particularities of global forces and themes. However unprecedented the current urban crises are, a historical perspective is key to better planning for the future in several ways. Most obvious of course is to look at the stories of successes and failures. Planning history is replete with tales of urban disasters – their causes, impacts, recovery, and the opportunities they have provided for improvement and urban development. Environmental events like fires and earthquakes are staples for planning historians. It would seem that we should be able to provide an encyclopedia of lessons learned from all of these cities for contemporary ones to be better prepared and more resilient. Wars, violence, and destruction and its impact on the planning of cities, too have lessons in history. However, I would like to highlight here, the very important role of critical perspectives in planning history that reframe questions and conflicts and reposition actors and agencies. In understanding the reasons and motivations for the planning choices, the actions of stakeholders, and the institutional mechanisms

for implementation processes, Carl Abott has captured very well in his article on the contribution of urban history to planning history. He said, “To know what policies have worked and which have failed, to understand the reasons behind the planning choices inscribed on our metropolitan regions, to know how city people have defined and defended their identities—to know the history of our values, institutions, and built environment—is to be more thoughtful and effective planners.” (Abbott 2006)

RESILIENCE AND CULTURE

The idea of urban resilience evokes associations with safety, security, and protection from threats to urban areas, the communities and their environment. But resilience is also a way of thinking about the relationship between communities and their environment. While urban resilience can be seen as a response to climate change and the extreme events related to it, many also see it as a response to the oil crisis and dependence on fossil fuels. Financial insecurities and food insecurity of vulnerable populations add further dimensions of insecurity. Mehmood has identified two other perspectives on urban resilience: one that expects and anticipates change by planning under uncertainty and another that stresses the learning capacity of communities and their ability to adapt by shaping change (Mehmood 2015). Such an approach redefines resilience to focus on transformation rather than return to the equilibrium that existed before.

I want to focus for a couple of minutes on this last concept of resilience as being evolutionary and adaptive and look at it from the perspective of culture and cultural heritage. When I speak about culture and cultural heritage I use it as a short form for a wide range of inherited built forms, landscapes, beliefs, practices, knowledges, and identities. And I speak of it as a well-spring of human ingenuity, innovation and creativity. The value of culture and cultural heritage for building the resilience of communities is also in strengthening their identity, providing employment, and promoting peace and social cohesion through intercultural dialogue and empowering communities to seek local solutions. Culture and cultural landscapes are also about the interdependence of communities and their natural environment and the management of ecological resources and services. In a world of diminishing resources, local knowledges and innovative capacities are essential to communities more resilient to shape their social and ecological environment. I will elaborate a little the importance of expanding prevailing understandings of the concept of *cultural resilience* and its contribution to making cities resilient.

Finally, I would like to connect together the two points I have discussed so far, one on the value of planning history for planning practice and the other on the value of cultural resilience using a postcolonial perspective. Urban planning is a modernist project rooted in rationality and scientific thinking. Pre-modern forms, practices, knowledges, institutions, and organization of cities and settlements are largely the purview of urban historians and historical and cultural geographers. This violent and complete rejection of pre-modern urbanism is perhaps most clearly visualized in the Haussmanization of Paris that scholars like Françoise Choay have so remarkably elaborated. As cities have rushed to modernize their transportation and their infrastructure, what has remained are the grand monuments celebrating the artistic accomplishments and their histories. We fight to preserve these monuments as the vestiges of cultural heritage within a modernist frame. If we are to promote cultural resilience in cities as a way to enhance the resilience of urban communities, then we must first recognize the plural histories of planning and the diversity of voices, institutions, practices, and knowledges, that organize the city – and strengthen them. Planning history then is not only a story of the triumph of the rational city over the irrational one but also about the engagement, adaptation, and innovation within the existing cultural frameworks that sometimes survived and other times demised. In advocating for postcolonial perspectives in planning history, I see as vital, these voices from the margins that decenter modernist narratives celebrating the triumph of rationalism with other cultural frameworks of urban organization and innovation.

I will show some examples from my own work to illustrate my points of discussion.

Politics, Planning, Heritage and Urban Space

Planning History

Chair: *Javier Monclús Fraga*

MASTER DESIGNING THE FUTURE - PLANNED AND BUILT URBAN DESIGN ELEMENTS IN HOBRECHT'S EXPANSION PLAN OF 1862

Angela Million | Felix Bentlin | Laura Calbet Elias

Technische Universität Berlin

The most well-conceived historic master plans for cities influence their development well beyond their intended lifespans. When they do, they provide a more robust basis to cope with change. The Hobrecht Plan for Berlin's urban extension (1862) was intentionally conceived to adapt to an uncertain future thus remaining influential even today. Credit for this foresight in planning has not been widely recognized. For a considerable time, the Hobrecht plan was disregarded and considered irrelevant across the spectrum of city plans and planning in Central Europe. This comprehensive re-assessment of Hobrecht's Plan shines a new light, highlighting a fuller appreciation of its value. James Hobrecht's extension plan for Berlin was the first attempt to direct the city's growth as a national capital. In doing so, the plan defined a new set of urban patterns, forms and spaces. Its 14 section plans highlighted a range of public realm typologies. Their original conception as the city's structural elements continues to define Berlin even today. Much of the plan's robustness over time is a direct outcome of guiding a deliberate ordering of the then existing urban structures with new strategically placed interventions. This meant rethinking and redefining the public realm and its typologies. The plan also developed a clear spatial and structural framework using three different public realm typologies: the boulevard, the promenade square and the neighbourhood square as its key organizing and orienting elements. This hierarchy has helped these public spaces remain the effective planning units of Berlin's neighbourhoods. Today, these spaces are fundamental to the city's ability to provide integrated neighbourhood services. They provide a backbone for ongoing sustainable growth strategies and offer continued resilience to demographic and social changes. Hobrecht's plan also relied upon an expanding grid of arterial roads. This planning principle has helped the city grow easily and clearly, even if such growth could not have been imagined by the plan at that time. This early analysis provides insights on how contemporary master plans can better formulate longer term strategies to effectively address complexity, adaptability and resilience. We also have new insights about Berlin's city structure. All of this illustrates new historical perspective and knowledge of Hobrecht's contribution to the planning discipline in the European context.

Keywords

master plan, Berlin, city expansion, city landscape, urban development, expansion framework, design principles, public realm

THE SAN FRANCISCO URBAN DESIGN PLAN: A HISTORY AND AN APPRAISAL

Rebecca Retzlaff¹ | Stuart Meck²

- 1 Auburn University
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The 1972 San Francisco Urban Design Plan was created in response to growing concerns from San Francisco residents about the preservation of the unique character of their city. It was a groundbreaking and ambitious attempt to determine a vision and framework for the physical development of the City of San Francisco. The plan took over five years to complete, and included many studies and analysis to provide background data. The plan was based on the qualities that are unique and special about San Francisco and defined the design of the city in physical and social terms. The plan was based on four basic objectives, followed by forty-five implementing policies and sixty-seven design principles. Implementation of the plan came in three separate documents – the articulation of a design philosophy, design guidelines, and a strategic implementation plan. An important part of the plan is that it makes the case for why quality urban design is (or should be) important in people's lives, as a physical and emotional human need.

The background studies and analysis that formed the basis of the San Francisco Urban Design plan are noteworthy in their scope and rigor. The background studies included an analysis of existing urban form, urban design principles, a social reconnaissance survey, an analysis of implementation approaches, and an open space plan. The planners who developed the plan made it clear that the plan would be centered on the people of San Francisco, and the urban form that resulted from the plan would respect and draw from the social, economic, and aesthetic needs of the residents and visitors of San Francisco.

Policies used to implement the plan included extensive height and bulk controls, incentive zoning, and an ambitious system of urban design review. Some critics have argued that the inconsistencies between the Urban Design Plan and the active measures taken to implement the plan resulted in less favorable and weak implementation of the plan. Critics also argued that the extensive system of urban design review committee rules did not do enough to encourage developers to respect the plan as it was written.

This paper concludes with an assessment of the impact of the plan, with a focus on how the plan is similar to and differs from modern urban design theory and practice. We conclude and lessons for current and future urban design practice, including how urban design practice can improve based on the experiences of this early plan. The authors conclude that the plan had significant impacts on San Francisco's development, and is still in use today. The studies on which the plan was based are still relevant and the methods used to prepare the plan should be considered in developing modern urban design plans. The authors also conclude that the plan was unique because of its focus on the social role of urban design in communities and people's lives. The plan was written with an eye toward implementation, and toward bettering the lives of people in San Francisco.

Keywords

Urban Design, Urbanism, San Francisco, Place Making

FROM URBANISM TO PLANNING TO URBAN PROJECT – THE PURSUIT OF ‘URBANITY’ IN SPANISH PLANS AND PROJECTS

Javier Monclús Fraga | Carmen Díez Medina

University of Zaragoza

Spanish urbanismo evolved from the late rise of the discipline, at the beginning of the 20th century, to the consolidation of planning in the 1950s and 1960s. In its origins, it paid special attention to urban forms, but in the years of exceptional economic development – 1950s-1970s – planning became more abstract, because of the dissociation between the scales of the comprehensive plan and the more specific definition of layouts and architecture, which remained in the background. Since the end of the 1970s, the functionalist urbanism gave way to a renovated ‘architectural urbanism’, again more concerned with architectural quality of urban forms. The aim of this paper is to illustrate the recurrent, complex and sometimes contradictory ways of recovering and updating that early Spanish urbanismo which produced some of the most interesting urban tissues. We refer especially to some plans and projects corresponding to three time periods with different levels of integration among them, focusing on three Spanish cities, which can be understood as paradigmatic exemplars: Madrid, Barcelona, and Zaragoza. Of course, this doesn’t mean that the forms and tools of the, in the words of Peter Hall, ‘lost art of urbanism’, have been recovered literally. Rather, we identify in this philosophy of integrating architecture and planning an important principle of a true high quality urbanism.

Keywords

urbanismo, urbanism, planning, urban project, urbanity, Spain

How to Cite

Monclús Fraga, Javier; Díez Medina, Carmen. “From Urbanism to Planning to Urban Project — The pursuit of ‘urbanity’ in Spanish plans and projects”. In Carola Hein (ed.) *International Planning History Society Proceedings, 17th IPHS Conference, History-Urbanism-Resilience, TU Delft 17-21 July 2016, V.04 p.023*, TU Delft Open, 2016.

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7480/iphs.2016.4.1279>

INTRODUCTION

Is there a specifically Latin culture of urbanisme? Why should we presume some specificities of Spanish urbanism? Anthony Sutcliffe, one of the godfathers of planning history, referred to “a specifically Latin culture of urbanisme, which is used to contextualize both planning and architecture”¹. In fact, the history of planning and urban design reveals the existence of different traditions, as Donatella Calabi has also recognized: “there’s no doubt that there are different academic traditions in various countries, in which, for example, the relationships between planning history, urban history and architectural history are different”². However, in the case of Spanish urbanismo and Italian urbanistica it is important to note that even if the Latin cultural model is generally accepted, the lack of translations in English of the extensive literature on Spanish and Italian Planning History³ had led to a significant loss of information. This makes difficult the understanding of the specificities of both particular academic traditions, hindering its inclusion in a wider debate about Planning History. Placing Spanish planning historiography within a comparative context is important to understand the characteristics of modern urban planning in Spain⁴.

EMERGENCE AND INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF MODERN URBAN PLANNING: COEXISTENCE OF PARADIGMS (1910S-40S)

Spanish modern *urbanismo* evolved from the late rise of the discipline, at the beginning of the 20th century, to the consolidation of planning in the 1950s and 1960s. In its origins, during the first decades of the century, it was influenced first by the French School of Urbanisme (EFU) and later by German *Städtebau*. The fact that these both approaches paid special attention to urban forms could explain that they had larger presence in Spanish *urbanismo* – a discipline with a long tradition on what it is called now ‘urban architecture’⁵ – than the British ‘town planning’.

It is important to note that in Spain the emergence and institutionalization of modern urban planning arrived later than in UK or Germany, due to the slow process of industrialization of the country. Some Spanish authors have written about this late rise of modern planning⁶. The incorporation of this new discipline into the schools’ of architecture curricula have significantly become a field of research. The subject *Trazado, Urbanización y Saneamiento de Poblaciones* (with echoes to Cerdà’s concepts) was taught for the first time at the School of Madrid in 1914. In the 1920s a new name was adopted: *Urbanología*. And a similar process took place at the School of Barcelona⁷.

This delay in the emergence of a modern discipline of urban planning did not, however, prevent from international transfer and disciplinary interchanges, which took place through courses, seminars, conferences, articles, exhibitions and specialized journals⁸. Regarding international models in Spain and also in Italy, it is noteworthy that during the first decades of the 20th century the impact of the French School of Urbanisme (EFU) was more significant than the influence of the British ‘town planning’, even if some contributions to international planning conferences by Unwin, Abercrombie and other planners were translated in the 1920s (Terán, 1978). Following the French tradition, some *Beaux-Arts* plans were developed in several Spanish cities. They were made in correspondence to the opening of *grandes vías*, and monumental urban spaces, echoing the ‘Paris model’ and the City Beautiful movement⁹.

Besides this cultural impact of the EFU, the German notion of *Städtebau* exerted in Spain an increasing influence. The term had emerged at the turn of the 20th century, already with Stübben homonymous 1890 handbook, but acquired a more precise meaning some years later, almost at the same time than the concept of *Stadtplan* (Collins, 1965: 120-121, 146). Camillo Sitte’s theories about *Städtebaukunst* (artistic urban planning) appeared within this framework, between 1880 and 1930, together with other similar approaches. An extensive historiography echoes

the reaction which came against the ‘pragmatic engineering urbanism’ and the consequent dissemination of Stübben’s and Sitte’s theories¹⁰. This literature also shows how French tradition coexisted for some time with German *Städtebau*, being progressively replaced by the latter, which was increasingly dominant in planning thought since the beginning of the 20th century.

Some plans of the first decades of the 20th century exemplify the prevalence in Spain of this urbanism based on the reference of Civic Art¹¹ and especially attentive to urban forms and architectural quality. In this paper we will focus on three Spanish cities, which can be understood as paradigmatic exemplars: Madrid, a capital city; Barcelona, an industrial city; and Zaragoza, a medium-size city. Regarding the plans that characterize this first moment of Spanish *urbanismo*, we could mention following examples:

In Madrid, after the 19th century city extension, a specific concern for urban forms can be recognized in some planned interventions, such as the opening of the Gran Vía first and also some years later, even in some modern plans and projects of the 1920s and 1930s. They prove how formal visions and functional principles were synthesized and adapted to a specific Spanish urban planning tradition. Remarkable is the collaboration between S. Zuazo and the German planner H. Jansen in the important international competition for the Madrid Extension Plan of 1929. This is an example of the way *Städtebau* influence was relevant even in the advent of modernist urban planning¹². Zuazo-Jansen’s Plan incorporates international functionalist urban tenets, without overlooking to take special care to specific urban conditions.

In Barcelona, the case of Jaussely’s Plan (1905) is an exceptional example that deserves a careful reading. Despite its large scale, it shows a sort of ‘artistic urbanism’, not only as a reaction to the monotony of Cerdà’s Extension, but also as a way of introducing some formalist concepts, together with functionalist components, associated to the French School of Urbanism. Actually, this School, which had deep roots on the social studies and the Musée Social, with M. Poëte as pioneer of the ‘Science of villes’, combined ‘Beaux Arts layouts’ with functionalist interventions related to modern circulation issues, which had Henard and other urban planners as referents¹³. Jaussely’s Plan worked only as a reference in the planning strategies of the 1920s. In the 1930s the Plan Macià stood out as remarkable example of a new functionalist planning, even if it didn’t have a significant impact on urban development¹⁴.

In Zaragoza, a new urban extension plan was implemented, again by S. Zuazo, in 1928-1930s, almost at the same time than the plan for Madrid¹⁵. In this case, formal layouts combine with a hierarchical and functional system of avenues and streets, with diversity of blocks and housing typologies, as an example of urbanism concerned with the design of urban forms.

The specificity of these plans, among others Spain, is that they were conceived in continuity with the existent city (in a similar way than Berlage’s Amsterdam Zuid plan, for instance). They are paradigmatic examples of a way of understanding urbanism in Spain, a discipline that since the first decades of the 20th century reached a high urban quality level, influenced first by the plans of the French school of urbanism and later by the German artistic urban planning and preserving this quality and care for urban forms even in the advent of modern functionalism.



FIGURE 1 Barcelona: Jussely Plan (1907)



FIGURE 2 2. Zaragoza: Zuazo-Ribas-Navarro Plan (1928)

PLANNING AND ACCELERATED URBAN GROWTH (1950S-1970S) OR THE LOSS OF THE "ART OF URBANISM"

In Spain, as in other European countries, the rise of urban planning in the first decades of the 20th century was followed by the emergence of modernist urban design tenets and the new paradigm of the 'functional city'. The Athens Charter principles (drafted in CIAM IV, 1933, and published in 1943), were applied after the World War II often by means of their vulgate. It was from that moment on that they had a real impact. Planning became more abstract, because of the dissociation between the scales of the comprehensive plan and the more detailed definition of specific layouts and architecture, which remained in the background. Instead, zoning became the main planning tool, the definition of urban spaces was made according to the universal principles of 'open urbanism', etc. The Athens Charter became the undisputed reference to design the new housing estates built in those years of exceptional economic development known as *desarrollismo* age (developmentalism). Besides this, the progressive complexity and autonomy of the new cars and transport infrastructures favored the shift from urbanism to planning, a discipline with its own rules and expertise, far from the Spanish tradition of 'urban architecture'.

According to international historiography, the 'golden age of planning' seems to have become consolidated during an economic upswing period: the great boom of the 1950s and 1960s that lasted until the oil crisis of 1973. In this period of spectacular urban growth postwar legislation was for several decades the basic framework for regulating urban development in most of the European advanced countries. This was also the case of Spain, even if the system was less effective in practice than in theory. A foundational law such as the *Ley del suelo* (Land and Urban Planning Act) of 1956 was the main legislative instrument of that period, a subject that has been widely examined along with the story of the explosive urban growth in Spanish cities during this period¹⁶.

It is interesting to note that in an early stage of transition, during the 1940s and up until the mid-1950s, modernist urbanism coexisted with new versions of Civic Art or renewed ways of understanding urban architecture. If 'modern Townscape' was trying to integrate planning and architecture in UK¹⁷, in Spain similar intentions can be found in some plans and projects where architectural urbanism was still the main concern, as a look back over some planning handbooks and specialized planning publications ^{shows}¹⁸. The attachment to monumentalism of Franco dictatorship's rhetoric also contributed in a certain way to maintain the linkage to the tradition of academicism and, therefore, to architectural urbanism. However, these attempts to shape new urban forms according to the ideology of the regime were not determining experiences¹⁹. In short, Spain followed modernity in urbanism, but the tradition of architectural urbanism and the semantic monumentality of the regime also converged in the urbanism of that period.

Some examples of the progressive change in contents and strategies can be found in every Spanish city, starting with the capital. In Madrid, in the early 1940s the so called Plan Bidagor (1941-1946) was still an attempts to give an image of an Imperial City. But we could also find continuities with the plans of the Republican period, both in the willingness to modernize the urban structure and in the attention payed to 'urban facades' and the city's appearance. Actually, Bidagor's plan followed Zuazo-Jansen's 1929 extension plan and 1939 regional plan, both from the Republican period²⁰. The big shift came in the 1960s, when a new 'generation of plans' arrived, known as 'development plans', as a reply to rapid urban growth. The Plan General de Ordenación del Área Metropolitana de Madrid (General Town Planning of Madrid metropolitan area) of 1963 is a clear example. Plans for sectors or 'partial plans' were a further complement for developing the sectors or *polígonos* (mass housing estates) of the General Plan. They worked as useful tools for speculation, since they allowed increasing building levels, which lead to high densification processes in extension areas and in new peripheries²¹.



FIGURE 3 Barcelona: La Mina and Sudoeste del Besós housing estates (1969)

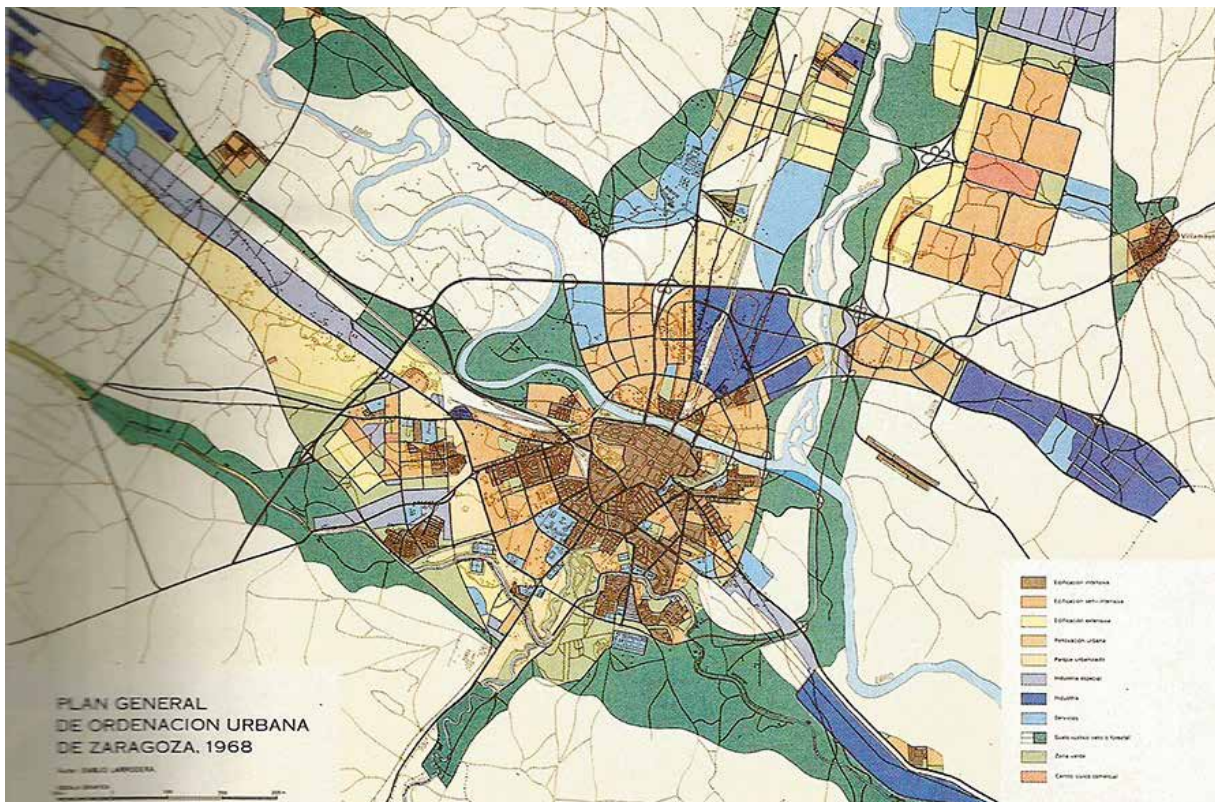


FIGURE 4 Zaragoza: General Master Plan Larrodera (1968)

In Barcelona, the loss of the ‘art of urbanism’ was also gradual. The Plan comarcal (Regional plan) of 1953 was the base for the new urban extensions. At the beginning, efforts were made to carefully control urban growth, especially in two areas: Levante (East) and Poniente (West). However, as in other Spanish cities, those partial plans “increased densities without a corresponding provision of public facilities—at times preempting spaces dedicated to public facilities (...) even approving housing estates without preliminary partial planning”²². The layout of new roads and streets became progressively more and more autonomous from the residential blocks. At the same time, the earlier ‘well planned’ *polígonos de viviendas* of the 1950s, more attentive to urban design, gave way to ‘an avalanche of low-quality architectural projects’ that characterized a large part of 1960s and 1970s modern peripheries²³.

In Zaragoza, the Plan of 1957 established also continuity with the ‘modern discourse on urbanism’ as it was codified in the Athens Charter²⁴. Even some illustrations were taken from the vanguard’s literature of the 1930s²⁵. But in this case plans for a controlled urban development were again overpassed by the real processes of urban growth (the goal of the plan was 500.000 inhabitants for the year 2000 but the city reached this mark already in 1975 (540.308 inhabitants). Another plan was approved in 1968, with much more ambitious goals. Also in this case, the focus on zoning the urban structure contrasted with the low attention payed to ‘partial plans’, which were thought more following quantitative parameters (housing densities, standards for facilities, etc.)²⁶.

The impact of those plans was positive in some cases, since they helped to structure urban growth. However, controlling urban forms was another issue²⁷ that required a higher degree of integration of the various scales of the project. On the contrary, in this period the dissociation between comprehensive plans and urban project, that demanded more attention for layouts and architecture, was drastic. In a sense, it could be said that the ‘golden age of planning’ came at the costs of the ‘lost art of urbanism’.

FROM COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING TO URBAN PROJECTS: THE PURSUIT OF URBANITY

Since the end of the 1970s the predominance of the functionalist urbanism gave way to a renovated ‘architectural urbanism’, once again more concerned with architectural quality of urban forms. This kind of urban approach materialized in the so-called ‘urban projects’ that acquired a clear predominance over the previous general plans based in rigid zoning tenets. Somehow, this resulted in a paradigm shift that helped to recover and reaffirm a specific urban culture, which since the beginning of the century had tended to develop an urbanism closely linked to architecture and urban landscape. This design-oriented and strategic approach to urban planning, associated to social and economic goals, can be seen as a clear innovation with roots on the tradition of Spanish urbanism²⁸. Integration between urbanism and architecture was a key strategy in the pursuit of urbanity, despite the complexity of this term²⁹.

During the 1970s and 1980s, a sort of ‘reformist urbanism’, which was first theorized in Italy by left-wing urban planners, began to gain strength. The emergence of the new urban projects should be understood in a context of generalized reactions to the modernist functionalist urban planning, but also as a way of recovering and developing the strong and best traditions of what began to be called ‘quality urbanism’. Recent planning history research shows that, as happened in other periods, the impact of urban planning in Spanish cities since the 1980s has been ambivalent³⁰. On one hand, low quality ‘standardized planned piecemeal disasters’ as well as large urban sprawl processes have led to a huge increase of land consumption and the destruction of urban and natural landscapes, especially in seafronts and touristic cities. Nevertheless, the recovery of old historical centers and the modernization of cities through the creation of quality public spaces, infrastructures and new facilities has been the rule, exactly the opposite as what happened in the former period.

The organization of some international events, such as the 1992 Olympic Games (Barcelona) or the International Exhibitions (1992 Seville, 2008 Zaragoza) worked as urban planning and design laboratories that brought with them important structural transformations. Urban projects and landscape urbanism were paradigmatic in this sort of strategic urban planning³¹. It's true that private developers were increasingly responsible in shaping the new peripheries. But it would be a mistake to believe that planning was weak – or not relevant – in those years because of the emergence of urban projects. On the contrary, it may be said that the intense transformation that has deeply changed the shape of Spanish cities since the 1980s up to the crisis of 2008 has been the result of numerous planned interventions – often consisting in large-scale projects – which were responsible of the general improvements of cities, especially of the inner peripheries

Maybe the best example of that 'reformist urbanism' was the Madrid plan of 1985. Using quite conventional planning tools, but with detailed local scale developments, the Madrid plan activated a relevant process of urban improvement and regeneration of its extensive peripheries³². The General plan of 1985 included also detail urban projects. Moreover, some of the best urban projects that have changed the shape of the capital city were implemented in the last two decades. Integration between urbanism and architecture was a key strategy in the pursuit of urbanity. The works to expansion the Atocha station, and also the extensions of several museums such as Prado, Reina Sofía or Thyssen, for instance, were part of a wider plan of improvement and requalification of public spaces, such as the axis Prado-Recoletos. At the same time, the "new urban extensions" recovered the morphology of traditional urban blocks, with avenues and squares, even if they lack the "urban intensity" of old 19th century *Ensanche* (city extension)³³.

The 'Barcelona model' is a paradigmatic example of this sort of new urban strategies. Again, a General Metropolitan Plan (GMP), approved in 1976, was the main basis for developing urban projects in Barcelona since the 1980s. Of course, the economic upswing period that started on mid-nineties was not the only factor that made possible the development of those strategic projects. However, it helps to understand the transformation processes that the city experimented within the frame of the 1992 Olympic Games: projects changed from small piecemeal interventions in the 1980s to large-scale urban projects in the 1990s³⁴. In this sense, it is meaningful the way Barcelona's urbanism was received by the professional UK milieu. In 1999 Barcelona was awarded the prestigious Gold Medal by the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA). It was the first time that a place – instead of professionals – was awarded. The prize intended to recognize and value the city's "commitment to urbanism over the last twenty years" including its "mix of eye-catching landmark projects, small scale improvements to plazas and street corners, and the team work between politicians and urbanists." Two types of urban interventions were thus remarked, from small to large-scale strategic urban projects, both of them associated to different periods of urban renovation and improvement³⁵.

Zaragoza planning followed the trend of 'corrective' or 'reformist' plans – somehow in the line of the 'Madrid model' – and got a new general plan in 1986. Thanks to this plan together with the impulse of the socialist council, several actions were implemented, with more control of urban growth, building of new facilities, preservation of natural surroundings, improvement of urban spaces in the historic city center, etc.³⁶. The attention to urban forms through urban projects was one of the most important issues regarding residential areas³⁷. Again, the last upswing cycle from the mid-nineteenth until the crisis of 2008 had an ambivalent impact: it led to the construction of new facilities, infrastructures and a renovated system of open spaces along with a new wave of suburbanization and land occupation at metropolitan scale.

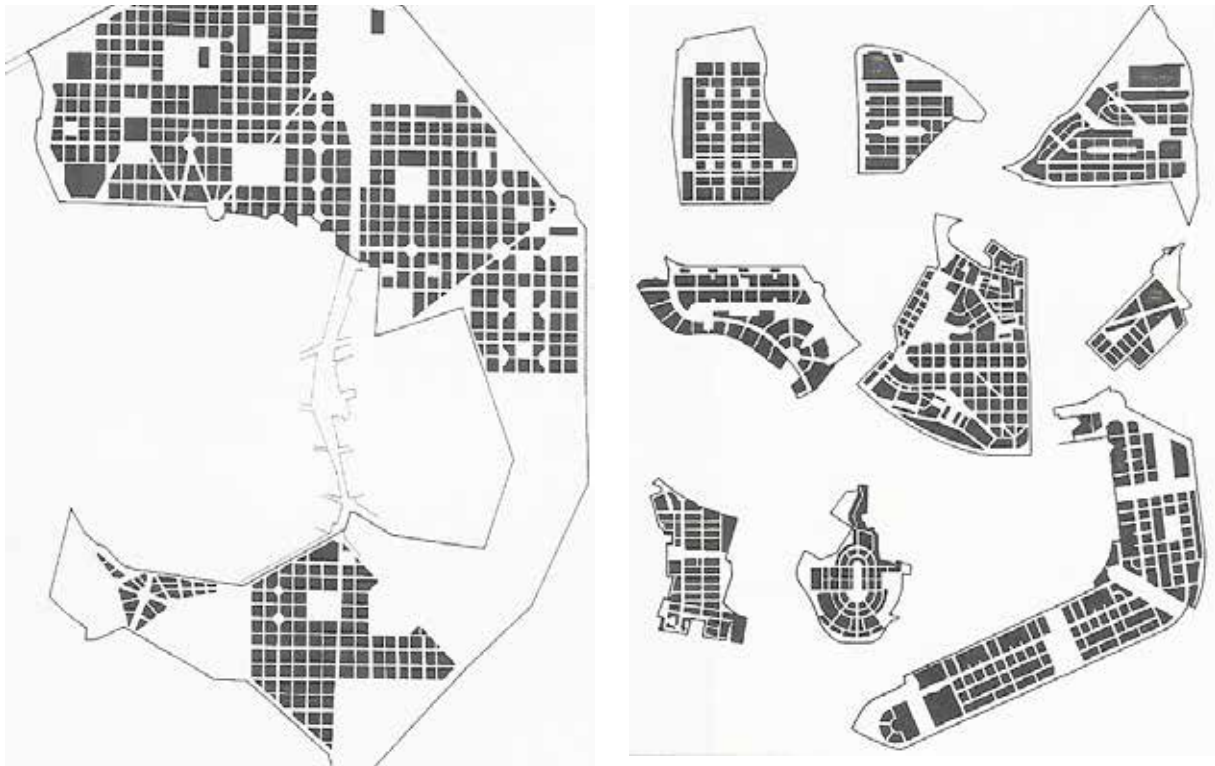


FIGURE 5 Madrid: Old Ensanche and new extensions (1980-1990s)

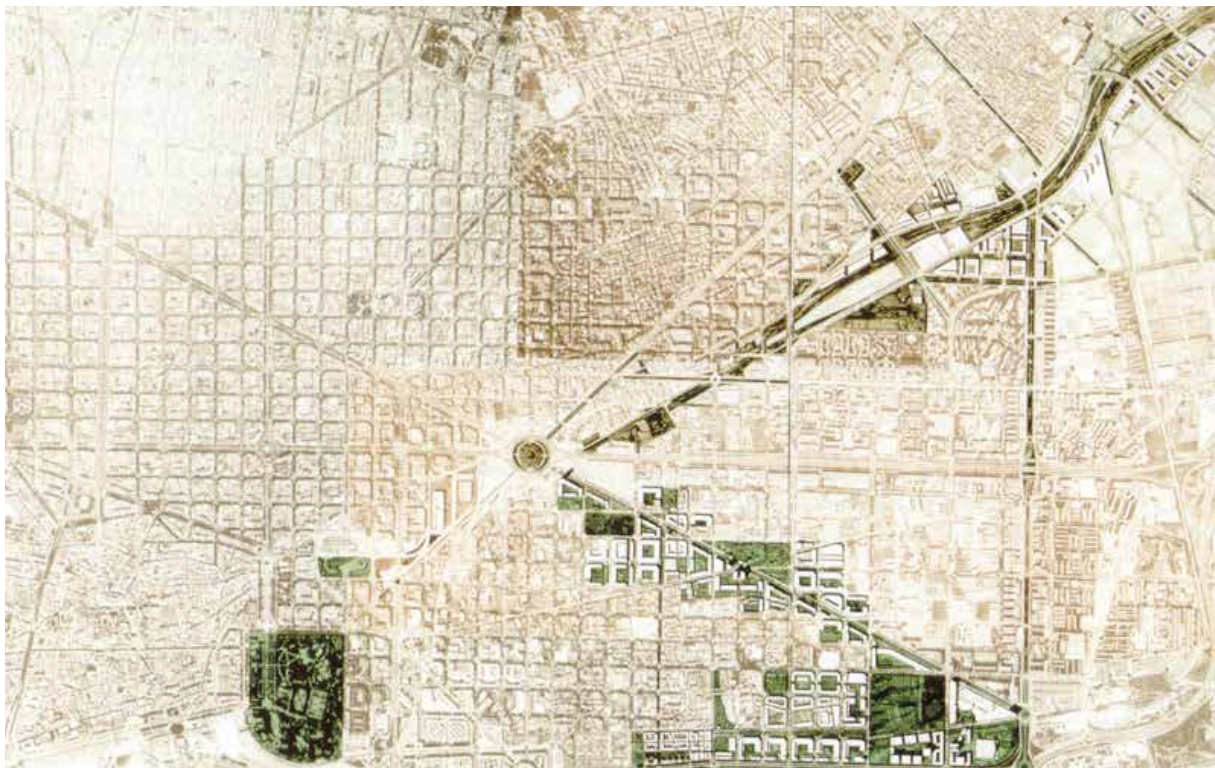


FIGURE 6 Barcelona: plans and urban projects (1992-2000)

To sum up, a new period highlighted by the willingness of recovering a 'lost' urban culture succeeded the previous modernist urban experiences. The conciliation between architecture and urbanism that had been a distinguishing feature of Spanish *urbanismo* since the origins of the discipline allowed reinterpreting the tradition of 'architectural urbanism' at different scales, from small urban projects to large strategic projects. The pursuit of urbanity that characterized the last decades of the 20th century followed sometimes contradictory ways, swinging from old models to new experimental plans and projects.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the last decades substantial transformations are changing the features of the so-called Mediterranean compact city model, among them the loss of urban quality in the new peripheries. Those processes have led to explore other ways of urbanism, sometimes looking to old traditions. If we want to understand the complex and often contradictory ways of recovering and updating an early Spanish *urbanismo* – the one that produced some of the most interesting and qualified urban tissues – more specific research is needed. We had referred especially to some carefully plans and projects characterized by their high levels of urbanity. Of course, this doesn't mean that the forms and tools of the, in the words of Peter Hall, 'lost art of urbanism', have been recovered directly. Rather, we mean that this philosophy of integrating architecture and planning has been seen an important principle of a true high quality urbanism.

As happen in other countries, only some urban planners realize that aesthetic values are a main part of the discipline of urban planning in Spain³⁸. In any case, the analysis of urban planning and design with a wide historical perspective should be useful not only for better understanding past planning episodes in Spanish cities, but also for allowing us to learn what is valid and also what is already obsolete in modern urban planning. The pursuit of that "quality urbanism" is not only a matter of economy and urban policy, but also a matter of recovering the own tradition of good urbanism³⁹.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Acknowledgements

The conceptualization of this article was stimulated by the Delft Planning History Workshop held in June 2015 to which the authors were kindly invited. The paper relates to the chapter in the book *Routledge Planning History Handbook*, edited by Carola Hein (forthcoming).

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Image Sources

Figure 1: Author's private collection.

Figure 2: Guàrdia, M., Monclús, F. J., J.L.Oyón (dir.), Atlas histórico de ciudades europeas, vol. I Península Ibérica, Barcelona: CCCB-Salvat, 1994.

Figure 3: Guàrdia, M., Monclús, F. J., J.L.Oyón (dir.), Atlas histórico de ciudades europeas, vol. I Península Ibérica, Barcelona: CCCB-Salvat, 1994.

Figure 4: Guàrdia, M., Monclús, F. J., J.L.Oyón (dir.), Atlas histórico de ciudades europeas, vol. I Península Ibérica, Barcelona: CCCB-Salvat, 1994.

Figure 5: Author's private collection.

Figure 6: Author's private collection.

Endnotes

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INFLUENCES OF RENAMING STREETS ON URBAN MEMORY: THE CASE OF TURKEY

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Streets are the essential components of the social structure and spaces of memory that encapsulate previous experiences. Memory is similar to cities for it also has a vital structure. Thus, it is indeed possible to observe actions such as forgetting, recalling and storing data, etc. at the urban scale. When the components of the urban memory are removed, the interaction is interrupted, and such components are removed from the urban memory and, thus, forgotten. Toponymy is the study of place names (toponyms), their origins, meanings, use and typology. The place naming conventions worldwide reveal that each country/region has created a system based on their culture. In Turkey, street names were introduced in the early years of the Republic. Concepts related to the Republic, historical figures that came to the fore during the Independence War and Atatürk are frequently used in Turkey. In recent years, streets and roads have been renamed in order to reshape the collective memory. In this context, the purpose of this study is to evaluate the influence of the changes in street and road names on urban memory. It also aims to discuss the general theme of the conference within the scope of preservation of urban culture and urban memory. The study argues that street names have a direct influence on and bear the traces of the natural and socio-economic structure of the area they are located in.

Keywords

Street names, Urban Memory, Urban Toponymy, Cultural Heritage, Turkey

How to Cite

Ayatac, Hattice; Araz, Selime. "INFLUENCES OF RENAMING STREETS ON URBAN MEMORY: THE CASE OF TURKEY". In Carola Hein (ed.) *International Planning History Society Proceedings, 17th IPHS Conference, History-Urbanism-Resilience, TU Delft 17-21 July 2016, V.04 p.037*, TU Delft Open, 2016.

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7480/iphs.2016.4.1280>

INTRODUCTION

Street is defined as a road with houses along its both sides that is narrower and shorter than a main road (Url-1¹). This definition can be misleading and insufficient. Because it only addresses the physical characteristics of streets. Streets, however, also feature a wide range of characteristics such as social, cultural and historical features. Therefore, streets are where people begin living together and where communal life, sharing and movement emerge.

The history of streets date back to 8,000 years ago (Lillebye, 2001²). In ancient times and in the middle ages, streets were primarily used for transportation purposes. However, after the Renaissance, they were ascribed with an aesthetic importance. Streets were then attributed as symbols or architecture and urban components. In the mid-19th century, the influences of the Baroque period became prominent. Following the Industrial Revolution, the increase in the rate of private car usage played a significant role in transportation planning and the design of streets. During the late 19th century and the early 20th century, modernist influences and the principles of Enlightenment dominated. Enlightenment is defined as “being destructively creative and creatively destructive at one and the same time”. This concept is grounded on the opinion that something new cannot be created without any destruction. In the aftermath of the II. World War, major parts of cities were destructed (Harvey, 2010:³ 29-30). With Haussman’s projects, Paris was considered as “the first prototype of the modern city” (Kostof, 2007⁴). Urban spaces in the majority of the cities in the 20th century were designed and organized in a systematic fashion. The boulevards of the 19th century gave way to the highways of the 20th century (Berman, 2010⁵). Particularly in the 1960s, many opposed streets and roads that are focused on vehicular traffic. Jacobs (1961⁶) emphasized the liveability in the streets. According to Jacobs, projects carried out on streets back in the time led to a poor image, and the urban memory was destroyed. From then on, more attention was paid to how streets were used and designed. In numerous cities, several projects were developed to reclaim streets. Nowadays, life on streets is prioritized, and consumption-oriented artificial streets are designed at times (pps.org⁷).

STREETS ARE THE ESSENTIAL COMPONENTS OF THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND SPACES OF MEMORY THAT ENCAPSULATE PREVIOUS EXPERIENCES.

According to the Turkish Language Association dictionary⁸, memory is “the power of retaining past experience and its relation with the past”, “mind, recollection, remembrance”. The brain stores anything we see, hear and learn in order to recall them when necessary in the future. From time to time, it makes the necessary arrangements on the information stored so as to compress and relocate certain information, which then leads to forgetting (Türksoy, 2006⁹).

Cities have a multi-layered and living structure, thus they also have a memory. Therefore, actions such as forgetting, recalling or storing information occur in cities as well. Urban memories sometimes change or disappear due to the rearrangement and reshaping of various components in cities. When the components of the urban memory are removed, the interaction is interrupted, and such components are removed from the urban memory and are thus forgotten. Disasters that change the physical structure (such as earthquakes, fires, etc.) are the primary reasons behind the loss of urban memory. In addition, certain breaking points and discontinuities arising from social, economic and political changes (e.g. migration) are other factors that lead to urban memory loss.

Among the interventions on urban space, those carried out on streets are the most remarkable. The political, cultural, economic and social interventions on streets wipe out or reproduce certain information in the urban memory. Therefore, due attention should be when streets are designed and named. Urban memory should be managed in the best way possible, and the unique values in cities should be preserved.

In this context, the purpose of this study is to evaluate the influence of the changes in street and road names on urban memory. In order to evaluate the impact of the changes in street names in Turkey since the 1930s, the research provides a comparative analysis and assessment of the legal background in Turkey, written historical documents and findings about various settlements.

STREET AND ROAD NAMES (URBAN TOPONYMY) AND FUNDAMENTAL APPROACHES

Toponymy is the study of place names (toponyms), their origins, meanings, use and typology. Toponymy, which is a branch of onomastics, focuses on different aspects (such as meaning, formation, origin and distribution) of the names given to settlements or physical characteristics. The word toponymy is derived from the Greek words τόπος (τόπος) ('place') and όνομα (όνομα) ('name').

Urban toponymy is researched by many disciplines including but not limited to geography. Urban planners should also pay due attention to toponymy given the fact that naming has a structure that changes and develops with urban dynamics. Streets and roads are the least changing components of urban geography, and they are "both products of design and spaces of social life..." (Çelik et al 2007¹⁰). Place names are a critical part of the sense-making process, and they also provide information to the inhabitants of the city, enable the contact between different generations, and introduce values (Azaryahu, 2011¹¹).

There are two different approaches to naming streets and roads. The French approach is mainly focused on what street and road names remind, and deals with the origins, formation and classification of these names (Kooloos, 2010¹²). The second approach, which is mainly advocated by Azaryahu, gained prominence in the 1990s. Maoz Azaryahu acknowledges the remindful characteristic of street and road names; however, he mainly highlights the role of political struggles and the social processes during the creation of the collective memory. He also puts specific emphasis on the role of street names during the formation of nation-states and identities. Political regimes make use of history not only to legitimize their sovereignty but also to reinforce their authority. In this respect, street naming is one of the methods to dominate the urban space and to create a collective memory. Public memory, which is built through social processes and shaped by cultural characteristics, can be reproduced by cultural codes, social values, ideological opinions and the dynamics of political power (Azaryahu 2009 cited by Aliağaoğlu & Yiğit, 2013¹³).

Place names are not defined by the shifts in the political perceptions of successive generations and by the changes in the national and local authorities. The historical and geographic origins of settlements and their inhabitants, significant individuals and events that played an important role in the history of settlements, natural characteristics, the conditions that changed due to security, and ancestral ties are the factors that are critical in street naming. Past and current economic activities and the spatial growth of settlements due to population increase can also be listed among these factors (Özkan & Yoloğlu, 2005¹⁴; Aliağaoğlu & Yiğit, 2013).

STREET NAMING AROUND THE WORLD

The analyses reveal that the size of streets and the significant buildings along them influence the street names in Europe, while numbers are used more frequently in the U.S. In some countries, there are companies that archive the data about place names. For instance, place names in Canada are compiled in the Natural Resources Canada inventory. The Geographical Names Board of Canada (GNBC) collects place names in the Canadian Geographical Names Data Base (CGNDB). The GNBC partners with the McGill University in their projects (Url-2¹⁵). In the U.S., the Board on Geographic Names (BGN) supervises place names. Place names are kept in

the Geographic Names Information System (GNIS). Place naming studies are also supported by the Placenames Research Center at the University of Alabama (Url-2). In the United Nations, the Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNGEGN) perform the studies pertaining to place names (Url-2). In Ireland, the Committee on the Standardization of Geographic Names was established in 2000. The purpose of the committee is to organize the national geographic names in unison. In this respect, nine ministries and other organizations are also involved under the supervision of the National Mapping Organization (NMO) (Url-3⁶).

The number of studies about place naming is higher in certain countries. In one of his studies, Azaryahu (2011) indicates that there are plenty of studies in the U.S. and mentions that the examples in countries such as Italy, Greece, Serbia and the Netherlands are interesting and quite a few in number. However, there are not many studies that focus on Latin American, Asian and African countries. Azaryahu expresses that examples of naming in South African cities, which were colonies in the past, in locations such as East Berlin, Bucharest, Budapest and Moscow, which were part of the Eastern Bloc in the past, and in Singapore, which was also a colony in the past, are “dramatic”. In such cities, shifts in the political atmosphere were utilized as a tool to reproduce the collective memory (Azaryahu, 1997 et al. cited by Baysan, Kara, 2014¹⁷).

COUNTRY NAME	1TH STREET NAME	2ND STREET NAME	3RD STREET NAME
Austria	Main Street	Field Alley	Station Street
Czech Republic	Garden Street	Short Street	Station Street
Denmark	Lark Street	Birch Street	Angle Street
France	Church Street	Church Square	Grand Street
Germany	Main Street	Village Street	School Street
Ireland	Main Street	Grand Canal Way	Royal Canal Way
Luxembourg	Church Street	Field Street	Meadow Street
Netherland	Church Street	School Street	Mill Street
Poland	Field Street	Forest Street	Sunny Street
Russia	Central Street	Youth Street	School Street
Spain	Main Street	Church Street	Royal Street
Sweden	Ring Road	Grand Street	School Street
Switzerland	Station Street	Main Street	Village Street
United Kingdom	High Street	Station Road	Main Street

TABLE 1 Table 1: The most common street names in Europe Source: Url-418

When we analyse the table, it is evident that the streets in Europe are named after their condition, their surroundings and the significant buildings located along them. Main Street, School Street, Station Street and Church Street (respectively) are the most popular names in Europe.

	STREET NAME	NUMBER		STREET NAME	NUMBER
1	Second	10,866	11	Pine	6,170
2	Third	10,131	12	Maple	6,103
3	First	9,898	13	Cedar	5,644
4	Fourth	9,190	14	Eighth	5,524
5	Park	8,926	15	Elm	5,233
6	Fifth	8,186	16	View	5,202
7	Main	7,644	17	Washington	4,974
8	Sixth	7,283	18	Ninth	4,908
9	Oak	6,946	19	Lake	4,901
10	Seventh	6,377	20	Hill	4,877

TABLE 2 Table 3.2. The 20 Most Common Street Names in the US

Source: Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Geography Division, 1993 (Url-719)

According to the table, “Second Street” is more popular than “First Street” in the U.S. It looks like “Second Street” is more popular on account of the fact that a considerable amount of “First Streets” are named as “Main Street”.

The place naming conventions worldwide reveal that each country/region has created a system based on their culture. Streets in Europe are named after the important buildings located on them, numbering is more common in the U.S., and block and building numbers are preferred over street names in Far Eastern countries.

HISTORICAL AND LEGAL BACKGROUND OF STREET NAMING IN TURKEY

Toponymy in Turkey is a subject of academic research carried out by various disciplines including but not limited to history, literature and geography. The “Turkish Place Names Symposium” organized on 11-13 September 1984 was the most important event in the field. However, no other symposiums followed this event. The foreword of the symposiums proceedings book indicates that the place names in Turkish that were used in Central Asia, the names of various Turkish cultures, and the names of phratries and significant Turkish figures were replaced with inadequate names over the past 40-50 years; yet, the use of such names is limited to official purposes as the inhabitants continue using the previous names (Url-8²⁰).

The committees on place names in Turkey and around the world operate pursuant to the rules and recommendations of the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNGEGN) (Url-9²¹). The Committee of Experts on Geographical Names in Turkey has not published any studies on street and road names.

In his 2010 study titled “Toponymic Studies in Turkey”, Güven Şahin indicates that there are 284 studies focused on toponymy. Out of these, 152 are books or articles, 69 are symposium or conference proceedings, and 63 are theses or PhD dissertations (Şahin, 2010²²).

Streets in Turkey were named for the first time in order to facilitate census taking in 1927 (Erim, 2013²³). The first regulation on street naming during the Republic was the Law on Street Naming and Numbering published in the Official Gazette on 20 April 1927. Article 5 of the law included provisions on how streets could be assigned with numbers instead of names. The decree introduced on 7 October 1939 also included provisions aimed at regulating how streets are named. The Regulation on Numbering enacted on 21 March 1963 provided further details on street naming. Article 4 of the regulation set forth that “streets shall not be named with obscene or ludicrous names; street names shall not be long or difficult to pronounce; street names shall have Turkish origins and shall not be inherited from other languages; the existing name of a street or a square shall be preserved as long as it is

not obscene or ludicrous and as long as it is not repeated; otherwise, it shall be named as lower street, upper street or middle street based on its topographic characteristics, or as fountain street, baker street or mill street based on its other characteristics or it shall be named after persons who are important in the local or national history.” Article 5 of the regulation indicated that “In the event that numbering is adopted instead of naming streets, the numbers should be consecutive such that the numbers shall proceed in numerical order beginning from the centre of the town (running north-south, west-east or vice versa)”.

Pursuant to the Regulation on Numbering enacted on 21 March 1963 “street names shall be grouped together so that they address national heroes, statesmen, well-known figures who were raised in the settlement or who served the settlement, artists (such as authors, poets, musicians, painters and sculptors), other cities, rivers or mountains, flowers or trees, foreign figures or places”.

Article 11 of the Regulation on Addressing and Numbering enacted on 31 July 2006 indicates that “neighbourhoods, villages, hamlets, localities, housing clusters, squares, boulevards, streets and roads shall be named or numbered, and buildings shall be numbered; and the same name or number shall not be used for different neighbourhoods, localities, housing clusters, boulevards, streets or roads located in the same municipal boundary”; however, the regulation does not provide any further details regarding the matter.

It is evident that the laws and regulations enacted in Turkey encourage the use of historically significant figures when naming streets. The General Directorate of Civil Registration and Nationality produced statistics to rank the most popular street, road, boulevard and square names in Turkey. Concepts related to the Republic, historically significant figures who came to the fore during the Independence War, and Atatürk are the most popular names in Turkey (Url-10²⁴). Historic rumours, stories and the names of significant people who lived on the street in question were also used. However, these are now considered as unusual names as they lost their significance over time.

	SRBS NAMES	AMOUNT
1	Atatürk	3,618
2	Cumhuriyet (Republic)	3,008
3	Fatih (Conqueror)	1,403
4	Gül (Rose)	1,331
5	Okul (School)	1,212
6	Karanfil (Carnation)	1,211
7	Lale (Tulip)	1,200
8	Menekşe (Violet)	1,197
9	İnönü	1,089
10	İstiklal (Freedom)	1,075

TABLE 3 Table 1. The most common street/road/boulevard/square (SRBS) names in Turkey
Source: General Directorate of Population and Citizenship Affairs (Url-1125)

A similar process applies when street names are changed in Turkey. Street names are changed after the decision taken by the council of the relevant municipality/metropolitan municipality is approved by the governor. Most of the time street names are changed to eliminate duplications and to prevent mix-ups in addresses, while sometimes political developments may be behind such changes.

Street names reflect the history and aesthetics in a city. Some street names are also humorous or satirical. Many suggest that the law and the relevant regulations that were enacted in the early years of the Republic were aimed at imposing the new values on society and at wiping out the past by reiterating the new ideals and by rebuilding a collective consciousness and a collective history in order to create a nation (Pulur, 2007²⁶).

However, the purpose of some changes in street names are not quite clear. For instance, in 2007, the 29th Street in one of the neighbourhoods in Ankara was renamed as the 61st Street, while the 61st Street in the same neighbourhood was renamed as the 29th Street. Similarly, the 14th Street was renamed as the 74th Street. These changes caused a great confusion among the inhabitants of the neighbourhood (Url-12²⁷). In some cases, inhabitants apply to relevant authorities to have the name of a street changed if its current name is obscene or inappropriate. For instance, a street named “Ayyaş Sokak” (“Drunkard Street”) may be renamed as “Hacı Sokak” (“Pilgrim Street”). There are also instances where streets are renamed for marketing purposes. The promotion of “Cezayir Sokağı” (“Algeria Street”) as “Fransız Sokağı” (“French Street”) is a remarkable example to such occasions.

The street renaming process in Turkey is controlled by local authorities. Therefore, politics has a considerable influence on street names. Street names are sometimes changed as part of election rallies or due to concerns on failing to achieve a favourable result in the elections. There may also be occasions when street names are changed in order to keep good relations with other countries or to show goodwill to sister cities. “Bangabandhu Şeyh Muciburrahman Bulvarı” (“Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman Boulevard”), “Willy Brand Caddesi” (“Willy Brand Street”), “Arjantin Caddesi” (“Argentine Street”), and “Filistin Caddesi” (“Palestine Street”) in Ankara are such examples.

EVALUATION OF TOPONYMIC STUDIES IN TURKEY

Toponymic studies on street and road names are generally performed at an academic level. The article titled “Urban Identity and Urban Image in the İstanbul Metropolitan Planning Process” authored by Suher et al. in 1996 is an important piece of work. In their article, Suher et al.²⁸ studied 45,200 streets and roads in 27 districts, 27 municipalities and 575 neighbourhoods within İstanbul municipal boundaries and then focused on select samples. The authors classified street names by district, municipality and vicinity, and categorized street and road names based on the data on the natural, social and built environments. The study also discussed the role of street names in the image of İstanbul and the influence of the numbering system adopted in newer districts on identity.

In their work titled “A Typological Attempt for Turkey”, Aliğağoğlu and Uzun (2011) evaluated 4,825 street, boulevard and road names in 24 different cities and classified these under 8 categories. According to the study, naming streets after significant people is quite common in Turkey. The study also revealed that numbering is widely used in new residential areas and in industrial and organized industrial zones. According to the study, street names also reflect the landmark buildings and land uses along the street in question. Likewise, “Cumhuriyet” (“Republic”) is a very popular name. “Dostluk” (“Friendship”) and “Kardeşlik” (“Brotherhood”) are also commonly used (Aliğağoğlu & Uzun, 2011).

Baysan and Kara’s study in 2014 titled “District, Boulevard, Avenue and Street Names in Aydın: Urban Toponymic Features” not only traced the political influences on street names but also endeavoured to reveal the importance of place names for the cultural structure of cities (Baysan & Kara, 2014).

In her thesis, Selime Araz (2015²⁹) analysed 664 streets and roads (70 streets and 594 roads) in the Ayvalık district of Balıkesir. The study demonstrated that street and road names were not influenced by the images of urban identity in Ayvalık. In particular, names that originate from the characteristics of the natural and the built environments are very few in number. The characteristics of the district may have limited influence on street names due to the dominance of historically significant figures and events on the street names. The findings of the study also indicated that street and road names in Ayvalık fail to address the values in the city adequately.

EVALUATION

Urban memory has a multi-layered and vital structure, and it sometimes changes or disappears due to the rearrangement and reshaping of various components in cities. Street names help transmit the urban memory to future generations, and renaming streets is usually an intervention grounded on political motives. Naming the streets, which are used recurrently by inhabitants, leads to a recollection/memory. The concepts in inhabitants' memories may be changed or forgotten due to the fact that the collective memory has the capability to reshape history. In recent years, numbering has been widely used to name streets in many cities. However, the numbering convention impairs the ongoing originality and continuity in street names and imperils the urban memory.

In this context, this study evaluated the impact of the interventions made on street names on urban memory and the relevant consequences in Turkey.

In summary, names bear the traces of identity and carry various meanings, and they reinforce the sense of belonging and continuity in cities. Such influences also lead to stronger bonds between cities and their inhabitants, and help inhabitants of cities become urban dwellers. The sense of belonging to a place and its continuity underpins the development of identity and memory.

Street naming should be carried out so as to inform the inhabitants of cities, to develop an urban identity and to contribute to the collective memory. It is only then possible to enable contact between different generations, to preserve the urban memory, to highlight all characteristics of cities with rich components of urban identity and to provide the permanence of these components. This would also lead to reinforced feeling of belonging among the inhabitants.

When the recent research studies referred in this study are evaluated, it is observed that street names, which are the essential components of the built environment and the urban pattern, have a direct influence on and bear the traces of the natural and socio-economic structure of the area they are located in. Therefore, streets should be designed and named by paying the due attention. Urban memory should be managed in the best way possible, and the unique values in cities should be preserved.

Notes on contributor(s)

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Acknowledgements

This paper is the summary of the master’s thesis titled “Evaluation of the Effects of the Street Naming on Urban Identity and Social Memory: The Case of Ayvalık and Cunda”.

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THE IMPACT OF ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES IN THE CITY OF ATHENS DURING THE INTER-WAR PERIOD (1922-1940)

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This paper focuses on the relation between the economic, political and social integration of migrants and refugees, the re-organization of the state, the legislative modernization and the economic policy during the interwar period in Greece. In 1922 Greece, a state of 5 million inhabitants received a wave of refugees, the Greeks of Diaspora from Asia Minor, of such a scale (1.5 millions) that it overturned every population balance in the country. In this context Athens rapid urbanization created economic, social and governance challenges while simultaneously strained city's infrastructure. The key question of the research is in what different ways and procedures a city can be transformed under emergency conditions, such as that of the massive inflow of refugees and immigrants. The paper interprets and works with historical analysis, focusing on policies, economic structures, planning policies and the actual physical urban transformation of Athens, combining methods from architecture and economics. It examines how the new urban structure of Athens adjusted in order to redress social, economic and urban imbalances. Based on comparative analysis of Athens urban resilience we can identify concepts that will be used to begin to understand case studies of other cities in the modern era.

Keywords

resilience, Athens, refugees, urban fabric, state policies, construction industry

How to Cite

Ntonou Efstratiadi, Anna; Nielsen, Tom; Dragonas, Panos. "The impact of economic and demographic changes in the city of Athens during the inter-war period (1922-1940)". In Carola Hein (ed.) *International Planning History Society Proceedings, 17th IPHS Conference, History-Urbanism-Resilience, TU Delft 17-21 July 2016, V.04 p.047, TU Delft Open, 2016.*

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7480/iphs.2016.4.1281>

INTRODUCTION

The research of the transformation of Athens, the policies and procedures followed in order to create a resistant city to the shocking conditions of the inter-war period, is approached by a multidisciplinary direction which emphasizes aspects relating to interactions between demographic, economic and urban changes. Based on an interdisciplinary approach, which combines methods from architecture and economic, this article seeks to discuss the capacity of the city to survive and to adapt to radical changes. From the understanding of the ways the city of Athens responded to a crisis situation, such of that of the massive population movement during the inter-war period, raises the question if a city can develop those mechanism and resilience approaches which will make it able to cope, to adapt and finally to transform itself after a plausible hazard.

The article opens with a historical survey of the major socio-economic and demographic development in the period under review. In order to open the door for interpretation of national integration or polarization of the moving populations, section 2 discusses how the state policies dealt the massive urbanization and the intensive urban migration. Section 3, the core of the paper, examines the effects of economic and demographic changes on urban structure of Athens. It begins with the analysis of the development of the city center and the commercialization of housing. The exploration of the urban development of the city's periphery and the impact of the refugees and internal migrant's inflow on the massive city sprawl follows. This paper closes with a discussion of the framework developed in order to understand the resilience of Athens and the concepts that can be used to understand case studies of other cities.

GREEK INTERWAR PERIOD: THE DEMOGRAPHIC CONTEXT, THE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND THE INFRASTRUCTURE WORKS

THE PERIOD AFTER THE GREAT CATASTROPHE AND THE DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES

The Greco-Turkish War of 1919-1922 started when the Greek army reached the outskirts of Istanbul, which was still under the Allied occupation. Instead of the Constantinople, the English protecting their interests in control of Middle East's oil, turned the Greeks against Smyrna and during the expedition abandoned them to their fate. The Greek military expedition failed, and in the summer of 1922, its retreat quickly turned into a rout. It was the prelude of the Asia Minor catastrophe.¹ In September, the Greek headquarters in Smyrna were evacuated and a day later the Turkish army entered the city, launching a massacre of the city's Christian population and setting the city's Christian sections ablaze. Thousands met a terrible death on the quays of Smyrna in full view of an international fleet anchored just outside its port. After a lot of negotiations between Greeks and Turks a massive population movement stemmed from the "Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations" signed at Lausanne Treaty on July 24, 1924². The Anatolian debacle, known as the Asia Minor Catastrophe, gathered for the first time the majority of Greek populations within the national borders while the leadership was forced to abandon its cosmopolitan and expansionist ambitions³, known as the "Great Idea".

The arrival of more than a million refugees was a tremendous challenge for the Greek state. This was a massive influx that took place in the aftermath of a devastating military defeat, with the country financially exhausted after many years of continuous war.⁴ The number of refugees amounted to 1.200.000 and represented about 20% of the country's population. Their geographical distribution and settlement was based on their origin. 53% of Greek refugees had urban origins and 47% rural.⁵ The geographical origin also determined their social origin: self-employed representatives, craftsmen and workers arrived from major cities of Turkey, bourgeois landowners from small towns and farmers from the countryside. The wealthier refugees brought funds saved from the catastrophe, crafts previously unknown in Greece and they were all determined to succeed, even in professions never undertaken before.⁶



FIGURE 1 Smyrna citizens trying to reach the Allied ships during the Smyrna fire, 1922. The photo had been taken from the launch boat of a US battleship
Source: "Greek genocide", accessed March 13, 2016, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greek_genocide

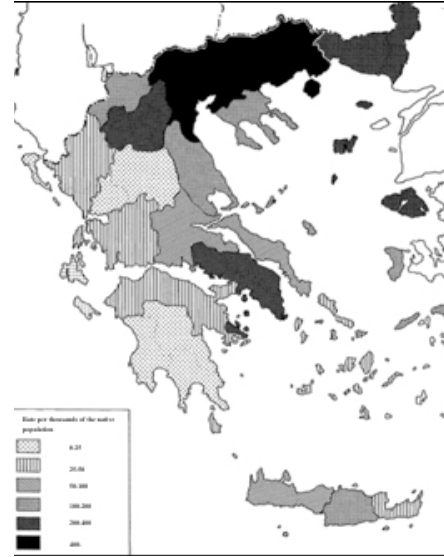


FIGURE 2 The distribution plan of the refugees during the interwar period
Clogg, Richard. *A Concise History of Greece*, 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, 130

The bulk of the refugees created a great demographic pressure and offered an abundance of cheap labour force. At the same time the worker immigration control implemented by the USA after the global recession of 1921 and the failure of the land reform program contributed to this turmoil and caused a massive movement of internal migrators. The forced rallying of the Greeks within the boundaries of the Greek state paved the way for the implementation of a highly ambitious modernization effort that altered the nature of the Greek state in fundamental ways.⁷

ECONOMIC POLICIES AND THE RISE OF THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

The period between 1928 and 1932 stands out as a time during which the modernization drive gained substantial momentum. Under the premiership of Venizelos, the Greek government sought to implement an extremely ambitious internal restructuring program turning the state into a much more forceful and proactive economic actor.⁸ But Greece's resources were limited and therefore extensive investments were required.

The European economic recession during the decade 1920 and 1930 and the inability for large profitable investment led foreign capital to Greece, a country which had great capital needs after the Asia Minor disaster. Foreign capital flew in in many forms such as loans for the solution of the refugee problem, funding in public works, loans to private enterprises and creation of independent manufacturers.⁹ External borrowing was necessary in order to address the refugee problem, the military reorganization of the country and the economic growth, which was not possible without external assistance. According to the economic policy of Venizelos, the constant external borrowing was the only way in which the Greek state could finance large development projects.¹⁰ For the implementation of his ambitious program, Venizelos took out from 1928 to 1931 four major loans, which were granted in enslaving conditions for Greece. The country's economy deteriorated dramatically. Revenues collapsed and the external debt reached the 150% of GDP.¹¹ In 1932 Greece not being able to pay its debt obligations declared bankruptcy, which terminated the era of high external borrowing but solidified even more the state interventionism and the commercial protection policy on import substitution.¹²

After the crisis the mobilization of resources for industrialization based on the domestic market was so great that even foreign capital turned to Greece to take part in the development of this unique situation. The economic stabilization, which resulted in the monetary stabilization and the consolidation of the banking system, was the main argument that convinced the foreign investors to invest in Greece. The market development and the positive investment climate in Greece, attracted foreign private capital.¹³ The inflow of foreign capital was facilitated by Greek governments with high interest rates policy, three or four times higher than the rates in western countries. While European rates were falling because of the international crisis, in Greece they were raising. The high interest rates and the extremely favourable capital exploitation conditions underlay the foreign capital inflow to the country.¹⁴ This meant that corporate profits were kept relatively high and that the country was facing phenomena of excessive capital supply which led to capital inflation.¹⁵ The mobilization of the industrialization and that of the domestic production structures was mainly due to the foreign capital accumulation.

Greek capitalism depended on the international capitalism for much of its funding. The recession of the international system contributed to an introverted development. As a dependent agro-commercial economy it was forced to become a relatively self-sustaining industrialization and development. The Greek economy turned to itself and sought to exploit to the utmost the domestic resources for its development. Geographically it was doomed to assemble all its forces within the country's borders.¹⁶ Liberal economy seemed outdated, and thus more centralized economic management forms were employed, with the state acquiring a prominent role. In 1933 Greek economy showed an impressive recovery that lasted until the end of the 1930s. However, the recovery didn't solve the economic problems of the country and so the state efforts turned to the examination and adoption of a new development model.¹⁷

The government intervened by imposing a series of protectionist policies. This program provided expropriations of land for industrial use, certain tax exemptions on industrial shares, tariff exemptions on imported capital machinery, etc.¹⁸ The capitalist growth due to the state intervention measures and reform along with the favourable ground for capital accumulation, created by the "national clustering" of 1922, exceeded all previous records. Industrial production increased during 1921-1931 by 80%.¹⁹ Due to the protectionism of the domestic market the total country's external trade was limited and the foreign trade balance was better equilibrated.²⁰ The high growth rates of Greek economy and especially of industry led to a rapid increase of direct investment in industry.

THE FOREIGN CAPITAL AND THE GREAT URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS

Important progress was made in order to address the issue of infrastructure network projects, which ravaged the capital since its foundation. Attention was focused on the perennial issues of water supply and sewerage, provision of telephone services, road-building, public transport and the development of urban parklands. These problems, for the most part, were resolved by large-scale economic and technical contracts with foreign companies that were drawn up in the years between 1924 and 1930.²¹ Foreign direct investments in infrastructure were particularly important in interwar Athens. Major works in several services and utilities networks were based on the contracts between the Greek public sector and the foreign capitalists and investors.²² One of the first was the assignment of a contract between the Greek state and the Bank of Athens, in collaboration with the Athens water company, to proceed with the relevant water supply works. The following year the Greek government and a group of Greek bankers who collaborated with the English firm Power and Traction Finance Company Ltd. reached an agreement which gave them the concession to generate and distribute electricity in the Athens area, as well as control of the tram and local rail services. In 1930 contracts were signed with the German company Siemens & Halske to cover telephone communications.²³ In the next few years British and American capital vied for road-building and other infrastructure projects, and by 1927 the British Commercial Attheche was expressing concern at the scale of foreign lending to Greece.²⁴ These contract assignments had as a result to further deepen country's dependence on international capital.

STATE POLICIES AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION

MASSIVE URBANIZATION AND INTENSIVE HUMAN MIGRATION

Greece by 1920, almost doubled both its territories and population. On the one hand, land redistribution, which took on really massive proportions, expropriated 1.724 large estates and settled 130.000 landless families.²⁵ On the other, the arrival of refugees and the movement of the internal migrants created an intense urbanization in Greece. In 1928 when population movements stopped, the distribution of Greek urban population was formed as follows: locals 39%, refugees 27.7% and internal migrants 33.3%.²⁶

In 1907 the urban complex of Athens numbered 250.000 inhabitants. In 1920, their number had surpassed the 450.000, while the census of 1928 showed 802.000 inhabitants. In 1940, moreover, the complex of the city exceeded the 1.2 million inhabitants. These impressive population increase, especially considering the rate and the short period of time at which it occurred, made it unbearable for the country's economy but also for the local communities to deal.²⁷

Athens urban explosion was not solely due to the refugees. The very rapid average annual growth rate of 7.4%, was created 4.4% by the refugees and 3.0% by native populations. It seemed that the populations of the poorest provincial cities turned to capital for better job prospects, as the safety valve of transatlantic migration had closed for ever.²⁸ Athens grew thanks to these marginalized populations, who sought for work. The urbanization factors had ceased to be political and became mainly economic.

	1920	1928	1940
Greece population	5.022.000,00	6.205.000,00	7.335.000,00
Athens population	453.000,00	802.000,00	1.124.000,00
% of Greece population	8,19	12,93	15,30
% of Greek urban population	40,15	43,30	46,50
% average annual capital population growth rate		7,30	2,80

TABLE 1 Greek Urbanization (1920-1940) ΓΣΥΕ (1930,1939), ΕΣΥΕ και Στατιστικές Επετηρίδες της Ελλάδος, 1963, 1976, 1985.

SOCIAL, URBAN AND ECONOMIC POLARIZATION

The contrast between the New Lands and Old Greece was accentuated by the establishment of the refugee populations. An opposition which however, overcame geographical constraints and became a key element for the social and political division of the country.²⁹ Local land conflicts reinforced ethnic polarization between refugees and natives. The presence of the refugees was considered as a potential source of risks for the social status. The ruling classes feeling the threat of the dangerous classes withdrew to their exclusive neighbourhoods.³⁰ Intense and informal social divisions were developed in urban space and were expressed by the urban polarization between the centre and the periphery of Athens city. The upper class and the bourgeois dominated the central areas, while the refugees and the lower-working class were settled on the outskirts of the city.³¹ In the meanwhile the economic growth constituted a dramatic consequent of the moving populations and masses. The methods chosen by the authorities to assist the refugees and the moving populations to adapt to the country's economic conditions contributed to a rapid growth of small companies, independent craftsmen and tradesmen. In this way the Greek economy structure was determined by a process of economic polarization between big business and the plethora of small workshops.³² The economic polarization found response to a kind of formal and informal economic polarization. Greek government and operators not only recognized but also directly and actively supported this kind of economy.

URBAN CITY STRUCTURE AND HOUSING PRACTICES

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CITY CENTER AND THE COMMERCIALIZATION OF HOUSING

The organized central city sections constituted an exception to the entire Athenian built environment. They were built mostly by the private initiative and located near the palace, which remained purely an urban area filled with embassies, government staffs, offices, hotels, expensive shops and hospitals, surrounded by houses of the wealthy upper classes. The lower classes were excluded from these neighbourhoods. The Greek bourgeoisie was particularly sensitive to social segregation and tended to be located at great distance and optical isolation from the refugee and working class neighbourhoods.³³

In comparison with the first twenty years of the twentieth century the construction activity in interwar Athens was clearly bigger of that during the years 1910-1921. It is estimated that the average annual number of new buildings was 508, while during the period 1922-1939 was 2028. Specifically in the 1930s the average annual number of new buildings reached the number of 2380.³⁴ A series of measures favored private residential development and particularly the multi-storey building. They quickly dominated the new building activity and experienced an unprecedented growth when the housing legislation regulated the architectural characteristics and the state of ownership of high-rise buildings. The involvement of high-rise buildings in the new housing stock of Athens increased from 3% in 1928 to 14.2% in 1937, or 13% and 31% respectively of the new building number.³⁵

	1 STOREY HOUSES	2 STOREY HOUSES	3 STOREY HOUSES	MULTISTOREY HOUSES
1928	70,00%	20,00%	7,00%	3,00%
1937	65,80%	12,60%	7,40%	14,20%

TABLE 2 The structure of the new housing stock in Athens 1928-1937

The first five-storey and six-storey apartment buildings were built in central aristocratic areas destined for the high incomes. They were created in accordance with the requirements of modern architecture, offering modern amenities, constructed by expensive building materials. During the 1920s, multi-storey apartment buildings were built exclusively by the upper class, and only since 1932 the middle class began to enter this type of housing market. They were occupied and financed till then by funds of wealthy locals and expatriates capital investors. The intensification of the expatriates flow in Greece after the Asia Minor Catastrophe functioned as an essential factor in the development of the phenomenon of multi-storey buildings reconstruction in Athens after 1922, in the sense that the expatriates returning to Greece faced a double problem, on the one hand their housing rehabilitation and, on the other, the safe investment of their capital.³⁶

The general context of Athens urbanization favoured the trade activity in the building industry. The residential capitalism created new business opportunities. The profit from the construction process aroused from the best usage of the property location, the low wages of the workforce and the exploitation of the increased demand for modern housing in the city.³⁷ Opportunities for speculation were also offered by the looseness of the building and planning legislation, the few restrictions, the possibility of unlimited building construction, the tax exemption and especially the urgent need of housing of the constantly increasing population of the capital city.

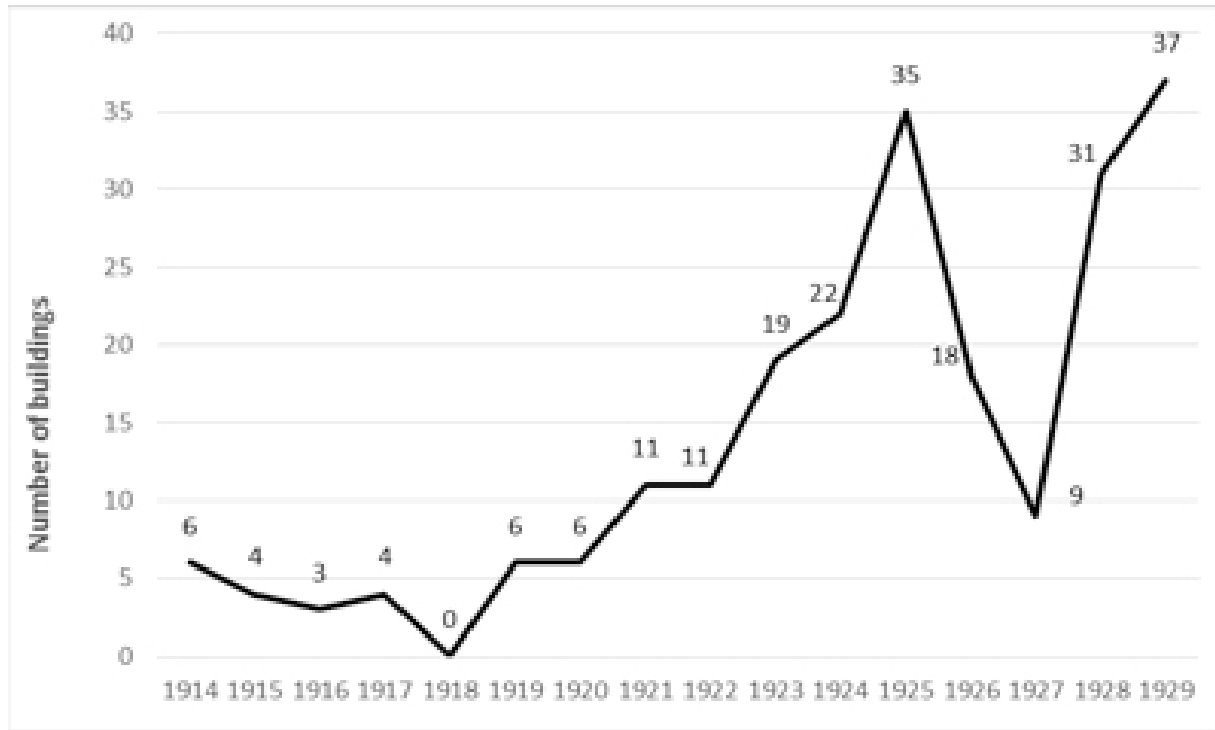


FIGURE 3 Development of the number of multi-story buildings (1914-1929) Rigas, M. “Νομοθεσία –Στατιστική”, Μεγάλη Εγκυκλοπαίδεια, τόμος ΙΔ [“Legislation –Statistics” in Great Encyclopaedia, Volume XIV], 118

THE URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF THE CITY’S PERIPHERY AND THE IMPACT OF THE REFUGEE INFLOW ON THE MASSIVE CITY SPRAWL

The urban expansions at the periphery expressed by the garden cities, the refugee settlements and the illegal housing of the lower classes, dominated as the most practical and effective tool for controlling the large scale urbanization. On the one hand, the expansion process of the bourgeoisie from the city center to the outskirts of Athens followed the morphological mode of “garden city” planning concept, and on the other, the settlement of the refugee and migrant masses was distracted from the city plan due to available land, but mainly in accordance with the general policies for better control and prevention of possible social unrest.

The “garden cities” were not only born of wealth and power, but also of the influence exercised by the bourgeois in planning legislation and in city’s infrastructure. The bourgeois and later the middle class controlled almost all land in the city centre and directed their residential dispersion in areas with better infrastructure. The bourgeois congregated tightly both in garden cities and in apartment buildings, excluding financially and with urban rules, other social groups.³⁸ At the same time the work for the refugees’ settlement was huge. Number of foreign charitable organisations rushed to help. In 1922 the Greek government founded the Fund for Refugee Assistance (FRA) of which the operation could be considered as the first state housing policy. In 1924 the rehabilitation of refugees was regulated by the Refugee Settlement Commission (RSC), a typically autonomous supranational organization, but operated under the direct supervision of the League of Nations in agreement with the Greek government. The funds were channelled to the comprehensive, definitive and irreversible rehabilitation of the refugees,³⁹ which was compulsory realized under the pressure of the urgency of the situation and organized in an empirical and arbitrary manner.

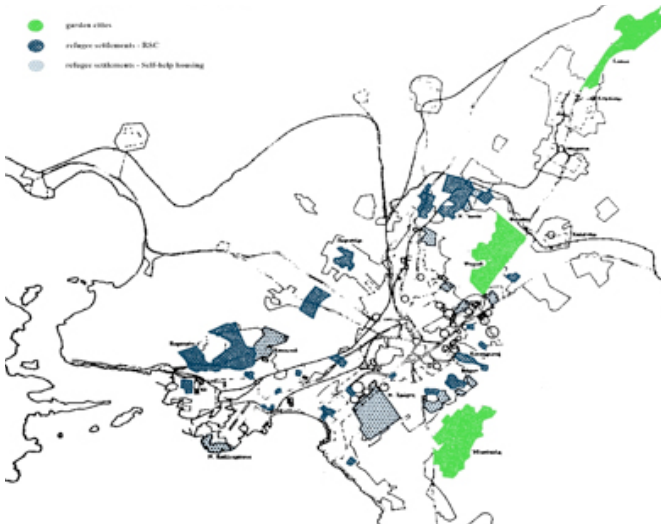


FIGURE 4 Refugee settlements, self-help housing and garden cities 1922-1940. Leontidou, Lila. *Πόλεις της σιωπής, εργατικός εποικισμός της Αθήνας και του Πειραιά 1909-1940*. [Cities of silence. Working-class colonization of urban space, Athens and Piraeus 1909-1940]. Athens: ETVA, 1989, 208

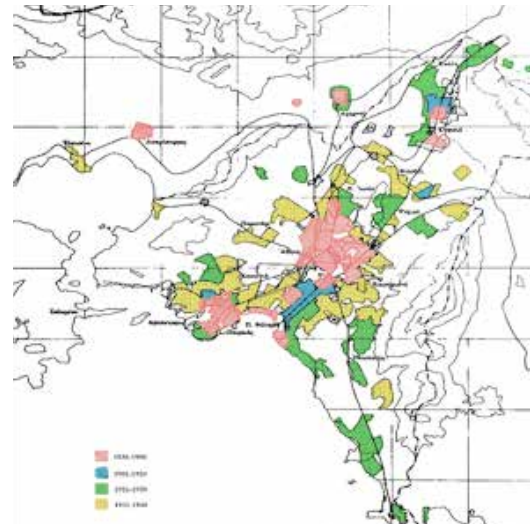


FIGURE 5 Expansion of the city plan, 1900-1940 Leontidou, Lila. *Πόλεις της σιωπής, εργατικός εποικισμός της Αθήνας και του Πειραιά 1909-1940*. [Cities of silence. Working-class colonization of urban space, Athens and Piraeus 1909-1940]. Athens: ETVA, 1989, 207

The need for immediate gratification of the mandatory housing needs of the refugee populations led to a radical change of urban policy. The main concern was the immediate housing restoration and not the proper urban planning.⁴⁰ The trend towards the scattered residential development, which later on was generalized by the working class of the city, began in 1924, when RSC decided not to build in the city centre, but to continue to create “satellite” communities on the outskirts. In other words, the exclusion and the geographical separation of refugees was premeditated, wilful, intentional and designed by the RSC, the State and by the initiators of the “garden cities”.⁴¹ It is noteworthy that the state policy for the housing rehabilitation of the refugees in Athens, didn’t turn to the reconstruction of high rise buildings in the city centre, but preferred the establishment of settlements on the city extension close to the temporary locations of the refugees,⁴² so as to ensure the isolation of the refugees in order to avoid social and political turmoil of the accumulation of unemployed, homeless and dissatisfied populations.

The housing policy of the interwar period created two categories of solutions, the designed refugee settlements by the RSC and the self-help housing areas, a usually illegal method. Self-help housing was a method that essentially exempted State from the full responsibility for settling the refugees since land was granted for free along with building permission, technical supervision and a small financial support.⁴³ There were two types of self-help housing, the poor refugees who built slums and the more affluent, who were settled in more central areas where they purchased the land from the RSC.⁴⁴

While a great part of the refugee population was settled, many internal migrants were facing housing problem, which they also tried to solve with self-help housing. Equally effective seemed to be the illegal building that eventually was generalized with the tolerance of the State. On the city limits and outside of it, segmented private ownership land was illegally sold. The demand for cheap land resulted in the intensification of the illegal segmentation and sale of the land and in the illegal building around the city plan limits and outside the refugee settlements.⁴⁵ The working classes bought small parcels of which the ownership was legal while the use for residence was illegal. The land transactions expanded in areas where building was prohibited. The legalization of these illegal buildings constituted one of the main ways to integrate the lower classes.⁴⁶ Thereby the housing problem was treated inexpensively, without the social and technical infrastructure, while simultaneously relieved the social and political turmoil that caused the homelessness.

When small capital served the housing sector, the development of small property and the proliferation of small, cheap and unhealthy buildings was inevitably favoured. The absolute need for building acquisition led to the construction of mostly illegal buildings without specific typology, street plan and hygiene conditions.⁴⁷

This intense housing and building activity ensured the expansion of the city and strengthened the regime of the unregulated and uncontrollable development. The financial facilities that were given to building construction during the great crisis of housing were not combined with any urban program but simply aimed to increase the building number.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper showed that Athens rapid urbanization during inter-war period created economic, social and governance challenges while simultaneously strained city infrastructure and housing problem. The state, economic and social actors, with their different visions and goals, in parallel with the development of the city, demonstrated the complexity of relationships that exists between the built environment and the social and economic context that allows the achievement of what we call today a resilience process. In this sense the city achieved to adapt and develop through the urgent and shocking conditions that the massive refugee and migrant's inflow caused. The government policies both in the field of economy with the foreign loans, the financial facilities and the creation of the informal economy, and also in the building sector with the settlement policies of social groups, the housing measures and the tolerance of illegal building, were closely related to the city development and they largely affected the social, economic and urban context.

This paper intent was an attempt to understand the different forces and their search of meeting their needs, fighting for the city space, within the context of Athens during the inter-war period. In a crisis situation, people require interventions that bolster their ability to overcome the worst impacts of the crisis and return to a path of sustainable prosperity. Athens resilience represents a paradigm shift in the response to the crisis by combining economic and urban development capacities. In conclusion, the use of economic and architecture tools can provide the disaster recovery from the demographic forces and the economic and social conditions that a crisis can cause.

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Heritage Case Studies

Chair: *Fabio Jose Martins de Lima*

CHANGES AND CONTINUITIES IN TWO URBAN PLANS FOR THE HISTORIC CENTRE OF SALVADOR: THE EPUCS (1943-50) AND THE PUBLIC TRANSPORT PLAN (1982)

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The paper will analyse the proposals for the historic centre of Salvador presented in two urban plans designed with an interval of almost 40 years. The first is the plan conceived between 1943 and 1950 by Epucs (Office of the Urban Plan for the City of Salvador), responsible for the first modern planning experience of the city. Coordinated by the sanitary engineer Mario Leal Ferreira until his death in 1947, the Epucs then becomes coordinated by Diógenes Rebouças, a young agronomist engineer (and self-taught architect) who was the coordinator of the landscape sector of the plan. The second plan is the public transport plan designed by Rebouças in 1982 for the central area of Salvador. We intend to analyse how those two plans, conceived by Rebouças and partners in a range of almost four decades, solve the challenge of meeting the (alleged) demands of the present and the future while preserving the inherited cultural values. On the other hand, we also intend to identify the continuities and changes in the approach adopted by Rebouças and partners while intervening in a historic site that, in 1959, was listed as national heritage and, in 1985, was inscribed in Unesco's World Heritage List.

Keywords

Diógenes Rebouças, Historic Centre of Salvador, Urban planning.

INTRODUCTION

This paper analyses the proposals for the historic centre of Salvador presented in two urban plans. The first was conceived between 1943 and 1950 by Epucs (Office of the Urban Plan for the City of Salvador). The second plan is the public transport plan for the central area of Salvador designed almost 40 years later, in 1982, by Diógenes Rebouças, former coordinator of the landscape sector of the Epucs plan.

We intend to analyse how those two plans, conceived by Rebouças and partners in a range of almost four decades, solve the challenge of meeting the (alleged) demands of the present and the future while preserving the inherited cultural values. On the other hand, we also intend to identify the continuities and changes in the approach adopted by Rebouças and partners while intervening in a historic site that, in 1959, was listed as national heritage and, in 1985, was inscribed in Unesco's World Heritage List.

The methodology adopted in this paper includes the analysis of plans, maps and texts of both urban plans and a bibliographical review on urban planning in Bahia in the 20th Century. It is important to highlight that only in 2014 the original maps, plans, photographs and texts of Epucs were opened to the public, after decades of neglect that resulted in the loss of dozens of documents and after ten years of a careful process of cleaning, cataloging, restoration and scanning.¹ Although some studies on the Epucs plan have been published since the 1970s², none of them focused on its proposals to the central area of Salvador, as is the purpose of this paper.

For the Plan for Integrated Mass Transport developed by Diógenes Rebouças in 1982, it was never implemented and remained unpublished until today.³ The main source used in this paper regarding this plan was Rebouças' personal copy of the documents, organized as a book and full with his notes as a final revision before the publication that never happened.⁴

THE CITY OF SALVADOR DE BAHIA

The city of Salvador de Bahia was founded in 1549 to be the capital of the Portuguese colony in America. The chosen site was divided into two parts: a hill 60 meters high and a narrow strip of land at the level of the Bay of All Saints, separated by a steep slope. At the upper part, the Portuguese settled the administrative city, with the seat of government, the Cathedral and the churches of religious orders - such as the Jesuits, the Franciscans, the Benedictines and Carmelites - as well as much of the trade, services and housing. In the lower part, they settled the harbour, which would be progressively extended and would become the most important of the South Atlantic in the 18th Century, although in 1763 Salvador lost the function of capital of the Portuguese colony for Rio de Janeiro, located 1,200 km south.

About four years after the founding of the city, around 1553, the mud walls that protected it were demolished and rebuilt, expanding the walled city to the north and to the south. Two gates were created: the Saint Catherine to the north, where today is the *Largo do Pelourinho*, and Saint Lucy to the south. In the following centuries, the city gradually expanded also to the east, on the second hill, where new neighbourhoods appeared. In 1812, near the old city gate of Saint Lucy, the *Teatro São João* was built and, in front of it, was created the *Praça do Teatro* (Theatre Square), currently *Praça Castro Alves*, since then one of the main public spaces in the centre of Salvador. Between the late 19th and the early 20th Century, the city expands further: while the more affluent families migrate to the south, the north is occupied by low-income families, as well as by an important textile industrial park with its company towns.

Between 1912 and 1916, during the first term of José Joaquim Seabra as Governor of the State of Bahia, monumental works and major transformation in the city centre take place: several streets of the Lower Town and on the city centre are widened, *Avenida Oceânica* is built, creating a new axis of urban expansion in the Atlantic Ocean waterfront, and dozens of buildings are demolished. Seabra's most important intervention, though, is the opening of the *Avenida Sete de Setembro*, result of the rectification and enlargement of several streets and alleys and of the demolition of tens of buildings to link the *Praça Castro Alves* to the *Farol da Barra*, connecting the city centre to the new bourgeois neighbourhoods on south.

From the 1940s, with the implementation of road infrastructure on the outskirts of the city and the subsequent eccentricity of the foundational city, this one begins to lose its centrality.

THE EPUCS - OFFICE OF THE URBAN PLAN FOR THE CITY OF SALVADOR (1943-50)

Aiming the elaboration of an urban plan to Salvador, it was signed, on November 3rd, 1942, a contract between the City of Salvador and the Office of the Urban Plan for the City of Salvador (Epucs), coordinated by engineer Mário Leal Ferreira, holder of a wide experience in several fields related to the urban planning – especially sanitary engineering and sociology.⁵

The research work, data collection and definition of urban planning guidelines of Epucs only started in April 1943, and continued under Ferreira leadership up to March 1947, when he suddenly died, and Diógenes Rebouças, then coordinator of the landscape design section of Epucs, takes its coordination.^{6,7} Epucs would work under Rebouças' coordination up to 1950, when it would be extinct.^{8,9}

On its first years of operation, Epucs came up with a series of depth studies in several areas. Beyond aerophotogrammetric survey of Salvador urban zone and a set of historic research aiming to constitute the “urban encyclopedia of the City of Salvador”, Epucs developed investigations about a range of topics, from geology, topography, meteorology and climatology to urban infrastructure networks, also including finances, urban economy and urban legislation. These data collection subsidized the plan proposals, among which there were the zoning plan; the definition of communication routes, of areas intended to parks and gardens and residential zones; the location of several public services, such as the Civic Centre of local and urban reach and supply centres.¹⁰

From the geomorphological understanding of Salvador and the historic occupation that had privileged the hilltops, Epucs identified and adopted a radio centric system of occupation, having the foundational city as the centre and formed by radial roads connecting the city centre to the concentric roads and neighbourhoods, creating neighbourhood-to-neighbourhood connections (Figure 01). It were also foreseen the articulation between ridges and valleys; the traffic division by circulation modals which included automobiles, trams and pedestrians; and the creation of fast traffic routes on the city valleys, vacant by then.

The proposal of creating a network of valley avenues (*park-ways*) is certainly the most known aspect of the Epucs plan, as it was, in a certain way, incorporated as a priority to Salvador urban planning during the following decades, and as the first valley avenue – the *Avenida do Centenário* –, designed by Rebouças, began to be constructed in 1949, as part of the celebrations for the 4th centenary of Salvador foundation.

By that time, the new avenues proposed by Epucs were also criticized. The editorial of the last edition of 1949 *Técnica – Revista de Engenharia e Arquitetura* accuses the Mayor Wanderley Pinho of grabbing a sizable loan “under high interests” to “spend millions each year supporting Epucs on its cocaine daydreams”, among which the construction of “avenues to ‘leave in the shade’ the 5th Avenue in New York or the Champs-Élysées in Paris.”¹¹



FIGURE 1 Radio centric scheme developed by Epucs, featuring as the centre the foundational city, currently the Historic Centre of Salvador. On the lower left corner, the text informs that “the valleys, despite the seeming mess, are arranged as the rods of a FAN converging to the Cathedral Hill and connected to each other by concentric belts”.

Despite these critics, Epucs rapidly became a reference, all over Brazil, in modern analysis and urban planning. In 1946, the Paulista engineer-architect Eduardo Kneese de Mello, after paying a visit to Salvador, published on the *Acrópole* magazine the transcription of a lecture held in São Paulo about his “Impressions about a voyage to Bahia”, which highlights Epucs as an example that deserves to be followed. After comparing São Paulo – “the city that mostly builds in the whole world” and “the biggest industrial centre of South America” – with Salvador – which population is “smaller than a fifth of São Paulo’s” – he highlights the qualities of the plan that has been elaborated in “Bahia”, as he refers to Salvador.

Bahia is not only widening streets, as many other Brazilian cities have done, under the title of urbanism. Bahia is studying its plan for real. [...].

The future plan for Bahia will be based on the rigorous topographic survey of the region, on the study provided and the waters flow, the traffic study, the use of parks and natural groves, on the conservation of historical and artistic monuments, on the zoning, the proportional distribution of schools, hospitals, and playgrounds. The master plan for Bahia will be based, ultimately, on the complete knowledge of its current conditions and of its future opportunities. Holding these data, the urban planner can safely draw the guidelines of the urban development and Bahia will then be one of the most beautiful cities of America.¹²

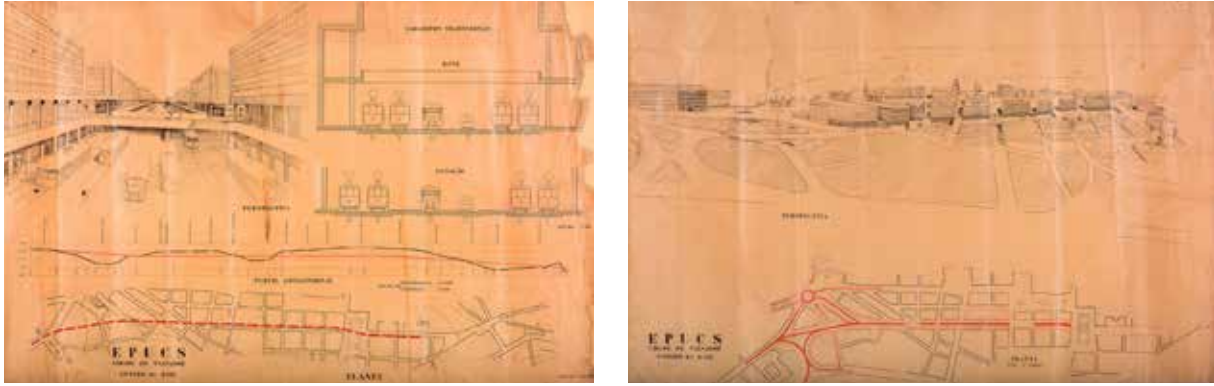


FIGURE 2 Proposal developed in Epucs for the creation of a new multimodal avenue (trams, automobiles and pedestrians), half-buried, connecting Terreiro de Jesus to Avenida Sete de Setembro.

Epucs represented a fundamental contribution to the City of Salvador planning process and, in a certain way, a pioneer experience on the Brazilian urban planning scenery. On his doctoral thesis about modern Brazilian architecture, defended in the *Université de Paris IV* in 1969, Yves Bruand affirms that “Diógenes Rebouças and his team came up with a huge and first-rate work” with the Epucs plan, “notable both by the width of its view and by the concern about the details.” He also declares that “the Salvador plan is a model on its genre and the state of mind that it inspired is worthy to be mentioned as an example.”¹³

Its proposals, however, were practically on paper: only in March 1948, the first urban planning law aimed at formalizing Epucs guidelines inured – the Decree-law no. 701, of March 24, which divided the city in twelve sectors: a Central one, a Port and Commercial one, an Industrial one, seven residential and two transition ones. This Decree-law, however, did not establish the urban parameters to each one of the sectors, establishment that would only be done six years later, after the inuring of the Decret no. 1.335, of January 1st, 1954.¹⁴

Despite the survival on what it concerns to the creation of the valley avenues and of one or another timely appearance, the Epucs plan was, during the following decades, progressively phased out. About it, Antônio Heliodório Sampaio notes that

[...] the emphyteutic lease of the ownership and use of land, on one hand, and the growing weakness of the municipal government while facing the issue, as well as its incapacity to obtain the necessary investments to the infrastructuring recommended by Mário Leal and his team [...] end up ‘freezing’ the main guidelines of the Plan on its social dimension, being reduced, on the following years, to the road issues, giving support to the post- 64 highways development.¹⁵

THE EPUCS PROPOSALS TO SALVADOR CITY CENTRE

Within Epucs, several proposals were elaborated to the foundational area of Salvador, which ranged from the opening of new roads and connections to the construction of new urban equipment. Among the few proposals effectively implemented, though partially, it deserves to be highlighted the legal requirement, from the aforementioned Decree no. 1.335/1954, of the creation of covered loggias of 4,00m wide on the new edifications to be built on the neighbourhood.

The first edification built in the central area of Salvador to follow this rule was the *Edifício Octacílio Gualberto*, headquarters of the *Instituto de Previdência e Assistência dos Servidores do Estado (IPASE)*, designed by Diógenes Rebouças and inaugurated in 1953 between *Ladeira da Praça* and *Praça da Sé*. It is a six-storey building with a

rectangular plan. Even being prior to the Decree no. 1.335/1954, the building is supported by double-height piloti, creating a covered loggia of 4,00m wide. The main prismatic volume alternates on its façades between brise-soleil and *cobogós*, and it is surmounted by a terrace on which indented curved volumes stand. Raised on a consolidated and centenary urban fabric, the building corresponds to a manifest of the modern architecture: pilotis, free plan, façades independent to the indented structure, roof garden and, instead of the ribbon windows, brise-soleil and *cobogós*, praxis in the Brazilian modern architecture of Corbusian origin. A project that radically contrasts with its 18th and 19th century houses neighbours, including listed buildings such as the *Mirante do Saldanha*.

However, the most interesting aspect in analyzing the Epucs plan in what it concerns to the proposals to the central area of Salvador are the plans, sections and perspectives of studies and projects that had not been executed. Among another interventions in the centre of the city, Epucs proposed the creation of a new multimodal avenue, containing tram and car lanes, and covered loggias to pedestrians under the buildings, connecting the *Terreiro de Jesus* (Northeast) to the *Avenida Sete de Setembro* (Southwest), going through the *Praça Castro Alves*. Half-buried, the avenue would include the widening of the centenary streets of *Saldanha* and *Alfredo de Brito* and would tear longitudinally a great part of the urban fabric of the foundational city. Following its trace, tens of preexisting buildings would be demolished and replaced by modern buildings supported by piloti, with similar appearance to the *Edifício Octacílio Gualberto*. Though the design of the new road preserved some of the eighteenth century monuments – many of them listed buildings, such as *Paço do Saldanha* and *São Pedro dos Clérigos's Church* –, he predicted the demolition of important buildings. In *Terreiro de Jesus*, one of the most important public spaces of the foundational city, a great rip would be created to allow the lighting and ventilation of the new half-buried avenue (Figure 02).

The listed *Nossa Senhora da Barroquinha's Church* (1722) and some blocks would be demolished and a connection underneath the *Praça Castro Alves* between *Ladeira da Montanha* and *Barroquinha* would be created. Curiously, the new link would preserve some buildings erected on the previous decades, such as the deco headquarters of the *Secretaria da Agricultura da Bahia* and the eclectic *Palace Hotel*, beyond the recently-inaugurated *Edifício Sulacap* (Figure 03).

Another proposal developed within Epucs and that is worthy to be analyzed because of what it would represent in terms of destruction of the architectural, urban and landscape heritage of the Historic Centre of Salvador is the creation of a new Civic Centre on the southeast side of *Praça da Sé*.

Three whole courts, mainly composed by eighteenth and nineteenth century buildings, would be entirely demolished to make room to a gigantic building, divided in two asymmetric blocks with different dimensions. As a local version of the *Ministério da Educação e Saúde* building, in Rio de Janeiro (1936-43), the new Civic Centre would adopt the repertoire of the Carioca School of Corbusian origin: prismatic volumes erected on circular section pilotis surmounted by roof-gardens; slender concrete marquees supported by “V” shape pillars; brise-soleils. Preserving due proportions, the Civic Centre project seems to prognosticate the *Edifício Octacílio Gualberto*, which would be built a few meters from there, less than ten years after (Figure 04).

Despite the contrast created with the old and listed buildings located on the other sides of the square, it is necessary to highlight Diógenes Rebouças concern on the definition of the quota of the new Civic Centre. The new architectonic set reaches a limit height of 29 meters, corresponding to nine pavements, showing Rebouças concern to limit the height of the new edifications to 6,50 meters underneath the 100,00m quota, relative to the top of the crosses of the main catholic temples in Salvador City Centre.



FIGURE 3 Proposal developed in Epucs for the creation of an underground connection between Ladeira da Montanha and Barroquinha, underneath Praça Castro Alves.



FIGURE 4 New Civic Centre in Praça da Sé, developed in Epucs.

However, this height limit, so carefully studied by Rebouças, is deliberately discontinued by some vertical elements proposed, on the same study, to the *Praça da Sé*: a set of palm trees and a bell tower, coated on tiles and installed on a podium, that would be erected on the site where the *Igreja da Sé* – demolished in 1933 – was located.

The proposals of the Epucs plan for the centre of Salvador, developed in the 1940s, have many points in common with others proposals of the European modern urbanism from the 1920s. On one side there are striking similarities between the new avenue proposed to connect *Terreiro de Jesus* and *Avenida Sete de Setembro* – especially the view shown in Figure 02 – and the *Hochhausstadt* conceived by German architect Ludwig Hilberseimer in 1924. On the other, it is indisputable the approximation of Epucs proposal and the Plan Voisin developed for Paris by Le Corbusier in 1922, especially in the decision to demolish whole blocks of centuries-old houses – preserving only some monumental buildings – and to build new modern buildings – even though the buildings proposed by Epucs in Salvador are much more modest in scale than the skyscrapes designed by Le Corbusier for Paris.

THE PLAN FOR INTEGRATED MASS TRANSPORT (1982)

Most of the proposals elaborated on the 1940s within Epucs to Salvador City Centre were not executed. Beyond that, the migration of higher income families in direction to the new neighbourhoods located to the south of the centre speeded up, from the 1940s, the process of degradation and slumming of the old houses of the area.¹⁶ On the following decades, this process accelerates further. The construction of a new Administrative Centre by the State of Bahia Government begins to be imagined in 1966 and is finally executed on the 1970s. On the same period, a new Bus Station (1974) and the first mall of the city (*Shopping Centre Iguatemi*, 1975) are built on a still unoccupied region located halfway between the foundational city and the new Administrative Centre of Bahia, creating a new centrality.

If, by one side, the central area had lost, mostly, its centrality, on the other it had earned the status of national heritage in 1959 and in 1985 the Historic Centre of Salvador is inscribed on the World Heritage list by Unesco.¹⁷

While it became a world heritage, the Historic Centre of Salvador housed several areas in an advanced state of ruination occupied by low income afro descendant families – by then, important cultural groups came up, highlighting *Olodum*, founded in 1979 and which, with its musical, theatre and dance activities, fosters the self-esteem and pride of the local population.

When, in 1982, the 68 years-old Diógenes Rebouças develops to the State of Bahia Government the preliminary study to an Integrated System of Mass Transportation to the central area of Salvador, neither the Historic Centre nor Rebouças are the same as they were in the 1940s.¹⁸

The Integrated Mass Transportation System had as one of its primary goals “to reach Salvador City Centre in strictly strategic spots, the ones of origin and destination of the routes, an operation that will be carried by the integration of the network elements to the road structures of the Centre.”¹⁹ According to Rebouças, “when they reach the Centre, the lines provided to the mass transportation should serve as a motivation to the dissolution of multiple problems that affect the quality of life in this urban space”:

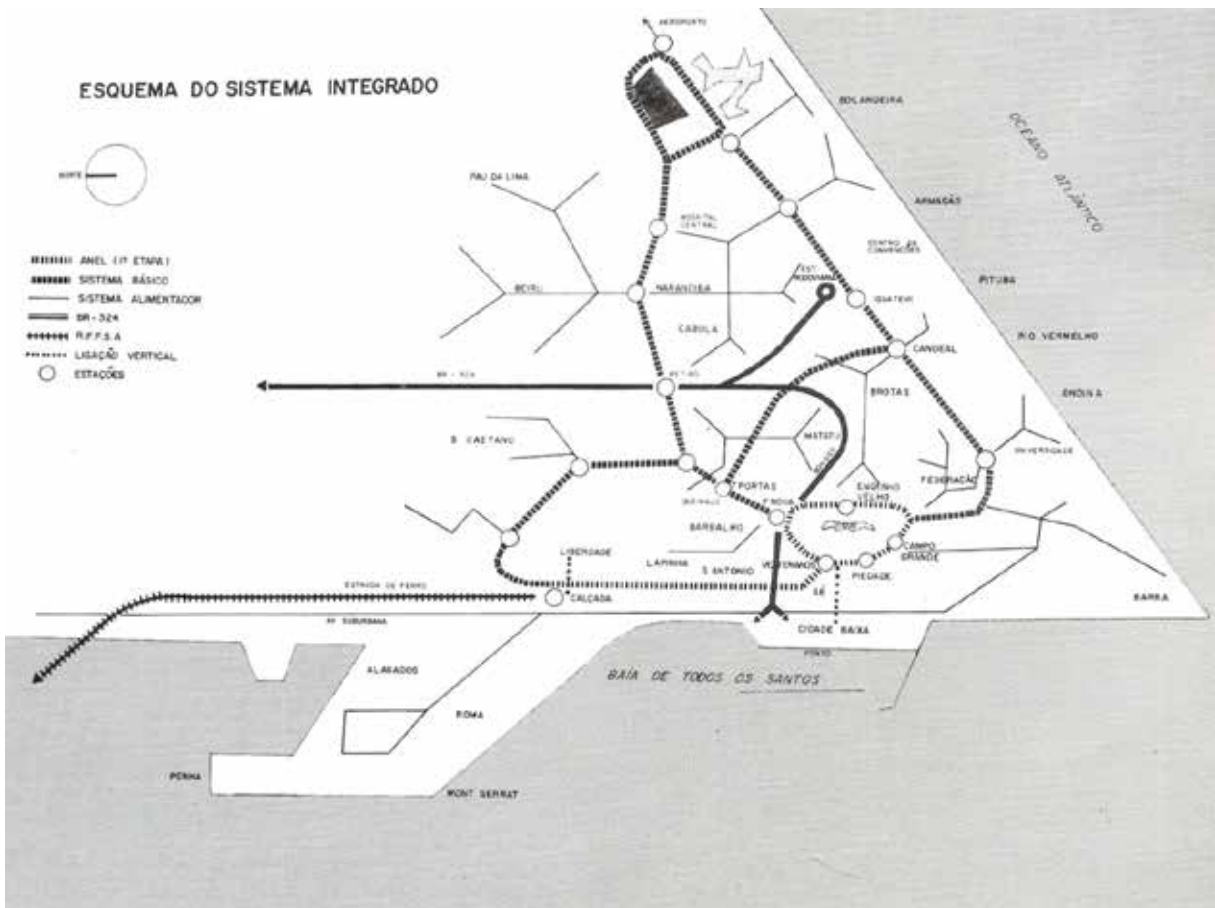


FIGURE 5 Mass Transportation Integrated System Scheme, developed by Diógenes Rebouças in 1982.

It is necessary, at the beginning of the work, to take a position on what it concerns to the philosophy to be defended and followed in one of the prime aspects in which the Mass Transportation problem unveils itself, of the ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT; for seeming to be of utmost importance and for being about the City of Salvador

[...] on what it concerns to achieve visual integration of these elements on the landscape, from aesthetic, emotional and psychological points of view, it is necessary to require from the responsible for the approach an elevated degree of sensibility.

[...] It is intended then to admit that, in certain areas, when the restrictions are the landscape or environmental preservation, finding the best solution, to then intervene, and if economical healthy and technically valid reasons justify it, it must not be hindered a correct intervention, especially when there are lumps or when the irreversibility of architectural values is found. This will occur if these values are already lost or soiled by the interference of surreptitious buildings and ruins that are real proliferation focus of harmful and offensive agents to the health of the population [...]

It is declared then a courageous action, since solutions that represent contemporary values and that are harmoniously added to the preserved ancient ambient, will, in a certain way, inspire respect and be applauded by the current and the future generations.²⁰

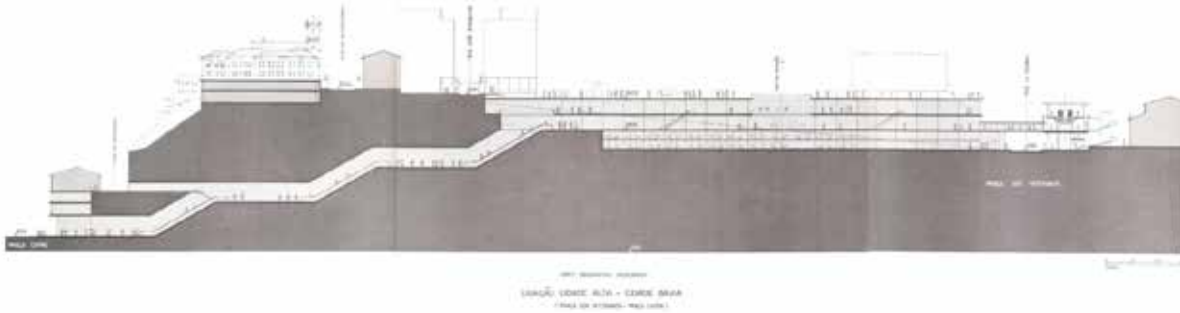


FIGURE 6 Plan for the Mass Transportation Integrated System (1982): schematic section of the Estação Praça dos Veteranos, the attached mall and the tunnel connection to Praça Cayrú.



FIGURE 7 Plan for the Mass Transportation Integrated System (1982): “Estação Comércio-Taboão: landscape integration”, original design by Diógenes Rebouças featuring the station to be built between Caminho Novo do Taboão and Rua do Julião.

Rebouças then forecasts the implementation of a ring shaped line that would be articulated to the great converging lines of the neighbourhoods’ traffic corridors, recapturing, in general terms, the radio concentric scheme conceived by Epuccs. (Figure 05)

The ring, with a route of approximately 5.5km long, would be implanted on the east bank of the valley of Dique do Tororó and on the ancient channel “Rio da Vala” (Rua Dr. J.J. Seabra, a.k.a. Baixa dos Sapateiros). The connection would happen through the transposition of the watershed of the valleys, in two points: north, connecting the Baixa dos Sapateiros to the Fonte Nova Sports Complex; and south, nearby the just-inaugurated Lapa Bus Station. The ring would be supported by stations on the Campo Grande, Piedade, and Praça dos Veteranos.

However, the main ring would only hem the Historic Centre. *Praça Thomé de Souza* and *Praça Cairú* – main public spaces of the central area of the Up and Lower Towns, respectively –, would be reached through connections starting on the *Estação Praça dos Veteranos*, in *Baixa dos Sapateiros*, in which the circuit would be installed on an elevated structure, connected through a footbridge to a gigantic mall that would replace the three blocks located between *Ladeira da Praça* and *Rua 28 de Setembro*. Many 18th, 19th and 20th century buildings would be demolished. (Figure 06)

Rebouças justifies his decision for the demolition of those three quarters for them being “real centres of proliferation of all kinds of harmful to health agents, creating a bad use of the space and highly damaging conditions to the City’s economy.”²¹

To Rebouças,

Undoubtedly, the position in which the alluded blocks are found, in the heart of the City, is what justifies, without a contraindication, the implementation of an optimistic and brave project of renovation, in which the goals to be reached, beyond the attendance to the needs of a city centre, should also be scheduled to the expansion of the Commercial City in attractive, comfortable and modern terms, with the installation of several arrangements to provide important services and energize the community life.²²

The proposed mall would count on a “terrace coverage”, with “garden areas”, that would assure “environments that would enable moments of leisure and refreshment to the people” and allow the connection leveled with the *Rua José Gonçalves* and, consequently, with important public spaces of the Upper City, such as *Praça da Sé*, *Rua da Misericórdia*, *Praça Thomé de Souza* and *Rua Chile*. At the same time, tunnels containing escalators starting from the mall would guarantee the fast and practical access to *Praça Cairú*, in the Lower City.

Another extension provided for in the ring would be related to a tunnel that, underneath the foundational city, would connect the *Baixa dos Sapateiros* to the lower part of the hill that divides the Up and the Lower Towns, on the quota of *Rua do Julião* and *Caminho Novo do Taboão*. There would be built the *Estação Taboão-Comércio*, to support the Lower City. Rebouças highlights that

The project and execution of this Station will be a challenge for the professionals that are delegated to these functions, not only for the issues concerning the visual integration on the landscape, but also because of its location interfering in a stretch that demands a brave action, for technical reasons and for the opportunity to reintegrate, in the urban context, an area strongly degraded and owner of a damnable ambience to the human life, where there are really poor quality constructions.²³

Rebouças himself features studies of “landscape integration” to the station that demonstrate his capacity to carefully implement a contemporary equipment of reasonable size in a delicate and consolidated urban landscape (Figure 07). On the other hand, the implementation of this station in this place would represent the demolition of dozens of 18th and 19th century houses, beyond the *Elevador do Taboão* (1891), one of the most interesting elements of the network of urban lifts implemented in the centre of the city in the second half of the 20th century and which structure and machinery were brought from England.

If, despite the demolition of historical preexisting buildings, Rebouças is capable of reaching a proper landscape integration in the *Estação Taboão-Comércio*, in the *Estação Praça dos Veteranos* the visual impact that the mall would cause in the immediate surroundings of some of the most representative examples of the civic Baiano architecture, such as *Casa dos Sete Candeeiros* (built in the 17th century and listed by Iphan in 1938) and the *Solar do Gravatá* (built in the first half of the 18th century and listed by Iphan in 1974) is incontestable.

CONCLUSION

Despite the almost 40 years that divide both of the experiences, we can find some similarities on the proposals to the Historic Centre of Salvador developed within Epucs and on the Mass Transportation Integrated System. The first of them is the permanence of the radio concentric traffic scheme, conceived in Epucs and that, in a certain way, structured the creation of the first valley avenues, and that is reinterpreted in the 1982 studies, through a net of mass transportation.

Either on the 1940s proposals or on the 1982 ones, the creation of a traffic infrastructure predicates the demolition of entire blocks on the urban fabric of the Historic Centre, and even of monuments of undeniable historical value, bringing back echoes of the Baron Haussmann and Pereira Passos “demolisher urbanism”, which Seabra had already incorporated on the 1910s. This reference to the “demolisher urbanism”, really current on the urban renovation undertaken in Brazil on the beginning of the 20th century gets even clearer in the hygienist rhetoric featured by Rebouças on the proposal for the Mass Transportation Integrated System, which links the physical degradation of the buildings to the (supposed) social degradation of its dwellers. If in the 1940s this approach was not only acceptable but even current in Brazil, it was not anymore in the 1980s.

Fortunately or unfortunately, the proposals for both of the plans to the Historic Centre of Salvador that we have presented here have in common the fact that they have, mostly, remained on the paper.

Acknowledgements

The author thanks: Prof. Ana Fernandes, for the monumental work of recuperation of the documentation of Epucs and for helping on the discovery of the Epucs proposals to the Historic Centre of Salvador; Fernando Guerreiro, Silvia Russo and Elidinei Bonfim, from Fundação Gregório de Mattos, for allowing the use of the Epucs images in this paper; the students Deise Vasconcellos and Nicholas Beloso, for helping on the identification of the Epucs plans regarding the Historic Centre of Salvador; and Gabriela Otremba for the translation.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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Image Sources

- Figure 1: Epucs Archives / Arquivo Histórico Municipal / Fundação Gregório de Mattos / Prefeitura Municipal do Salvador [01.01.10 000.690].
- Figure 2: Epucs Archives / Arquivo Histórico Municipal / Fundação Gregório de Mattos / Prefeitura Municipal do Salvador [04.03.23 001.765; 04.03.23 001.763]
- Figure 3: Epucs Archives / Arquivo Histórico Municipal / Fundação Gregório de Mattos / Prefeitura Municipal do Salvador [01.02.10 000.745_1]
- Figure 4: Epucs Archives / Arquivo Histórico Municipal / Fundação Gregório de Mattos / Prefeitura Municipal do Salvador [04.03.23 001.909]
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- Figure 6: Bahia. Governo do Estado da Bahia. Salvador – Sistema Integrado de Transporte de Massa – Estudo Preliminar. Vol. 4. Renovação Urbana. Salvador: Governo do Estado da Bahia, 1982.
- Figure 7: Diógenes Rebouças Archives – Faculty of Architecture – Universidade Federal da Bahia.

Endnotes

- 1 The careful process of cleaning, cataloging, restoration and scanning was held by a team coordinated by Professor Ana Fernandes, from the Faculty of Architecture of the Universidade Federal da Bahia (FAUFBA), with funding from Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado da Bahia (FAPESB) and Petrobras. The Epucs Archives are currently deposited in Fundação Gregório de Mattos, in Salvador. In 2014, at the same time that the access of the images scanned from this archives were opened to the public, the team responsible for this recovery published a book about the collection. (Ana Fernandes (Org.). *Acervo do EPUCS: contextos, percursos, acesso*. Salvador: Universidade Federal da Bahia, 2014)
- 2 Such as: a) Salvador. Órgão Central de Planejamento. *EPUCS: uma experiência de planejamento urbano*. Salvador: Prefeitura Municipal de Salvador, 1976; b) Ana Fernandes; Marco Aurélio A. de Filgueiras Gomes; Antonio Heliodório Lima Sampaio. Plano de Urbanismo do EPUCS – Escritório do Plano de Urbanismo da Cidade do Salvador, 1943-1947. In: Maria Cristina da Silva Leme (Coord.). *Urbanismo no Brasil 1895-1965*. São Paulo: Studio Nobel; FAUUSP; FUPAM, 1999; c) Antônio Heliodório Lima Sampaio. *Formas Urbanas – Cidade Real & Cidade Ideal. Contribuição ao estudo urbanístico de Salvador*. Salvador: Quarteto: PPG/AU-FAUFBA, 1999; d) Fernandes. Op. cit.)
- 3 Except for a brief reference to this plan made by the author in an article published nine years ago with another approach (Nivaldo Vieira de Andrade Junior & João Legal Leal. *Arquitetura moderna e reciclagem do patrimônio edificado: a contribuição baiana de Diógenes Rebouças*. In: *Anais do 7º Seminário DOCOMOMO Brasil*. Porto Alegre: PROPAR-UFRGS, 2007).
- 4 . Bahia. Governo do Estado da Bahia. Salvador – Sistema Integrado de Transporte de Massa – Estudo Preliminar. Vol. 4. Renovação Urbana. Salvador: Governo do Estado da Bahia, 1982. [unpublished]. The author thanks to architect João Legal Leal for preserving Diógenes Rebouças' original copy of this plan.
- 5 Mario Leal Ferreira, born in Santo Amaro, in the State of Bahia, graduated from the Polytechnic School of Bahia as a geographer engineer and from the National School of Engineering in Rio de Janeiro as a civil engineering. He specialized in sanitary engineering at Harvard University, in the United States, and was a fellow of the Rockefeller Foundation from 1930 to 1932. He was Full Professor of the chair “Hygiene, sanitation and urban planning” of the National School of Engineering and taught “Hygiene housing” at the National School of Fine Arts. He has held various public offices in the states of Rio de Janeiro, Rio Grande do Sul and São Paulo, always in areas related to sanitary engineering. (Fernandes, Gomes & Sampaio. Op. cit. 507).
- 6 Diógenes de Almeida Rebouças was born in 1914 in a farm in Amargosa, in the State of Bahia, and, at 4, moved with his family to Itabuna, in the cocoa cultivation region of the State, where his parents had farms. At 16 he enrolled in the course of Agronomic Engineering in Agricultural School of Bahia in São Bento das Lajes, close to Salvador. Completed the course in 1933 and returned to Itabuna, where he began to work as a surveyor for the City at the same time as he helped to manage the family cocoa farms. Through social contacts of family and engineers who he met as surveyor in Itabuna, started to design houses and other buildings, becoming one of the most productive architects in the city in the 1930s In 1936, Rebouças moved to Salvador, where he had started five years before architecture and painting courses at the School of Fine Arts of Bahia, which, however, he frequented little. In 1937, receives a diploma of Professor of Drawing and Painting. Rebouças only received the title of architect in 1952, when he already was the most important architect in Bahia. (Nivaldo Vieira de Andrade Junior. *Arquitetura moderna na Bahia, 1947-1951: uma história a contrapelo*. 2012. Thesis [Doctorate in Architecture and Urban Planning] – Post-Graduation Program in Architecture e Urban Planning – Universidade Federal da Bahia, Salvador, 2012).
- 7 Salvador. Op. cit. 23-25.

- 8 Officially, the Epucs ended its activities after the death of Mário Leal Ferreira and, from the decree signed by Mayor Wanderley Pinho on January 29, 1948, was created the Commission of the Urban Plan of the City of Salvador (Cpucs) to continue the actions initiated by Epucs. However, local media and even the Mayor reports continued to refer to Epucs - and never to Cpucs - in articles published in the following five years (Continuidade na execução do plano de urbanismo. *A Tarde*, Salvador, p. 02, 28 maio 1949; O E.P.U.C.S. também ameaçado de despejo. *A Tarde*, Salvador, p. 02, 01 jun 1949; Começou o asfaltamento da Liberdade. *A Tarde*, Salvador, p. 02, 06 fev 1950; A Bahia terá uma Penitenciária-Modelo. *A Tarde*, Salvador, p. 02, 10 fev 1950; O hotel servirá a toda a cidade. *A Tarde*, Salvador, p. 02, 13 dez 1950; Casas populares na Bahia. *A Tarde*, Salvador, p. 02, 04 abr 1952). For these reasons, throughout this article, we always refer to Epucs even when we are describing the actions taken after the death of Ferreira and the official – but not real – extinction of that structure.
- 9 The team that composed Epucs was extensive and formed by engineers, architects, lawyer, historians, doctors, archivists, draftsmen, topographers and model makers, in addition to an administrative section and contributors to several specialties, such as botanic, geography, health, construction materials and museums. On the period when Epucs was under Mario Leal Ferreira coordination (1943-47), it was up to Diógenes Rebouças “to match the space conception of the chosen model to the ‘general principles’, submitting the physical proposal to the general coordination of Mário Leal.” (Sampaio. Op. cit. 198)
- 10 Salvador. Op. cit. 39.
- 11 Um prefeito pr’as Arabias. *Técnica – Revista de Engenharia e Arquitetura*, Salvador, nº 31, p. 4, nov-dec 1949. 4.
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- 13 Yves Bruand. *Arquitetura Contemporânea no Brasil*. São Paulo: Perspectiva, 1981. 340-344.
- 14 Heloisa Oliveira de Araújo. *Inventário da Legislação Urbanística de Salvador: 1920-1966. As novas regras do jogo para o uso e o abuso do solo urbano*. 1992. Thesis (Master in Architecture and Urban Planning) – Faculdade de Arquitetura – Universidade Federal da Bahia, Salvador, 1992. 284-342.
- 15 Sampaio. Op. cit. 105.
- 16 The most important Brazilian geographer, Milton Santos, had already noted the process of degradation and slumming of the old buildings of the centre of Salvador on his doctorate thesis, defended on the Université de Strasbourg in 1958. (Milton Santos. *O centro da Cidade do Salvador: Estudo de Geografia Urbana*. São Paulo: Edusp; Salvador: Eufba, 2008. 163)
- 17 Although the foundational city of Salvador had been listed by the National Institute of Historic and Artistic Heritage (IPHAN) in 1959, in 1984, the listed area is expanded, and embraced the surroundings of the foundational city, from the Mosteiro de São Bento, on the south, to the Carmo, on the north.
- 18 As we saw, since the 1940s the centre of Salvador had lost great part of its centrality, beyond having become a national heritage and being about to become world heritage. On the other hand, Diógenes Rebouças, who in 1943 was a young self-taught architect of 29 years-old, had become, in the 1950s, the most influent architect of Salvador, mostly due to the buildings projects elaborated in Epucs, such as the Hotel da Bahia, the Escola-Parque and the Avenida Centenário. Author of more than a hundred of projects distributed in dozens of cities of Bahia and neighbour States, Rebouças started, from the mid-1960s, to mainly devote himself to consulting and teaching activities, becoming one of the most respected professors of the Architecture School of the Federal University of Bahia.
- 19 Bahia. Op. cit. 06.
- 20 Ibid. 07.
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- 22 Ibid. 18.
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HERITAGE-LED REGENERATION IN THE UK – PRESERVING HISTORIC VALUES OR MASKING COMMODIFICATION? A REFLECTION ON THE CASE OF KING’S CROSS, LONDON

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Since the early 1990’s heritage-led regeneration has progressively become an important strategy for the revitalisation of urban areas. This revitalisation though, albeit its positive financial outcome, is not without side-effects, especially when carried out by commercial developers in the established socio-economic system. This paper explores how heritage-led regeneration fits in the 21st century plans for the physical, social and economic restructuring of post-industrial historic megacities, like London. Drawing from the King’s Cross case, a contemporary project with high heritage significance described as the biggest European inner city redevelopment, the paper will highlight the gains and losses of the process, in terms of heritage preservation and resilience of historic, spatial and social values. The analysis of the background, decision-making process and product of the King’s Cross scheme will inform the study’s conclusion. Finally, it will be argued that historic considerations play a subordinate role in the formation of heritage-led regeneration strategy. Its impact is intertwined with the priorities of the established political and economic system, which control predicaments between financial growth and social sustainability. This study complements previous findings and contributes additional evidence on the evolving discourse on the nuanced effects of urban regeneration while informing future practice on similar cases.

Keywords

Heritage-led regeneration, King’s Cross, industrial heritage, urban regeneration, London

How to Cite

Chatzi Rodopoulou, Theodora. “Heritage-led regeneration in the UK — Preserving historic values or masking commodification? A reflection on the case of King’s Cross, London”. In Carola Hein (ed.) *International Planning History Society Proceedings, 17th IPHS Conference, History-Urbanism-Resilience*, TU Delft 17-21 July 2016, V.04 p.075, TU Delft Open, 2016.

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7480/iphs.2016.4.1283>

INTRODUCTION

The rise and fall of industrialisation brought major upheavals on European historic cities, leaving many of them in the late 1970's in a state of despair. Since then major shifts in terms of global economy and governance have taken place. The 21st century has seen the consolidation of capitalism as the dominant economic system.¹ Present economy is characterised by strong influence of the financial sector, capital accumulation as well as liberalisation of financial flows and investment.² Furthermore, a notable power transition from the state to market forces has taken place.³

Along with these shifts, also the urban realm of cities worldwide has been in a state of transition. A common strategy employed for this transition is known as 'urban regeneration'. The arguments in favour of urban regeneration revolve around its physical, social and economic merits. However, a large body of literature⁴ draws attention to '*the dark side of regeneration*'.⁵ It is suggested that the social and economic restructuring caused by urban regeneration schemes has a distinct class dimension, causing in turn displacement and marginalisation of the underprivileged. Moreover, it is indicated that such schemes are based on the commodification of cultural symbols including historic assets.⁶

Early applications of urban regeneration involved large scale demolitions. Common victims of such practices were the disused industrial relics. The rising appreciation of Industrial heritage though in combination with changing perceptions about historic preservation have led since the 1990s to a more sympathetic approach, called Heritage-led Regeneration (HLR). Preite⁷ describes HLR as a new planning mode, inspired by the principles of sustainability and urban heritage enhancement, with 'interactive planning' and a 'pluralistic decision making process' being its basic features.

As Harvey⁸ argues, there is a strong connection between political and economic developments and spatial production. Thus the process of HLR, which is the subject of this research, cannot be examined isolated from the current socio-economic background. This paper will explore how HLR fits in the 21st century plans for physical, social and economic restructuring of post-industrial historic megacities, like London. Drawing from the case of King's Cross, which has been described as the biggest European inner city redevelopment,⁹ this research will reflect on the gains and losses of the process, in terms of heritage preservation and resilience of historic, spatial and social values.

This research, positioned at the crossroads of space sociology and heritage conservation field, aspires to contribute to the evolving discourse for a future social-inclusive, sustainable development of our historic cities.

METHODOLOGY

This paper is the product of a mixed method research approach including an extensive literature review, qualitative and field research. First, a literature review was conducted on the issues of urban regeneration and industrial heritage safeguarding. The existing research base on King's Cross' historic development was reviewed. Further research covered relevant newspapers articles, as well as an on-line review of the main stakeholders' websites and publications.

The second method used involved a round of face to face interviews with stakeholders in the regeneration of King's Cross. The respondents represent a diverse stakeholders base including: Argent developers, Association for Industrial Archaeology (AIA), King's Cross Conservation Advisory Committee (KXCAAC), tenants and users of the transformed Granary complex. Finally, a field trip was undertaken in July 2015, in order to experience the location first-hand, collect updated evidence and the photographic material presented on this paper.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

KING'S CROSS - INDUSTRIAL 'CYCLOPEAN ARCHES' ¹⁰

King's Cross echoes the most important stages of London's history since the early Victorian era. Arguably, it is a venue where history has always been expressed in the most bold way. King's Cross' urban and social fabric narrates the divergent realities of the prosperous era of industrialisation and the succeeding deindustrialisation period of withering.

The area of King's Cross is located at the north fringe of central London, in the borough of Camden. (Figure 1) Initially a rural zone, King's Cross started to develop after 1756. The construction of the Regent's canal in 1820, and the establishment of Pancras Gasworks in 1824 gave the area the impetus for its transformation into an industrial landscape.

Being London's 'laboratory' of industrialisation, King's Cross quickly embraced railway, the new symbol of revolution. In 1846, the Great Northern Railway (GNR) purchased a vast part of the area, building a grandiose transport and goods-handling complex, many parts of which were designed by the architect Lewis Cubitt.¹¹

The following decades saw both the industrial and the residential expansion of King's Cross area. Important industrial developments involved the Metropolitan Railway (1860s), the erection of St Pancras station (1868) and the extension of Pancras Gasworks (1880s and 1900s). The residential developments included mainly poor quality housing for industrial workers.

By the end of the 19th century King's Cross fully embodied the bilateral nature of industrialisation. Its built environment, dominated by imposing architectural and engineering advances, was testifying for the capital's economic power. Its social profile however, was revealing a much less memorable reality; a reality of poverty, social deprivation and slum living.

During the first part of the 20th century the area retained its mixed character with emphasis on the industrial activity. Minor developments were added to the existing urban tissue without altering however its Victorian setup. King's Cross, started declining after World War II. Gradually the roaring industrial hub hushed, paving the way to the era of deindustrialisation.¹²

'DEAD AND WOUNDED' AT KING'S CROSS¹³

From the 1970s to the 1990s the area epitomised the essence of the British urban deindustrialisation period. King's Cross, stigmatised as 'London's red light district'¹⁴, was notorious for drug-dealing, prostitution and street robbery.¹⁵ Its population consisted of working class, council tenants and squatters. The photographer Mark Cawson, who lived at King's Cross in the 1980s, notes:

*"There were gangsters, pimps, bikers, working girls and red light flats, but functional families too. Artists, alternative sorts, junkies, dealers; it was just a crazy mix."*¹⁶

The tarnished social character and low financial status of the area did not only have negative implications. King's Cross, became a field of artistic expression, influencing alternative culture forms. Furthermore, its industrial legacy managed to remain hidden under the veil of its notorious reputation; protected from ambitious investors' plans, it escaped the bulldozer. The significance of the area's historic built environment is highlighted by Robert Carr,¹⁷ member of the Greater London Industrial Archaeology Society:

"The area to the north of King's Cross and St Pancras Stations was generally regarded as the best in London for industrial archaeology..."



FIGURE 1 King's Cross position in the fringe of central London.



FIGURE 2 The area under development in relation with landmarks of the district.

KING'S CROSS - TURNING PAGE

The current redevelopment plan of the area was not created in a vacuum. Numerous studies¹⁸ explain in detail the successive planning proposals developed and recanted since the late 1980s, setting the scene for the present situation. The following paragraphs summarise the main incidents that took place from 1987 until 2007.

The first application for planning permission at King's Cross was submitted in 1989. The cornerstone of the plan, led by the London Regeneration Consortium (LRC), was the terminal station for the Channel Tunnel Rail Link (CTRL). Bearing the signature of architect Sir Norman Foster, the scheme had strong corporate office emphasis and entailed extensive demolitions. Strongly opposing to the developers' aspirations, the King's Cross Railway Lands Group (KXRLG)¹⁹, in collaboration with other local stakeholders campaigned against the LRC proposal. It is worth mentioning that the KXRLG was not simply a source of criticism but offered alternative planning applications. Finally, due to several reasons with the crash of property market being the most important, LRC's scheme was abandoned in 1992.²⁰

The late 1990s saw London recovering from the recession and marching towards its future as the world's leading financial centre. In a climate of investment fever, older schemes including the CTRL, resurfaced. In turn, pressures for the area's redevelopment re-emerged, backed this time by national and local policies. Three features are singled out as the most prominent developments of that period.²¹

First, in 1996 a new alignment of the CTRL was adopted by the government. LCR, a private consortium, won the bid for the construction and operation of the work. The consortium was granted a £5.7 billion government subsidy in the form of fixed assets along with the right to develop them for profit.²² This political choice would create high aspirations for the project's returns. In 2007, the renovated St Pancras station, opened its doors as the terminal station of the CTRL.

Second, from 1996 to 2003 the government financed the 'King's Cross Partnership', comprised by the railway companies, the Camden and Islington Councils and a small part of the local 'community' in a subordinate role. The partnership played mainly the role of the image-maker for the area, launching a programme of small scale street face-lifting along with a rebranding campaign, to cast away King's Cross notorious profile. Its action was combined with, a heavy investment of £37m in CCTV.²³

Third, a number of developments in the immediate surroundings of the area were realised in the turn of the century. The two most prominent include the Regent Quarter and King's Place. These projects, along with a variety of smaller ones, prepared the ground for the new development. According to Young et al. ²⁴:

“Regeneration and social control initiatives have altered the social landscape of King's Cross. From being an area notorious for sex, drugs and crime and the blighted dilapidation of its physical space, King's Cross has slowly begun to gentrify”.

Summing up, the current project landed in an area with a history of two centuries. The physical environment of King's Cross was still largely dominated by the industrial era's wonders, while selected points had been renovated, contributing to the creation of its new image. Socially, albeit still stigmatised from its past 'reputation' and the poverty of its inhabitants, the first signs of transition had become apparent. The 'undesirable elements'²⁵ had been chased away from the streets, starting to be replaced by 'desirable' middle class people. Another important characteristic of King's Cross at the time was the presence of an active local population resisting to fickle and speculative schemes.

THE CURRENT SITUATION

KING'S CROSS - 'THE PLACE TO BE' ²⁶

The successive described developments, along with persisting pressures for investment in the London flourishing market, created favourable conditions for the approval of a large-scale scheme in the area. The plan, branded as King's Cross Central (KCC), involved a long period of preparations, before granted planning permission in 2006.

Argent Group Plc was selected in 2001 by the landowners LCR and DHL as developing partner. The development phase finally started in 2008 and its completion is expected by 2020. The King's Cross Central Limited Partnership (KCCLP),²⁷ is developing the area marked on Figure 2. According to the KCCLP, their plan is based on two characteristics: flexibility and consultation. Specifically, the flexibility refers to the developers' permission to build 'up to' a certain number of square meters, while remaining free to select most of the uses themselves. On the other hand, consultation with the local community, government and other stakeholders is promoted as the main formative feature of their masterplan.

The area under development covers 67 acres, 60% of which will be built space. As depicted in Figure 3, Argent's plan has a mixed use character, with office space being the principle use. A key characteristic of KCC is its attention on the existing historic structures and the public realm. The development is expected to renovate and reuse twenty listed buildings, while creating ten new public spaces. KCC preserves and reuses the historic industrial landscape as a whole, incorporating challenging structures such as the gasholders, with relatively few compromises.

Another key characteristic of the regeneration is its strong association with global and national celebrity enterprises. Google and Luis Vuitton are only some of the star-businesses that have secured offices-space in the area. The design of the KCC is also conceived by renowned architects, such as David Chipperfield et al.²⁸

The first phase of the ambitious project was delivered in 2014, having the converted Granary complex as a centrepiece. The historic complex, transformed by Stanton Williams architects, houses today the Central Saint Martins College, office and recreation space. The redevelopment retained the biggest part of the existing buildings, demolishing only a central shed and replacing it with a new purpose-built space for the University. According to the architects, their approach was based on three principles: a warehouse concept, respect for the historic buildings and sustainable design.²⁹

CONTROVERSIES

KING'S CROSS - 'FUTURE PERFECT'?³⁰

It has only been two years since the partial delivery of KCC and yet it has provoked great controversy. The scheme has been an object of both admiration and dispute among stakeholders and specialists, mainly for its socio-spatial implications. A summary of this controversial discourse enriched with the results of qualitative research conducted for the present study, is presented below.

The basic principles of the scheme -flexibility and consultation- have been proudly promoted by KCCLP.³¹ However, a review of studies on the subject suggests otherwise. Flexibility is portrayed by Holgersen and Haarstad³² as a medium of economic return maximization for the property owners. It is described as a tool available only to the developer but not to the local authority. As such the study notes:

“Local residents experienced Argent’s flexibility as uncertainty.”³³

There is also criticism with regard to the consultation process. No party negates that a lengthy consultation process took place. Yet, there are voices³⁴ which question its essence and result, describing the process as one-way and stressing the lack of the developer’s accountability. Expressing these concerns Edwards³⁵ states:

“Both Argent and Camden have prided themselves upon their extensive and innovative programmes of consultation and have won awards for their efforts. Those who remain dissatisfied are essentially reflecting their lack of influence in the consultation process: they are endlessly listened to but have no detectable power to determine the outcome.”

Referring to the consultation process, frustration was also expressed from the developer’s side.³⁶ The respondent describes the opposing voices as ‘... only 5-6 individuals.’ who were ‘negative and anti-everything...’

Apart from the decision making process, the qualitative characteristics of the project’s spatial features have also been subject of controversy. KCCLP, the City Council and a number of press releases praise the new built environment of King’s Cross as an ‘exemplar of urban renewal’³⁷ On the other hand, close field observations, the results of our qualitative research and a handful of articles paint a different picture. KCC appears to be not as open and accessible as described while the preserved heritage is used as a commodified asset. Supporting this argument Wainwright notes:

“London has built many fine new public spaces over the last decade, but they are not in fact public – they are extensions of the privatised realm, to which the public is granted conditional access. ‘Welcome to King’s Cross,’ reads a sign in front of the new fountain-fringed Granary Square. ‘Please enjoy this private estate considerately.’...”³⁸

A tutor at Saint Martins, adds: “The complex offers a great architectural experience, yet it is too controlled and sterile... The building is certainly a very good marketing trap for the students”³⁹

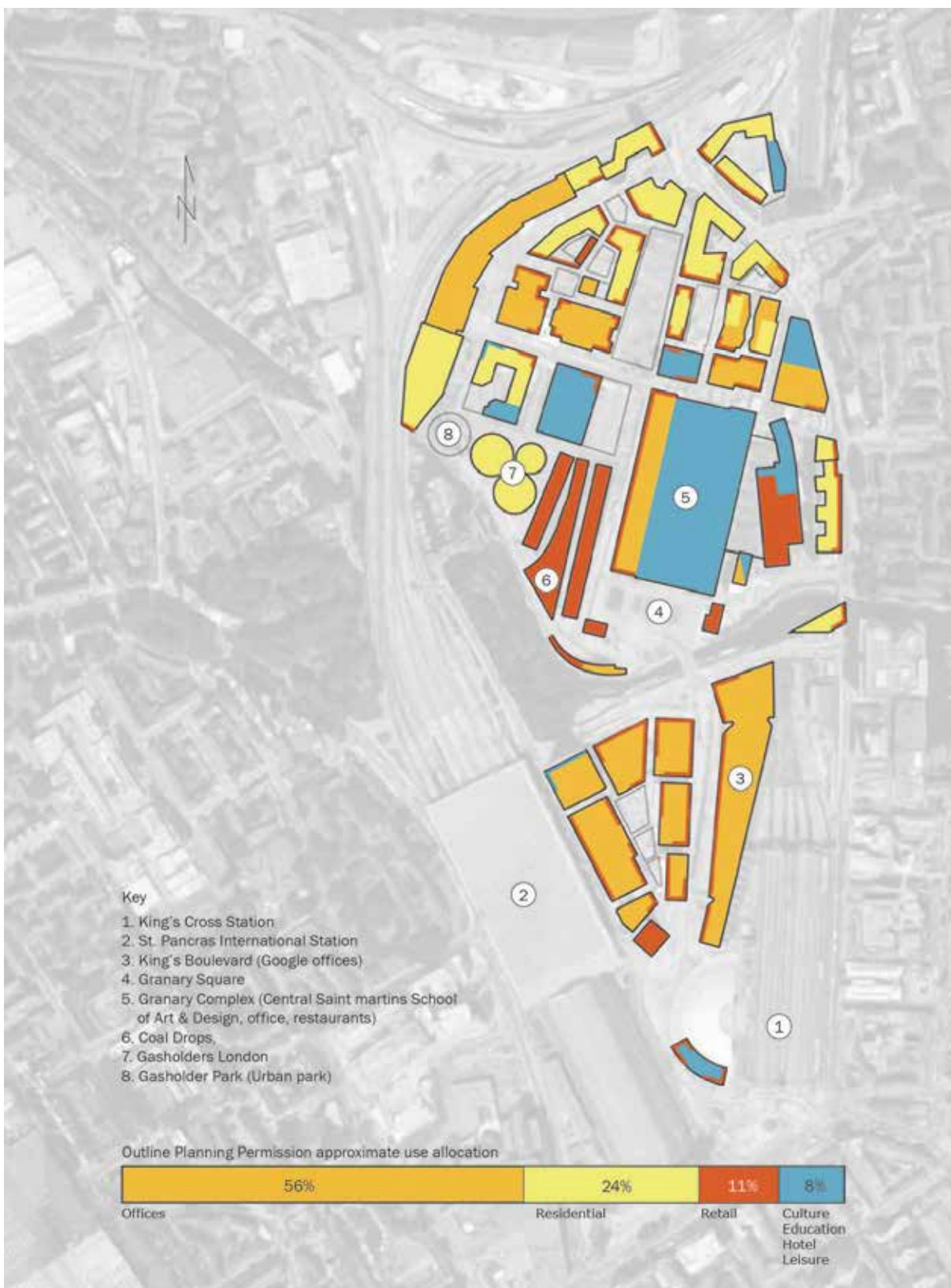


FIGURE 3 King's Cross Central. Principal uses' allocation, according to the Outline Planning permission (2006). The dominance of the office space, which is the most profitable use in the area, is evident.

A visit to the Granary complex verifies these claims. Public access is restricted in the biggest part of the complex while the dominance of the private over the public is notable. Moreover, a review of KCCLP promoting material⁴⁰ clearly illustrates the use of heritage; more as a medium of producing surplus value rather than a cultural and educational asset.

With respect to the approach of the scheme towards heritage, there seems to be a consensus between stakeholders and specialists. English Heritage,⁴¹ has included King's Cross in multiple publications⁴² as an example of best practice, describing it as:

*“a model of constructive conservation that captures the special quality of London”*⁴³

Our respondents share the same view, however they did highlight shortcomings in the preservation of the technical equipment and its presentation to the public. A member of the AIA, emphasises these limitations stating: *“People who realise these schemes look at industrial archaeology as a collection of aesthetical objects. Whenever features of industrial archaeology are kept, they are preserved as sculptural elements. The preservation is piecemeal and their interpretation is almost always absent.”*⁴⁴

In situ research, focused on the Granary complex reinforces the established perception for a sympathetic heritage approach. The existing buildings have been carefully restored, preserving structural elements, detailing and the patina acquired during the years (Figure 4). The new structure follows the footprint of the demolished historic shed and works in harmony with the complex in terms of volume, contracting strongly however in terms of materials and architectural language. Nevertheless, there is indeed a striking lack of historic and technical interpretation.

Lastly, the social ramifications of the project have met with much controversy. On the one hand the development team emphasises the heterogeneous, socially-inclusive profile of the project, with catchwords such as ‘inclusive’, ‘welcoming’, ‘safe’, ‘secure’ featuring strongly in all their publications and promotion material.⁴⁵ On the other hand, there is a set of studies that conclude that KCC will eventually lead to gentrification and displacement of part of the local community.⁴⁶ The claims of these studies are substantiated by the recent actions of KCCLP.

As revealed in Camden New Journal,⁴⁷ KCCLP is pushing for a substantial reduction of affordable housing and its replacement with high-end flats. Such actions come in sharp contrast with the acclaimed socially-inclusive profile of the regeneration scheme, demonstrating that the arguments of the aforementioned studies have a solid base.



FIGURE 4 Interior view of the Granary Complex. The historic complex has been transformed sympathetically, preserving the patina and traces of demolished parts.

V.04 P.083

Theodora Chatzi Rodopoulou

HERITAGE-LED REGENERATION IN THE UK – PRESERVING HISTORIC VALUES OR MASKING COMMODIFICATION?
A REFLECTION ON THE CASE OF KING'S CROSS, LONDON

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7480/iphs.2016.4.1283>

CONCLUSION

This paper has given an insight on the impact and decision-making process of heritage-led regeneration (HLR), examining the case of King's Cross. Starting with a brief description of economic and governance shifts occurring in cities like London, the paper has portrayed 'urban regeneration' as a key strategy employed for their physical transformation. It has indicated the conflicting arguments around the strategy's impact and has shown how heritage became part of it. The evolution of King's Cross since the 19th century has been described, emphasising its core socio-spatial values over time and the action of involved stakeholders. Moreover, the paper has given a contemporary view of the ongoing HLR process of King's Cross. Finally, the controversial discourse on the projects' implications has been analysed, complemented with data from our qualitative, desktop and field research.

Drawing from this in depth research on the King's Cross case, this paper concludes with a reflection on the impact of HLR, summarised in three main points:

First, King's Cross demonstrates the binary effect of HLR in relation to historic resilience. On the one hand, it is evident that the strategy is an effective means of preserving tangible historic features. The multitude of preserved buildings in KCC, but most importantly the high standards of their conversion, testify for a big step forward in historic preservation. On the other hand though, the disregard for the intangible dimensions of history; the systematic effort for the total elimination of evidence of controversial historic periods and its socio-spatial implications are the process' bleak consequences. Based on these findings this paper suggests that, in the current socio-economic system, HLR is used to preserve only a closely selected and rather fragmented part of history.

Second, the King's Cross case is an example of the nuanced impact of HLR on the physical urban environment. The transformation of a vast industrial brownfield site into a lively urban setting and its reintegration in the city are certainly significant achievements. However, turning a blind eye into its qualitative implications would be erroneous, too. Evidence of heritage commodification are clear in the case. Furthermore, the safety and security the KCC aims for, features common in many other HLR examples, undermine the qualitative characteristics of the offered public space. The present study therefore argues that HLR, within the complex socio-economic conditions of historic cities like London, can contribute to the enhancement of the urban fabric and to the restoration of lost spatial connections. However, it is suggested that this enhancement takes a heavy toll on the qualitative characteristics of the HLR spatial product. This argument complements the position of earlier studies, presented in the literature review.

Third, it is argued that HLR in the current framework of capitalism has a questionable social impact. Two notable shifts are identified in relation to the social profile of past urban renewal strategies. One shift is a change in the regeneration's decision making process, from a top down approach to one which is based on stakeholders' consultation. Yet, it is demonstrated that the change only refers to the process and not the result. In other words, there is only a minimum transfer of power to the underprivileged stakeholders while ultimate decisions are still taken by the ones who hold financial and property power. Therefore, it is argued that the decision-making process, albeit pluralistic is not yet as democratic and horizontal as presented. The second shift is a significant embellishment in the rhetoric of decision-makers. In our case, Argent came at great lengths to promote the socially-friendly profile of the development. However, phenomena of displacement have already taken place and are expected to be intensified. The rise of land value, underpinned by the shrinkage of affordable housing and professional space will also lead to social exclusion. This study thus supports the argument of earlier research that highlight gentrification as an intrinsic part of urban regeneration.

The generalisability of these results is subject to certain limitations. The status and complexity of London as a 'world class city', which places finance as the overriding consideration for property development, is definitely the most important one. Even though conclusions drawn based on King's Cross may not be fully applicable in small British cities, they can definitely inform future practice on similar cases in London and equally complex cities, making this research highly relevant. Another limitation is that KCC is an ongoing project and therefore this paper's results may not fully reflect its final state. Yet, King's Cross is considered a valuable case, offering the most updated image of large scale HLR in Britain.

Returning to the question posed at the beginning of this study, it is now possible to state that HLR can impact decisively our historic cities. Concepts like heritage preservation, historic resilience, heritage commodification and historic eclecticism are intrinsic components of HLR, which are placed on a delicate balance. Factors that can tip this balance are the stance of involved stakeholders and the social underpinning of the area's historic values. Nevertheless, what ultimately seems to steer HLR's direction and in turn its historic, economic and social impact, are predicaments between financial growth and social sustainability, which are largely dependent on the established political and economic system.

Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank all the respondents for their valuable input and for the material they provided for this paper. Many thanks also to dr. Nikos Belavilas, Prof. dr. Marieke Kuipers, dr. Hielkje Zijlstra and dr. Tonia Noussia for their support and guidance at various stages of the research. A big thank you to Konstantinos Ressopoulos, Kostis Nikolis and Markella Kefalonitou for their hospitality in London. Finally, special thanks to Petros Diamantis for his encouragement and assistance in the process of revision. This paper would not have been possible without the financial help of the Onassis foundation and the British School at Athens. This study is part of the author's PhD research on the reuse of the European industrial heritage.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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Image sources

Figure 1: Design by the author

Figure 2: Design by the author, background: Google Maps

Figure 3: Design by the author, background: Google Maps, data source: King’s Cross Central Limited Partnership, Overview, 3.

Figure 4: Photo taken by the author, July 2015.

THE CASE STUDY OF CHÁCARA DAS ROSAS IN CAMBUQUIRA, MINAS GERAIS, BRAZIL

Fabio J. M. de Lima | Raquel von R. Portes

UFJF

The paper presents a case study that involves an urban project to the city of *Cambuquira* located in the South of the State of Minas Gerais, Brazil. This city is an important reference in terms of its potential linked to hydro-mineral resources' exploitation. The intended meaning of this project is the restoration of a historical building named "Chácara das Rosas" related to the origins of the city. This restoration project elaborated to *Cambuquira* integrates a historical research with focus on the urban policies. Even belonging to a local context the restoration's project has significant impacts on the concerning regional development. The methodologies imply an historical approach placed properly in view of the current reality. Actually the urban development involves a process of obsolescence related to the cultural heritage. As part of a general process in the South region *Cambuquira* reveals an inequitable expansion with disqualification of public spaces. In this sense the urban proposal here as a case study contributes to the rehabilitation of the cities in the South of Minas Gerais. Finally it is important emphasize that the restoration project includes a cooperation between University and Municipality. Written with funds from a grant from CAPES, CNPq and FAPEMIG.

Keywords

Urban Planning, Cultural Heritage, Restoration, Participation

How to Cite

De Lima, Fabio J. M., Raquel Portes. "The case study of Chácara das Rosas in Cambuquira, Minas Gerais, Brazil". In Carola Hein (ed.) *International Planning History Society Proceedings, 17th IPHS Conference, History-Urbanism-Resilience, TU Delft 17-21 July 2016, V.04 p.089, TU Delft Open, 2016.*

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7480/iphs.2016.4.1284>

INTRODUCTION

The paper presents a case study that involves an urban project to the city of *Cambuquira* located in the South of the State of Minas Gerais, Brazil.¹ The proposal was developed during the year 2014 defining the guidelines for intervention which unfortunately have not been materialized. This study is included in the activities of the Research Group “Urbanism in Minas Gerais”, at the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism at the Federal University of Juiz de Fora - NPE URBANISMO.MG/UFJF.² This activity was made possible through an agreement established between the University and the City Hall of *Cambuquira*. It is worth mentioning that this demand from the Municipality was also motivated by the reports submitted by the *Promotoria Estadual de Defesa do Patrimônio Cultural e Turístico de Minas Gerais* for the reversal of the current situation related to historical building.³ The reason to present this project is the possibility of the comparative analysis by explaining the procedures adopted in terms of the restoration theories and the difficulties in the implementation of the project which aims to reverse the degraded state of this cultural reference to the city.⁴

This city is an important reference in terms of its potential linked to hydro-mineral resources' exploitation. On account of this feature the city's economy is dependent on tourism. The Portuguese conquests in Brazil, particularly in Minas Gerais, comprises a long process linked to the seventeenth century. The territory before the Portuguese's exploitation was inhabited by Brazilian natives named *Indios*, which were being exterminated. Progressively the penetration from *São Paulo* and *Rio de Janeiro* overcomes the natural obstacles composed by the *Serra do Mar* and the *Serra da Mantiqueira*, with interest in the Gold minings and the precious stones. In this sense, the origins of the urban development of Minas Gerais is linked to this process of colonization which includes a profound exploitation of mineral resources and the mentioned extermination of the natives. The South Region of Minas Gerais is in this process wherein *Cambuquira* was developed which includes another cities like *Caxambu*, *Lambari*, *Poços de Caldas* and *São Lourenço*. Although the interest in sources of mineral waters is in the late middle of the nineteenth century.

The urban proposal as a restoration project to *Cambuquira* involves an intervention on historical building named “*Chácara das Rosas*”. In this sense the project seeks the urban renewal to a specific area in the core of the city. Even belonging to a local context this proposal has significant impacts on the concerning regional development. The building itself as a reference of cultural heritage is related to the origins of the city in the late twentieth century as well as the region. Unfortunately, at present, this building is ruined. In this sense, take this condition the strategy of the proposal was to integrate the building and its surroundings to allow the urban renewal.⁵

The plan elaborated specifically to *Cambuquira* integrates a historical research as a continuous work with focus on the urban policies.⁶ The research includes comparative studies, or rather, the comparative analysis of concepts and issues and takes into account the recurrence to the cities' history and urbanism. This recurrence of an approach based on the past has the sense to comprehend the role of planners and architects to the urban development in the state. Through this survey considering the professionals' trajectories the study allows to list important references facing today's cities. In this sense, it is important to emphasize that the urban renewal to *Cambuquira*, in this historical perspective considers the community participation. The thematic here is linked to theories and practices embedded in the planner's proposals to the region. As made in *Cambuquira* and the other cities with mineral water resources a public spa was inserted in an urban park with a plan. And the case study *Chácara das Rosas* is contiguous to this spa as a reference of the regional cultural heritage. In this sense the restoration procedures to this building and the neighbourhood take into account theoretical and technical criteria.



FIGURE 1 The State of Minas Gerais,

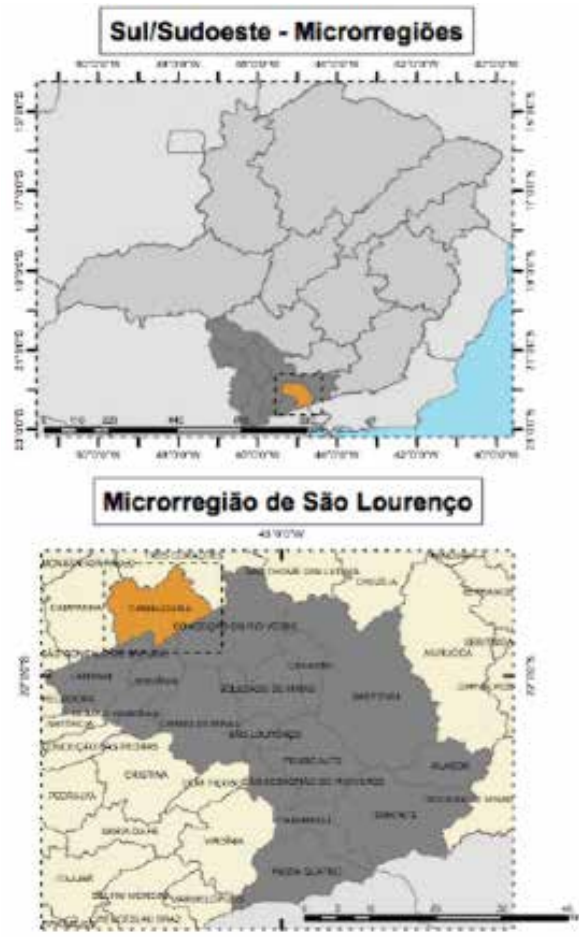


FIGURE 2 the South region
FIGURE 3 the city of Cambuquira.

It is worth mentioning that in the 1988 Federal Constitution of Brazil and the Minas Gerais State Constitution, 1989, the issue of cultural heritage protection multiplied by municipalities. During this period, the State Capital, the city of Belo Horizonte began the movement for the creation of cultural property protection policy, having specific legislation yet been approved in 1984. Thus the Federal Constitution itself already defined the competence of the protection of works of historical, artistic and cultural value as well as archaeological sites. Also refers to the care for preservation of the cultural heritage without destruction. The Brazilian cultural heritage defined as those “... assets material or immaterial nature, taken individually or together; reference carriers identity, action and memory of the various groups of Brazilian society”⁷ what is here applies.

This approach for understanding the conservation status of the historical building were made taking into account initially the documentation that identifies and characterizes this building, particularly the documentation that supported the protection tipping at the municipal level. In the technical visits were made photographic surveys that permeated the building itself, its surroundings and the current urban context in which this building is inserted. In addition, it has also been studied the history of the region and the development of Cambuquira with a chronological sense. And here arises the context in which the building has become a cultural reference for the city. With these approaches it was possible to expose the problems related to the conservation of the building, in fact nowadays a ruin not used. And this panorama in a global sense considering the urban context and in particular, its details.

The approach which includes the Restoration Project is according to the recommendations by the International Council on Monuments and Sites - ICOMOS and the National Institute of Heritage, Historic and Artistic - IPHAN, in the case of Brazil. As an urban proposal the project involves the rehabilitation of *Cambuquira's* historical context. The methodologies imply an historical approach, as mentioned, placed properly in view of the current reality. Actually the urban development of the region involves a process of obsolescence which includes undesirable interferences related to the cultural heritage. Another problem is the unplanned urban expansions which difficult the management of the new areas anywhere that includes social, cultural and economic effects. As part of a general process in the South region *Cambuquira* reveals an inequitable expansion with disqualification of public spaces. In this process the devastation of remaining forests and damage to the sources of mineral water. In this sense the urban proposal here contributes to the rehabilitation of the cities in the South of Minas Gerais. Finally it is important emphasize that the restoration project includes a cooperation between University and Municipality.

THE CHÁCARA DAS ROSAS IN THE CONTEXT OF CAMBUQUIRA

The origins of the city of *Cambuquira*, located in the Southern state of *Minas Gerais* refer to the year 1861, with the expropriation of the land of *Fazenda Boa Vista*, in which were the sources of mineral waters. At this moment, *Cambuquira* was part of the city of *Campanha*. In this process, it operates the initial formation of the locality of *Cambuquira* referred as *Águas Virtuosas de Cambuquira*. By the law n° 1884 of July, 15, 1872 the location was raised to a district of the city of *Campanha*. The state decree-law n° 2528, of May, 12, 1909 created the city of *Cambuquira* and by state law n° 843, of September, 7, 1923, the *Cambuquira* village had its name reduced to *Cambuquira*. The city status was granted by state law n° 893 of September, 10, 1925. Also in 1884, the construction of the *Muzambinho* railway station facilitated access to the city and in 1899 the establishment of hydrotherapy was delivered for public use with a spa named *Parque das Águas de Cambuquira*. This spa is the main attraction of the city which includes six sources of mineral water (rust, alkaline, magnesian, sulphurous, gas and lithium). Others tourists attractives in *Cambuquira* are the sources of *Marimbeiro* and *Orangery*, these located in the rural area. Also the peak of *Piripau*, 1.300 m, located in rural area, where it is possible jump with paraglider, the Seven waterfalls of *Salto*, a cascade of *Congonhal*, the Mill waterfall, the Cave of *Coimbra* and the *Palmital* Mountains. In addition, the intangible cultural heritage like religious celebrations, folklore traditions and others like *Carnival* and the *Film Festival*.

The historical building of *Chacara das Rosas* or *Village of the Roses*, name used previously, formed part of the whole *Maroim Farm*, owned by Mr. *Rodolpho Lahmeyer* in the late twentieth century. The *Chacara* and the orchard contiguous stands in a dominant position above the town. Initially the property was turned to the creation of *Jersey* cattle with production of milk and dairy products. These activities were developed in the *Maroim Farm's* equipments. In 1928 with the decline of the production the property was acquired by government. Then the *Chácara* has been adapted to an institutional use which came in 1946 with the *Pôsto de Monta de Cambuquira*. In this period various were the damage in the landscape caused by changes implemented like an artificial lake built and the interferences in the fruiter. These initiatives have not worked with the silting of the lake. Then the idea was modified with the ground levelled and its transformation into a sports court. At that time the building started to be used as the residence of the mayors of the public spa mentioned before the *Parque das Águas de Cambuquira*. In the following years continued as mayors residence and also served to other institutional activities.



FIGURE 4 The Chacara das Rosas in the city of Cambuquira, about 1940.



FIGURE 5 The ruins of Chacara das Rosas in the city of Cambuquira, about 2014.

In the early 2000s the City Hall was transferred for the Globo hotel in the vicinity which had been acquired by municipality. Then the *Chacara* was abandoned and remained unused which led to their gradual degradation. During this period in 2002 the administration of the Mayor *Rubens Santos Barros* wrongly aggravate the deteriorating condition of the building with the complete removal of the roof. Thus the building was exposed to inclement weather. All its components like frames, doors, windows have accelerated deterioration. At the same time in the immediate surroundings of the building inadequate structures were implemented which changed the original characteristics of the *Chacara*. Much of the trees that formed the rich orchard and garden were destroyed for the inclusion of other buildings. So they were inserted at the top a school with sports court, beside the arbor side a low building that currently houses the municipal pharmacy and at the bottom, where there was a direct access to the garden and fountain, a health complex on two floors with monumental ramp practically leaning against the facade of this side of the *Chacara*.

Currently, the building is ruined without the roof and several deteriorations in their components. These, according to the general degradation caused by inclement weather as well as other factors such as vandalism. Even this ruined state an important protection measure was defined by a municipal decree dated November 18, 2013. Though this decree n. 2097 the ruins of *Chacara* were protected. In December 7, the same year a dossier was sent to the state heritage Institute – IEPHA to establish heritage protection at the state level. Added the specific problems of the building the impact of urban transformations in this part of the city interfered in the cultural ambience. A bus Terminal and new buildings have changed the features of the historical landscape of this section of *Cambuquira*.

THE RESTORATION PROJECT OF THE CHÁCARA DAS ROSAS: A WAY FOR AN URBAN RENEWAL

The urban renewal of *Cambuquira* is included as an initiative to rethink the policies to the development of the South region of *Minas Gerais*. As mentioned this region implies another touristic cities like *Caxambu*, *Lambari*, *Poços de Caldas* and *São Lourenço* exploiting sources of mineral water. In this sense the project impacts is directed on public interest particularly related the protection of cultural heritage. The methodological strategy on the history is placed properly in view of the current reality. Actually it involves a process of obsolescence which includes undesirable interferences on the cities' cultural heritage. Another problem is related with the unplanned urban expansion which difficult the management of the new areas anywhere that includes social, cultural and economic effects. So the main issue with this project is to discuss how to reverse this obsolescence process of the region.

The area of the Restoration Project is in the core of the city of *Cambuquira* contiguous to the public spa *Parque das Águas de Cambuquira*. Besides thinking actions on the building to reverse the ruination it is necessary a proposal covering this section. In this sense the guidelines cover the reconstruction of the *Chacara* and its area of interference. Here arise the difficulties in the management of cultural heritage by the governance. As mentioned the building in ruination state is protected at the municipal level. The restoration/reconstruction considers the concepts concepts and principles related to the theory of conservation and restoration.

The cultural heritage of *Cambuquira* is protected by-law. Then the municipal law n. 2.196 dated July 1, 2011 aims to protect, preserve and promote the local cultural heritage as a duty of the whole community. Therefore the participatory process is inherent in the management of cultural values of the municipality. Through community involvement the possibility of the preservation and enhancement of cultural references. The *Chacara das Rosas* inserted reveals the grandeur of the landscape even with the current ruination state. Even also the new buildings in their surroundings such as a School, a Health Unit and a Bus Terminal. The memory of the *Chacara* remains in the vision of citizens for their use in the past as the City Hall.

The procedures to be adopted for the restoration/reconstruction of the *Chacara* involves actions on building and its surroundings. First, the definition of a protected perimeter which includes the area object of study with specific guidelines. The perimeter should include at least the properties inserted in the immediate surroundings of the cultural property. In this sense this area named *ADE Chacara das Rosas*⁸ should be considered with a restricted potential. New buildings, new uses which height, materials, colors and textures must be consider the relationship with the cultural heritage. The intention here is to preserve and restore the green areas surrounding the *Chacara*. An important issue to be highlighted is that these measures to protect and preserve the *ADE Chacara das Rosas* should be related to a Master Plan. Currently *Cambuquira* does not have a comprehensive plan which can regulate the urban growth. In fact, the effectiveness and the safeguarding of this heritage depends on this account in the planning as an essential part of a coherent policy of economic, cultural and social development.

The *Chacara das Rosas* remains as a cultural reference for the city in a dominant position. The building ruined is present in the memory of old and youth residents. Despite the degraded state the construction in masonry solid bricks has stable the structure, even with the presence of cracks, fissures and located structural problems. The interferences of the weather in the interior caused numerous deteriorations that interfered significantly in the integrity of the building. Thus, the presence of debris and vegetation contributed to the general degradation. Even the wood flooring structures are deformed and broken down, the same can be said regarding the planks with vegetation and infestation with fungus. In spite of the ruination the structures of the basement with straight or arched openings in masonry brick are stable. The paintings were quite affected and destroyed by inclement weather and vandalism. Interferences in the surrounding consolidated already undermine the cultural object visibility. There is the ramp-walkway access to the Health Unit built in inappropriate place very close to the ladder of secondary access to the interior of the building. In view of these problems the restoration project intended to recover the integrity of the building.

The Restoration Project proposed preserves the volume of the building considering that is not a substantial change in its. The proposal involves, in general, just repainting, chemical treatment of wood and the reconstruction of the roof. For repainting is necessary to study the previous layers with surveys to attest the original layers. The treatment in the woods is to stop the interference of insets, particularly termites. This treatment should be done on the floors, the ceilings, the portals, as well as furniture. Such treatment should be extended to the new timber roof. Other actions included in the project are related to the systems of lighting, informatics, telephony, as well as sewage and water supply, which should be rebuilt. Regarding accessibility was thought side access that enables the use of the building smoothly. In this sense arises a new ramp with a favorable slope that should be built. The current ramp to access the Health Unit should be removed considering the undesirable interference that it causes. The proposal to this sector is a linear fencing in metal structure to separate the Cultural Centre in relation to the Health Unit.

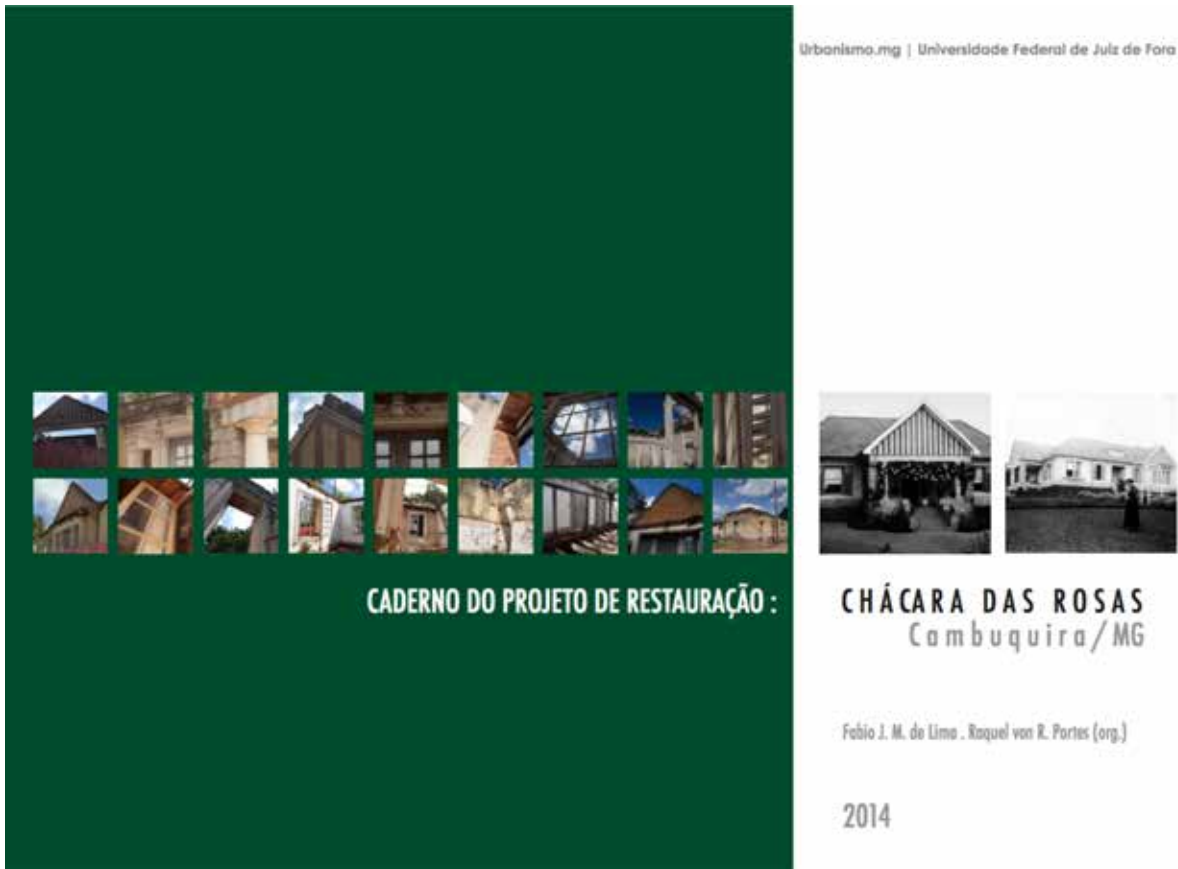


FIGURE 6 The Project Restoration (the book cover) to the Chacara das Rosas in the city of Cambuquira.

Therefore the intents is to define appropriate guidelines for the *Chacara* considering also the reconstruction of the roof in the sense “*com’era, dov’era*”. The guidelines also include a new interior design to allow reuse as a municipal Cultural Centre. The first aspect is linked to social memory by this reminder of the building as a cultural reference for locals and visitors. The second aspect, which overlaps the first, has the sense of allowing the new use for cultural purposes and their integration to the current city life. These guidelines include technical discussions within the Municipality, particularly the Department of Culture as well as the Municipal Council of Culture. The demands raised in these discussions have been included in the process which also had partial presentations of the project.

For the new configuration planned to the *Chacara* the original distribution of the old building was respected. In this way the principle was to preserve the typological characteristics and the structural organization and sequence of the internal spaces. The project includes archaeological studies to be effected to obtain data that may add value to the cultural asset. The restoration includes a series of integrated actions like structural reinforcement, replacement of windows and doors, reparation of floors, linings and ceilings, repainting, chemical treatment of wood among others. The restoration process will be displayed on panels in the new Cultural Centre.

CONCLUSIONS

At last the Restoration Project intends to permit the permanence of the *Chacara das Rosas* as a cultural heritage. These guidelines are directly linked to the urban planning policies. The results achieved are reflected only on a theoretical perspective. The strategy to elaborate Restoration Project was to allow a didactic explanation of the process and the protected measures of the building inserted in the ADE *Chacara das Rosas*. The procedures to the restoration were defined in accordance with the principles established in the theories of conservation and restoration. However the restoration project extrapolate the strictly technical view with the privileged socio-cultural approach. And this approach emphasizes the need to define a Master Plan which includes the protection measures to the Cultural Heritage of *Cambuquira*. In fact, as mentioned the effectiveness of safeguarding this heritage depends on this account in planning which is an essential part linked to the public policies. In this regard the Master Plan should defines the areas for special guidelines in terms of protection measures as mentioned with the ADE *Chacara das Rosas*. The participatory process is essential for the definition of the guidelines related the urban development.

Therefore, it is essential to think of a multidisciplinary approach in which the different contributions add up facing the issues related the urban and rural life. In this sense, the future of cities indeed requires the participatory process for a comprehensive understanding of what should be preserved and what should be avoided (and even reversed) - in the current unsustainable realities. As appropriations of territories urban and rural land uses are part of the construction of the social memory of the cities. This enables to rethinking the environment considering the specificities of the social groups and the distincts territories. And also allows to a comprehension of the diversity that is revealed in these territories considering the multiple historical horizons. The emergence to environmental and cultural issues to be faced is real. In this sense the permanence of the cultural heritage depends on the planning of the present that interferes directly with the future. The actions to restore this singular historical building in *Cambuquira* reveals the importance of integrating the past in the present.

It is worth noting that, in *Minas Gerais* the difficulties for the preservation of cultural heritage are often given *"... the lack of economic resources [...] before our most significant monuments, be they small religious buildings, the vernacular architecture existing in almost rural districts and historic centers of small or medium-sized municipalities. For the effective restoration of this set of listed buildings is required the formation of partnerships between the various organ preservation, [...] the public prosecutor; the municipalities with their town councils of Culture, and especially local communities."*⁹ The results here achieved contribute effectively to the needs of *Cambuquira* for the preservation of this unique building, the *Chacara das Rosas*. In addition this research related restoration and conservation is a laboratory for the activities of NPE URBANISMO.MG/UFJF. By this way combining teaching, research and approaches *in situ* the repercussions have direct implications to the research group and communities.

Throughout the development of the work, the material raised to the preparation of the Restoration Project have been digitalized and made available to communities through the site in order to www.ufjf.br/urbanismomg that discussions were continuing. The intention is to allow a better future, particularly to the new generations, and this related to the public policies with participation. However, the interruption of this activity by the agreement not consolidated with the City Hall stands as a serious problem for the cooperation with the University. And this situation remains nowadays. The current reality is not very encouraging in view of the worsening crisis related to municipal management that focuses directly on the protection of cultural heritage. Gradually, the community loses its cultural references and the city its identity.

Acknowledgements

Written with funds from a grant from CAPES, CNPq and FAPEMIG.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

Notes on contributor(s)

Fabio Jose Martins de Lima is an architect and professor at the Federal University of Juiz de Fora (UFJF), Brazil. Since 1994 he has been linked to a research on the cities' history in the state of Minas Gerais, Brazil. In 2011 and 2012 developed a Postdoc at Università IUAV di Venezia, sponsored by CAPES. This research approach is linked on the activities of the CNPq research brazilian group "Urbanismo em Minas Gerais" based on UFJF with support of CAPES, CNPQ, FAPEMIG.

Raquel von Randow Portes is an architect and professor at the Federal University of Juiz de Fora (UFJF), Brazil. Since 2003 he has been linked to a research on the cities' history in the state of Minas Gerais, Brazil. Actually develop a Doctoral research at Federal University Fluminense. This research approach is linked on the activities of the CNPq research brazilian group "Urbanismo em Minas Gerais" based on UFJF with support of CAPES, CNPQ, FAPEMIG.

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Image sources

Figures 1, 2 and 3 - The State of Minas Gerais, the South region and the city of Cambuquira : LIMA, F. J. M. de & PORTES, R. V. R. *Caderno do Projeto de Restauração: Chacara das Rosas, Cambuquira/MG*. Cambuquira: UFJF; Prefeitura Municipal de Cambuquira, 2014 and <http://cidades.ibge.gov.br/xtras/uf.php?coduf=31>

Figure 4 - The Chacara das Rosas in the city of Cambuquira, about 1940 : LIMA, F. J. M. de & PORTES, R. V. R. *Caderno do Projeto de Restauração: Chacara das Rosas, Cambuquira/MG*. Cambuquira: UFJF; Prefeitura Municipal de Cambuquira, 2014.

Figure 5 - The ruins of Chacara das Rosas in the city of Cambuquira, about 2014 : LIMA, F. J. M. de & PORTES, R. V. R. *Caderno do Projeto de Restauração: Chacara das Rosas, Cambuquira/MG*. Cambuquira: UFJF; Prefeitura Municipal de Cambuquira, 2014.

Figure 6 - The Project Restoration (the book cover) to the Chacara das Rosas in the city of Cambuquira : LIMA, F. J. M. & PORTES, R. V. R. *Caderno do Projeto de Restauração: Chacara das Rosas, Cambuquira/MG*. Cambuquira: UFJF; Prefeitura Municipal de Cambuquira, 2014.

Endnotes

- 1 Also participating in this urban renewal the following researchers and students: Daniela P. Almeida (Architect); Bianca M. da Silva Veiga (Graduated in Tourism); Willian C. A. Mendonça (Engineer) Denilson R. de Paula (Graduation Student); Diogo S. de Oliveira (Graduation Student); Fernanda de O. S. Portela (Graduation Student); Klinton de M. B. Junior (Graduation Student); Leda M. T. Mendonça (Graduation Student); Marine L. de O. Mattos (Graduation Student); Paula M. H. Furtado (Graduation Student); Taila Pantoja (Graduation Student); Talison P. Ferreira (Graduation Student)

- 2 The Urbanismomg research group formed in 2005 at the University of Juiz de Fora is comped by researchers and students of the University. The group developed research activities in cooperation with municipalities of the state of Minas Gerais, Brazil. The support to this activities is binds to CAPES, CNPQ, FAPEMIG and Ministry of Cities and Culture. The route relating to these activities is available in <http://lattes.cnpq.br/8637271768339853> and <http://www.ufjf.br/urbanismomg> and in the facebook at <https://www.facebook.com/fabiojmlima>.
- 3 Here the contact with Magali Borges at the Department of Culture committed to the protection of cultural heritage and also with her assistant Cristina Borges. Unfortunately, both are no longer linked to City Hall having been interrupted their activities.
- 4 The comparative analysis was addressed in the recent technical internship developed at the Aalto University with the tutorship of Prof. Helena Teräväinen. In: LIMA, Fabio JM. Reports from Helsinki: a comparative approach on Urban Planning and Architecture, today and before, Brazil and Finland, the view inside the city. Helsinki: 2015.
- 5 The same strategy was used in others proposals as done in the urban renewal in the city of Matias Barbosa, in Minas Gerais. LIMA, F. J. M. de et al. *Caderno do Projeto de Restauração: Capela do Rosario, Matias Barbosa/MG*. Matias Barbosa: UFJF; Prefeitura Municipal de Matias Barbosa, 2011, and _____. *Caderno do Projeto de Restauração: Prédio da Prefeitura Municipal, Matias Barbosa/MG*. Matias Barbosa: UFJF; Prefeitura Municipal de Matias Barbosa, 2011.
- 6 The research is linked to the network research group Urbanismobr with the group Urbanismo no Brasil 1900-1965.
- 7 BRASIL. Constituição da República Federativa do Brasil, de 5 de outubro de 1988.
- 8 ADE in portuguese is *Área de Diretrizes Especiais*, that means Special Guidelines Area in terms of land use.
- 9 <http://www.iepha.mg.gov.br/banco-de-noticias/545-comunidade-a-melhor-guardia-de-seu-patrimonio>

FROM 'CITY'S REBUILDING' TO 'REVITALISATION': THE POSSIBILITY OF RENOVATING SOME OLD BUILDINGS INTO AGED CARE FACILITIES DURING OLD TOWNS' RENEWAL

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Nowadays China is faced with the problem of aging and urbanization. The demand of low and middle income elderly people are ignored, while the old towns in cities are at risk of hollowing because of human and industry migration. Take the actual conditions of China into consideration, the research might predict that renovating some old buildings into aged care facilities can ease aging pressure, stimulate old towns' transition and make it resile from aging problem and migration. Through case study in Hangzhou, we notice that aging and urbanization in China have their own historical context. The squeeze effect caused by old towns' debility and the siphonic effect result from new towns' urbanization lead old towns to aging communities. Meanwhile the process that new towns are transformed into the old ones would spread quickly over the whole city. By using interview method in Hangzhou, we find out that old people are inclined to live around their original blocks. Government can develop these old towns by preserving traditional lifestyle and attracting tourists to experience and go sightseeing. In conclusion, renovating some old buildings into aged care facilities exerts positive effect on preservation and development of old towns.

Keywords

aging, old towns, renewal, aged care facilities, resilience

How to Cite

Du, Haoyuan; Wang, Zhu; Lu, Ji. "From 'City's Rebuilding' to 'Revitalisation': The Possibility of Renovating Some Old Buildings into Aged Care Facilities during Old Towns' Renewal". In Carola Hein (ed.) *International Planning History Society Proceedings, 17th IPHS Conference, History-Urbanism-Resilience, TU Delft 17-21 July 2016, V.04 p.099*, TU Delft Open, 2016.

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7480/iphs.2016.4.1285>

INTRODUCTION

According to the international standard, China has become an aging society since 1999. After more than fifteen years' increase, aging population has reached 212 million since 2014, which makes the rate of population aging climb to 15.5%. What's even worse, aging population of China are predicted to reach 260 million in 2020¹. The rapid growth of aging population is a crisis, exerting a negative influence on economy and society. However, it can be a turning point, too. Older people's increasing demand of being taken care of promotes retirement industry's development.

Meanwhile, with the rapid economic development of China since reform and opening up, a lot of old buildings and facilities in downtown can't meet the requirement of production and living today. To solve that problem, since 1980s, the government has started up some large-scale and all-around project of renewing old towns for many times. Such urbanization is still in progress today, along with new town construction, becoming the focus of citizens' attention and controversy.

We used to renew old towns completely by tearing down old buildings crudely and rebuilding grand ones simply like new towns. Nevertheless, it ignores old towns' context and relics, disturbing areas' population structure artificially and spreading aging problem to the surrounding.

Chinese scholars almost never link retirement industry to old towns' renewal, yet the relationship between them is close. Chen Hua puts forward an idea that the reservation and development of old towns needs to reduce constructive damage behaviour and sudden change, keeping old neighbours with their living patterns and context². They do realize the relationship between reservation and revitalisation, yet did not focus on specific points like aged care facilities since their theme is general planning strategy. Xiangqian Wang discusses the key points of renovating an old office building into an aged care facility in ways of design and technology³. Due to professional perspectives' difference between architecture and urban planning, their research do not reach into the relationship between aged care facilities and city in urban view. Maichan Li proposes to develop retirement industry in old towns⁴, however, as a policy-researcher, he doesn't discuss this issue by urban planning ways.

Based on planning history of Hangzhou from 1990s to 2000s, we believe the exploration of population aging may provide a new perspective to urban renewal, which will benefit sustainable development of city and help old towns resile from aging problem and migration.

OLD TOWNS RESULT IN AGING

The new towns and old towns in China are dramatically different in form. The former are prosperous, having bright colours, row upon row of high buildings, a relentless march of urban construction and large industrial zones, which booms city's economy. While the latter are lifeless, having grey colours, narrow roads, heavy traffic, shabby dwellings and job crisis, which makes residents' life hard. To make it worse, aging of old towns are getting serious after population migration. Old towns can't catch up with new towns because of lacking all-round and qualified talents whom new industries need desperately.

Through the case study in Gongbei district in Hangzhou, we notice that aging and urbanization in China have their own historical context.



FIGURE 1 The Location of Hangzhou and Gongbei District in China. Hangzhou situated in Eastern China, near Shanghai. While Gongbei district located in the northeast of Hangzhou.

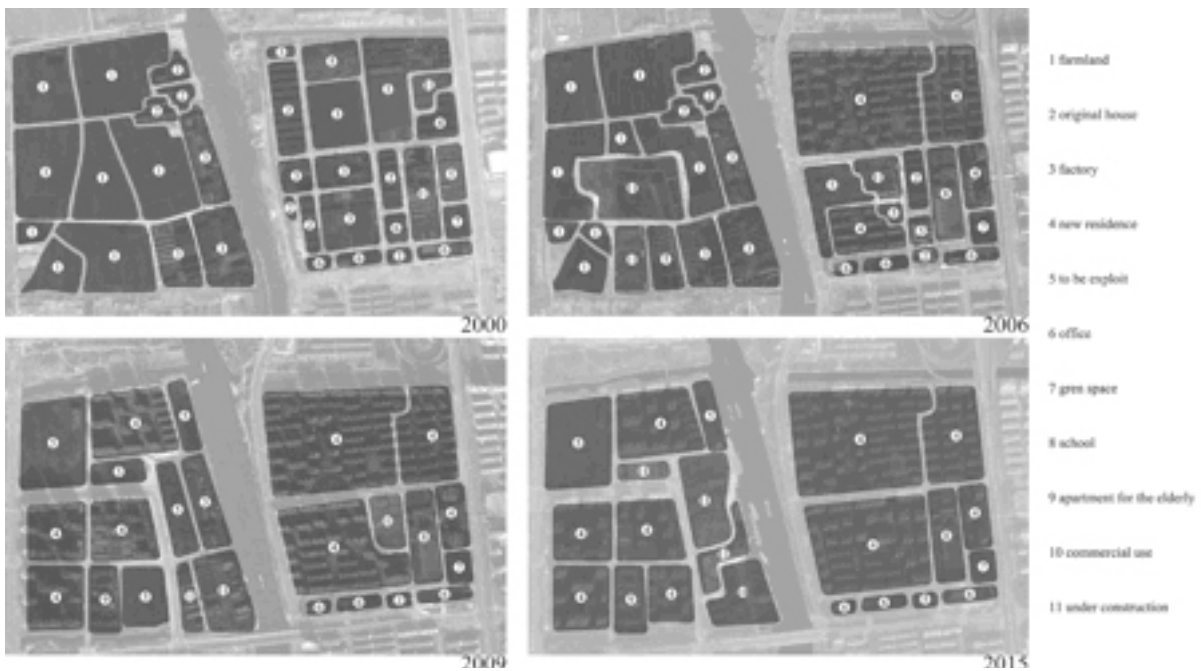


FIGURE 2 The Land Usage of Gongbei District from 2000 to 2015. Traditional industries and old residences were vanished, while new residences and commercial buildings are beginning to fill the land where old factories and residences were located.

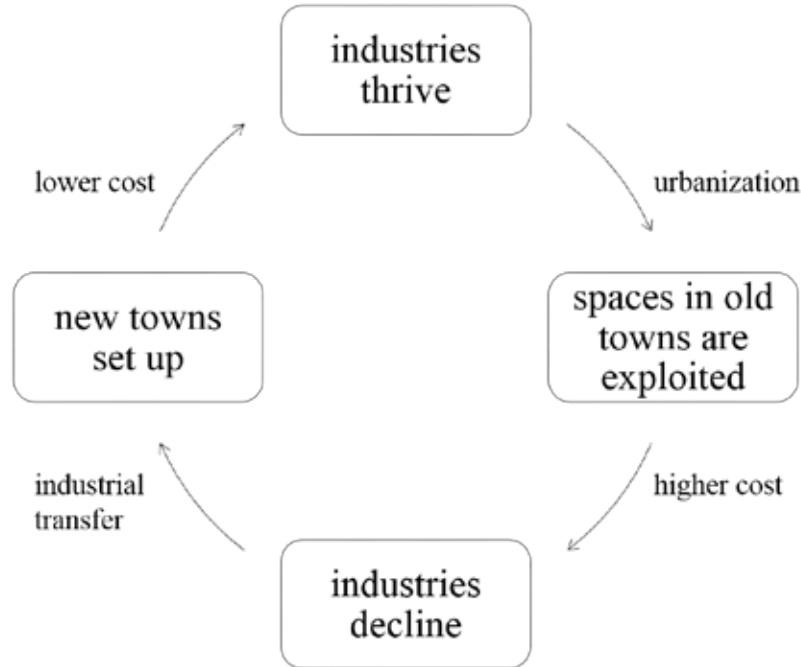


FIGURE 3 The Vicious Cycle that New Towns Got Better while Old Towns Got Worse. Resource endowment escaped from the old towns in low potential energy and moved to the new towns which had high potential energy.

Referring to the land usage of Gongbei district from 2000 to 2015, it should be clear that traditional industries and old residences were vanished, while new residences and commercial buildings are beginning to fill the land where old factories and residences were located. The old towns were the place in which traditional industries were located, such as food industry, textile industry and machinery manufactory (for instance, the Grand Canal Shipyard in Gongbei district). However, since township enterprise rose in 1980s, the traditional industries in old towns have declined because of higher cost. Meanwhile, China has started to urbanize. Because renewing old towns cost a lot, new industries preferred to settle down in new towns, that's when new towns begun to blossom. At that time, the flow of resources and factors between different areas was unfair. Traditional industries in old towns were not competitive anymore. On the contrary, new towns have assembled all sorts of resources and factors in a government-controlled industrial layout, which made potential energy difference between new towns and old towns. So resource endowment escaped from the old towns in low potential energy and moved to the new towns which had high potential energy. It seems like the situation entered a vicious cycle that new towns got better while old towns got worse.

These new towns and old towns are uncoordinated, developing separately, which bring about a wide gap between them. Along with the flow of resources, the squeeze effect caused by old towns' debility and the siphonic effect result from new towns' urbanization make old towns not capable of absorbing and bearing young and qualified talents, therefore youngsters leave old towns for better career prospects, only the disadvantaged stay. It turns out that industrial decline stimulates area's aging. Old towns are transformed into aging community with distinct boundaries in advance. All challenges and problems, for instance, depressed industry, dated buildings, backward facilities, inadequate supplies and intense social space generated by confined physical space, are intertwined, getting more difficult for government's policy-making and real estate developers' investing in old towns. At the same time, the new towns whose cost of development are lower still have comparative advantage. Due to lack of resources, it's destined that old towns are marginalized.

The unidirectional and linear flow of resources cannot establish a closed self-circulation system between new towns and old towns. New towns accumulate resources and develop rapidly in a certain period, but after the areas are built-up, it can't afford to maintain that rapid growth on account of limited space to be exploited, and then resources would flow into new virgin land. In some ways new towns are like a funnel full of resources that will run away sooner or later. The process that new towns are transformed into the old ones would spread quickly over the whole city like being infected with a virus. If we don't take action this time, city can never resile from this man-made disaster.

Such situation can partly be illustrated by John Friedmann's core-periphery four-stage model of regional development. At first, old towns and new towns are developing independently with very minimal contact between them - possibly some basic trading of goods, which is stage 1; with more physical or human resources, old towns become dominant, attracting people and investment from other regions, which is stage 2; as the conflict between old towns and new towns are deepened, new towns, which has become smaller cores, start to develop and there is an increase in flows between the core and the semi-periphery, which means the situation steps into stage 3; nevertheless, because of the model's idealization, the reality are quite the opposite when it comes to stage 4 that predicts all areas are now developed and fully dependent upon each other with flows of capital and people in both directions. Only with urban planning's interference can we fulfill that prediction.

Facing such serious crisis, lots of Chinese cities have explored appropriate method of renewing old towns in different scales and ways. Fortunately some practices have succeed, as follows.

As the results of Shenzhen's rapid urbanism, Da Fen village, famous for its oil paintings industry, can't keep pace with city's development in 1990s. In order to improve its living environment, the government decided to revitalize Da Fen village and create Da Fen Oil Painting Village as a unique culture industry brand. Today, Da Fen village has become a prominent model in urban village renovation.



FIGURE 4 Da Fen Village in 1990(above) and 2010(below). Today, the living environment has developed notably. An oil painting museum has established to revitalize the village.

At the same time, such practice also happens in the center of Shanghai, Xin Tiandi, where traditional Chinese housing Shikumen located. While the contradiction between estate development and culture reservation seems hard to reconcile, the government and estate developers reach a compromise to renovate these old housing into cultural and leisure center. It turns out to be a great success in business, however, the Shikumen's old neighbours and their lifestyle are abandoned.

Recently, the recovery of Southern Song Imperial Street in Hangzhou has aroused a wide concern in public and professional fields. Conducted by the Pritzker winner Shu Wang, the Southern Song Imperial Street find a new way, neither rebuilding totally nor preserving completely, to illustrate Chinese characteristic⁵. Shu Wang tries to rebuild the social network in old towns and makes some achievement, yet he ignores the infrastructure serving the aged neighbours.

As we can see from the above-mentioned facts, these models' backgrounds are so special that these methods couldn't be copied to another places. Whether the renewal of urban village in Shenzhen, or the rebirth of Xin Tiandi in Shanghai, or the recovery of Southern Song Imperial Street in Hangzhou, they all lack the concern for elderly people and don't recognize the root cause of issues. In fact, the compensation for move can't afford a comfortable resident where the elderly lives after renewal, so the relocated people have to leave their familiar environment for suburbs which has lower rent. As they suffer from dramatic transition, they also bring about hidden trouble of population aging, which may exert negative impacts on new towns, just like the spread of old towns in city. Even though some people restore old towns as the past, their plans lack basic elderly-oriented facilities and ability to incubate new industries, let alone ability to improve population structure.

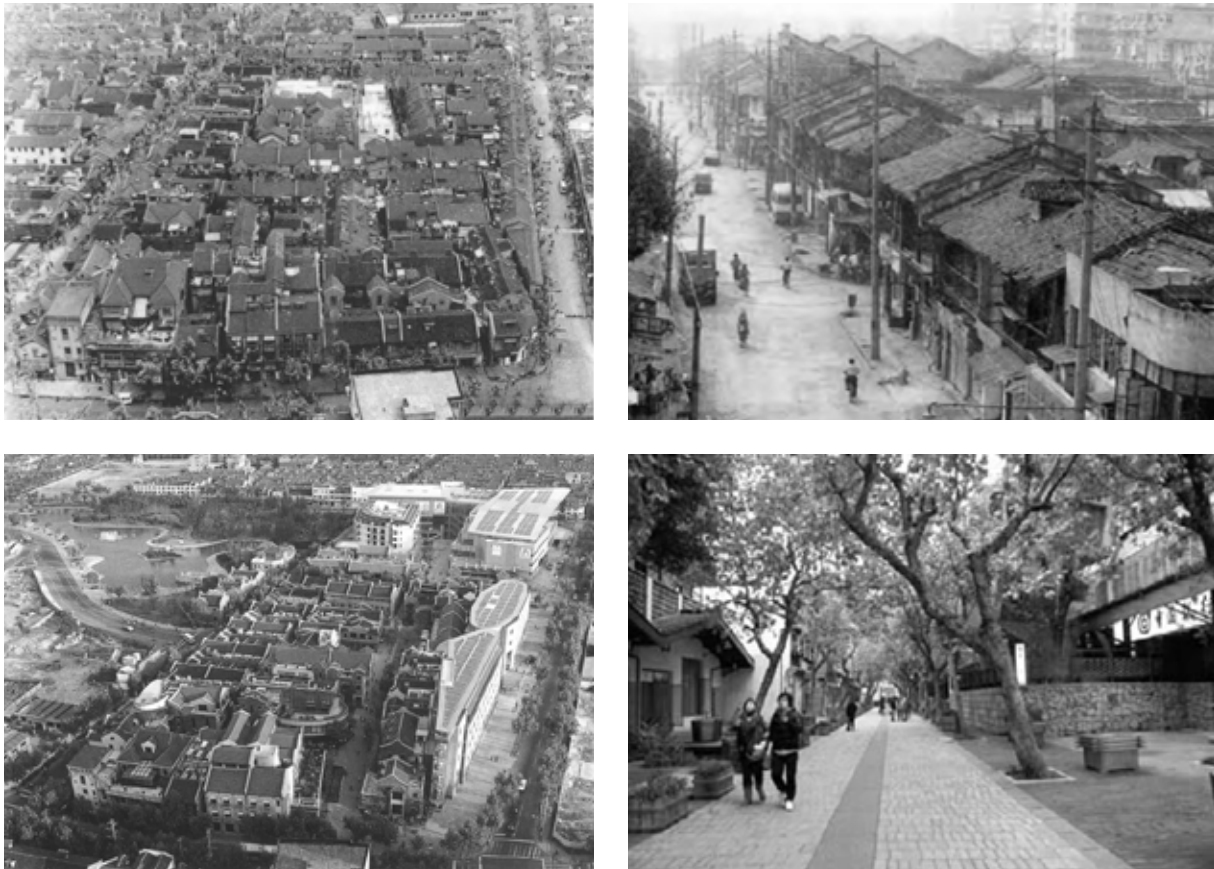


FIGURE 5 Then-and-now Photos of Xin Tiandi(left) and the Southern Song Imperial Street(right). They all achieve in business and cultural preservation, except from lacking consideration of traditional context and aged care facilities.

We should realize that industries' lacking energy and competitiveness is the root of old towns' decline. The imbalanced structure of population, dated buildings and shabby facilities are just consequences. Productivity is the motive power of city's development and human beings are city's subject⁶, therefore we should not only confine renewal to technical repair and reshaping physical space, but also consider both industry and people in renewal. Based on resource endowment which they have, old towns will gather various resources and find resilient strategy in the rapidly changing of urban environment if they go with the trend and choose an appropriate industry as their strategic pillar industry. In consideration of demand, macro-economic situation and old towns' status, the chance that involving retirement industry in old towns' renewal achieves success is reasonably high.

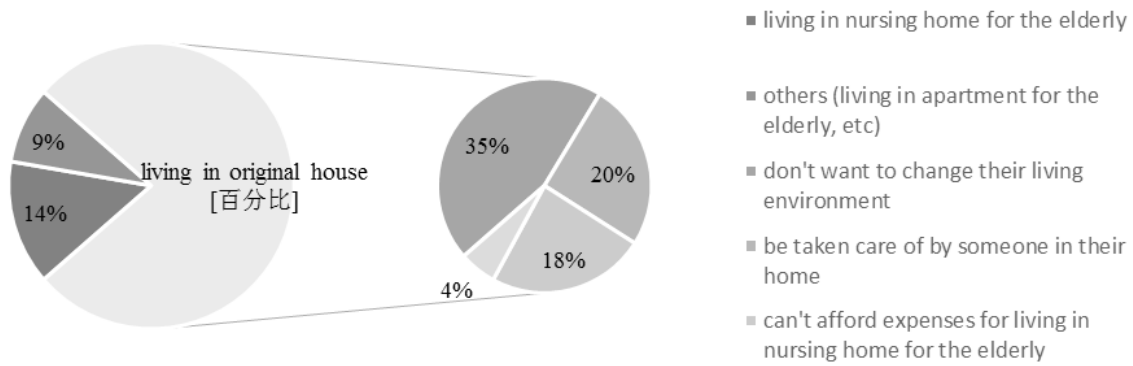


FIGURE 6 Where Do Elderly People Want to Live and Why. 77 percent of old people are inclined to live around their original blocks, mainly because they don't want to change living environment, which making them feel more familiar and comfortable.

THE ADVANTAGES OF PROMOTING RETIREMENT INDUSTRY IN OLD TOWNS

First of all, as a country moving forward hyper-aging society, China needs a mature retirement industry desperately.

On the one hand, China is the only country whose aging population is more than 200 million in the world, which is larger than some populous nations' population, such as Brazil, Russia and Japan. It will be ranked 4th if it is taken as a country's population. Now take a look at these countries' level of economic development when they entered aging society, developed countries were faced with aging after they achieved modernization, which as described aging after wealthy, being able to establish and maintain systems of social security for elderly. However, the other side of picture is quite the opposite, because of government's policy about health insurance and birth control, China entered aging society when it still struggled in a low level of economic development. Such situation that aging over modernization is called aging before wealthy. Huge aging population and conditions that aging before wealthy make China face the serious problem of retirement.

On the other hand, in regard to methods of renewal, the usual approach is to reserve and reconstruct, then transform old towns into places for creative industry and folkloric industry, such as 798 Arts District in Beijing, Tianzifang and Xintiandi in Shanghai and Southern Song Imperial Street in Hangzhou, or tear down then build for financial, insurance and consulting industry because of location advantage. Nonetheless, the former is fit for a small scale renewal, lacking applicability for a large scale one, and the latter makes the same mistakes that spreading the 'virus' of new towns to old towns. Even if some real estate developers exploit a little land for retirement industry, they will choose upscale strategy due to high cost and profit-oriented principle, shutting the door upon ordinary elderly people⁷.

Under the circumstances of the strong demand for a new retirement industry's model which is suitable in China, the comparative cost advantage of old towns can fill the supply gap in middle-end and low-end retirement industry.

What's more, old towns have comfortable physical space and cosy social ecology.

To make good plans for different areas, we need to find out their advantages and choose the industry that matches. Old towns would definitely lost attraction for high-end service industry like information technology industry and communications industry because of antiquated urban landscape and scanty infrastructure relative to new towns. However, if old towns keep away from new high-end industry, their disadvantages can be transformed into advantages that new towns never have.

In order to figure out the elderly's opinion about old towns, we did 92 interviews with elderly people living in old towns of Hangzhou, including area of Southern Song Imperial Street, area of Shiwukui Alley and area of Xiaohezhi Street, finding out that 77 percent of old people are inclined to live around their original blocks, mainly because they don't want to change living environment, which making them feel more familiar and comfortable. Although the material base is behindhand, old towns have the physical space based on human scale. Roads are not wide, but suitable for walking. Houses are convenient for daily life, despite it seems a little bit small. Other buildings' size is fitting and not overwhelming, their shapes are neutral and not weird. The most important thing is that old towns reserve abundant social network and relationships. Old neighbours have collective memories, sense of identity and emotional relationships with each other. Behind declining physical environment, it's the stable community structure, lifestyle and social network for decades that hold residents together⁸. Once they move, nearly everyone suffers from mood fluctuation, which may do harm to their physical and mental health.

On urban planning and construction, relatively speaking, new towns are too large to live. Though it has perspective of urban design and modern infrastructure, wide roads, grand plazas, great parks and high buildings are far beyond human scale, making life inconvenient and lack living atmosphere, especially for the elderly.

With urbanization and aging increasing, city has to consider to promote retirement industry in old towns and create space to accept aging population. Old towns will come alive on condition that we keep population structure at the right level and introduce the industry that matches areas' resource endowment.

THE STRATEGY OF PROMOTING RETIREMENT INDUSTRY IN OLD TOWNS

Only creating wealth by self-mechanism can old towns prevent from decline. So we should not only depend on others' help but also dig areas' own potential and be willing to change to prosper old towns. In a word, the development of retirement industry needs various efforts, cooperation and support of all society.

First of all, make old towns elderly-oriented.

Although old towns have comfortable space scale, it should be more elderly-oriented to meet old people's demand.

As old towns have been built up for a long time, they have complete means of transportation and cosy living space, yet lacking improvement aimed at aging population's physiological characteristics, for instance, lacking slow traffic system, public space for outdoor activities, communication space and entertainment places like teahouse, drama stage, chess room or the elderly's activity centre. Above all, the buildings in the state of disrepair not only prevent the elderly from using it, but also can be a hidden danger. Hence it's necessary to maintain or replace the aged buildings, infrastructure and equipment, making them more elderly-oriented, such as adding lift, replacing steps as ramp, adding accessibility facilities in bathroom and so on.

Secondly, take community as unit and establish a system which is based on the apartment for the elderly and supplemented by various means of caring.

The meaning of community is between the meaning of family and town. The policy of birth control makes family structure in China appears a status of 4-2-1 generally, which means almost each family has 4 grandparents, 2 parents and 1 child. That is to say, one child has to provide for two to four old people in the future. In addition, the construction of social security system is under enormous pressure. It's obvious that traditional home-based care system has been overwhelmed. Take the cost of renewal and the demand for means of caring into consideration, to develop and strengthen new retirement industry has to rely on the basic unit, community⁹, and establish a multiple system which is based on the apartment for the elderly and supplemented by daytime and all

time nursing home. Such system, conducted by community, supported by government and taking advantage of community, eases the burden for children, provides professional caring service for the elderly and preserves the close family ties between the aged and family, making them get used to later life preferably.

On the other side, because of poor urban planning and illegal addition, old towns' physical space are separated and torn stiffly, which is not good for residents' communication, decrease their sense of community and affect the development of retirement industry eventually¹⁰. Thus we should partly adjust the texture and structure of old towns, dredge passageway between neighbours and eliminate obstacles that separate physical space to facilitate communication. That's the way to reform messy space, reconstruct physical and social relationship in community, promote communication within areas and maintain cosy social environment. Such reform planning makes the elderly have more chance to contact with society, relieves their isolation and loneliness, making contribute to setting up an equal, diverse and energetic aging community.

At the same time, in order to serve the aged better, it's recommended to set up some supporting service facilities during planning and design, such as medical institutions, social amenities and deathbed care room.

What's more, construct a positive interactive relation between new towns and old towns.

The shape, structure and function of towns are not constant. Sticking to the existing situation and rejecting exchange only lead to decline¹¹. Promoting retirement industry in old towns can exert a positive effect on interacting and coordinated development. The elderly bring various folkways activities and cosy atmosphere of life to old towns, which attracts youngsters living in new towns to experience and relax, promoting tourism and leisure industry in turn¹². As birth and death are natural law, when the elderly living in old towns pass away and young people grow old, the aged used to be young can move to endowment facilities and spend their remaining years in comfort. Orderly population flow prevents new towns from declining brought by population aging and makes retirement industry in old towns develop sustainably. City doesn't have to blindly exploit virgin land for development, so farm land in the suburbs is protected and the trend that old towns expand immoderately is contained. As a result, urban environment improves, old towns and new towns can realize sustainable development together.

Last but not the least, seek the support of policy and public opinion. Because retirement industry is a new field in China and a social welfare in some ways, its development needs support from government and public.

On the one hand, shift the idea that renewal is equal to tear down and rebuild. Government tend to sell land to real estate developers by bidding because of old towns' location advantage, which lead to high land cost. Developers are likely to build office buildings or high-end apartments that have high plot ratio in old towns. While the vulnerable relocatees can't get a fair compensation when they negotiate with developers, they have to move to suburb that has a lower cost. The old towns, with its historical memory and living atmosphere, are torn down thoroughly in the process of urbanization. Only public advertisement can make people realize that old towns can reborn by renewing organically. On the basis of preserving living spaces and social network with which residents are familiar, old towns become good place for leisure and spending old people's remaining years in comfort, benefiting developers a lot on economy and companies' public image, giving city energy to develop.

On the other hand, government needs to reasonably guide business investment. The renewal of old towns should not yield to capital totally and become places where developers chase profit and sacrifice areas' context. However, the perfection and development of retirement industry indeed need business investment and professional service providers. Only by support and supervision of government's policy, such as tax preference, credit subsidies and laws that can restrain developers, can old towns attract investors and capital, restricting developers from destroying the context of old towns and establishing an efficient professional industrial system which meets the interests of all parties.

CONCLUSION

As a result of social development, aging problem is more opportunity than challenge to China. Aging before wealthy indicates that most elderly people in China can't afford their own cost after retirement, which makes Chinese social welfare system and retirement industry carry a heavy burden. However, the need of high-quality service for the aged, generated by large aging population, will promote the transitional development of retirement industry. It's estimated that the next 50 years would be a golden age for retirement industry that provides a new perspective to solve the renewal of old towns when urbanization of China goes into trouble. If public, government and investors are in favour of retirement industry, it could be expected soon that building up reliable elderly security system, stimulating lifeless old towns and resiling from aging problem and migration.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank Prof Zhu Wang and Dr Ji Lu for their instruction on this research, which forms the basis of this article. The authors would also like to thank anonymous reviewers for their advice, which helped the authors improve and finalize this article.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

Notes on contributor

This article is part of the 'Study on the Design Strategy of Chinese Retirement Industry for 13th Five Year Plan' funded by the Architectural Design & Research Institute of Zhejiang University Co., Ltd..

Endnotes

- 1 Press conference of 4th sample survey about elderly people's living condition in urban and rural of China, last modified August 11, 2015, <http://www.cncaprc.gov.cn/contents/7/80259.html>.
- 2 Chen Hua, Zhu Wang, Haiyan Qian, Protection and Development of Living Environment of Hangzhou Old City Area, *Urban Problems* 04 (2002): 42.
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- 4 Maichan Li, Old City Revival and Silver-haired Revolution and Retirement Industry Choice, *Urban Studies* 01 (2011): 125.
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Image Sources

- Figure 1: The Location of Hangzhou and Gongbei District in China, based on Google Earth and post-processed by the authors.
- Figure 2: The Land Usage of Gongbei District from 2000 to 2015, based on Google Earth and post-processed by the authors.
- Figure 3: The Vicious Cycle that New Towns Got Better while Old Towns Got Worse, drew by the authors.
- Figure 4: Da Fen Village in 1990 and 2010, <https://www.douban.com/note/69181196/>.
- Figure 5: Then-and-now Photos of Xintiandi and the Southern Song Imperial Street, Xiaowei Luo, Xintiandi-One of the Mode of Urban Revitalization, *Time+Architecture* 04 (2001): 28; Shu Wang, Zhongshan Road: Renovation of a Road and a City, Hangzhou, China, *World Architecture* 05 (2012): 116.
- Figure 6: Where Do Elderly People Want to Live and Why, based on interviews conducted by the authors and drew by the authors.

Strategies for Small and Medium Cities

Chair: Ana Maria Fernandez Maldonado and Miguel Fernández-Maroto

SMALL CITIES IN THE AMAZON – PARADOXES BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL: A STUDY OF BARCARENA, PARÁ, BRAZIL

Monique Carmo | Sandra Costa

University of Vale do Paraiba

The recent process of urbanization of the Brazilian Amazon Region has transformed the local and regional scenery of cities, creating both social and spatial transformations. In the urban scenario the cities are predominantly small, lacking basic infrastructure, while also being inefficient in generating economic resources nevertheless, they are still considered cities from the scope of definition some of these cities are dependent on forest resources, while others have an economy based on industry. In our study, the municipality of Barcarena, located near the metropolitan region of Belém, state of Pará, is an example of this transition between rural and industrial activities and even though it's economy is facing industrial activities and growing industrialization, it has a rural population that is much larger than the urban population. According to census data (IBGE, 2012), between 1980 and 1991 the urban population grew over 200%, while the rural population increased 82%. Between 1991 and 2000, the urban population continued to show positive growth rates, however not as intense as in the previous period (33%). Between 2000 and 2010, the urban population grew by only 26% and the rural population more than 73%. The industrial center, which was created in Barcarena in the 1990s, is significant for the municipal economy and brought about this urban expansion. Although the economic engine is industrial activity, 60% of the city's population is still considered rural. Considering which, our paper explores and evaluates this paradox between industrial activities as major driver of economic and the disproportionate distribution of the urban and rural space and population. It also look at this municipality to understand the production of the city and how the industry has influenced the urban space in conjunction to the rural as well. This research was developed using data collected during field work, such as questionnaires applied to urban households and information collected in the Barcarena City Hall, and census data. The results show data incoherence on definition of urban and rural space, both by the Municipality and the Federal Institution responsible for the Census, IBGE. While Barcarena is still considered a “city of the forest”, keeping a culture and economy closely related to it and Vila dos Cabanos, a rural district of the Municipality of Barcarena, is actually a “city in the forest” and represents strong ties in logistics and functions linked to international market and disconnected nature of the forest.

Keywords

small cities, Amazon, industry

“DAILY RESILIENCE”: SUSTAINABLE STRATEGIES FOR URBAN FRINGE IN THREE MEDIUM-SIZED INNER SPANISH CITIES

Juan Luis de las Rivas Sanz | Miguel Fernández-Maroto

University of Valladolid

Urban resilience has evolved in the last time into a wider scope, related to managing the complexity of urban systems and their “metabolism”, looking for more sustainable strategies. This paper aims to set a concept of “daily resilience” as a specific and essential strategy for medium-sized cities, through the historical analysis along the last five decades of three medium-sized inner Spanish cities: Vitoria, Zaragoza and Valladolid, which represent the transition from an expansive model, in particular in their respective urban fringe, to the “urban resilience agenda”. After a cycle of expansive growth, several Spanish cities have been adopting tailored strategies trying to develop a new vision of their respective urban fringe, where the urban development tensions concentrate. These strategies consist of composing an own profile of action, learning from the history of the city itself and from the natural values of their surrounding territory. This paper concludes that this idea of recovering local identity seems to be resilient, and reveals that in these three cities appear new tools (green infrastructure, urban regeneration and territorial planning) which found a useful topic to articulate a new integrated strategy for the “metabolism” of urban fringe in water systems.

Keywords

daily resilience, urban fringe, medium-sized cities, Spain

How to Cite

de las Rivas Sanz, Juan Luis; Fernandez-Maroto, Miguel. “Daily resilience”. In Carola Hein (ed.) *International Planning History Society Proceedings*, 17th IPHS Conference, History-Urbanism-Resilience, TU Delft 17-21 July 2016, V.04 p.115, TU Delft Open, 2016.

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7480/iphs.2016.4.1286>

INTRODUCTION

The concept of resilience applied to cities has been usually associated with the ability to cope with large risks or exceptional disasters, whether natural —floods, earthquakes, etc.— or man-made —migrations, population explosion, etc.—, whose effects are obviously more severe in large urban agglomerations, if only by the large number of people who live there. However, the idea of resilience can also be associated with the risks of everyday life, i.e. the smart management of the complexity of any urban system, of its “metabolism” and its growth, through different strategies to ensure sustainability. In this sense, the concept of resilience can be useful for both large cities and smaller ones.

In a world where the urban population continues to grow day by day, medium-sized cities play a key role in order to ensure the resilience and sustainability of the urban system on a global scale, because congestive growth —concentrated only in a few urban areas— is unsustainable in the long term. However, the extension of the urban phenomenon can also be problematic if it endangers the territorial balance, i.e. if urban growth is not managed properly, avoiding risking both the areas of ecological value and those that are intended to obtain natural resources —agriculture, livestock farming, forestry, etc.—.

In this sense, the concept of “low regime”, “low intensity” or “daily” resilience defines the entire set of specific strategies that medium-sized cities can use to fulfil their role in the global concert of cities and that aims to manage growth strains in a smart and sustainable way, keeping also in mind that these strains concentrate precisely in peri-urban areas, where the city meets the countryside and its natural and productive spaces.

In order to characterize this concept of “daily resilience”, we propose the analysis of the evolution of some planning instruments of three medium-sized inner Spanish cities: Vitoria, Zaragoza and Valladolid, which share a similar territorial context and represent the transition along the last five decades from an expansive model to the urban resilience agenda. Only from this historical viewpoint it is possible to understand how it has been built.

THE URBAN GROWTH MODEL AS MAIN RISK

Among the medium-sized inner Spanish cities, Vitoria, Zaragoza and Valladolid are the most populated and complex ones, and they are also capitals of their respective regions: the Basque Country, Aragon and Castile and León. The last two are two of the largest Spanish regions, and in the last decades have undergone a process of “polarization” of the territory that has also taken place, in a lesser extent, in the inner part of the Basque Country. On the one hand, Spanish population has concentrated around the capital, Madrid, and along coastal areas, where the whole territory is nowadays “urbanised”. On the other hand, the population of inner regions —which have lost relative weight, as said— has concentrated in a few cities, while the rest of the territory suffers aging and population loss. The three cases to be analysed are very representative of these processes.

For instance, figure 1 shows that Aragon and Castile and León represented 3.61 and 9.31% of the Spanish population in 1960, but only 2.87 and 5.43% in 2011, respectively. It also shows that in the same period the urban areas of Vitoria, Zaragoza and Valladolid have doubled the relative weight of their population compared to their regions. The case of Zaragoza is particularly striking, as it currently gathers more than half the population of a region with an area of 47,719 km².

	1960		1981		2011	
SPAIN	30,582,936	-	37,742,561	-	46,815,916	-
Basque Country	1,371,654	4.49%	2,134,763	5.66%	2,185,393	4.67%
Vitoria	69,849	5.09%	189,533	8.88%	240,754	11.02%
Aragon	1,105,498	3.61%	1,213,099	3.21%	1,344,509	2.87%
Zaragoza	328,164	29.68%	599,289	49.40%	750,728	55.84%
Castile and León	2,848,352	9.31%	2,575,064	6.82%	2,540,188	5.43%
Valladolid	174,390	6.12%	345,238	13.41%	409,010	16.10%

FIGURE 1 Total population and relative weight compared to Spain (regions) and their regions (urban areas)

	1987	2000	2006	1987-2000	1987-2006
Vitoria	2,446.54	2,966.37	3,695.17	1.21	1.51
Zaragoza	9,458.29	12,197.99	16,156.41	1.29	1.71
Valladolid	3,996.49	6,641.53	8,507.27	1.66	2.13

FIGURE 2 Surface of artificial soil in hectares and cumulative rates of increase

However, the concentration of the population in these three urban areas has not occurred according to a steady pace, because population growth was particularly strong in the sixties and seventies. Between 1960 and 1981 the population of Vitoria, Zaragoza and Valladolid multiplied by 2.71, 1.83 and 1.98 respectively, while between 1981 and 2011 these rates went down to 1.27, 1.25 and 1.18.

Despite that, figure 2 shows that in this last period the artificial soil grew well above those rates, due to expansive growth processes —based on the occupation of natural or productive soil— which were especially intense during the end of this period, between 2000 and 2006, when Spain experienced a real estate “boom” and large amount of housing were built. Thus, between 1987 and 2006 the urbanised land in these three urban areas grew much more than the population. For example, the artificial surface in Valladolid doubled, while the population grew by only 20%.

This rapid expansion involved the occupation of a large number of peri-urban soils with environmental or productive value, which were replaced by new residential areas that, after the housing bubble burst in 2007 ended half-empty in many cases, as shown in Figure 3.



FIGURE 3 Aerial images of Vitoria outskirts —Salburua—, left, and Zaragoza outskirts —Arcosur—, right

Consequently, it was revealed that this “growth machine” —corresponding to a planned process— could get to endanger both the economic viability of these urban areas —forced to support urban spaces with hardly inhabitants— and the balance with its surrounding territory. Therefore, it was realised that it was necessary either to incorporate or to reinforce those strategies aiming at managing urban growth in a more sustainable, more resilient way.

TOWARDS A RESILIENT URBAN FRINGE

VITORIA: THE GREEN BELT AS A GUIDE FOR A SMARTER GROWTH

Vitoria is a municipality composed of the city, which accounts for 95% of its 240,000 inhabitants, and 58 rural councils located in the peri-urban area that gather barely 5,000 inhabitants. In the late eighties, after the intense growth that, as we have seen, Vitoria had experienced, this complex and sparsely populated peripheral crown was in a vulnerable situation.

The areas of ecological value that had survived the urban growth were affected by problems such as erosion or fire, and degraded spaces as landfills or gravel pits abounded, which had generated “a physical and social barrier between the urban environment and the adjoining rural milieu”. Accordingly, the Environmental Studies Centre of Vitoria —whose director from its birth until 2008 was Luis Andrés Orive— decided to undertake a comprehensive project for the entire urban fringe of the city, articulated around the idea of creating a network of peri-urban green spaces, following in this regard the proposals of the 1986 General Urban Development Plan. The objectives were the conservation of natural spaces and the ecological restoration of other peripheral areas, the integration of peri-urban parks within the urban layout —improving the physical and ecological accessibility— and the promotion of their use by the inhabitants, to be involved in their conservation.¹

The project, called “Green Belt”, was launched in 1992 with the detection of the main spaces that would integrate the new green infrastructure: the Salburua wetlands and open fields of Olarizu, east, and the mountains of Zabalgana and the forest of Armentia, west. The aim was to connect them along the course of the Zadorra river to the north and along the border with the mountains of Vitoria to the south, through corridors coinciding with watercourses or degraded spaces to be recovered by eco-design mechanisms.

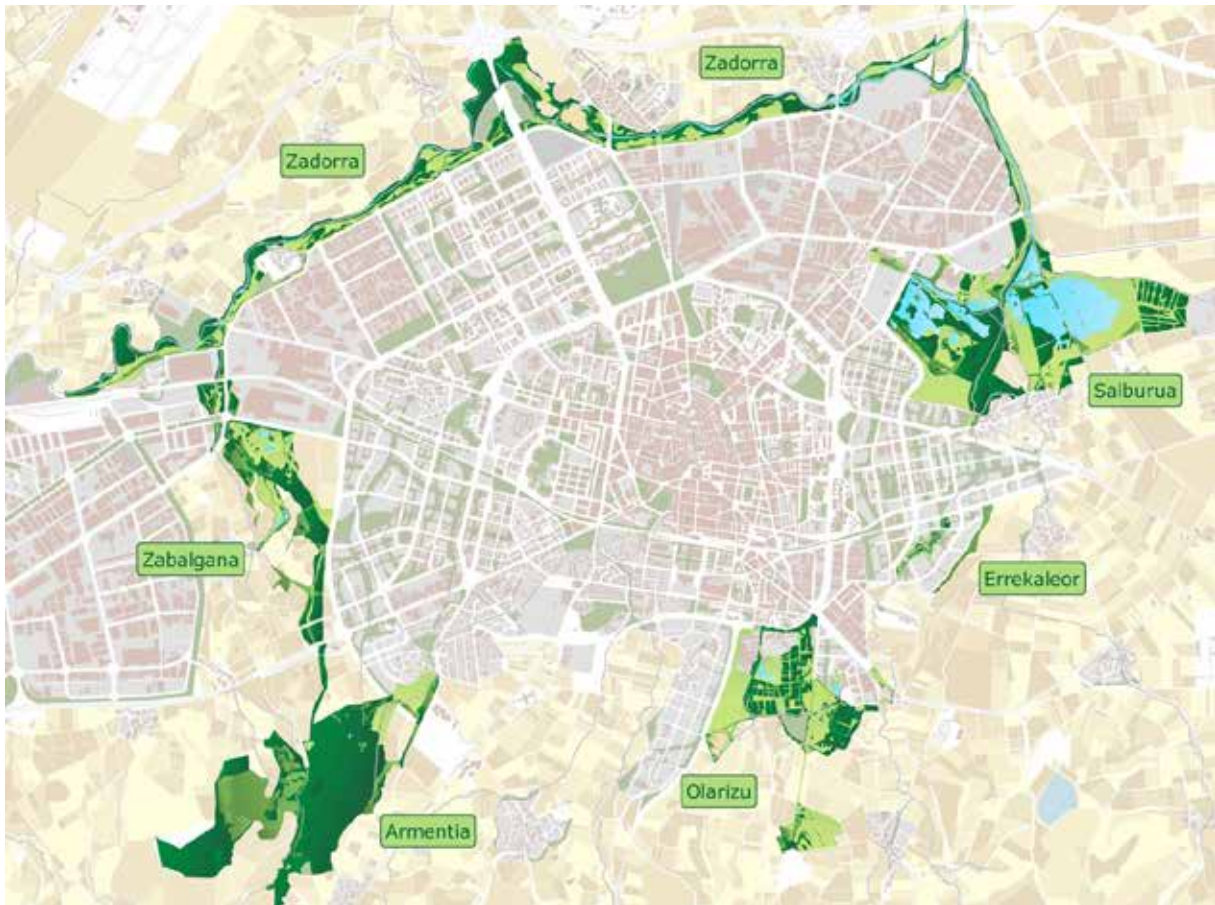


FIGURE 4 Plan of Vitoria Green Belt, with the names of its main spaces

Thus, in 1998 the Arkaute pond was restored as part of the diversion project of St. Thomas and Errekaleor rivers, and in 2002 the environmental restoration of the Zadorra river began and the Salburua Park was declared as Wetlands of International Importance by the Ramsar Agreement, while in 2004 these two areas were designated as Community Interest Areas within the Natura 2000 Network.

This strategy, which was incorporated into the General Urban Development Plan approved in 2000, was selected the same year as “Best Practice” at the Third International Practices Competition in Dubai, and it was one of the keys so as to Vitoria was declared as European Green Capital in 2012. Today, the Green Belt connects six major parks: Armentia —165 ha—, Salburua —218 ha—, Zabalzana —61 ha—, Olarizu —93 ha—, Zadorra —155 ha— y Errekaleor —12 ha—, as shown in figure 4. This surface of 704 ha corresponds to 70% of the 960 ha covered by the project.²

However, this model of sustainable management of the urban fringe designed by the Environmental Studies Centre came into conflict with the revision of the General Urban Development Plan itself, as it opted for an expansive growth. This plan proposed six new residential sectors for the west expansion of the city, towards Zabalzana, and another nine sectors for the east expansion, in the area near Salburua —see figure 3—, which together represented 607.97 ha to be occupied by 21.742 dwellings, i.e. with a very low density —just 35.76 dwellings per hectare— and a large consumption of soil, “endangering so in practice the concept of belt, both in terms of its continuity along its perimeter and of the possibility of completing it with natural corridors that penetrate into the inner city”³.

According to the Plan, 346.75 hectares of land with capacity for 15,120 homes were urbanised, but their occupation remained uncompleted, with the risk of rebuilding in the urban fringe those degraded spaces that the Green Belt project intended precisely to restore. Therefore, from the year 2009 it was decided to try to redirect the situation as far as possible. Thus, a modification of the development conditions of these sectors that had already been urbanised was processed, in order to increase their density and their capacity to host new population in the future to avoid transforming more soil. After that, the number of dwellings has finally reached the quantity of 26,132, providing a density of 75.36 dwellings per hectare, which corresponds in a better way to a model based on the compactness and the responsible use of peri-urban land.⁴

In short, and despite the fact that the real estate “boom” also affected Vitoria, the existence of this model did mitigate its effects. The Green Belt project has helped establish “physical constraints for managing urban growth” so “in this sense Vitoria has a clear advantage over other cities”⁵.

ZARAGOZA: URBAN REGENERATION ALONG WATERCOURSES IN THE POST-EXPO STRATEGY

Zaragoza is currently the most populous urban area in the inner regions of Spain excepting Madrid, with 90% of its 750,000 inhabitants concentrated in the homonymous municipality. The city is crossed by the Ebro river, the largest one in Spain, and also by other waterways such as Gállego and Huerva rivers and the Imperial Canal of Aragon. However, the city had turned its back on these waterways until the celebration in 2008 of an International Exhibition whose theme was “Water and sustainable development”, which promoted to rely on them to rethink the model of expansive growth in which the city had embarked itself.

The revision of the General Urban Development Plan that was approved in 2001 envisaged the development of 3,810.23 ha of new residential sectors, with a capacity for more than 100,000 dwellings. Then several Plans developing these estimates were approved, such as Valdespartera —182.69 ha and 9,687 dwellings— or Arcosur —364.89 ha and 21,148 dwellings—, both located southwest of the city, next to the outer motorway belt and far away from the city centre.⁶

The first one, with public management, was designed with bioclimatic criteria and 95% of the housing stock was allocated to social housing. The development works were completed quickly and many buildings were built, but the outbreak of the economic crisis in 2007 left many empty lots, a situation that is much more dramatic in the case of Arcosur, a huge urbanised area than today remains mostly empty, as observed in figure 3.

In this sense, the celebration in 2008 of the Expo, just when this model was in crisis, fostered a reflection about how to manage the future of Zaragoza, finding the best argument to guide a change of course —towards a new model based on regeneration— in water. In fact, some voices were already advocating for some time ago that “watercourses can also positively shape a new kind of city closely tied to the peri-urban landscape”⁷, while the Strategic Plan itself that the city had approved in 1994 was called precisely “Ebrópolis”, i.e. the city of Ebro.

First, the Expo involved the transformation of the so-called “Ranillas” meander, an often flooded area, located west of the city, where the Expo site was located and where the so-called Water Park was created, whose aim was to “rediscover the memory of the place in order to project a better future”, strengthening the relationship between the city and the territory while a riparian ecosystem was generated⁸. This new river park had also to integrate into a new network of metropolitan parks associated both with rivers —such as the Gállego and Huerva— and with forest areas, a green belt proposal that received a decisive boost from the Expo.



FIGURE 5 Scheme of actions included in Expo Zaragoza 2008 Accompanying Plan

Nevertheless, in this case we want to describe especially the Accompanying Plan that from an urban perspective was designed for the Expo, oriented to implement various urban regeneration operations, in order to recover underused spaces in the city using water as a leitmotif. In this sense, “Expo Zaragoza 2008 is the cause of a considerable quantitative and qualitative step forward regarding the city’s infrastructures and public spaces”⁹⁹.

The Plan combines structuring actions with others of “urban acupuncture”, becoming a global strategy for urban improvement, as summarized in figure 5. First, the Plan promoted the recovery of the river banks, but not only the Ebro ones, but also those of the other three major watercourses of the city, so over 60 km. were intervened to incorporate walk- and cycle-ways, build new bridges and create new facilities for leisure. Some former railways were also recovered as green corridors, which has also helped improve environmental conditions in neighbourhoods such as Oliver and Valdefierro. In addition, the Expo served to launch the “Digital Mile” project, a new centrality space built on 107 ha of old railway use.

In short, following the Expo 2008 Zaragoza benefited from a major investment effort —more than 1,500 million Euros— that has allowed to recover some deprived spaces within or adjacent to the existing city, pointing a way forward that, instead of an uncontrolled expansion in the urban fringe, defends a structured territory through the waterways and the regeneration as a priority against the occupation of new soil. It would be hoped that these positive impacts pave the way for the future, through smart strategies that, on the other hand, will have to face the shortage of economic resources or the need to address the social aspect of urban regeneration processes, which in the context of Expo remained in the background.

VALLADOLID: A GREEN NETWORK FOR A SUSTAINABLE MANAGEMENT OF URBAN FRINGE

The last case we will refer to is Valladolid, an urban area of over 400,000 inhabitants where administrative divisions have played a key role so as to understand the phenomena that have taken place there in the last decades. First, it has to be noted that the municipality of Valladolid reached its peak population in 1991, with 330,000 inhabitants, while 16 surrounding municipalities, functionally dependent on the central city, had just fewer than 35,000. However, in 2011, the city of Valladolid had lost population, down to about 312,000 inhabitants, while the population of these surrounding municipalities soared, almost touching 100,000, i.e. they experienced a growth of 285% in just 20 years. There is therefore a dynamic growing urban area, but where there has been a redistribution of population from the central city to the surrounding municipalities.

This phenomenon was possible because the municipalities around the city, administratively and politically autonomous with respect to Valladolid, arranged an almost total freedom to classify land for residential uses. From the late nineties, the entire metropolitan area undertook a logic of competition with each other and with the central city in order to attract population, which consisted of developing new residential sectors as quickly as possible. The own city of Valladolid eventually joined this process, since the revision of the General Urban Development Plan approved in 2003 incorporated 3,413.36 ha of new land for development, overflowing the radio-concentric scheme that the city had set in the eighties as a mechanism to control the urban growth. In the end, some municipalities experienced an authentic demographic explosion, such as Arroyo de la Encomienda, southwest of Valladolid, which went from 1,406 inhabitants in 1991 to 15,528 in 2011, i.e. it grew 1,100%.

This model of expansive growth, which clearly compromised the sustainability of the urban area and even got to threaten some soils with high ecological or productive values, had only two obstacles. Ultimately, the economic crisis, which again forced to rethink the path, but during that period of expansive growth there were only the Land Planning Guidelines for Valladolid and its surrounding area, a valuable instrument of territorial planning that, as happened with Vitoria and its Green Belt, was not able to prevent the excesses but did mitigate its effects.

These Land Planning Guidelines had their origin in the adoption in 1998 of the Territorial Planning Act of Castile and León, which defines them as an homogeneous spatial framework of guidelines for sectoral and municipal planning whose main objective was to introduce criteria of rationality, balance and efficiency to be incorporated in the General Plans of the respective municipalities, while respecting their autonomy.

The Advancement Document was approved in 1998, accompanied by an explanatory publication¹⁰, and final approval came in 2001, just when the urbanizing process was entering its most intense phase. The Guidelines, which contemplated a total of 23 municipalities, proposed a catalog of full, basic and guidance determinations, applying principles of protection and control and trying to “give the greatest possible emphasis to the specific identity of the territory of Valladolid”¹¹, although they had to face distrust or even outright opposition of certain municipalities, who saw in them a brake on its development and were reluctant to give up its expansion plans.

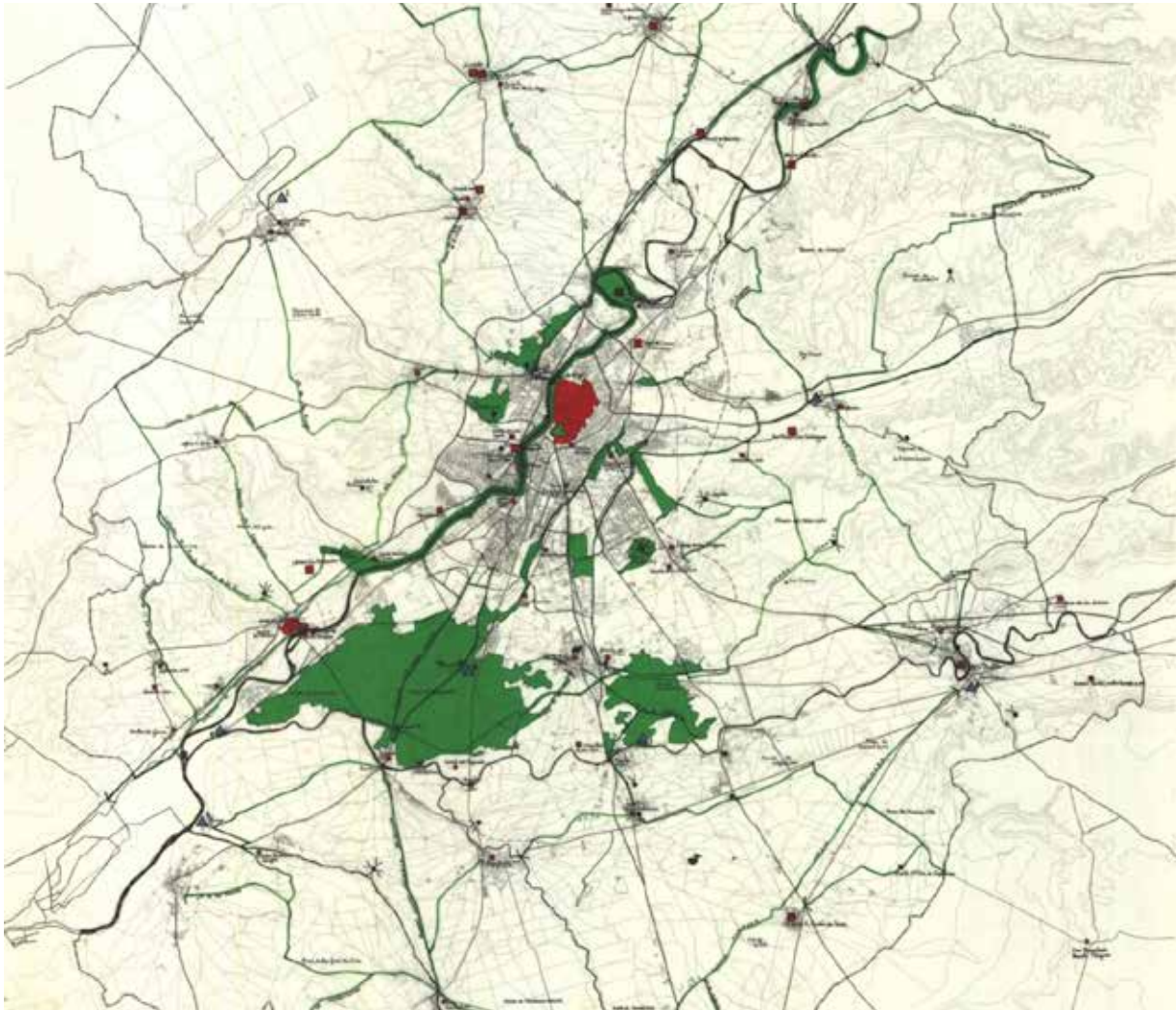


FIGURE 6 Land Planning Guidelines for Valladolid and its surrounding area: project-program of green corridors and metropolitan system of parks

The Guidelines conducted a thorough diagnosis of the territory of Valladolid, defined as a crossroads of five rivers —Duero, Pisuerga Esgueva, Adaja and Cega— along with an extensive network of canals and ditches —Castilla and Duero Canals are the most important ones— that run between a rich mosaic of pine forests and both irrigated and unirrigated farms. Therefore, they promoted their conservation and protection through three mechanisms: the delimitation of “Singular Ecological Value Areas” —with active protection measures—, the definition of the most valuable agricultural landscapes —linked to historical territorial infrastructures— and the proposal of a metropolitan system of parks and green corridors as a territorial articulation mechanism —supported largely on the various fluvial networks— that is shown in figure 6.

In short, “the Guidelines have largely met only a protective function, because its potential on strategic coordination was not deployed”¹². In this regard, since a model based on competition and on an uncontrolled growth is negative for the whole urban area, it would be hoped a turn towards a logic of cooperation and comprehensive perspective, and the Guidelines are a good base to move forward on.

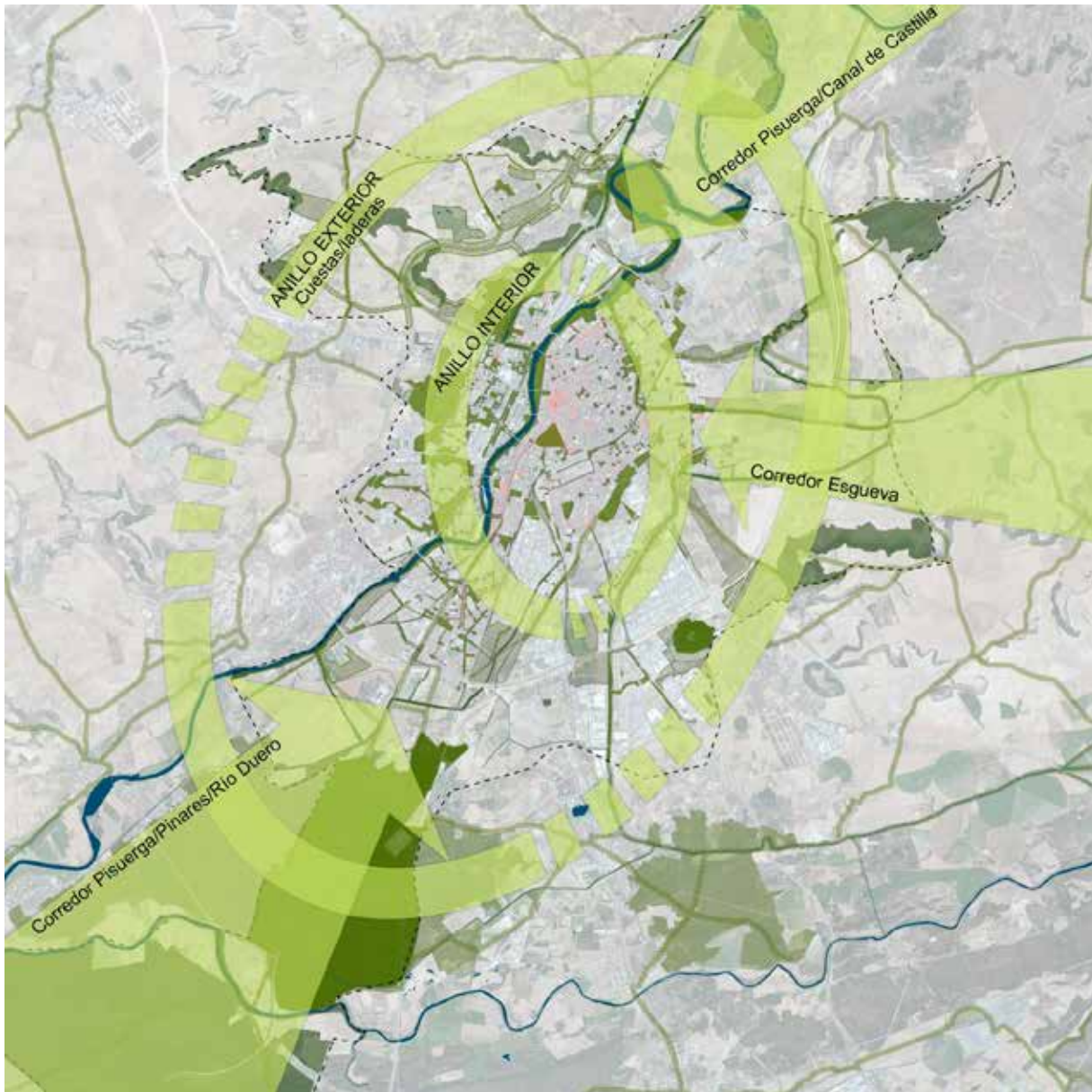


FIGURE 7 Revision of General Urban Development Plan: Scheme of Valladolid Outer and Inner Green Belt

In fact, the current revision of the General Urban Development Plan of the municipality of Valladolid has proposed a green infrastructure to articulate urban fringe, composed of a double, inner and outer green belt, both connected through three main corridors that run along three major watercourses: north Pisuerga —and Castilla Canal—, south Pisuerga —just before joining Duero— and Esgueva, as it is represented in figure 7, and which adapts the ideas that the Land Planning Guidelines had proposed 15 years ago. However, as we have observed, Spanish Urban Law gives to municipal authorities a broad flexibility to modify and to implement —or not— the measures contained in General Urban Development Plans, so it is much more important to assume a real compromise to foster a new urban development model, not only on paper but in daily administration of the urban territory.

CONCLUSIONS

Vitoria, Zaragoza and Valladolid, as medium-sized cities, represent a context where large risks are limited — just floods have caused some troubles, especially in Zaragoza—, so the main risks have come from a planned growth model whose crisis has raised a new perspective on these cities. A perspective defined by the necessity of strengthening its long-term sustainability, which has introduced a new awareness of their own “urbanity” —in a positive way—. This is what we have defined through the idea of “daily resilience”.

“Daily resilience” has its key space, as we have seen, in the urban fringe of cities, in the management of the coexistence between the city and its territory, between urban and rural areas that have in peri-urban areas a space which can be of conflict but also of mutual benefit, if the different land uses are made compatible.

In addition, it has been shown that “daily resilience” is built through tools that can be very different —green infrastructure, urban regeneration projects, urban region planning—, but all of them have just one thing in common: respect for the identity of the territory and its values, as a result of understanding of both the historical processes of formation and the need to reconcile the different human actions that take place in it, from a sustainability perspective. In this sense, the main strategy of “daily resilience” consists of linking the “urban artefacts” to their “genius loci” in a projective way, but, as Nuno Portas has said, not anticipating the future, but managing uncertainty¹³.

From this point of view, water in its various urban and territorial manifestations —rivers, wetlands, ponds, canals, ditches, etc.— is a very valuable leitmotif thanks to its ability to connect the city and the countryside, and all those watercourses also represent genuine spatial connection axes of the territory. However, there are also other mechanisms, such as public transport networks, which for instance Vitoria and Zaragoza have also started to put into practice¹⁴, while Valladolid has delay as it continues waiting for a large project —a tunnel to bury urban railways—. This tunnel requires a huge investment that had to be paid through the sale of the land occupied by the railways and its maintenance installations, but after the housing bubble burst this plan has become nonviable. Nevertheless, the municipality has not decided yet to renounce to it, which has made postpone smaller improvements —this is in fact the risk of major projects—.

Faced with expansive growth patterns —ignoring their historical and spatial context— that generate undifferentiated urban spaces, with poor quality and very expensive to maintain, the reflection on the terms that have been exposed here can certainly help design a better, more resilient urban fringe, through smart and low-cost actions but able to provide a good quality of life to those living there.

Acknowledgements

The University of Valladolid has funded the attendance of Miguel Fernández Maroto to the conference through the grant programme “Ayudas por la asistencia a cursos, congresos y jornadas relevantes para el desarrollo de tesis doctorales. Convocatoria 2016”.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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SMALL TOWNS OF THE AMAZON RIVER ESTUARY AND THEIR IMPORTANCE FOR ECONOMIC FLOWS AND SOCIAL NETWORKS

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The intensification of the urbanization process in Amazon region, verified in the last three decades, caused social-spatial-environmental transformations. More than 81.4% of the total cities in the Amazon region had less than 20,000 inhabitants, according to 2010 Brazilian Census. One example of these changes is the cities becoming important elements inside of the regional space. Predominantly, these cities are small urban agglomerates, with less than twenty thousand inhabitants, they possess weak or no infrastructure, also are highly dependent on public resources, and even though they present a city structure, they lack economic activities characterized as urban. These cities act as a population attractor in part because in the Region cities developed with strong links to the surrounding rural environment in terms of social relations and economic activities. For example, rural households in the AD are largely establishing an additional urban household in Amazon cities as opposed to abandoning or selling rural holdings and permanently migrating to them. Small, medium or large, they function as a safeguard for the people of the interior in a poor area of social investment and are important for offering employment, information, educational services, and essential goods and services. The AD of the Amazon Region, an important environment because of its high value biodiversity and ecosystem services, concentrated 16.5% of the total population of the Region and 18% of its urban population in 2010. From 1970 to 2010, the urban population of the AD has increased by 300%. In the 2010 census, approximately 80% of the population of the AD was located in urban areas. The cities with urban population less than 50,000 inhabitants offer around 50% of their formal jobs in the public sector, and the smaller the urban population the greater reliance, higher the dependency. The majority of cities have insufficient infrastructures to offer to their population, such as water and sewage systems. In 2010, more than 92% of these cities had less than 10% of households connected to public sewage. This paper aims to study the urban changes, urban environment of Amazon region cities focus on the city of Ponta de Pedras, located at the Amazon River Delta (AD). This city was chosen to let us be able to make a study about rural-urban economic interdependencies in the AD and its implications for quality of life. This is a small town, with urban population less than 20,000 inhabitants and despite been the third Brazilian producer of açaí, it is highly dependent on public resources. The city of Ponta de Pedras is a connector of high value economic flows between capital cities and rural areas, currently linked to açaí production, but the population remains underserved in terms of infrastructure and services investments. However, it emerges as nodes in a network of social relations, established between the urban and river communities, and developed largely by rural populations testing strategies to improve access to public services and market places located in distant capital cities.

Keywords

Amazon Region, Delta of Amazon River, Urban growth, social network, urban-rural linkage

A RESEARCH ON THE IMPROVEMENT OF SMALL AND MEDIUM-SIZED CITY IN EARLY MODERN CHINA (1895–1927) – TAKING SOUTHERN JIANGSU AS AN EXAMPLE

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In 1895, in urban planning and construction, urban reform movement sprang up slowly, which aimed at renovating and reconstructing the traditional cities into modern cities similar to the concessions. Chinese traditional city initiated a process of modern urban planning for its modernization. Meanwhile, the traditional planning morphology and system started to disintegrate, on the contrary, western form and technology had become the paradigm. Therefore, the improvement of existing cities had become the prototype of urban planning of early modern China. Currently, researches mainly concentrate on large cities, concessions, railway hub cities and some special cities resembling those. However, the systematic research about the large number of traditional small and medium-sized cities is still blank, up to now. This paper takes the improvement constructions of small and medium-sized cities in Southern region of Jiangsu Province as the research object. This paper analyzes the reform movement of the small and medium-sized cities in Southern Jiangsu (1895-1927), to reveals the characteristics of urban improvement movement in early modern China. According to the paper, the improvement of small-medium city was a kind of gestation of the local city planning culture in early modern China, with a fusion of introduction and endophytism.

Keywords

Urban planning history of China, Early modern China, Improvement of small-medium city, Southern region of Jiangsu Province

How to Cite

Xiaoqiang, Fu; Baihao, Li. "A research on the improvement of small and medium-sized city in early modern China (1895—1927) -- Taking Southern Jiangsu as an example". In Carola Hein (ed.) *International Planning History Society Proceedings, 17th IPHS Conference, History-Urbanism-Resilience, TU Delft 17-21 July 2016, V.04 p.131, TU Delft Open, 2016.*

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7480/iphs.2016.4.1287>

INTRODUCTION

ORIGIN OF RESEARCHES

In 1895, China's failure in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 aroused the awareness of Chinese people that it couldn't revitalize the country in effect by intimating western examples only at the level of "mechanical skills", therefore, the learning from western countries began to extend to politics, economy, culture and other fields, creating a social climate of all-round learning from western countries from government officials to civilians.

In the field of urban planning and construction, an urban improvement movement was also launched to modify or reconstruct the existing traditional old urban districts of China into those similar to concession area style. While promoting the modernized transformation of traditional cities, this movement also aroused profound changes of urban planning culture that shaped a city: traditional urban planning pattern and system was being divided and collapsing, and western styles and techniques became the examples followed in urban planning and construction. As it were, the improvement of the existing cities of China is the original start of domestic modern city planning of China.

RESEARCH SIGNIFICANCE AND STATUS

In this sense, researches on urban planning culture in the process of early modern urban improvement will help make clear the evolvement and development course of urban planning in China, deepen the understanding of modern urban planning concepts and content, and further explore the law of urban planning culture localization.

At the present, researches on early modern urban planning of China are mainly focused on special first-tier cities such as metropolis and railway hubs, but never focused on traditional small and medium cities existing in a huge number i.e. those at the administrative levels of prefectural city and county in the late Qing Dynasty. Therefore, this paper is intended to fill this research gap by studying the improvement activities of small and medium cities in South Jiangsu.

OBJECT OF RESEARCH - SOUTH JIANGSU

South Jiangsu is short for the southern region of Jiangsu Province¹. Since the middle period of Tang Dynasty, South Jiangsu has become an economic center of China. With developed agriculture and (traditional) prosperous business, the area nurtured a huge number of small and medium traditional cities. In early modern times, driven by the radiation of Shanghai economy and relying on its own superior location advantage and solid economic foundation, South Jiangsu has developed into a key birthplace of modern national industry of China. The thriving industry and commerce pushed general urban improvement practices, which was beyond the reach of other areas.

HISTORICAL EVOLVEMENT OF MODERN SMALL AND MEDIUM CITIES IMPROVEMENT

The researches on the urban planning history of a particular period should reveal the chronological development changes of things instead of the overall perspective, i.e. the orientation of dynamic researches².

Therefore, the historical period from 1895 to 1927 should be further divided into several specific periods for research. Here we divide it into two periods i.e. starting period (1895-1909) and promotion period (1909-1927). Such division is made based on the City Towns and Villages Local self-government Regulation published on January 8, 1909. Following the publication of the Charter, most major cities of China established local autonomous institutions, and some administrative powers of city governance and construction were separated from traditional local authorities. Local autonomous institutions were engaged in urban management matters with positive attitude and unbridled enthusiasm, bringing initial changes to the appearance of cities.

On the basis of period division, each period is described and analyzed respectively, to get historical and dynamic knowledge of the improvement of small and medium cities and further lay foundation for the transformation of pattern characteristics of macro-understanding.

STARTING PERIOD: TRANSPLANTATION OF WESTERN URBAN CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUES (1895 - 1909)

In the later and middle 1900s, Britain, France and other countries established exclusive concessions in treaty ports. In those concessions, western nationals established Municipal Councils³ which were in charge of road payment, building construction, and installation of modern utilities including electric lamps, telephones and running water.

The transformation of urban infrastructure significantly changed the urban environment and urban image in concessions, and played an excellent demonstration role for Chinese people. Public opinions in China expressed strong demand on cities to follow the example of concessions and imitate western advanced municipal system to improve urban environment.

Planning subject

In traditional agriculture society of China, agriculture civilization was developed, local administration was conducted based on the management system of “Urban and Rural Co-administration”⁴, and cities never had any independent urban administrative machinery and specialized urban planning and construction organ. In Qing Dynasty, urban construction was treated as part of urban public welfare and charity undertakings which were taken charge mainly by the folks⁵. Therefore, to learn western urban planning and construction, the top priority should be given to the establishment of corresponding leadership and management institutions.

1 Road Engineering Bureau

The construction of roads is one of the remarkable achievements made in early municipal construction and therefore became a direct example followed by Chinese people. As a result, Chinese people established a special road administration – Road Engineering Bureau by imitating the Municipal Council⁶.

In 1885, Suzhou was forced to be opened as a treaty port, and exclusive concessions of Japan and other countries were established here. To restrict their development, “forbid the coveting of foreigners”, “protect the business of Suzhou”⁷, Zhang Zhidong demanded active planning of the development of the areas beyond concessions, “we should construct roads, relying on which, develop bazaars, and then extend to Changqi area”⁸, “to prosper trades, it is essential to develop stores along streets and create brilliance”⁹.

Zhang Zhidong ordered to establish the special-purpose Commerce Bureau of Suzhou¹⁰ at a road outside the city, “supported by an auxiliary Road Engineering Bureau which is responsible for collecting various special taxes from stores for the use of road maintenance and repair”¹¹.

In nature, Suzhou Road Engineering Bureau was a temporary special local entity and established to accelerate the development of industry and transportation in Suzhou. The functions of the Road Engineering Bureau covered the collection of taxes, road maintenance, and the cadastral registration, public land lease and management in the road area (winding from Panmen, Xumen, Changmen to the railway station¹²) as well as the construction management of “the extended areas of coastal roads”.

2 Police organ

The practice of urban improvement not only needs construction, but more administration. In the late Qing Dynasty and the early Republic of China, police organs served as the most important urban administration organs.

China’s police system, originated in the late Qing Dynasty, had been strongly influenced by the policeman institutions in concessions. The initial purpose of establishing a police system was to ensure public security and prevent dangers. But in the late Qing Dynasty and the early Republic of China, the policing system not only played an important role in maintaining public order and keeping social stability, but also shared some management responsibilities of local urban improvement.

The 1908 Law of Violation of Police Regulation enacted in 1908 stated in detail: “where wood and stones are piled on any road without setting any fence or marking or lighting”, “where the inscriptions of roads and bridges, ‘no passing’ or road guiding signs, etc. are damaged”, “subject to detention not exceeding five days and no less than one day, or penalty not exceeding five yuan and no less than one dime”. “where any plant or road lamp on the road is damaged”, “subject to detention not exceeding five days and no less than one day, or penalty not exceeding five yuan and no less than one dime”, etc¹³).

Thereafter, the urban administration functions of police organs have been continuously extended and strengthened, such as rectifying various actions of occupying and damaging roads and bridges, applying construction license system, and conversion of roads.

Planning object

After the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, encouraging the development of modern industry and commerce became an important strategy for China to resist western colonial invasion and rise again. The cities serving as the spatial carrier of industry and commerce had to make corresponding improvement and create conditions for its development. At the same time, as the core of urban modernization, the development of modern industry and commerce will push the urban improvement to be carried out continuously and deeply. The improvement of urban objects was mainly evidenced by the construction of roads and the preliminary development of industry.

1 Construction of roads

Before concessions were opened, no places were named after road names in China’s cities. Most roads were called streets or lanes. Streets are also called roads, while roads are not necessarily streets. In China, streets mean those in traditional Chinese cities while roads mean those in western cities¹⁴.

In the construction of concessions, Chinese people had realized roads had important strategic effect in resisting the expansion of concessions and developing local industry and commerce. Most cities began to build roads, as in Suzhou mentioned above. In 1896, a 1.3km western road appeared in an area close to the river bank outside Suzhou Panmen, and in subsequent years, continuously extended to Changmen area in the north, which greatly promoted the road construction and commercial development of the road areas.

2 Preliminary development of industry

According to the Treaty of Shimonoseki, Japan was allowed to establish factories and exploit mines, and western powers, on the ground of “equal profit sharing”, obtained the same privilege as Japan, which would severely impacted the economic development of China. Besides, Chinese people were also gradually aware that “the fundamental factor to richen people and strengthen state in foreign countries is the industries” and the advanced modern industries are the fundamental source of national treasure. Thereupon, a great upsurge in setting up factories emerged in the folks to develop industries and save the nation.

South Jiangsu is the birthplace of modern national industries and witnessed two times of upsurge in industry investment respectively during 1896-1898 and 1905-1908. After the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, nine modern factories and mines were built consecutively in only 5 years¹⁵.

It is worth pointing out that the improvement movement in this period mostly happened outside the city and seldom extended to the construction inside the city and other towns. For example, Suzhou Road Engineering Bureau was just a special organ for roads outside the city and not responsible for the road construction inside the city. The public projects outside the road areas “were all constructed with the money raised from local citizens”¹⁶.

It was the same case for factories, for example, all warehouses of factories and docks in Wuxi were built along the canal outside the city and nearly fully covered the river bank; and the factories, newly established businesses of Suzhou were distributed outside the Changmen, Panmen and Fengmen.

Rational Methods

As seen from organization mechanism, the panning for urban improvement in this period was mostly advocated and promoted by gentry and merchants or local officials. Each place organized and developed the activity spontaneously and freely. On the whole, it did not get rid of traditional mode yet, namely officials called upon and hosted the activity, while the folk society took charge of capital donation and management¹⁷. Both road construction bureau and police agency were still official agencies. Officials took charge of operation and management, while local personnel took charge of raising outlay and providing suggestions to the government. However, the establishment of planning agency promoted urban improvement affairs to separate from many administrative affairs and begin to become specialized.

As seen from technical level, improvement planning presented the characteristics of be fragmented and microcosmic. Roads were of single and short lines, and not linked with old urban road system. Citizens’ spontaneous construction was mostly developed around roads.

PROMOTION PERIOD: PRELIMINARY ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PLANNING SYSTEM FOR EARLY MODERN URBAN IMPROVEMENT OF CHINA (1909 - 1927)

In the last ten years of Qing Dynasty, the Qing Government intended to intimate western constitutional democracy system and implements it all over the country with local self-government. “Local self-government mainly engages in its special role related to local public welfare”¹⁸. By “public welfare”, it means urban construction and development in most cases.

Besides, in the early 20th century, with the founding of Republic of China and the outbreak of World War One, the modern industry and commerce are embraced by relaxed social environment, forming a climax of development.

Due to political promotion and economic prosperity, together with the introduction of western urban planning and construction technology and preliminary practice, the planning subjects and objects of China’s small and medium cities as well as rational approaches have seen further development and reform, and improved planning system has been established preliminarily.

Planning subject

City Self-Government Office

In the context that local autonomy movements are initiated in a lot of cities in the late Qing Dynasty, the Qing Government began to consider introducing the modern urban administration organization system which was born in Europe into China to definitely separate administration of cities and counties. In January 1909, the Qing Government enacted the City Towns and Villages Local self government Regulation which stipulated that the city area where prefecture, district and county level government office are defined as “city”, while towns and villages outside the city area are defined as the “towns” if the population is more than 50,000 and as the “county” if the population is less than 50,000. For the first time, cities and counties are strictly separated in a legal manner. Since then, the administration system of cities has come into being in China, and the city self-government office – an autonomous body of a city has been set up.

City self-government offices sprung up. Taking South Jiangsu as an example, all cities in South Jiangsu had established self-government offices as of November 1910 (the second year of Xuantong Period)¹⁹. City self-government office can be deemed as a milestone in the history of planning subject of modern urban improvement, which is characterized of:

Firstly, in respect of its organizational system, city self-government office differs from traditional government office in feudal China. The former has a council and board of directors, and conduct activities on basis of committee meeting system as learned from the western political institution. Democracy of organizational system and improvement of efficiency are one of important reasons why the city self-government office plays a positive role in urban management and construction.

Secondly, members of city self-government office are mostly local gentry and merchants²⁰. For a long time, under the influence of Confucianism, local gentry and merchants have moral idea of “bring benefit to their hometowns”, making them always the major force of urban improvement. Since the early modern times, with the development of industry and commerce, gentry and merchants class have expanded. They expect to participate to a greater extent in the administration and discussion of government affairs via autonomous bodies so as to elevate their political status. They devote themselves into self-government office affairs with active attitude and great enthusiasm, which is the primary cause that the self-government office can lead the improvement movement.

Furthermore, compared with improvement activities conducted by Road Engineering Bureau which are only restricted to partial areas of a city, urban improvement activities spread over the entire city as the city self-government office governs the entire city, thus accomplishing overall coverage and integration of urban improvement and management.

3 Chamber of Commerce

At the beginning of the 20th century, along with the growth of capitalist economic factors, and meanwhile, for that the Government of the Qing Dynasty successively promoted “new deal”, “preparatory constitution-making” and “local self-government” movements, chamber of commerce, a new merchant group with modern colors, began to appear.

The chamber of commerce took “communicating on business situation and developing business” as tenet²¹. Thanks to its broad social connections as well as economic and political advantages, chamber of commerce had very high authority and power in local commonweal affairs, and became the actual promoter and depending force in urban improvement. The role of chamber of commerce not only rested with personnel permeation and capital support, but also was embodied at the opinion consulting and implementation during improvement process.

The main purpose of the improvement of early modern urban construction is the development of city economy. So it is essential to make business people’s voices heard. Chamber of commerce, as a center of merchant group network of each industry and business line, became an important agency for consulting the opinions on improvement planning. The implementation of urban constructions would involve the interests of businessmen, so it require the organizations such as the chamber of commerce to support and cooperate the improvements²².

Planning Object

The City Towns and Villages Local self government Regulation gave regulations on “commonweal matters” in the form of law for the first time. This provided a legal basis for urban planning, and greatly expanded the content and type.

1 The type of the urban improvement

During this period, there were many kinds of urban planning activities, according to the nature, which can be roughly divided into four types.

– Construction of roads and bridges

Roads were still the focus of reform and construction, the main change was that the focus of the construction of the roads from outside the city to the inside. Tearing down the city wall and filling the river for road construction have become the main way (Fig 1 插图).

– Municipal work

With the development of modern industry and commerce, the rapid growth of urban population, in order to meet the public life, improve the living environment, municipal facilities have been vigorously developed. The improvement of municipal facilities were mainly the communication facilities, power supply lighting facilities, water supply facilities, river dredging and other aspects.

– Public service facilities

With the introduction of modern public service facilities, the functional structure and spatial pattern of the Chinese traditional city have great changes. The main facilities are hospitals, schools, stadiums, parks, library, train station and so on.

– Industrial and commercial premises

Industry and commerce is the focus of the development of modern cities, also the fundamental driving force of urban modernization. Besides the construction of new industrial and commercial premises, the improvement of the traditional handicraft industry and commercial premises is also the key point.

2 Systems and rules for improvement planning

In the process of learning from the western, Chinese people gradually got aware that the advancement of the western rested with good systems. When learning the western laws and systems in terms of politics and economy, etc., Chinese people began to make some preliminary urban construction and management rules in the field of urban construction.

The introduction of systems and rules made urban improvement activity normalized and systemized, and step from material cultural level into the new development stage of system culture level.

Rational Methods

In this period, the agency dominating improvement planning was transformed from governmental agency to local self-governance agency, and great changes occurred to organization mechanism correspondingly. Civil personnel took charge of operating, initiating, consulting and examining improvement projects, while the government gave play more to the function of supervision, instead of participating in the operation of the agency directly.

As seen from technical level, it still took road engineering as the center and baseline, and implemented the construction of relevant supporting facilities at the same time. Roads presented network-shaped pattern, and roads outside and inside the city were mutually connected. The planning gradually got rid of the early-stage point-line pattern, but trended to inter-regional harmony, and visual field became more spacious and more macroscopic.

TRANSFORMATION OF PATTERN

Finally, seen from the overall period (1895-1927), we connect each period together and extract the transformed aspects from the diversified situation to get knowledge of the pattern dynamics of China's small and medium cities from a macro perspective of the whole historical period.

PLANNING SUBJECT

Subject: emergence of “urban” planning agencies

As the subject leading improvement movement of old cities, city self-government office was an administration agency established with each city as the administration unit. Its establishment broke the mode of fragmented administration based on separated streets and zones in the previous urban planning and construction. Instead, it regarded the city as a whole and coordinated all individual resources to jointly promote urban improvement, which greatly pushed the modernization process of cities, accelerated the differentiation of urban and rural areas, and laid significant institutional and material foundation for the establishment of city system. Hereafter, the establishment of city all began with the setup of planning and construction administration agency.

Relationship between subjects: forming an “institution network” of the planning power operation

In respect of the structure and form of the planning subjects for early modern improvement of old cities, a power operation network with various centers was formed, evidenced mainly by the two following aspects:

“Several departments issued decrees” and the “administrative power” and the “financial power” were misplaced in urban planning and construction. There were many planning and construction subjects in operation which all regarded urban improvement as part of their duties but had different affiliation relationships. The police agencies were under the direct jurisdiction of the government; local self-government offices were under the supervision of, but also mutually independent of, the local government; and the public communes were subordinated to chamber of commerce.

Under the mode of “several departments issuing decrees”, many planned projects were set aside due to failure of agencies to reach agreement; and as a result of long-time misplacing of “administrative power” and the “financial power”, the planned construction ended up with nothing definite due to lack of funds, all of which restricted the progress of earlymodern urban improvement.

PLANNING OBJECT

Goal: urban construction orientated by problems

The early modern improvement of small and medium cities showed obvious problem-orientation characteristic.

The governments and municipal authorities (Road Engineering Bureau and self-government office) had no overall and systematic blueprint for planning and design, and passively carried out improvement after corresponding problems showed themselves. As a result of such problem-orientation (passive) practice, urban improvement generally occurred in more prosperous areas of cities and was carried out in separated projects that had no connection with each other, which led to the unbalanced and fragmented urban improvement.

Space: “spatial practice”

Deeply influenced by the Confucian etiquette ideology²³, traditional cities of China demonstrated the signs of feudal relations from architecture to space without any exception²⁴. Since the early modern times, as the western ideological culture had been introduced and especially democracy and republican ideas in the period of the Republic of China had enjoyed popular support, the ritual system thoughts were gradually overthrown. Along with this, the specific material formation mode of urban construction under the ritual system was far from the demand of modern city development.

In order to meet the needs of the business activities and social life, Chinese people started to improve traditional space and introduce new space forms. The space construction was no longer intended to express some abstract meaning, but to realize the modernization of urban material space by considering the realization of real interests.

RATIONAL APPROACHES

Approaches: Roadism planning and construction mode

The construction methods and technologies of concessions became the source of urban improvement in China; early modern urban construction of China started from the transformation of Chinese-style “streets” into western-style “roads”; the construction of western-style “roads” became a synonym of urban improvement in China during this period.

The roadism is a distinctive characteristic of urban improvement movement and an important method in the improvement practice. As the name implies, roadism indicates that the urban planning and construction should give priority to the construction of roads and road-related facilities. It is specially embodied in the broadening and straightening the existing Chinese streets into western-style roads, renovating gates, dismantling walls, land-filling moats, building round-the-city road; and naming all new streets by “road”, etc.²⁵.

Mechanism: From governments to civilians

In the first stage of urban improvement movement, the organizational mechanism of improvement movement still followed the traditional mode of “from the top to down”, i.e. officials advocated and took lead, and the folk society raised funds and conducted management based on the will of government authorities. Even the affairs of the Road Engineering Bureau which was established by imitating concessions was also operated by officials, and urban construction submitted to the strategic demands of local governments.

In the second stage of urban improvement movement, along with the demand for national reform and the rising of gentry and merchants class, urban planning and construction matters began to be transferred to autonomous bodies for direction and management. They began to represent the urban construction demands of the folk society while local governments were mainly responsible for supervision and coordination. The organizational mechanism of improvement activities was transformed to the mode of “from bottom to top”.

EPILOGUE

Through the dynamic analysis of the urban improvement movement and the change of paradigm characteristics, we can know that the urban improvement movement in early modern China is the urban construction practice with a fusion of endophytism and introduction. The so-called endophytism refers to Chinese own factors; introduction refers to the import of Western elements. It is not only affected by the cultural factors of western cities, but also maintained strong Chinese characteristics, which also the process of gestation and formation for Chinese early modern local urban planning culture.

Acknowledgements

I wish to acknowledge the considerable contribution that Xing Gao, a Ph.D. candidate student in Southeast University, made to the compilation of the paper.

Disclosure Statement

We here by declare that the reference to others' research productions in the paper, are reflected in the endnotes.

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Endnotes

- 1 The generalized South Jiangsu region includes Nanjing, Zhenjiang, Suzhou, Wuxi and Changzhou. This paper defined South Jiangsu in a narrow view.
- 2 Kai Gu. Research on Jiangnan garden in Ming Dynasty(Nanjing: Southeast University press,2010),8.
- 3 The Municipal Council is the administrative organization set in concession by the foreign powers in China in the late Qing Dynasty, which similar to the Ministry of Works in feudal China ,so named “ the municipal council ”.
- 4 The traditional local administrative system of the integration of urban and rural areas is one of the reflection of the phenomenon of the ancient “ urban ruralisation ”, which was pointed out by Marx. As a result, the traditional Chinese urban and rural relations have shown the “urban and rural non differential unity” of the topography of the Asian Social phenomenon.
- 5 Zhiqian Zhou. State and Society: Study on the vicissitude of the urban management institutions and the legal system in the Qing Dynasty(Chengdu: Bashu, 2009),204.
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Heritage

Chair: José Manuel Fernandes

NOVA OEIRAS NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT TO UNESCO HERITAGE LIST: AN ORIGINAL AND QUALIFIED URBAN SETTLEMENT PLANNED IN THE 1950S IN PORTUGAL

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The Bairro Residencial de Nova Oeiras (Nova Oeiras Neighbourhood Unit / BRNO) stands in the surroundings of Lisbon, capital city of Portugal, as one of the most qualified and active built communities in the country.

Case study: Given the confirmed quality of the neighbourhood unit, the Oeiras Municipality started a restoration program for its buildings and public spaces (since 2002); matured, approved and published an official regulation plan (2012); and organized a proposal for the application of BRNO for UNESCO World Heritage List (2014), now being analyzed by the Portuguese UNESCO working group. The edition of the bilingual “The Nova Oeiras Book / O Livro de Nova Oeiras” (2015, CMO ed., 203pp.), organizing all available data, completes this project, now being presented.

Main characteristics and structure: In fact Nova Oeiras houses about 2.000 people, between residents and workers, in a Modern design urban environment (40 ha), regards the “Athens Charter” Le Corbusier – Modern Movement theory of the 1930’s in its core or nucleous (with 3 slab blocks and 6 point towers around a central plaza) and follows the “Garden City” principles of Howard’s 1900 document, with an area of family houses and private gardens around it. At the same time, Nova Oeiras represent a perfect and balanced neighbourhood unit example, as an application of the model proposed by Clarence Perry for the USA cities of the 1920’s.

Historical and cultural significance: Global BRNO design reflects the great theoretical movements of Euro-american urbanism and built culture of the 20th century – and at the same time, offers great originality in its “mixed model/pattern”, which is highlighted by the rarity of the existence today of this type of urban-architectural unit complex around the world.

BRNO diversity of space and form tried to articulate modern architecture & modern town planning mainly influenced by northern Europe typologies (isolated blocks and towers, in concrete), with the southern Europe urban tradition of patios and squares – the whole being framed by a creative landscape made up of native Mediterranean vegetal species.

BRNO also articulates the terrain continuity with the historical and cultural landmarks of its surrounding environment (Baroque Palace and gardens of the Marquis of Pombal; Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Science research center; Oeiras medieval urban center; Agricultural research State centre).

Main conclusions: BRNO’s universal value as a landscape, architectural and urban paramount, must be emphasized – at the same time, explaining as this site is sustained in an overall manner by the support and adhesion of its living community, showing a strong sense of local participation and initiative. In fact, continuous community action is being developed by the local Residents Association (since 2005).

Authenticity and Integrity of BRNO site will be presented, as well as the aspects regarding the municipal head management, with several and planned restoration works done in public spaces and buildings, with civic and cultural initiatives (GALNOV, the local service cabinet to attend population projects; RENOV, the annual reward to the best private restoration projects, etc.).

Keywords

Neighbourhood Unit, Modern Athens Charter, Garden City

FROM THE BUILDING TO THE CITY: THE RESILIENCE OF ARCHITECTS IN RECIFE (BRAZIL), 2000-2015

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UFPE

The architectural debate in the 21st century, in the field of scholarly knowledge and in the ordinary citizen's mind set, unveils a resistance movement, led by architects, against the changes in the city's distinctive traits. It reveals an urbanisation process centred on the vertical building, at the expense of the city's landscape and the citizen's quality of life. It is an intensive debate and as skyscrapers are the most frequent request in architecture firms, it places the profession in a defensive position up to the point where a reanalysis of the professional mind set suggests a new path: from the building to the city!

The return of leftist groups to the government and their search for new political agendas allow manager-architects to bring the theme of the city to the spotlight. In that sense, in 2003, the Secretariat of Planning modified the urbanistic legislation of twelve districts, establishing tight restrictions to the construction of skyscrapers and ensuring the preservation of existing buildings, road structures and vegetation. For the first time, the city's territory was subdivided according to its environmental, architectural and urbanistic specificities, with its common enemy identified: the vertical building.

As for the civil society, resistance takes place, at first, through some isolated actions against the destruction of old buildings and the construction of new vertical ones in historic districts. From 2012 on, powerful digital networks were formed, mobilizing a vast resistance against mega-projects in historic districts. Once again, the architects led the movement with the same objective: revealing vertical buildings apart from the urban life, the landscape and the local skyline. Here, for the first time, the theme of the city landscape is dealt as object for urban preservation and appreciation. In the Academia, from 2009 on, the Architecture Program at UFPE implemented a new curriculum, abolishing the old courses of urbanism and architecture design and placing them together in integrated workshops with an interdisciplinary approach focusing on the city and not on the building. Thus, the Academia also frames a new professional mind set where professor-architects develop structuring projects for the city, like the Capibaribe River Park and the redevelopment of the Boa Vista district, both centred in urban mobility and in renovating public spaces.

Resistance often reappears, either in recent local productions in literature and filmmaking, or even through fun initiatives such as Carnival block "Hindering your View", created by architects whose costumes copy skyscrapers from local architecture.

In summary, from public power to the academia, passing by the civil society, the recurring theme is the appreciation of the city, and the atmosphere of debates relates to the resistance against the vertical building that used to be the glory of local architectural thinking. If this movement is based on concrete urban grounds, it takes place in parallel to the sharp increase in the amount of professionals available and the drastic decrease in job opportunities for architects. The resistance is also a movement of reconquest of space for professional performance.

Keywords

Architects and city, From the building to the city, urban-project, skyscrapers, city's landscape, destruction of old buildings, the preservation of existing buildings, resistance of architects

ISOLATION, APPROPRIATION AND REINTEGRATION: FORMAL MEETS INFORMAL AT THE HISTORIC WESFORT LEPROSY HOSPITAL

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Wesfort Village, an inhabited former leprosy hospital, situated on the western periphery of Pretoria, presents a microcosm that reflects not only the history of South African housing and planning policies, but also the complexity of spatial and social challenges currently facing the nation. The site, which dates to the late Nineteenth Century, was constructed to the designs of Dutch émigré architects in the service of the then independent South African Republic with, as vision, to create an isolated yet humane and pleasant home environment for its diseased inhabitants. It remained in original use, with constant revision and expansion, for almost a century before being mothballed; following which it was appropriated by marginalized informal settlers.

The formerly isolated enclave is now being engulfed by the urban sprawl of an ever-expanding city resulting in spatial, social and political conflicts, putting the future of the village at risk. Wesfort is at a crossroads facing an uncertain future due to the conflicting nature of formal and informal. Current plans present an inability for institutional monotype perspectives to deal with complex anomalies brought about by demographic transformation such as the informality of Wesfort. Current plans either ignore and isolate Wesfort, or propose its museification.

Wesfort reflects the history of housing provision—both housing prototypes as well as the urban planning for housing—as resultant of the socio-economic development of South Africa. This paper explores and reflects upon a series of planning episodes that contribute, through their various spatial manifestations, to the formation of a richly layered precinct with an engaging historical narrative and a contested development future. The authors use Wesfort as a vehicle for critical debate around the politics of settlement in post-apartheid South Africa and the relationship between community, place and planning. This has been informed by investigations undertaken through two linked postgraduate architectural studios, one at the Delft University of Technology, another at the University of Pretoria.

The investigation uses comparative timelines to discuss the interaction between Wesfort's development and a broader South African history in order to trace the unfolding of pertinent historical sub themes. The chronological development of Wesfort mirrors a wider general regression in the quality of master-planned housing developments, during and post-apartheid, especially for increasingly segregated non-white communities. This remains visible in the general current local planning practice. Yet Wesfort presents a remarkable innate resilience, not only a result of its landscape of aesthetic quality, but also because, as an ensemble, it has generated a cohesive community with self-sustained ecologies.

This paper frames current dilemmas and opportunities at Wesfort within broader historic themes, presenting a critical discussion about past and current planning policies and identifying points of concerns to be addressed in future strategies.

Keywords

South Africa, Tshwane, Wesfort Village, Apartheid, Post-Apartheid, Cultural landscape, Urban Sprawl, Segregation, Formal and informal, Planning policies, Resilience, Social ecologies, Community

CHANGING SPATIAL IDENTITY WITH URBAN REGENERATION PROJECTS – THE CASE OF KONYA CITY / TURKEY

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Rapid development and increasing density of cities make people feel fewer belongings to their living spaces. This situation, especially in the cities of developing countries, causes traditional center forms to be spread out around multi-centered structure, to have less open and green areas and generally to speed up the structuring process only oriented to the economic rent concept and finally to change the urban identity. In this framework, economic rent-focused urban regeneration projects have turned the slum areas into the prestige housing estates by private sector implementations with the support of local authority. These implementations have caused the stakeholders to share the economic rent to maximum advantage instead of solving the problems of the residents or rehabilitation of the area. These kinds of partial changes on integrated planning system can dissolve the integrity of the whole process.

This study comments the effects of urban regeneration projects, which have gained speed, especially in the last 10 years, with the increasing of economic investments in the Konya city, on urban form. In this framework, these effects were examined by some morphological indicators (such as street patterns, building-lot relations, open spaces, density changes) and economic indicators (changes in the land and real-estate values and their effects on property pattern). Comparative spatial analyses were used to understand the changes between previous and present situations as a method. In this context, two urban regeneration projects from Meram District of the Konya City, one of them 15 ha., the other is 60 ha., were chosen to be analyzed.

Finally, it was seen that morphological and economic situation of selected areas were changed dramatically when compared with the previous. These changes would inevitably affect the spatial identity of the city. Therefore, the newly developed spatial layout, which was emerged by the urban regeneration projects, was discussed in the urban identity framework.

Keywords

Urban regeneration projects, spatial identity, urban form, Konya city

Political Perspective on the Urban Fabric

Chair: Azza Eleish

'EL SALER PER AL POBLE' – ARCHITECTURE AND POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION IN SPAIN THROUGH THE PLANNING PROJECT OF LA DEHESA DE EL SALER

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Tourism in Spain played a crucial role in the great economic development during late Francoism (ca. 1960-75). This topic has generally been discussed from a political or environmental point of view without considering the role of the design process related to both approaches. In this paper, the question of power and tourism will be disentangled through the lens of planning and urban design and their relation to local and national power structures. It argues that the design of spaces for tourism characterised the economical and political system due to a close relation between legislation, private investments and local policy-making. As a consequence, tourism and its planning had to mutate towards a new paradigm along with the transformation of the regime towards a more competitive economy.

The paper starts by analysing the state of Francoism and the role of tourism between the end of the civil war (1939) and the explosion of mass tourism (1960's) by exploring its urban and architectural models and the ways in which they served as an introduction to its later massive boost. The Franco state used planning and politics as a powerful means of national development after the 1960's, as several examples demonstrate. The transformation of tourism's planning model along with social and political change are especially well reflected in the urban planning project 'La Dehesa de El Saler' by Julio Cano Lasso and its successive modifications. The core of the paper explores that particular example as it exposes the affiliation between the local power of Valencia, the national government and planning decisions. A study of different stages of the design in relation to the social and political situation shows how the critical attitude towards an authoritarian and environmentally destructive way of planning engaged within Valencian citizens as the country took the road towards democracy. Through an integrated analysis of socio-political development and planning, the conclusion explores the importance of opposition to planning injustices as a tool for enriching democratic behaviours.

Keywords

architecture, history, Franco, tourism, planning, democracy

RECURRENT WARSCAPE IN BEIRUT PUBLIC SPACES: FORTY YEARS LATER (1975-2015)

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In the context of a tormented Middle East geopolitics and the ongoing Arabo-Israeli conflict, a civil war erupted in Lebanon in 1975 and went uninterrupted for fifteen long years. As early as the first two-years-round of civil war in 1975-77, violent armed conflict manifested itself in an urban nature and contextualized in the capital Beirut. Back then, the civil war targeted systematically the public spaces and achieved purposefully the dual objective of mutating social practice and mutilating their urban form into a geography of fear. Intriguingly, during the unreconciled civil war aftermath, the display of instability and conflict kept on marking sporadically the same public spaces at different incidents. Three decades following the eruption of urban violence in 1975, intermittent events of social and political nature took place between 2005 and 2015, triggered by the assassination of the prime minister. This paper will tackle the two case studies of public spaces which are the pivots of the recurrent warscape: Place des Martyrs and the seaside hotels' area, both symbols of social and geographic contestations at simultaneous times of peace and war. Based on an interdisciplinary literature, the socio political manifestations will be highlighted by unfolding them across time and space. Signs of discontentment and instability are manifested under different facets and patterns varying from passive intangible representations to active outbursts. The perpetuation of events hitherto occurring in the same urban spaces will be studied from the perspective of the social and political realities. In the absence of a mono-causal factor for warscape recurrence, mapping conflict in the urban space is a suggested tool to approach the perpetuation issue from a context-specific perspective. It is as well an opportunity to raise the question on the relation between the socio-political claims and their reverberation in the same urban spaces.

Keywords

warscape, public spaces, recurrence, conflict

CAIRO, THE ENDURING CAPITAL: SURVIVAL VERSUS RESILIENCE PLANNING

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The greater metropolitan Cairo of the 21st century is a vivid illustration of the uncontrollable expansion of one of the most crowded capital cities of the world. As Roy, A. describes the worldwide unprecedented urban growth trend: “The 21st-century metropolis is a chameleon. It shifts shape and size; margins become centres; centres become frontiers; regions become cities” (2009, *Regional Studies* 43, p.827). The paper examines the historical growth of Greater Metropolitan Cairo within the framework of the global South megacities phenomenon. The city’s growth from one million inhabitants in 1928 to a megacity of nearly 22 million in 2015 (2015Cairo Population: worldpopulationreview.com) will be traced as well as its current chaotic stage of callous conflicting survival mechanisms and its inhabitants’ various endurance approaches:

- 1) the lower income groups, using their own creatively devised subsistence strategies, to produce an enormous illegal housing stock, unlawfully connected to dilapidated infrastructures and serviced by local transportation modes connecting them to the ever-expanding city,
- 2) the upper income class, endorsed by the Egyptian government’s neoliberal policies in collaboration with private developers and investors, creating grand schemes, ranging from new satellite cities featuring isolated and serviced housing enclaves to the latest New Capital, proposed to alleviate some of the city’s ailments.

As Ravazzoli &Toso point out: “ Today, the boundaries between formality and informality is blurred since most urbanites, including the middle classes, experience both formal and informal encounters in their everyday life. Informality does not affect marginal segment of the society anymore.” (2013, *Spatial Relations of Informal Practices in Cairo’s Streetscape*, p.15).

A literature review of some of the global South megacities’ approaches toward their urban informalities and their sustainability and resilience approaches will set the stage for analyzing Cairo’s own survival mechanisms. The paper uses “The City Resilience Framework (CRF)” to answer the following question: would Cairo be considered a resilient city or is it on its way to stagnation and /or annihilation?”

The CRF developed by Arup with support from the Rockefeller Foundation provides “a lens to understand the complexity of cities and the drivers that contribute to their resilience” (<http://www.100resilientcities.org/resilience#/-/>). Observing Greater Metropolitan Cairo through the CRF’s four dimensions of Urban Resilience:

- 1) Health and Wellbeing;
- 2) Economy and Society;
- 3) Infrastructure and Environment;
- 4) Leadership and Strategy, the study should provide a clear indication to the adequacy of both the tangible and intangible environments of the city and its inhabitants’ endurance strategies.

To conclude, the paper will provide recommendations that should assist metropolitan Cairo in developing itself into a sustainable, resilient city, remaining the previously celebrated “Victorious” city rather than the currently loathed “Oppressor”, both translations of its Arabic name “Al Qahirah”.

Keywords

Resilient Cities of the Developing World, Urban Conditions of Megacities, Urbanization and Neoliberal Policies

PLANNING THE TERRITORY OF SÃO PAULO STATE, BRAZIL, IN THE DEMOCRATIC PERIOD: CARVALHO PINTO'S ACTION PLAN (1959 - 1963)

André Augusto de Almeida Alves

State University of Maringá

Along with President Juscelino Kubitschek's Targets Plan and Brasilia, the Action Plan promoted by the São Paulo governor Carvalho Pinto constitutes the apex of the Brazilian state planning experience. Sharing developmentist roots, and thus focusing on physical targets, the Action Plan boosts the Paulista urbanization process and impacts on its cities and territory. Departing from the global scene of postwar and Brazilian modernization after 1930, the paper covers the conjunctural analyses of Paulista economy prepared by the planners; it describes the planning process; it provides a panoramic view of the plan, advancing to public and governmental policies; it considers its results and evaluations. The Action Plan is consistent to the post-war period world and the national economic and political conditions while providing infrastructure to the territory, in favor of economic and social development. However, it reveals the same political and funding limitations visible at the federal level, keeping untouched the agrarian, urban and housing problems, and resulting in no institutionalization of planning, in those years. Thus, being considered in its broader dimensions, Carvalho Pinto's Action Plan reveals the deep marks left by it in the São Paulo state territory.

Keywords

state planning, regional planning, territory, governmental policies, infrastructure

How to Cite

Alves, Andre Augusto de Almeida. "Planning the territory of São Paulo state, Brazil, in the Democratic Period: Carvalho Pinto's Action Plan (1959 - 1963)". In Carola Hein (ed.) *International Planning History Society Proceedings, 17th IPHS Conference, History-Urbanism-Resilience, TU Delft 17-21 July 2016*, V.04 p.161, TU Delft Open, 2016.

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7480/iphs.2016.4.1289>

INTRODUCTION

The postwar is marked in Brazil, by the maturing of state planning and modern architecture, that reach their apex in President Juscelino Kubitschek's Targets Plan (1956 – 1961) and its "synthesis target", Brasilia. Contemporary of these achievements is the Action Plan promoted by the São Paulo state governor, Carvalho Pinto (1959 – 1963). Sharing the developmentist character that marks Brazilian state planning experience at the time, the Action Plan contains extensive physical targets covering investments in infrastructure throughout the territory: hydroelectric power plants, transportation networks, basic industries, as well as agricultural development and social infrastructures such as sanitation, health services and school buildings, buildings for higher education and scientific research. Although it has not included urban designs, these works mark the Paulista territory and cities, residing at the epicenter of the intense process of urbanization experienced in the period.

The Action Plan relies on the broad participation of professionals who worked at former Paulista urban and regional planning institutions. It incorporates conjunctural analyses, methodologies and public policies that tend to be forgotten in favor of its physical achievements, but are important to the understanding of its peculiar contents and directives. This work focuses on this Paulista episode of state planning, considering the social scene of the period, providing an overview of its contents and evaluating its results.

BRAZIL IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD

The "short twentieth century" is marked by a succession of events that culminates in two world wars, interspersed by the breakdown of the New York Stock Exchange (1929), the Great Depression, the rise of Nazi-fascism, and is followed by the Cold War, the American hegemony and the consolidation of the Welfare State. In Brazil, the 1929 crisis affects the agro-export economy and unfolds in the Revolution of 1930, which marks the end of the regional oligarchies dominance of the Old Republic. The Brazilian modernization combines peculiar ways of incorporation of the masses to the social and political process – populism – and state intervention in the economy for industrialization, and shows its conservative character in the reconciliation of old agrarian-exporter elites and emerging urban-industrial elites, arbitrated by the centralized state.

In this context, Hobsbawm's¹ explanations regarding the postwar economic expansion are enlightening. He sets this process in terms of capitalism restructuring and confirmation, on a planetary scale, of previous trends in economic growth and accumulation mode. He describes how the "Age of the Automobile" reaches Europe and then, "more modestly, the socialist world and the Latin American middle-classes" and as "one could recognize the economic development of many Third World countries by the increasing number of trucks"².

This example shows how the expansion results from the "imitation" of technological standards of the second industrial revolution, besides the scientific and technological innovation generated in the period. It shows also how this process occurred in the so-called "underdeveloped" countries. Hobsbawm states that, with advances in science and technology, "the industry and even the agriculture decidedly surpassed for the first time the nineteenth century technology", as well as admits that "in poor regions of the world, the agricultural revolution was not absent, though more irregular"³. The author notes the deficiencies and efforts made by countries like Brazil, Mexico and India in the fields of higher education and scientific and technological research⁴.

Finally, the economy growing internationalization and the terms of trade imbalance between "developed" countries, manufactured goods exporters, and "underdeveloped" countries, commodities exporters, reside at the root of this scenario. This imbalance affects Brazilian industrialization, limiting its importation capacity, in its turn faced by monetary and exchange rate policies⁵. Nevertheless, these restrictions culminate in the political option of the "most dynamic countries of the Third World" for "the segregated and planned industrialization, substituting its own production by importing manufactures"⁶.

Therefore, Mello and Novais⁷ characterize the Brazilian industrialization process between 1930 and 1980 as the incorporation of consumption and production patterns, and technologies of pre-industrialized countries. Faced with the demands of social change imposed by modernization and industrialization, and the ideological polarization between ‘nationalists’ and ‘submissives’, an option is made in the mid-1950s, for the least resistance line: the association among State, foreign capital and, in a lesser degree, national capital.

In addition to overcoming the oligarchic Republic, this process involves the creation of regulatory instruments and means of economic intervention and social policy management on a national scale: Companhia Vale do Rio Doce, Companhia Siderúrgica Nacional, Petrobras, BNDE, Ministry of Education and Public Health, University of Brazil, and retirement and pension institutes. At the same time, there had been since the 1930s the constitution and affirmation of state planning, with the creation of councils, commissions, public offices and increasingly comprehensive and complex plans⁸; and the affirmation of urban and regional planning, with the work of architects and town planners and other professionals at municipalities, universities and pioneering institutions, such as the SAGMACS.

The SAGMACS – Society of Graphic and Mecanographic Analysis Applied to Social Complexes –, is a former Paulista urban and regional planning institution connected to the *Économie et Humanisme* movement⁹. It was founded in São Paulo in 1947 by the Dominican Father Louis-Joseph Lebreton (1897 – 1966), who would afterwards found the IRFED – *Institut de Recherche et de Formation en vue du Développement Harmonisé* (1958)¹⁰. Young planners, architects and town planners who worked at SAGMACS participated intensively in the Action Plan, so that it is considered a major SAGMACS’ staff product until its dismantlement by the civil-military coup of 1964.

THE SOCIAL SCENE AND THE ECONOMIC CONJUNCTURE BY THE ACTION PLAN

The conjunctural analyses included in the Action Plan and the reports submitted annually to the Legislative Assembly of the São Paulo State by the governor unfold the postwar context described herein not only at national but also at state level. The presence of the above-mentioned topics by Hobsbawm, Mello and Novais and Fausto in this documentation is remarkable. At the same time, they reveal the perspective of the government and its planners on such topics.

The Action Plan departs from the fact that industry overcomes agriculture in the state’s GDP in 1953, and the shares of these sectors in state’s GDP become inverted between 1947 and 1958 – from 31% to 24% in the case of agriculture and from 23% to 30% in the case of industry.

Focusing on economic growth, such analysis diagnoses the slowdown of economic activity in agriculture, resulting from the negligence with the domestic market, combined with the stagnation of export agriculture due to the decline in coffee prices, the appreciation of Brazilian currency, the extensive exploitation and exhaustion of the soil, the end of Paulista agricultural frontiers in the 1940s.

The slowdown in industry derives, in turn, from the lack of credit and import capacity. The BNDE – National Bank of Economic Development – focuses its loans on the infrastructure sector; but the investment maturation period in infrastructure keeps production costs high, increasing inflation. The beginning of exploration and oil refining by Petrobras is not enough to reverse the trade balance. The import limitations cause imbalance in the industrial growth, stimulating consumer goods industry at the expense of the production goods industry. Nonetheless, the analyses neither mention the fact that the exchange rate policies reverse coffee export revenues for industrial financing, as stated by Fausto¹¹; nor deal with the import facilities granted to foreign capital by SUMOC’s Instruction 113 (1955), which was in the root of the rapid industrialization of the Targets Plan¹², mostly in São Paulo. The interests of the agrarian exporter elite and the Paulista industrial capital are evident here, since the first opposed the “exchange confiscation” and both were eager for financing and other benefits.

In this sense, the governor's message to the Legislative Assembly in 1960 highlights the sectorial and intrasectorial imbalances, criticizing the economic stimulus exclusively to industrialization and defending the role played by primary sector in the maintenance of bearable life cost; in the supply of commodities, and foreign exchange earnings. It points out the lack of skilled labor and its increasing cost, exacerbated with the installation of the automotive industry. The Targets Plan has not addressed both issues. The Monetary Stabilization Plan implemented by JK when the inflationary outbreak peaks in his last year in presidency is also reproved, as it restricts credit. On the contrary, the report recognizes actions of the federal government towards the installation of production goods industry – especially in São Paulo.

Carvalho Pinto was Finance Secretary when Janio Quadros was mayor (1953-1955) and governor of São Paulo (1955-1959). The governor's message to the Legislative Assembly in 1961 supports Quadros (1961) at the beginning of his brief presidential term, marked by liberal policies. The report avoids critics to the federal government; on the contrary, it points to “decisive moments” and exalts the role of São Paulo in the country development and in the countercyclical stimulus policies to the private sector. It mentions industrial growth – the automotive industry reaches 130,000 units produced in 1960 – and the overcoming of “the most serious aspects” of the supply crisis that occurred in 1959, resulting from the above mentioned intrasectorial imbalance¹³. The implementation of tractor industry in the country, along with “the internal production of transport equipment and the successes achieved by Petrobras in the field of production and refining of liquid fuels and fertilizers” embodies the policy of agricultural productivity increment¹⁴. The sustained industrial growth, despite of the balance of payments crisis, suggests to the planners a greater degree of integration of industry and less dependence on imported goods, resulting from the implementation of mechanical industry, for which the “national ‘engineering’” is primordial.

Finally, the governor's message to the Legislative Assembly in 1962 analyses the political situation in the previous year, when Janio Quadros resigns because of political difficulties, intending his return by acclamation, with increased powers. This does not happen, and the vice-president João Goulart (labors) takes office, however, in parliamentary regime, with reduced powers. In affirming the legality of President Joao Goulart's (1961-1964) possession at parliamentary regime, Carvalho Pinto reveals its more conservative content. SUMOC's Instructions reverse previous interventionist measures in favor of liberal ones, establishing, thereafter, the end of import subsidies, the unification of exchange rates, exportation financing and production goods industry financing – as recommended in the Action Plan and previous governor's messages. Despite of the crisis, Paulista industry keep growing and the state reaches a “self-propulsion stage in its economic and social development”¹⁵.

Such analyses reveal the political orientation of the Paulista government and its planners. On the one hand, they criticize the lack of targets for primary sector and education at the Targets Plan and disapprove the credit restraint in the end of JK's government; on the other hand, they recognize federal initiatives related to production goods industry and praise Petrobras' achievements. On the one hand, they underline the role played by basic education, vocational and higher education in the development and advocate the promotion of development through non-inflationary ways. On the other hand, they welcome liberal policies linked to agrarian and industrial capital interests and São Paulo state's development stage. The opposition to JK government is evident, as well as the support for Janio Quadros government. Both the Targets Plan and the Action Plan are aware of the role of the State in the promotion of development, although their strategies and orientation vary.

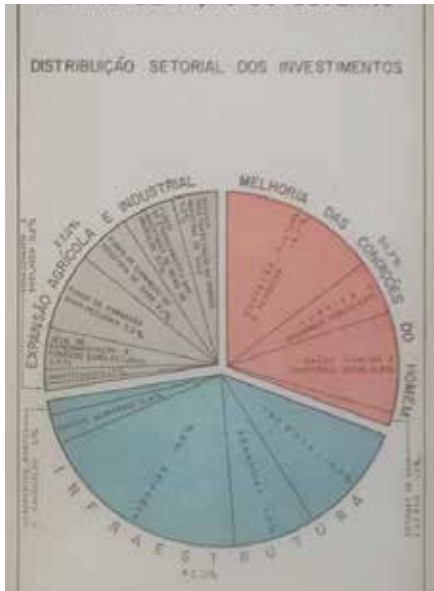


FIGURE 1 Action Plan. Sectorial distribution of investments.



FIGURE 2 State electrification plan, 1957.

CARVALHO PINTO'S ACTION PLAN

JK was elected President by the coalition formed by the PDS – social-democrats – and PTB – labors – which was bequeathed by Getúlio Vargas (1930-1945) and dominated politics since the return to democracy (1945); Carvalho Pinto was elected governor by the coalition led by the UDN – right wing conservatives – and PDC – Christian Democrats. While the first incarnated the existing development project since 1930, the second blended liberal and conservative characteristics and sensitivity to social issues.

Carvalho Pinto articulates the planning activity just after his victory. The decree 34656 dated from 02/12/1959 creates the Planning Group, establishes guidelines and procedures and defines the composition of the Technical Team. The Planning Group was composed of professors from USP – University of São Paulo – and notable figures of public administration, and should prepare the guidelines and government policies; the Technical Team should write and execute the plan, and had broad participation of SAGMACS' staff.

The Targets Plan concentrates 93% of investments in energy, transport and basic industry. The Action Plan repeats investments in infrastructure (42%), but contemplates also the primary sector; putting side by side the investments to the agricultural and industrial expansion (30.7%). It adds a whole group of investments in improving the man's conditions (27%) (Figure 1)¹⁶.

With regard to infrastructure, 70% of the resources are destined for energy and road transportation. The completion of hydroelectric power plants in progress and the beginning of new ones increase the installed capacity from 1.387.000kW to 3.018.000kW. These power plants are situated in the medium courses of the main rivers that cross the São Paulo State, so that the western portions of the territory could be supplied in the short term through the concurrent construction of transmission lines (Figure 2).

The pace of the road network program is maintained, constructing 1.600km and paving 3000 km of roads. The municipal bridge construction program favors the agricultural production flow.



FIGURE 3 University Campus Armando de Salles Oliveira, São Paulo, SP. Partial panoramic view.

The Action Plan allocates the financial resources destined for agricultural and industrial expansion evenly; only the industrial financing funds are not implemented in face of the inflationary scenario of 1960 onwards. It foresees the installation of a network of agricultural development that covers almost all municipalities in a four year period, consisting of more than 308 “crop houses”, 29 agricultural regional offices, 16 heads of agricultural extension and 25 schools of agricultural initiation, all of them built by Ipesp – Institute of Social Security of São Paulo State. The Secretary of Agriculture builds seeds stations, mechanization stations and increases the capacity of warehouses and silos in 150%¹⁷. The CEASA – State Center for Supply S.A. – is created and the Capital Supply Center is built in those years.

About half of the resources dedicated to improving the man’s conditions are destined for education, culture and research. The plan includes the construction of 7,000 classrooms for primary education, 1,100 rooms for the secondary and normal education, 30 new vocational education units of the first cycle, 5 technical schools in partnership with the Union.

The Action Plan boosts the installation of the USP campus in the Fazenda Butantã in São Paulo, planned since its creation in 1934 and defined in 1941¹⁸, by creating the Fundusp – Building Fund of University Campus Armando de Salles Oliveira (Figure 2). Some of the most important Paulista Modern Architects design the former buildings of this campus, such as that for the College of Architecture and Town Planning (1960 – 1968) by Vilanova Artigas (1915 – 1985). These buildings are occupied from 1968 onwards. The plan foresees the incorporation and creation of 23 institutes of higher education at inner cities and the creation of medical schools in Botucatu and Campinas. The origins of Unesp – University of São Paulo State – and Unicamp – University of Campinas – reside in these institutions.

In the health area, the plan aims at the construction of 200 buildings for medical and health care centers, childcare centers, regional laboratories, regional health offices, and hospitals comprising 4,300 beds.

In the sanitation field (1.2% of financial resources), the plan provides for the expansion of water supply for the whole population of the capital in 1958 – increasing by 48% the number of water connections – and for the increase in 53% of the sewage network, also in the capital. In inner cities, the plan aims at increasing the number of buildings served by water connections from 71% in 1958 to 85% – it was 52% in 1950 – increasing the water network in 40% and the sewage network in 54%¹⁹.

THE ACTION PLAN AND GOVERNMENT POLICIES

In addition to physical targets, the Action Plan contains less tangible and known initiatives that are important to the economic and social development of the São Paulo state and mark its territory and cities.

The budget of USP increases 50% in 1959. The capacity of the higher education system increases successively, meeting the needs of the social environment and, in the case of the engineering schools, attending “our industry in full development”²⁰. The first naval engineers and geologists of the country graduate and are absorbed by Petrobras. Government messages cite several pieces of research carried out at USP, Institute of Atomic Energy, Institute of Tropical Medicine and Nuclear Medicine Center, the latter ones installed in 1959. The IPT – Technological Research Institute – performs testing, analyses and research for the industrial sector and for the hydroelectric power plants program²¹. The Secretary of Agriculture invests in the Agronomic Institute, in the Biological Institute and in the Animal Nutrition Center; creates the Agronomic Training Center (Figure 3), the Tropical Center for Research and Technology of Food, and builds large facilities for them.

The DOP – Direction of Public Works – hires more than 120 engineers, architects, designers, clerks and photographers in 1959 to face the production demand of public buildings.

The Carvalho Pinto government is not limited, thus, to the Action Plan. Marcucci²² defines the “Five CP`s flags”: “planning, financial and political unit, agrarian review, confrontation of social issues, balanced nationalism”. The law 5444 dated from 11/17/1959, which “provides on financial measures related to the Action Plan”, establishes innovative tools for budget management for the time. The multi-annual budget avoids political bargaining, enabling the plan²³. The mention to the “planning-budget” is significant²⁴.

Issues relating to the Action Plan funding sources deserve attention, since they involve important political decisions. Action Plan funding sources are located in budgetary and extra-budgetary revenue, state banks and Ipesp. The latter has built about 1,150 buildings for education, health, justice and public security, agricultural development and technical assistance throughout the territory, to be offered on lease to the state secretaries. The law 5444 dated from 11/17/1959 raised the borrowing limit of Paulista municipalities in loans destined to sanitation works from 1/3 to 50% of their budgeted income.

The Action Plan advocated the use of non-inflationary instruments and opposed to increase the tax burden. However, the newly elected governor articulated since before his inauguration the raise in the Sales and Consignment Tax, “the ‘terrible’ famine tax”, “only once previously increased by the Legislative Assembly”. The deputies approved the project, even after Caio Prado Jr. has remained in obstruction in the tribune for three straight days, until he passed out²⁵. This was the funding source of the great energy and transport works in the period.



FIGURE 4 CATI Complex (Coordination of Integral Technical Assistance, former Agronomic Training Center) (foreground) and ITAL (Institute of Food Technology, former Tropical Center for Research and Technology of Food) at Fazenda Santa Eliza, Campinas, SP. Partial panoramic view.

While the Action Plan foresees the creation of FAPESP – Fund for Scientific and Technological Research of São Paulo State –, the controversial Agrarian Review is not included in it, although it is a central political platform of Carvalho Pinto’s government. Its absence certainly results from its polemical character. Again, such initiative reveals more than the buildings, the political orientation of the Action Plan. The agrarian question – concerning the promotion of access to land – remains untouched in JK’s government, and is faced by Carvalho Pinto in a liberal way, just establishing “stimulus norms of rural property rational and economic exploitation”.

RESULTS AND EVALUATIONS OF THE ACTION PLAN

Despite of Ipesp having justified its production of public buildings as a means to protect the pension funds from inflation, this measure proves to be controversial. Political opponents denounce the misuse of these funds and argue that it reduces the amount allocated by Ipesp to housing finance to its insurees.

Despite of the differences between the Targets Plan and the Action Plan, this scenario is common to the Brazilian planning experience in those years: faced with funding restraints, energy, transport and basic industries sectors are prioritized, social areas are attended through pension funds – when they are –, and issues such as housing and urbanization are not touched by public sector²⁶. In the Paulista case, the governor determines the exclusion of such items²⁷. Exactly for this reason, the Action Plan reaches high achievement rates²⁸, as well as the Targets Plan.

If the innovative budget management avoids political bargain, the Action Plan, as well as its federal counterpart, acquire an advertising character²⁹, highlighting the physical targets at the expense of more controversial issues such as the Agrarian Revision, administrative reform, funding sources. In both cases, the conflicts emerged from

the highly polarized Cold War scenario are deviated to planning and its “neutral and apolitical” agents³⁰, enabling governmental action. However, this same politically polarized scenario discourages the planning institutions proposition, because of the supposed socialist character of planning³¹. The resemblance to the Targets Plan emerges once again, in the call for a “parallel administration” based on the creation of government agencies, authorities and working groups to dribble the truncated traditional administrative structure³².

Thus, the non-institutionalization of state planning is considered one of the reasons of Action Plan’s success. At the same time, the plan is criticized as “restricted to a list of works” and because of its non-institutionalization: despite of having prepared the Action Plan II, the group that gathers around the governor dissolves after the defeat of Carvalho Pinto’s candidate, the Secretary of Agriculture Jose Bonifacio Coutinho Nogueira, in the succession race³³. Herein lies a whole range of issues that cause the incorporation of planning in an “uneven and fragmentary” way, as to say, “as it could be applied in Brazil”³⁴.

CONCLUSION

The Action Plan responds to the global and national postwar scene, where topics like industrialization, development, research and development, agricultural revolution, underdevelopment and its consequences are recurrent. The polarized political process and the incapacity of funding and importation are obstacles to Brazilian industrialization, and mark planning initiatives such as the Action Plan.

As the whole Brazilian planning experience at the time, the Action Plan has a developmentist character, consisting in physical targets or policies that depended on them, like those related to basic and higher education, health, scientific and technological research.

On the one hand, the Action Plan recognizes the role played by agriculture, education, public health and sanitation in development, along with the transport and energy. On the other hand, the increase of the tax burden and of the indebtedness of municipalities, and the use of social security funds feed the plan, especially its social areas. Housing and urbanization remain untouched by public sector. Despite the mention to the “improvement of man’s conditions”, the conjunctural analyses and public policies – sometimes not included in the plan – reveal conservative contents. The agrarian-exporter and industrial interests impact on the planning and other government policies.

The Action Plan allocates financial resources of all existing funding sources to the agrarian exporter sector in crisis. However, the Agrarian Revision is faced in a liberal, if not conservative way; it avoids the word “reform” and is not effective.

Despite of the privileged treatment given to this sector, the Secretary of Agriculture José Bonifácio Coutinho is defeated in the elections by Adhemar de Barros, right-wing populist politician who was São Paulo mayor at that time and had power within the urban electorate. This shows the political, economic and social transformations that took place in São Paulo and Brazil towards modernization, industrialization and urbanization, resulting, among others, from the planning initiatives.

The choice for non institutionalization of planning, and the resulting setback at the end of Carvalho Pinto’s government, are product and expression of the vicissitudes and possibilities of Brazilian modernization. Thus considered in its broader dimensions, Carvalho Pinto’s Action Plan reveals the deep marks left by it in the São Paulo State territory and its cities.

Acknowledgements

Maria Lucia Gitahy, HSTTFSAU; Miguel Buzzar and Monica Junqueira de Camargo; CNPq for the financial support to successive research projects that result in this article.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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FAVELAS AND THE NORMATIVE, INSTITUTIONAL SOCIAL HOUSING SYSTEM IN BRAZIL: DISCIPLINE VERSUS FREEDOM, PRIVATE VERSUS PUBLIC THROUGH AN ANALYSIS OF THE UNPRIVILEGED WORKING CLASS HISTORY

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Most of today's Brazilian Social Housing Institutional complexes are standardized mass buildings. They are planned in the periphery of cities, have no connection to public transportation systems and are disconnected from their respective local context. The planning approach to housing is compliant with 'state simplification models' which turn a blind eye from the dynamics of the informal sector. This unprecedented study demonstrates that the polarization between institutional planning and the changing needs of society continues to expose the vast inequalities between social classes. This is analysed through a historic study of the Brazilian working class system and its development over recent years. The study compares two very distinct scenarios: on one hand, social housing conceived by traditional stakeholders, institutions and real estate agencies seems to follow a disciplinary approach and segment the life of privileged workers/formal workers. On the other hand, less privileged workers are allowed to freely build their own housing. Thus, this article traces a -binary interrelation between planning for the privileged and for the unprivileged, explaining how favelas became a legitimate form of mass housing in Brazil.

Keywords

Favela, Brazil, social housing history, working class, planning, architecture

How to Cite

Cavalcanti, Ana Rosa Chagas. "Favelas and the normative, institutional Social Housing System in Brazil: discipline versus freedom, private versus public through an analysis of the unprivileged working class history". In Carola Hein (ed.) *International Planning History Society Proceedings, 17th IPHS Conference, History-Urbanism-Resilience, TU Delft 17-21 July 2016, V.04 p.173, TU Delft Open, 2016.*

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7480/iphs.2016.4.1290>

INTRODUCTION

This study is a planning anthology concerned with both the freedom and the discipline of planning ‘gestures’ towards the working class sector in Brazil. Thus, in being so, the study does not aim to be structured in a conventional way, but rather through historical periods. Firstly, this paper traces back to the abolition of slavery in 1888 because from then onwards, the country witnessed a sharp rise in the demand for working class housing. Next it refers to the advent of ‘wage employment’ and to the so-called ‘working class villas’, which were initially conceived by the private sector. After that during the military regime, especially during the 60’s, housing became a major concern for state institutions due to the increase in demand, allowing for the emergence of institutes such as IAPI, IAPC and IAPB, whose task was to provide housing for legal workers of exclusive sectors. Post 1980s social housing is also discussed and compared with the previous systems. Finally, the article refers to the fact that some members of society have joined forces to try and implement participatory planning such as the ‘Liga Social contra o Mocambo’ and ‘Mutirão’. In so doing, the distinction between those workers who have had access social housing and those who haven’t will hopefully be diminished through a better planning system. This study also aims to put forward ideas that are currently considered to be ideologies in the Brazilian planning process.

The author believes that traditional education in the planning sector can be broadened to address labour, especially because labour networks are important to understand architecture and urbanism within informal settlements. After all, the knowledge inherited from favela builders is embedded in labour practices¹ which are often obfuscated by a number of architectural and technocratic assumptions. An example is that the architect possesses superior expertise than the masons of a typical favela. Through consideration and study of a typical worker’s perspective, dogmas and traditional assumptions that link the ‘privileged’ with the ‘unprivileged’ can be discussed. By highlighting how unprivileged workers were left aside to build their own houses throughout several historical periods, the aim is to show how ‘resilient planning’ (ex. the favela) has become permanent a mass housing system in Brazil.

Prior to the discussion, a number of important assumptions regarding Brazilian favelas ought to be pointed out. The knowledge presented in this paper and its references has been accumulated through years of observation and study. Previous ethnographic research conducted by the author within Brazilian favelas (Sururu de Capote 2008-2009/Grota de Santo Antônio/ Favela do Telegrafo 2014-2015), has been focusing on both the construction systems used as well as the everyday life of the inhabitants. An example is the masons themselves, who are important figures in these communities. Questions concerning issues as: 1) the working journeys of the mason in and out of the favela; 2) the knowledge/wisdom of masons brought up in a favela; 3) their experiences in the formal and the informal city; 4) to and from 45) the discrete network which supplies construction materials for favela builders; or, 56) the extent of collaboration between dwellers inside and outside the favelas.

Most of the interviewed masons have been involved in construction from a young age, initially by doing odd jobs such as mixing the cement or carrying small tools and later through more technical work, eventually becoming mason assistants. Finally, after years gathering experience they become a mason, often doing technical courses provided by the government in order to become more specialised. Most of these people also work in the ‘formal city’ on complex (and sometimes luxurious) building projects together with engineers and architects. Concurrently, during their weekends, their free time or in the evenings they build houses and spaces within the favela.

¹ I refer to the concept of practice of Michel de Certeau (see reference).

The building techniques and construction knowledge that the masons possess can be demonstrated as follows: A favela mason's expertise covers a broad range of skills: from handling heavy machinery on site to implementing construction details within the building. . (or not)The diversity of the masons' knowledge pool and shared experiences are reflected in the construction of the favela. It is important to understand that the dynamic within favelas cannot be entirely isolated from the practices of the 'formal city' and knowledge and values are intertwined through labour practices.

Overall, labour issues need investigation for several epistemic reasons, primarily because these are often unknown to an architect who wishes to address an informal settlement. Labour is fundamental for a favela inhabitant and affects how the house will be used, designed and accessed by people. For example, houses are also often functioning as workshops, adapting to work activities which are somewhat merged with domestic life. Furthermore, favelas are becoming economic factors on a global scale (Richard Burdett & Deyan Sudjic, eds, 2007) and as rent rises, properties commoditise, as David Madden has shown in his recent study which states that commodification is a process that addresses even the poorest of settlements (Madden, 2015). Apart from this, one must also note that inhabitants migrate from rural to urban areas mostly because of labour opportunities that cities provide. It is common practice worldwide to consider labour as an important criterion to evaluate the impacts of informality. The concept of planetary urbanization by Neil Brenner² shows the contradictions of analysing informality in contrast to formality (among other binaries). This intertwining of formal and informal worlds highlights the incontestable presence of favelas and its informal contexts as a constant phenomenon in the urban space (Roy & Alsayad, eds, 2008; Harvey, 2013; Sennet, 2011; Sassen, 2011, Brenner, 2013).

All in all, this introduction aims to stress that the formal-informal dynamics of labour in the city are interrelated. Also, the fact that this article highlights a dual planning perspective is coined by ideology more than by real dynamics. One must also mention that this paper focuses on this long-standing ideological 'binary approach' adopted by the authorities and institutions. Within this framework, the focus is on the planning of the Brazilian housing system which, throughout its history, seemed to selectively support workers who were able to access housing and to decide on how they were expected to dwell and behave through the choice of design attributes, decisions, infrastructures and individualization. And how on the other hand, those who were excluded freely build their houses and based their design standards. All in all, it is about how planning strategies have been continuously divided into those to be disciplined and those to be let free to not only 'build' both their needs and values.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

As explained before, this article is part of a broader survey on architecture and labour, tackling labour privileges together with housing planning in Brazil. Due to word limitations the historical study is focused on the examination of the Brazilian working class and its development. There is a speculative inquiry on how polarization between institutional planning and the changing needs of society has allowed resilient forms of planning to become permanent (e.g. favelas). This text also demonstrates that the historical analysis of the working class is intrinsically related to a long-lasting symbolic distinction between 'workers with rights' and 'workers without rights'. Above all, the interrelations and values shared by these two 'classes' provides evidence for understanding ideological inequalities within the Brazilian housing system. Finally, it must be noted that the intention is not to go into the violent political conflicts that inequality in labour systems typically instigate, but simply to look at how planning development and society correlate.

2 The Concept of Planetary Urbanization of Brenner defends that there is not such a binary distinction between the rural and the urban. And that currently the world is urbanizing till the most remote confines of the planet.

The answers in this analysis are far from complete but offer a unique perspective on labour privileges and housing planning in Brazil. They are presented from an architectural and urban planning perspective through the use of graphics and the creative interpretation of data. This approach is appropriate due to aid in methodological and academic issues which are implicit to such disciplines. The institutionalisation of labour rights have historically affected and directly influenced planning policies. Detailed analysis of labour patterns in Brazil highlights that some ideological issues can be humanized through the lenses of work, which is a practice shared by many (both privileged and unprivileged).

A number of historical periods in Brazil, namely the post abolition period, the military regime period or the democratic period, can today shed light on how the housing problem became idealised through various factors such as politics, sociology or materiality. Housing became an important topic for both the individual and the collective. At a certain point, labour rights were only given to certain 'skilled workers' and anyone who had a working position inside an 'institutionalized labour setting' had access to credit and thus to adequate housing. However, many others were left to fend for themselves, finding their own way to provide their families with shelter, sometimes even opting to build it themselves, either alone or as a group.

For example, during the period of slavery, the distinction between those who had houses and those who didn't was based on one's freedom and one's labour status: Slaves lived in the *senzala* while owners of production facilities lived in the *Casa Grande* (which are portions of a same property), monks lived in monasteries, priests in churches, peasants in self constructed houses and workers of the Coroa Portuguesa resided in houses provided by Portugal (Freyre, 1933). Later during the post abolition period, unprivileged workers included small entrepreneurs and independent workers: free slaves, immigrants (mostly Italians from the WWI and WWII), artists and so on. These lived in cortices or started the favelas.

At this time social housing and the right to dwell was almost non-existent except for factory workers or citizens who owned either a property or a production facility. During this period private property owners started planning the so-called "first social housing prototypes" (Bonduki, 2014). Historical analysis shows that these prototypes were provided to those who were somehow considered to be 'privileged workers' and not to every worker. During the military regime railway workers, retired state workers, marine workers and many other military workers were the only ones who had access to the social housing provided by the state. This commodity coincided with a building boom in the cities and the explosion of favelas. Once again, the distinction between working classes is most evident. Further to this, privileged workers seem to have been accommodated in projects that were dominated by discipline, isolation and segmentation of functions. It is also evident that unprivileged workers often tended to self build, customize and constantly change their living environment, sometimes sharing their domestic life with other families. This multi-family concept of living is reflected in the design of such a project.

Two ideologies stem from this process: Firstly, one may note that the classification of specific citizens as 'privileged workers' and 'unprivileged workers' may change in time, but the planning distinction between these two terms seems to remain constant. In addition, the unprivileged working class in Brazil created different forms of resilience over the years. Several manners of organizing work and creating opportunity out of limited resources and rights were created since the period where slaves lived together with their owners (in the *Casa Grande e Senzala*). All periods are subdivided into Discipline and Freedom (some forms of discipline in planning are of course more violent, and others are subtle) inasmuch as the response. All in all, the favela planning, the counter culture planning, the *Senhores de Engenho* planning, the post-military planning, have much in common. In all times of Brazilian planning, the aim seemed to provide spaces to discipline the workers who had benefits, and let the workers who were not privileged, free to build and change spaces (creating a culture of planning) that also relates with labour.

DISCIPLINE OR FREEDOM: AN IMPRESSION ON SOCIAL HOUSING ARCHITECTURE PRACTICE IN BRAZIL

From 2008 onwards, the provision of social housing has been quite a pressing issue for the Brazilian government.. As of 2013, information from the Institute of Geography and Statistics has shown that Brazil has had a 10% housing deficit (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, 2013), most of which is located in city areas. The history of Brazilian institutional planning demonstrates successive cases of failed attempts to set out a planning system based on a ‘one for all’ model, often having a top-down approach and including a chunky package that tries to focus on everything.

Beyond the corridors of universities and state institutions, social housing is still a non-consolidated topic in Brazilian planning literature. Inventories are difficult to obtain because collection of data is rare and undistributed, such that significant samples of successful and failed housing practices are hard to come across. Furthermore, this practice is still considered a ‘second category architecture’ by most local planning professionals, who often prefer to work for real estate agencies.

What makes Brazil a very particular case to study social housing is the polarization between what authorities are planning and what and the changing needs of society are. For example, although the Constitution of 1988 assures dwelling rights to all citizens (Planalto Brasileiro, 1988), in reality, the system is not capable to address the demand. A person earning a minimum wage cannot rent an empty area in the so-called “formal city”. Thus, one could say that the favelas are a clear claim of housing by ‘self-doing’. Favelas have been set aside for a long time, so much so that they have grown to enormous proportions within the cities. Subjectively, one can say that they have become a legitimate Brazilian mass housing system.

The Brazilian social housing system demonstrates the long lasting binary framework of its planning practices. Stakeholders and real estate agencies are forced to take on a disciplinary and segregating approach to housing space, investing a lot of effort to segment the life of privileged (so-called formal) workers from those of the unprivileged (informal). At the same time, the system still allows unprivileged workers to freely build their own houses and increment those spaces which are excluded from the disciplinary planning system.

These two facets of the Brazilian social housing scheme do not only refer to design features of domestic space but also explain how housing processes are today shaping values of a city in development, and how they will continue to do so in the future. In both cases, the planning system takes on the approach of persistence under antagonistic circumstances.

A HISTORY OF FREEDOM AND DISCIPLINE: FROM POST ABOLITION PERIOD TILL NOWADAYS.

Prior to the abolition of slavery in 1888, Brazilian slaves lived together in *Senzalas*^{3*}(Figure 1). In the years that followed, working class houses in Brazil were constantly in high demand. During this period the country shifted from a slave-based, agrarian export economy to an industrial economy. Since then, the production of social housing was conducted via a top-down approach. Initially this was done by the private sector through previous slave-owners who started building factories and villas to shelter their workers (Bonduki, 2014). Following this, state government intervened with a utilitarian approach to tackle the sharp rise in housing demand, often openly favoring privileged, 'formal workers'. Despite the constant presence of informal and liberal workers within Brazilian society, access to housing was discriminatorily conceived to serve as many formal workers as possible by stipulating that only those with a valid employment contract could apply for social housing.

The first Brazilian housing complexes were both conceived and provided by the private sector, by those who owned some form of means of production. This scenario was as though the right of the owner of the *senzala* was transferred to factory owners at that time. With the introduction of wages and employment some factory owners began to build the so-called working class villas (Bonduki, 2014). Once again the uncanny distinction between those workers who could live in social housing and those who couldn't was strongly underlined. Firstly, workers could not buy houses and secondly, they could only live in the villa if they were working in the factories as the rent was directly debited from their salary. This was typical of the first Brazilian social housing prototypes (Bonduki, 2014). The *Quilombos* and *Ocas* (living in structures respectively built by the fugitive slaves and by the American Indians) which preceded this period show alternative models of social housing, distinctively notable for their multi-family housing concept and collective characteristics.

During this period, housing planning in Brazil was characterized by a disciplinary approach because workers needed to perform well. The internal layout of the houses tended to be strictly functional and spaces were segmented to follow industrial ideals. These houses were places where the workers and their families could rest while at the same time guarantee that they would have a proper place to perform every domestic activity in the appropriate space and in the appropriate period of the day.

Working class villas looked like several isolated or germinated housing units: long rows of houses side by side(Figure 2), close to the factories and in the outskirts of the city. Some of these complexes included common areas and infrastructure such as a central plaza, schools, gas stations, theaters, cinemas, nurseries, churches, gym, and so forth. Moreover, villas had almost no contact with the public life of the rest of the city. Life followed a strict routine inside the confines of a sort of gated community near the factories; as if pictured by the storage man of Walter Benjamin^{4*}, being included the fact that many villas had siren control.

3 houses of slaves - that is, an annex of the Casa Grande which is the house of slave's owners),

4 Walter Benjamin: Der destruktive Charakter



FIGURE 1 Graphic of Casa Grande e Senzala from Cicero Dias. The picture shows how labour and domestic life were related in the pre-abolition period. Values and social practices were shared between the privileged working class and the slaves; Physically these were separated but virtually they were intertwined through labour.



FIGURE 2 Rio de Janeiro, Villa Marechal Hermes 1922 – picture shows the houses of workers of an industry. They were usually isolated or geminated casas. Often there was a cinema, a theater a children nursery, a clinique, a sports center, churches, gas station. All these facilities stimulated the inhabitants to stay in the Villa.



FIGURE 3 Cortiço, Rio de Janeiro: a multifamily housing housing where families shared collective spaces such as clothes line and a central courtyard. Brazilian independent workers of the post abolition period usually lived in these spaces.

At this time, numerous property owners invested in cheap housing blocks with no sewage connection. These hives, the so-called *corticós*⁵ (Figure 3), usually consisted of several rooms connected by corridors and an atrium where recreational and social events could take place. Artists, free workers, free slaves, informal workers and immigrants sought this kind of housing. In contrast to the villas, everyday activities happened in the reduced space of the room, overloading multiple space functions or having to meddle with the neighbor's room for several reasons deriving from the lack of space or insalubrity. Furthermore, with housing being an exclusive commodity, inhabitants often came across constant rent increases, often having to move elsewhere. Consequently, some people began occupying land illegally in the outskirts of the city.

Once again, while former workers lived in disciplined spaces, informal workers were left aside to come up with a solution that satisfied their most basic needs (Figure 4). This binary framework survived during the military regime when housing became a significant concern for State Institutions. During this time, only a few specific workers could legally subscribe to social housing. These included retired workers from the government, from the military sector from commercial sector, from industrial sector and from banks.

⁵ Hives - Popular knowed as Cabeça de Porco - or Pork head.

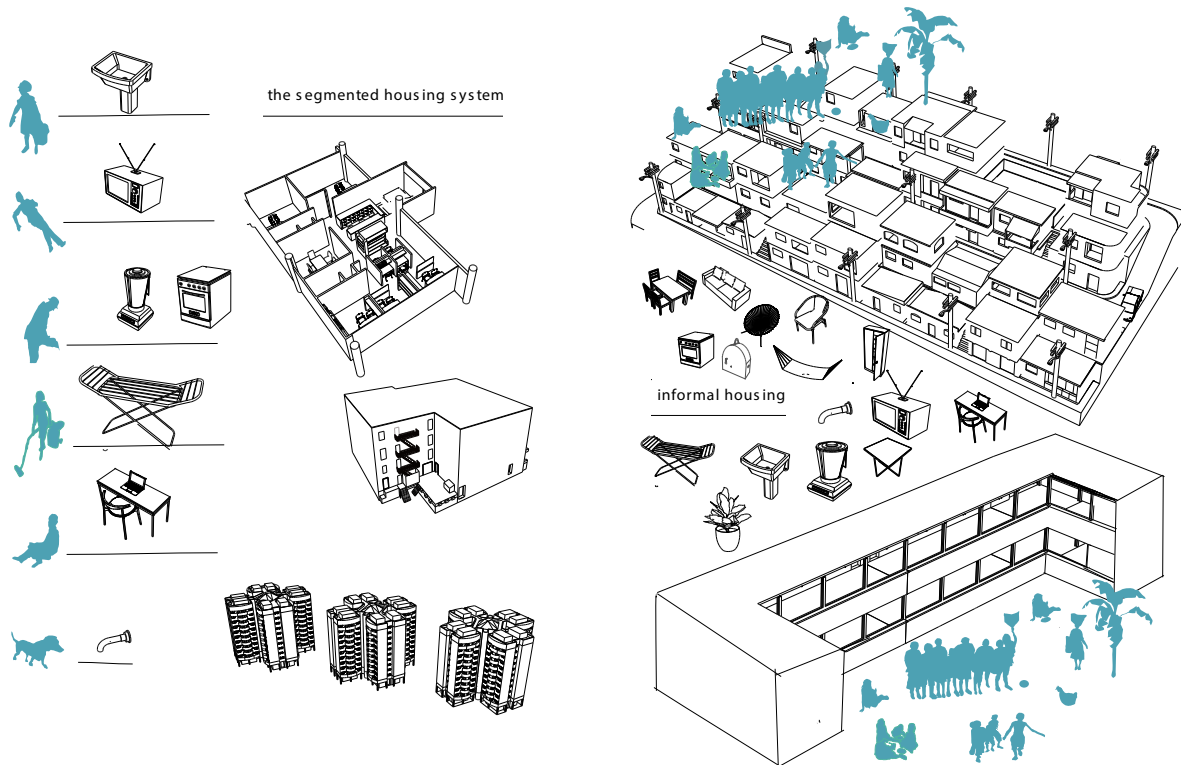


FIGURE 4 Graphic of multi-family housing for the privileged workers: Spaces and functions are defined. Graphic of favelas and multifamily housing for the unprivileged workers: Spaces and functions are blurry.

It is important to note that even today, not all laborers have managed to legalize their working conditions, including those who previously belonged to ‘formal’ industries. The industrial sector has boomed, leading to a significant increase in migration from rural to city areas, and thus to more people seeking housing. At this point, the favelas became an intuitive option for many people, leading to such a rapid growth in such dwellings, almost forcing the authorities to turn a blind eye on the on their outrageous living conditions. While this process could probably not have been hindered, the flux of migrants was synonymous with the authorities’ long-term goals, which were to increase population in the urban centers and create an industrial workforce.

With no other option except to plan their own houses, a particular logic of deconstructing and of consensually subverting the segmented city arose amongst unprivileged workers. This extraordinary dynamic revealed new forms of thinking, planning, predicting and designing the domestic activities. Suddenly a family’s needs, the spatial layout the correlation between public and private life came into play under people’s ownership. This form of planning instigated people`s imagination and opened up new possibilities for them – it pushed them to be incremental, creative, and adaptive. A direct reaction to survive.

During the 60s, Brazilian housing production increased significantly due to the emergence of institutes devoted to housing for legal workers (IAPI, Instituto de Aposentados e Pensionistas da Industria; IAPC Instituto de Aposentados e Pensionistas do Comercio, and IAPB Institutos de Aposentados e Pensionistas do Brasil). Most of these complexes consisted of mass housing blocks lacking design quality and not adhering to strict sanitary laws, such as the iconic Amarelinho in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil(Figure 5). The few exceptions are the Pedregulho(Figure 5), the Japurá and the Conjunto Residencial Passo D` areia. This building was inspired by the CIAM whilst the Cité Jardim can be labeled as a Modernist piece of architecture.



FIGURE 5 Rio de Janeiro, Social Housing for the privileged workers 'Amarelinho' (inhabitants are removed people from a favela). Pedregulho Social Housing for the Privileged workers (inhabitants were state workers – from cleaning service workers to secretaries and technicians of the government).



FIGURE 6 Image of a project designed by the Liga Social contra o Mocambo in Recife.

Up until the 1980s, planning for social housing still favoured the privileged working class, denying low-income workers or so-called illegal workers. For example, in social housing complexes throughout the whole country it is common to find a room for a maid, indicating that aristocratic sense and values with which they were designed. However, contemporary to this period, a number of alternative sectors of society united to conduct participatory planning, such as the *Liga Social contra o Mocambo* (Figure 6), and *Mutiroes*.

CONCLUSIONS: DEALING WITH FUTURE PERSPECTIVES

Nowadays, Brazilian planning processes seem to be ideological. Terms such as *refavelização* have been introduced within the social housing planning sector. This refers to the attitude of changing a house design or de-characterizing it, and originates from ex-favela dwellers who have been placed in 'decent and clean' social housing. This has happened in places like the *Favela Cidade de Deus* around the 70's and the same process happens now in the project *Minha Casa Minha Vida* (MCMV).

Practices and habits, such as domestic life and labour systems are linked with historical and ideological processes which seem to suggest the outcomes of how to plan for the 'unprivileged' in 'privileged' spaces. Alternative planning such as *mutirões* and the project *favela bairro*, deal with the existing context of dwellers and contribute to the maintenance of this ideological process of segregation. This is done by (quite literally) accepting the 'unprivileged wherever they are'. On the other hand condominiums *fechados*, and luxurious gated communities are planned for the privileged. Such projects do not contribute to a porous city and are not ideal for an open city whereby privileged and unprivileged life co-exist side by side and share values (Sennet, 2015).

Thus, it is not surprising that the re-modeling and incrementing of spaces out of non-existent housing support structures were constructed alongside the narrative of a system of planning which is extremely disciplinary and devoted to a certain group of society. It is also unsurprising that this has fueled the ideology that housing has to be enclosed within itself, apart from the city fabric and a product, not a process. But what about today when this binary condition is somewhat oppressing? What if we understand housing as a process, not as product? What if we look at the city in between encounters? What lies beyond gated communities, favelas, and housing units with doorkeepers and maids? Today, the social class that lives in the favela (nowadays also defined as the middle class) is what sociologist Jesse de Sousa could call 'yuppies de fundo de quintal', 'batalhadores' and 'rale' (Souza, 2010). What remains?

What if architects considered society's core preoccupations through design? What if multiple living structures were included in the informal creative economy and traditional planning schemes? Perhaps it is worth looking more closely at which design patterns are produced inside the favelas. In other words, planning for housing in the favela should be a process that is committed to the long-term, to the effective participation of communities and with strategies that anticipate future growth patterns.

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to thank the inhabitants of the Favela Grota de Santo Antonio, where I worked and lived. I thank Prof. Dr. Nelson Mota and Prof. Dick van Gameren for being my advisors at TU Delft. Also, I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Neil Brenner for his advice of the book 'Seeing like a State' of James Scott, which has been the basis for my doctoral studies.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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Ana Rosa Chagas Cavalcanti is a Ph.D. Candidate at the Delft University of Technology supported by Sciences without Borders. Furthermore, she was awarded some architectural competitions which the first prize and she exhibited at international architecture exhibitions such as IBA Hamburg and the Biennial of Public Spaces (2015). She founded the "School of Favela Architecture" (2014), where favela inhabitants and academics can share knowledge on dwelling. This work unfolded an Exhibition at UCL Cities Methodologies (London, 2014), as well as articles at renewed international conferences/magazines and, it has received a positive critique from HDM editors (Cambridge-USA, 2015). She was "IJURR fellow" in 2015 (Harvard, UCLA, Sciences Po, ETH Zurich, LSE, ...) and has participated at the Wohnungsfrage Academy 2015 (HKW+Columbia Buel Center, 2015).

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Image sources

- Figure 1: Casa Grande e Senzala, Illustration of Cicero Dias 1933. Scanned from the book Casa Grande e Senzala (Freyre, 1933).
- Figure 2: Picture of Villa Marechal Hermes (1922), project documentation. Scanned from Nabil Bonduki's book (Bonduky, 2014).
- Figure 3: Estalagem na Rua do Senado 1906, Picture of Augusto Matta. Scanned from Nabil Bonduki's book (Bonduky, 2014).
- Figure 4: Creative collage, Deriva. Ana Rosa Chagas Cavalcanti (2015).
- Figure 5: "Amarelinho" e "Pedregulho". Scanned from Nabil Bonduki's book (Bonduky, 2014).
- Figure 6: Picture of the project "Liga social contra o Mocambo". Scanned from Nabil Bonduki's book (Bonduky, 2014).

Planned Landscape and Planning for Modern Living

Chair: *Laura Kolbe*

GENEALOGY OF DUTCH NATIONAL PARKS: LANDSCAPE, ECOLOGY, POLITICS

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Landscape planning ambitions were often formulated in political centres, and are closely connected to wider frameworks of spatial, regional and urban planning. The Netherlands have a rich tradition in landscape politics. From this perspective, this paper concentrates on one particular planning concept: national parks. The concept of national parks was introduced in the 1980s against the background of long lasting debates about nature preservation. Its goal was a better integration of political and ecological perspectives. It is exactly this connection between policies and ecology which will be investigated, with the help of the Drents Friese Wold - a national park in the north of the country. The Drents Friese Wold is an illustrative case-study of 'landscaping', in the sense of the active connotation of making and shaping the land. In 'landscaping' as a continuous activity, we can see both nature's law and political ideologies at work. From the physical landscape, we learn how climate, relief, soil, water, flora and fauna are fundamental to our environment. Interactions between the environment and the political context are another basic aspect. From the Middle Ages until modernity, the Drents Friese Wold landscape was closely related to common uses and economic necessities. After 1850 new techniques and social-economic policies affected the landscape appearance enormously. From the 1960s nature conservation and heritage (both ecological and cultural) were the main drivers of landscape preservation and development. In this ongoing process, the concept of 'national parks' was embraced in order to strengthen ecological politics. As such, it was more than just a policy label, but a metaphorical instrument which influenced the interaction between the ideologies and the physical landscape. Our contribution will reveal that politics deeply affects the landscape as such. We connect to historical research which has emphasized how, during the 20th century, landscaping is affected by political ideologies. Moreover, we hope to underscore the continuous interaction between ecological and political perspectives, and will question the patterns of continuity and change within and between these two categories. Although the physical landscape of the Drents Friese Wold was subject to many transformations, policies in contemporary history are rather stable in stressing the landscape's ecological essence which has to be preserved.

Keywords

Landscape, Ecology, Politics, Landscaping, Physical landscape, Planning

PLANNING FOR BOURGEOIS CLASS: BOULEVARDS, GRAND HOTELS AND URBAN MODERNITIES IN MAJOR BIG CITIES AT THE BALTIC SEA IN 1870-1914

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During the decades before WWI, most major European cities inclined towards a planning process of creating imposing urban architecture and public places. The aim was to strengthen imperial, royal or national self-assertion. Also, the new spaces of consumption (department stores, boutiques, Grand Hotels) reflected how the class formation of bourgeois classes began to influence metropolitan planning. In addition to the social segregation, a process of functional urban division dominated big cities. Distinct business, entertainment and residential districts were formed along wide public areas, like modern boulevards, parks and squares. Tourism and the increase of interurban and transnational exchange, affected the use of these spaces.

The greatest period of European Grand Hotels is during the years 1860 to 1914. Grand hotels became main stages for enlightened, liberal, creative, wealthy and even progressive bourgeois in all their activities, charged with the task of bourgeois representation. Whether educated or “self-made”, they were usually engaged within the new industrial and professional occupations, especially banking, building, insurance, services, commerce, and the public sector. They formed the backbone of the new urban elite, active in many clubs and political, national and cultural associations. This group was also interested in urban planning and representation. Therefore grand hotel is a key site for exploring the innovative urban meanings of 19th century social space. Grand hotel fosters a vision of true metropolitan life promoted by modern politicians, architects and planners. Grand hotel may be treated as a microcosm for understanding the notion of public space in the larger realms of city planning.

In my presentation will be discussed the role of grand hotel in major big cities at the Baltic Sea, including capital cities of St. Petersburg and Stockholm, as well as provincial urban centers like Helsinki, Riga and Vilnius. In all these cities a grand hotel was opened in years 1874-1890. These hotels were frequently visited by the new urban elite, reflecting the changes in local political climate. The need for a respectable semi-public establishment was part of an emerging vision of the city. Located in the city center - either in a newly planned esplanade park area, main urban lane or in close communication with the old city and royal palace - the grand hotel became a visible symbol of modern urban life.

The buildings worked as an aesthetic and social ensemble, symbolizing the rhythms of the developing metropolis. The location was exceptionally privileged, being close to government offices, banks, theaters, large agency houses, markets, shops and amusements. The opening ceremonies of Grand Hotels were important occasions, creating local and even national pride, as these buildings and hotel business reflected the social structure of a capital city, worthy European comparison. In my presentation I will discuss the how the cosmopolitan hotel image and local urban requirements were closely linked with each other, reflecting the up-to-date planning ideals and urban social order of late 19th century.

Keywords

Grand Hotels, Urban modernities, Planning public spaces, Bourgeois ideals, Baltic Sea, Capital Cities

THE IAPI HOUSING ESTATE IN HONÓRIO GURGEL: ELEMENTS OF PERMANENCE AND TRANSFORMATIONS

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One of the major contributions by modern architects and urban planning specialists has been their concern with housing. A good example of the trend of building housing estate is the Honório Gurgel IAPI housing estate, inaugurated in 1947. The story behind this housing estate and its relation with the North Rio de Janeiro City district is linked to its origin related to the train service and the industrialization projects then blooming in the country and in the city. Nowadays, there is important community participation in its transformations. An attempt is made to understand how the local history was influenced by this housing estate and how it continues to relate with this architecture and the urban implementation. It is also based on the observation of its public and private spaces, in the intentionally built domains and those found in the residual areas, especially along the railway. The work seeks to relate these spaces with the living experiences of their dwellers. It proposes not only an observation of the district and of the use given to its public spaces, but also the history of the housing estate and that of the entire district.

Keywords

adaptation on housing estates, modern urban planning, history of the cities, Rio de Janeiro

How to Cite

De Almeida, Daniel Athias; Moraes Rego Fagerlande, Sergio. "The Train, Urban Mobility and Tourism Regarding the Revival of the History of Guapimirim". In Carola Hein (ed.) *International Planning History Society Proceedings, 17th IPHS Conference, History-Urbanism-Resilience, TU Delft 17-21 July 2016, V.04 p.191*, TU Delft Open, 2016.

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7480/iphs.2016.4.1291>

INTRODUCTION

Rio de Janeiro City is always looked at from the perspective of its marvellous aspects. Its image was built on its natural and architectural monuments, lush landscape with beaches and mountains, and a history that seems to be restricted to the historic downtown area and South Rio, where the high-income districts and the tourist sights that draw the world's attention are concentrated. Many times, even from a study interest perspective of its formation, the city seems to be restricted to that territory or, at the very most its opposite, the favela, place that defies urban order. Against this thinking and practice, this article deals with a small peripheral area of the city: the Honório Gurgel district, located in North Rio. Departing from a study on its initial historical formation, considering the railroad presence in the configuration of Rio suburbs, the development of Brasil Avenue (Avenida Brasil), and the construction of an important housing estate, we can examine the area's history, the transformations and permanences, with special focus on public use space and local community initiatives in these public areas. In this context, we can have a perspective of how a modernist-inspired building has been appropriated by the local residents.

This small stronghold has been little studied. It is not a slum area, but part of the suburbs, with a huge working class population, human and cultural wealth. Referring to books by Bonduki (2014) and Bonduki and Koury (2014), we can examine in more depth the design of the Honório Gurgel IAPI housing estate, one of those built in the 1940s, as a draft for housing social policies, aiming to meet the increasing demands for industrialization.

The district's history, written by one of its oldest dwellers, was another important source for this article. Souza (2013), one of the pioneers in the housing estate, is an active community leader and, in writing the book about her affective memories of the district, posed a challenge for both city researchers and local residents, so that the theme can be more deeply explored. In addition to writing the book, the author was responsible for creating a community movement in the 1980s that up to present has stimulated many of the local residents to rescue the local identity, value the history and the people who live there.

The article seeks to recuperate the history of the district and of its housing estate, reflecting on how its architecture and urban design have been appropriated by the local community. With this objective, we analyze the occupation of two public spaces, which have been appropriated as cited by Gehl (2013): the garden, which was not in the estate's original design and was created by community decision and initiative, and the square, in the original design, occupied by private use constructions, and recreated in another area serving to promote community integration.

We also seek to bring up an analysis of the relations that the dwellers of this modernist-inspired estate developed with its public gathering spaces, especially in the last few years, when community participation has become quite strong. The appropriation of public spaces shows a renewed history, yet revealing how spaces that were not in the original design were created and have been more and more important to the lives of local residents who show commitment to discover, build, and reveal a new social and cultural identity, through community work to recuperate small urban areas and cultural community initiatives, in a movement in which music, cinema, literature and culinary interlace, contributing eventually to building this local resident's identity as a dweller of that same marvellous city described here earlier.

THE CITY'S URBAN EVOLUTION, THE RAILROAD AND THE CREATION OF HONÓRIO GURGEL

Until the beginning of the 19th century, the urban area of Rio de Janeiro City was rather limited, and most of what the city is today was a rural area, occupied by villas, and sugar cane and cattle farms. These areas yielded great economic outputs, contributing to the city's supply (Cavalcanti, 2004, p.65). From the 20th century on, the population increased significantly, leading to urban sprawl in several directions. As a result, the existing paths, such as cattle trails that served the existing properties, started having trade points, generating an urban network [Abreu, 1987, p.37].

In 1858, the inauguration of the first section of the Central do Brasil Railroad (EFCB – Estrada de Ferro Central do Brasil) changes the city's growth pattern, and old rural areas could be occupied by workers of the central area, due to the transportation facilities to their working places [Abreu, 1987, p.43]. The train became an important element of the city's urban expansion and the definition of what would be called "railroad" suburbs [Abreu, 1987, p.53]. Honório Gurgel Station was inaugurated in 1905.

The district's agropastoral roots since the 17th century is shown by Cavalcanti (2004). The city expansion from the 19th century on, the railroad development, and the suburbs' occupation appear in Abreu's work [1987]. Brasil Avenue's development, in 1946, the beginning of the road system, and the area's industrialization are presented by Gerson (2000, p.162) and Abreu [1987], who show the importance of this process to the residential occupation by the working class, lodged in housing estates such as the one in Honório Gurgel. Abreu (2006), in his study on the city, shows how the railroad was a fundamental element to this expansion, along with the construction of new roads such as Brasil Avenue.

The area's profile begins to change with the arrival of industries in the 1920s. The city had started being industrialized in the late 19th century, but only then industries began moving out of the central areas close to South Rio and downtown, seeking more distant areas – but close to the railroad system, the port and the roads that connected to other states. The lower real estate prices will be a major factor in this process, in addition to the increased population presence, providing cheap and plenty of labor force [Abreu, 1987, p.80].

It is pertinent to highlight that Brazil's industrialization in the early 20th century happened in a relatively autonomous manner, not being a part of the government's policies, which privileged the idea of an agricultural country, due to the rural oligarchies' influence that dominated the power system [Abreu, 187, p.96]. Therefore, there was no public policy to stimulate industries that could impact on the city, contributing to its development. When choosing to establish in a certain area, the only activities that interested the industries were those that took advantage of the proximity to cheap labor force and consumers, and with no transportation issues involved.

Only from the 1930s on, public policies began changing, stimulating industrial diversification. The crash of 1929 and World War II were important factors in this process that would change the country's profile, especially in the 1950s, with the implementation of new industrial policies. The 1940s saw great increase in industrial production in Rio de Janeiro City [Abreu, 1987, p.96], and that impacted on housing and urban policies, both in the local and the national spheres.

Built by the Industrial Social Security and Welfare Institute, IAPI (Instituto de Assistência e Previdência dos Industriários) in 1947, the estate was part of the housing policies of President Getúlio Vargas administration. As a result, the housing issues went to the top of the agenda, with the construction of several similar estates, leaving a mark on this important moment for national architecture and urban design (Bonduki, 2014). The estate in Honório Gurgel was one of the first in the process of creating social housing (Bonduki, 2014; Bonduki and Koury, 2014).



FIGURE 1 Honório Gurgel's location in Rio de Janeiro City

The 1940s brought about important novelties to the district. The main changes initially took place with the construction of Brasil Avenue, by Mayor Henrique Dodsworth, inaugurated in 1946. This large road is an important example of the new policies connecting Rio de Janeiro State to the industries. The new road axis was conceived not only to connect Rio-São Paulo and Rio-Petrópolis Roads to the city, but also, and above all, to establish new areas for industry development closer to circulation areas, people and goods [Abreu, 1987, p.103]. The occupation of all this area around the new avenue was partially successful: along with the industries, sprawls into vacant areas occurred leading to favelas, solution found by the population attracted by the chance of employment but with no housing [Abreu, 1987, p.103].

HOUSING AND INDUSTRIALIZATION: THE HONÓRIO GURGEL HOUSING ESTATE

The 1940s gave rise to new initiatives in the city also related with investments in housing policies. Until the 1930s, there was no government concern to guarantee housing for workers. In the beginning of industrialization, industries were stimulated to build house condos and housing estates to their workers near the textile units [Bonduki, 1998]. However, this was not a government policy but an investment alternative for industry owners, in addition to being a way to have control over workers [Bonduki, 1998, p. 49]. Vargas extended the idea of omnipresent state in the means of production to housing production. As a result, public power sought to transform society in different aspects, attracting political support from the working class. Social housing went to the top of the agenda, along with the creation of a network protection by establishing a string of labor rights before inexistent. Parallel to the rising industrialization, Vargas believed housing was decisive to the formation of this new man [Bonduki, 1998, p.73].



FIGURE 2 Public square in front of IAPI housing estate main building in 1962



FIGURE 3 The IAPI housing estate in the 1950s, before construction of the wall alongside the railroad tracks

Between 1937 and 1964, 66 IAPI housing estates were built all over Brazil (Bonduki, 2014, p. 180). In addition to the residences, most of the original designs included urban equipment, such as schools, daycare and medical centers, and shopping and leisure areas. The Honório Gurgel IAPI was one of the few which included only shopping and leisure areas. This urban model reached its prime in Brazil with the inauguration of Brasília, in 1960, where the superblocks develop Clarence Perry's concept of neighborhood unit.

Thus, social housing becomes a necessity that connects several knowledge fields of the time to find solutions. Public transportation experts, sociologists, entrepreneurs, geographers, and architects start studying the theme seeking solutions for the housing issues [Bonduki, 1998, p.75]. From 1941 on, architects like Carlos Frederico Ferreira and Rubens Porto start developing projects in the Ministry of Labor and the Pensions and Retirement Institute (IAP - Institutos de Aposentadorias e Pensões) which start building important housing estates, such as the one in Realengo, in 1941 [Bonduki, 1998, p. 75].

When deciding to build estates intended for workers, leaving theoretical debates aside, the government emerged as an innovator in the field, generating alternatives to the housing issues of the time. It was a time of innovations in Brazilian architecture, when the Ministry of Health and Education (MES - Ministério de Educação e Saúde) building, Palácio Gustavo Capanema, hallmark of a new world architecture, was constructed by a team led by Lucio Costa from an initial idea by Le Corbusier. In the midst of these abundant novelties, architecture and urban design also turned to the working class, in search for urban solutions that could serve not only the elite but all society.

The idea that workers should have a home of their own arises at a moment, when they were still discussing the housing offer model, which could be rented, remaining as property of the State [Bonduki, 1998, p.83]. By enabling every worker to own their home, housing comes up as a new element to value the workers' role in society, confirming a radical change in course at the time. This is made clear by observing the importance that property still has to most Brazilians, who consider owning their homes an essential society value. The search for the individual, single-family housing is another factor that consolidates as the workers' aspiration base at that time.



FIGURE 4 Public-use strip alongside the railroad wall, in 2016, with trees planted by the community

For that to occur, it would be necessary to create a mortgage-credit system, something unheard of at the time. Moreover, other measures would be necessary, such as lowering construction costs. This was one of the objectives involved in the solution to this problem. The construction rationalization should support the process, building housing groups to make the building unit cheaper. Another factor was limiting construction variety, creating few building standards to facilitate construction. The houses should be horizontally positioned, in low-cost real estate areas, with cheaper land purchase price.

Regarding finance to social housing, the creation and development of the IAPs played a key role in the process. These were the first major public institutions to tackle the housing issues [Bonduki, 1998, p.101]. The institutes had been created in the 1930s, either with the idea of providing full social security or as an instrument of capitalization, with no social ends. From 1933 on, several IAPs were created, such as the maritime (IAPM), the bank employees (IAPB), the commerce (IAPC), the industry (IAPI), the oil companies employees and vehicle drivers (IAPETEC) and the longshoremen (IAPE) [Bonduki, 1998, p.102]. Thus, each institute had its members and were important to the fundraising within the country's industrialization program, financing great constructions and national projects, such as the National Steel Mill Company (CSN - Companhia Siderúrgica Nacional), the National Motors Factory (Fábrica Nacional de Motores) and the construction of Brasília, capital of the country since 1960. The use of their resources for social housing was a major advance, made the construction of housing estates possible in several country regions.

In the midst of all these innovations, in a distant suburb, the Honório Gurgel IAPI Housing Estate was constructed. Different from others built in Rio de Janeiro that became famous for their pioneering spirit and size, this estate has a rather modest scale: 156 residential units, being 60 3-bedroom houses, with two floor plan models, and blocks of 3-story buildings, with shops on the ground floor.

Inaugurated in 1947, it was designed by architect Eduardo Pereira de Carvalho in collaboration with engin

eerAdolpho Constant Burnay, both in the IAPI's Engineering Department. Each unit had an area between 49 and 57 square meters, all with an external area – including the apartments. The urban equipment included a square and a shopping area on the ground floor of some buildings. The estate's total area was 40.882m²,with 21.157,38m² of constructed area (Bonduki; Koury, vol.2, 2014).

LIFE IN THE HOUSING ESTATE, FROM 1947 TO PRESENT

As a part of the social housing program for the working class, which spread “modest and comfortable” proletarian homes, as classified by President Getúlio Vargas in a 1938speech [Bonduki, 1998, p. 213], the Honório Gurgel IAPI Housing Estate had in its design a public school (never constructed) and a recreation center (no longer existing).

A central point in this study, the garden we referred to is a common public space entirely appropriated by the residents and it demonstrates their relationship with the district. It is important to note that, in this estate, the local community relationship is strong, since a great number of the residents come from the first families of dwellers, who acquired homes there and have been their owners for many years. It is important to highlight this,because we believe, it marks a profound difference between the low-income districts and the favelas – despite the similarities between them. With estimated population of 21.989 inhabitants (IBGE, 2010), Honório Gurgel has one of the lowest human development indexes (HDI) in the city, lower than in some favelas: 0,804 in 2000 (<http://portalgeo.rio.rj.gov.br>, 2015).

There is, however, an absolutely different organization in the district, in particular in this estate, which becomes quite evident as we approach the study field. The risk of favelization, it is worth noting, was what united the residents in the 1980s,when a wall was raised to separate the railroad from the street, giving place to an area around 250 meters long and less than 10 meters deep. Concerned with eventual illegal squatting to build houses or sheds, the residents pitched in to clean the area and plant baby trees, transforming it in a garden, as shown by Souza (2013).

To realize these initiatives, they organized through the Community Association and the Honório Gurgel Housewives' Association (ADCHG, in portuguese), created in 1985, by Zuleika de Souza. Thirty years later, the baby trees have grown up into tall shade trees and the estate has gained a green area hardly ever found in the city's low-income districts, where there are few vacant urban spaces as they have become more and more densely populated. In a sort of tacit agreement, which established the terms for use of that public space (Santos and Vogel, 1981), each resident who owns a house across from the garden is responsible for the conservation of the area in front of their homes. The community organization, which took over the space and the area, preventing squatting, protected the trees and kept the area cleanand also prevented attempts of private use of the area.

The result of the strategy is that in the area there is only one commercial establishment – a bar named Beira da Linha (Railway's Edge). The other constructions are a covered area used as a party/meeting hall, called Década de 60 (The 60s), and two constructions proposed by the President of the Housewives' Association, at the street corner she lives at: a shrine in honor of Our Lady of Aparecida, built where once was a garbage container, and next to it, open-air, the Professor Darcy Ribeiro Cultural Space. Throughout the year, several activities are organized along the garden area, in a community events calendar that might have religious, civic or recreational nature.

Not being part of any public planning whatsoever, the garden along the wall, raised to separate the railroad from the street to meet a community demand, serves as a gathering space for residents around the social and cultural equipment they created themselves.



FIGURE 5 Inauguration of the shrine to honor Our Lady of Aparecida, in 1990, in a public-use area



FIGURE 6 Public square across from the Housing Estate main building in 2016

To this day, the area's original modernist urban design makes it different from the occupations that surround it, where there was no planning but spontaneous occupation. The breadth of the streets, the original partition pattern and the use of open space, although residual, result in quality of life not found in other districts of the region, where the spaces were not planned, the streets are narrow, there are few common-space areas, and partitioning of lots had little uniformity and excessive density.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Since the families that moved into this IAPI were not coercively settled there by favela removal policies, as conducted in other housing estates built in subsequent decades in Rio de Janeiro, the hypothesis raised here is that the fact that most of its dwellers had their deeds of the property, which usually remains in the hands of the same families for many generations, is determinant to establish the emotional ties, partnership and solidarity among neighbors and towards the estate, which result in the care that can be observed in the common public spaces maintenance. It may have been so that these solidarity ties enabled, 40 years after inauguration, the conception and realization of a cooperative project to create and maintain the public space, whose vocation for common use was agreed on by the residents.

By the use they give to the estate today, over a half century after its inauguration, the dwellers seem to put in practice the modernist principles that inspired its architecture, and were explicated in Carlos Frederico Ferreira's speech, "the architect of IAPI": "(...) I did not only mean to create housing. To them, housing meant building a house, that 2-bedroom house, with a living room and that's all. Done, leave the rest for later! But not me. I wanted to make real housing, housing the way I thought it should be, with a school, apartment buildings with shops. I even planned a circus" (Bonduki, 1998, p. 228).

The vocation for integration is in the concept genesis of the housing estates of the 1940s and the one in Honório Gurgel seems to prove the success of the architect's formulation. Moreover, from the technical angle, this estate's history also reveals its construction's success:

The wealth of architectural and urban solutions provided by this small estate is exemplary of the IAPI's capacity to develop quality projects from a typology mix (Bonduki; Koury, 2014, p. 28)

When we discuss creating and maintaining public spaces as common areas, we must relate this fact to the importance of what owning a home represents, as examined above, no longer from the technical angle, but from the angle of the people who were benefited from this enterprise. Reading what Zuleika de Souza (2013) recounts in her book, one can learn that more than just a combination of bricks and cement, a house is part in the lives of people who, ultimately, create a district.

The action in public spaces transformed and maintained as common areas reinforces the strengthening of the local identity, through the creation and maintenance of the sociability, solidarity and reliability networks, made possible due to social relationships weaved over the years. The space reflects, then, important aspects about the Rio suburbs dweller, offering an interesting counterpoint that deserves reflection in the context of the whole city, where stigmas that hierarchize Rio residents, due to their addresses, still persist.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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- Figure 1: <http://portalgeo.rio.rj.gov.br/>
- Figure 2: Author's collection
- Figure 3: Author's collection
- Figure 4: Author's collection
- Figure 5: Author's collection
- Figure 6: Author's collection

"CETTE AUTRE NÉCESSITÉ ESSENTIELLE: L'URBANISATION" – ELECTRIFICATION OF THE URBANISATION OF THE NEBULAR CITY

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The advent of modern utility systems together with improved transport infrastructures and information technologies introduced new spatial arrangements and temporalities in the territory. In time, these reveal a notion of urbanisation that does not only takes place in or directly adjacent to the traditional (territorially bounded) city, but in which co-evolving processes lead to differentiated territorial arrangements.

Belgium's distributed urban condition – the 'nebular city' – emerged out of the interplay of such multiple territorial arrangements. Often, it is explained by a historical roots in policies of industrial dispersal, while historical efforts to actively accommodate and organise the territory from the broader perspective of urbanisation are assigned a secondary role only.

This article, however, takes a close look at two projects from the 1930's that took the emerging condition of dispersal as their starting point and which both reflect on the role of urbanisation in the reproduction of the conditions in which industrialisation, among other processes of modernisation, can take place.

In particular aspects surrounding the Belgian electrification are examined. Although not one of their main drivers, the electrification is both intertwined with the rise of industrial production and the development of an urban modern lifestyle. Only in the 1930's, however, Belgian spatial planners started to explore issues concerning the distribution of electricity and its spatial and economic consequences.

Both projects are embedded within the international debate on the functional city and present Belgium as a particular case. They show the general delay and mismatch between the process of industrialisation and urbanisation because of the nation's chosen development path, both in spatial and temporal terms.

Keywords

industrialisation, electrification, functional city, Belgian urban planning history, distributed urbanism

How to Cite

Bruggeman, Dieter. "Cette autre nécessité essentielle: l'urbanisation" — Electrification Of the Urbanisation of the Nebular City". In Carola Hein (ed.) *International Planning History Society Proceedings, 17th IPHS Conference, History-Urbanism-Resilience, TU Delft 17-21 July 2016, V.04 p.201*, TU Delft Open, 2016.

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7480/iphs.2016.4.1292>

INTRODUCTION

The notion of the functional city still stirs the imagination of practicing urbanists and urban researchers. It has been praised as the ideal – rational and universal – modern city as well as berated for its rigidness and sterility, both by urbanists and those who had to live in places designed according to its principles. Yet, before the functional city was characterised by this notorious discord, it was part of a much larger discussion. Essentially, the functional city had to be the answer to questions about the territorial conditions of extended industrialisation which occupied many spatial practitioners.¹ The participants of CIAM IV assembled to search for strategies that dealt with the various processes of industrialisation that were taking place all over the territory and the changes they brought about. In their efforts they tried not to hamper and preferably even enlarge the beneficial effects caused by industrialisation (e.g. increased mobility, higher standard of living), but at the same time attempted to diminish the nuisances it generated (e.g. traffic digestion, pollution).

Therefore, CIAM IV was set up as a congress where a wide range of cities was analysed and compared in order to find strategies that could be applied in other places. This approach made that a lot of different influences and contexts were present during the event, resulting in a much richer debate than can be deduced from the reduced and rather dogmatic notion of the functional city that appeared in Le Corbusier's Athens Charter.² Still, besides an identical key to the maps and an assigned succession of panels on which the various cities were presented, all contributions started from the idea that an advantageous rearrangement of the industrial territory could be obtained by – and at the same time should lead to – urban structures that could accumulate the opportunities engendered by industrialisation.

In this article, two Belgian projects that suggest urban transformations to cope with the territorial effects of the rummaging industrialisation will be elaborated. Both projects operate within the same perspective of reassembling loose dynamics of industrialisation into a comprehensive framework so an efficient and productive urbanism might be created. The first of those projects was severely influenced by Le Corbusier's discourse on the functional city: the highway project for Ghent of Jerome Desplanques and Gustave Magnel. The second has its origins in Belgium's CIAM IV contribution: the studies on Charleroi by Victor Bourgeois.

Both projects are bound by the context in which they were envisioned: Interbellum Belgium. Already then, the nation's territory was characterised by a widespread dispersion which held the conditions for what over time would result 'the nebular city'³: The rhizomatic dispersion of population, functions and activities across the Belgian territory. The nation's distributed urban condition is often explained by its historical roots in policies of industrial dispersal: railroads, canals and highways were constructed in order to make the necessary resources such as land and labour accessible and this all over the country. Furthermore labourers were encouraged to dwell in the countryside in order to keep wages low, to avoid major public investments in means of collective consumption⁴ and to consolidate social power relations.⁵

In addition to this prevailing perspective of the nebular city being rooted in policies of industrialisation, the two projects presented show a glimpse of the urbanistic debate on the distributed development model Belgium had chosen for. Moreover, both projects are projects of urbanisation. In the accommodation and organisation of the territory, the authors of the projects believe, the territorial and social context is brought about that guarantees the continuity of the industrialisation process. Urbanisation, in other words, is crucial for the reproduction of the condition in which industrialisation can take place. As such, the study of these projects complements the understanding of the history of the nebular city by offering a perspective of urbanisation rather than industrialisation.

To do so, this article specifically looks at references to the distribution of utility services, and the electrification in particular. The provision of services such as electricity can, certainly in the beginning, be understood as an aspect of (a policy of) industrialisation. Nonetheless, the consummation of these services soon becomes entangled with a modern, urban lifestyle. Studying the changing attitude towards the territorial impact of one particular process – the electrification – within one particular context – the Belgian territory – might shed light on the attempted shift from a perspective of industrialisation to a perspective of urbanisation.⁶ As such it might help to create a more precise understanding of the debates on the functional city, and in particular of its Belgian local variant.

‘POUR UN URBANISME HÉROÏQUE...’

In October 1937, the Belgian engineer Jerome Desplanques⁷, wrote a letter to Le Corbusier to discuss the findings of a remarkable study he undertook. He introduced himself in the following words:

“Monsieur Le Corbusier,

I am very fortunate to possess and to have read almost all of your works; I have visited the very interesting pavilion ‘des Temps Nouveaux’ and all this has woken a very vivid sympathy for the ideas you defend.

As director of the electricity supply of the Ghent agglomeration (200.000 inhabitants), I have become well aware of the importance of the problem of urbanism. And this importance is no less for all the other public services and for many activities in the social sphere and in the economic sphere in general.”⁸

In what follows, Desplanques presents the results of a project that combines reflections on the tracing of a highway route, a planning scheme that allows for an efficient distribution of electricity (as an example for all other public services) and a sanitation operation for city slums. By then the engineer, was already working for almost three years on this project. It was initiated as a counterproposal for the arrival of a highway near Ghent. This highway, linking the capital Brussels with the seaside city of Ostend, would be the nation’s first, but was planned to pass almost six kilometres south of the major city of Ghent. With the consent of the Ghent city council, Desplanques together with professor Gustave Magnel⁹ attempted to divert the planned route more towards the city centre and at the same time took the opportunity to address some other planning issues in the Ghent agglomeration.¹⁰ Their eventual proposal was a trajectory that crossed the city centre and subsequently left the agglomeration at the north.

Desplanques would reveal himself as the public advocate of the project. He presented the project to the minister¹¹ and other politicians¹², wrote articles and defended it on scientific conferences. In 1938 he was also interviewed for the widely circulated magazine *Bâtir* in an article with the telling title: “Pour un urbanisme héroïque...”¹³

Throughout the study rationality and efficiency serve as the main guiding principles and references to the technical and economic transport and distribution of electricity are manifold. In his contribution to the ‘Fourth Belgian Road Congress’, for example, Desplanques writes: “In the study of lines of communication [voies des communications] which can be equally called ‘canalisations for vehicles’, we can usefully take inspiration of a technique already this perfect, that of the establishing of canalisations of electricity, of water, etc... etc...”¹⁴ He then substantiates this with, among others, the practice of establishing electrical substations in places of high consumption and not just anywhere afield. By analogy, slip roads should not be located away from the city, but exactly close to densely populated areas. Such a functional and rational logic, often illustrated with examples pertaining to the distribution of electricity, can be found throughout his discourse.

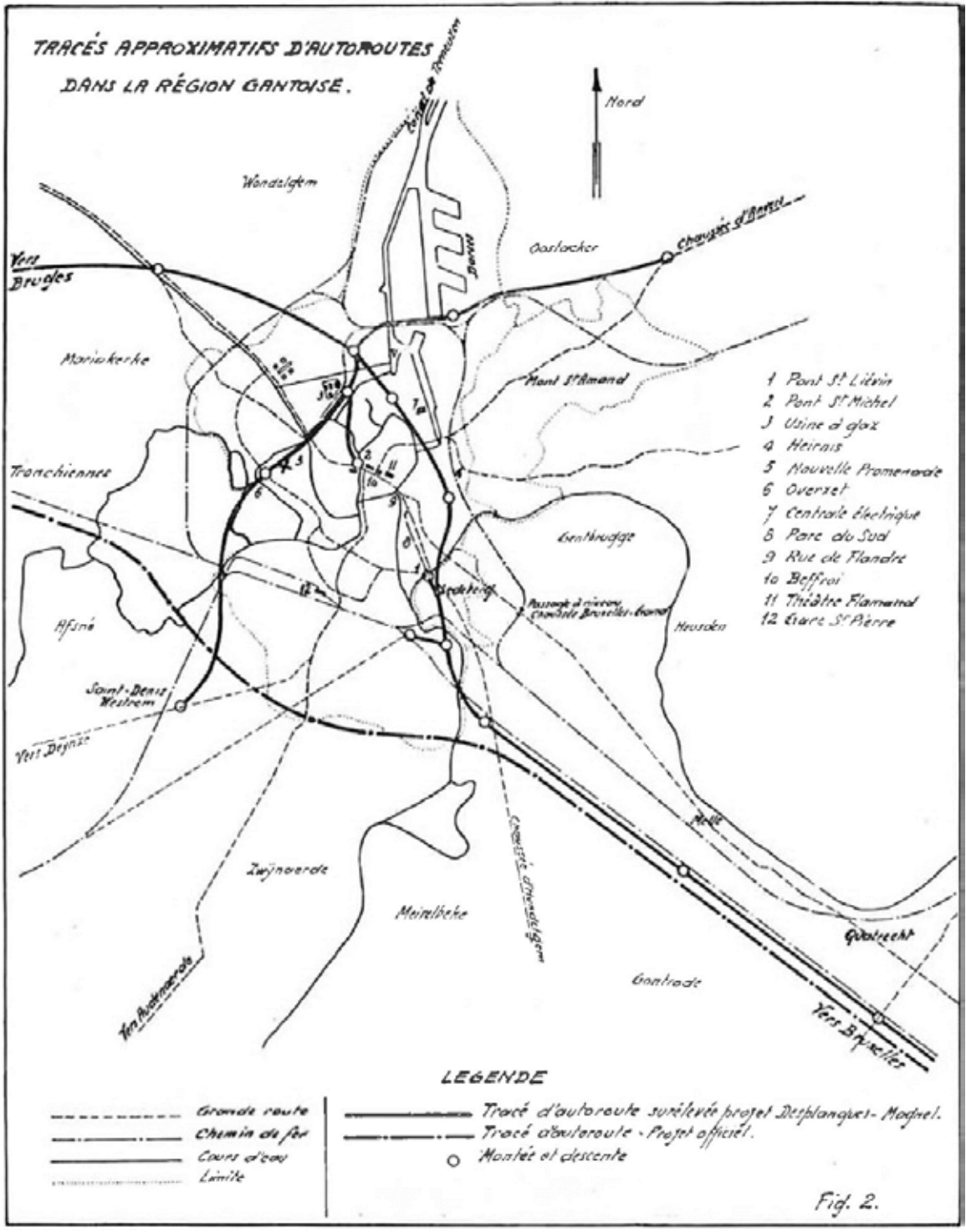


FIGURE 1 Map of the different trajectories of the Brussels-Ostend highway as used by Desplanques. The thick dash-dotted line in the south shows the original trajectory, while the thick solid line going through the centre and the (industrial) north of the city shows the trajectory proposed by Desplanques and Magnel. Furthermore the interplay with other types of transportation (the fine lines; dashed for major roads, dash-dotted for railways and solid for waterways) as well as possible slip roads are indicated (the white dots). The historical city centre is the area surrounding the number 10.

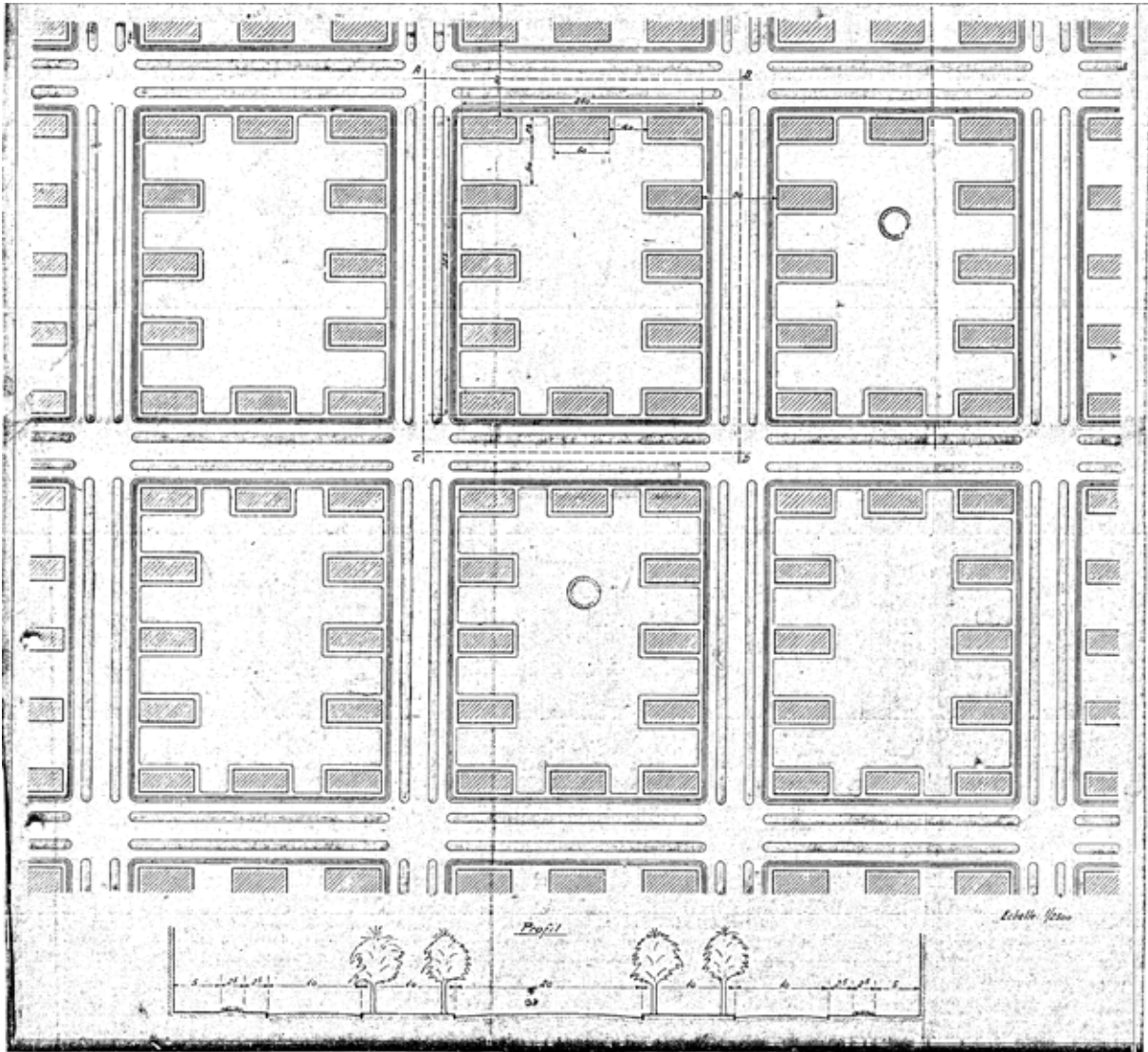


FIGURE 2 A scheme of the first type of settlement pattern in Desplanques' study, complemented with a section of the road.

The arguments put forward in support of the Desplanques-Magnel project can be divided in three groups. First there are the reasons why the highway should make a deviation north of the city. When only evaluated by the distance between Brussels and Ostend, this is indeed a detour. According to Desplanques however, this detour would be advantageous in light of some other infrastructural issues.¹⁵ Not only would it link the city centre of Ghent directly to the future highway system, but also to its industry and its harbour, both situated in the north. Moreover, a much more elegant arrangement can be conceived that would connect Ghent to Brussels, to Ostend and Antwerp and link the latter city – Belgium's second city – with the coast, Lille and Kortrijk. Finally, since the volume of traffic with as destinations Ghent and Ostend or Ghent and Brussels is much larger than that between Brussels and Ostend, this apparent detour proves even beneficial when viewed from the perspective of the overall traffic flows. This is illustrated by Desplanques with "a basic computation"¹⁶ that enables to visualise on a diagram the profit gained in time for the different trajectories on the future highway.

Tracés approximatifs des routes dont il est question dans le rapport.

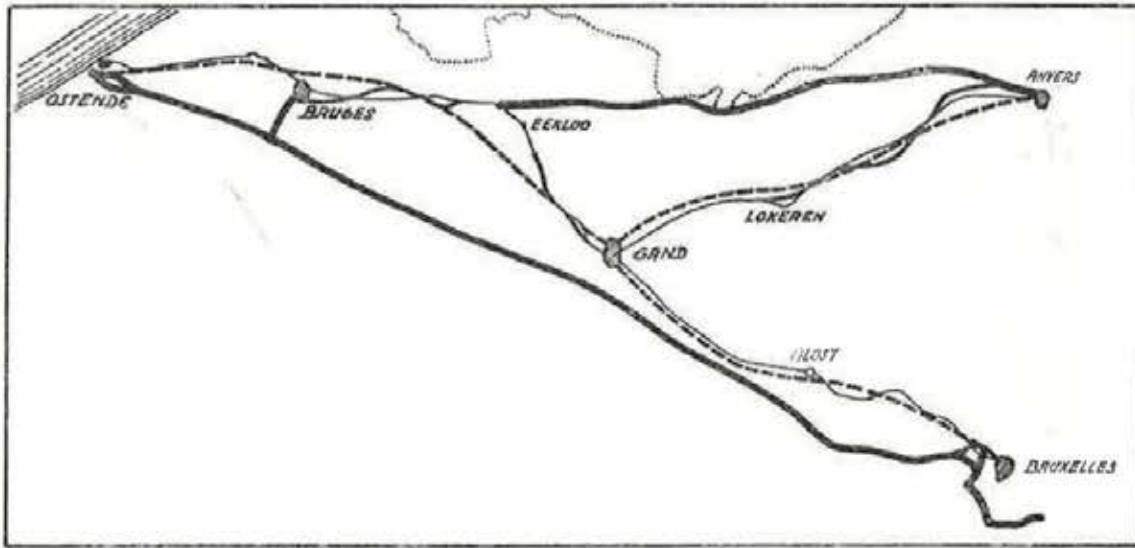


FIGURE 3 Overview of the major roads and highways that existed or were planned during Desplanques' study, as used in his publications. Full lines show the planned routes that bypass the city centre of Ghent, dotted lines the arrangement that becomes possible in the Desplanques-Magnel project.

Desplanques also brings forward a negative argument for the planned route six kilometres south of Ghent. Such a trajectory should be avoided, because the highways' passage would attract new urban developments in between the current city centre and the highways' access. This would inevitably spread the urban agglomeration of Ghent.¹⁷

Protecting the well-defined urban centre from sprawl and urban dispersion is the main concern of the second group of arguments. Desplanques deems dispersion irrational since it is inefficient and leads to high costs for society. To theoretically underpin this standpoint he compares three paradigmatic settlement patterns: one with freestanding tower blocks of eleven floors, one with buildings with three floors and one with single-family houses. For these three types of settlements he calculates the cost of electricity distribution – which he considers a *pars pro toto* for all (public) services –, the required surface area and the amount of public and private space available. The first pattern turns out to be the most profitable on all levels and therefore Desplanques considers a dense agglomeration preferable over the less compact types.¹⁸

In this exercise, Desplanques finds an argument for highways to cross large agglomerations, but to avoid smaller ones. The latter type would grow due to the accessibility of the highway, causing a too big dissipation of the urban. Likewise, neglecting the already existing urban centres would result in dispersion and would generate ribbon development along the access roads. This type of development causes for Desplanques the most unsafe roads and are the basis for a loose, hence inefficient settlement pattern.¹⁹

A last group of arguments concerns the opportunities the Desplanques-Magnel project has to offer for the city of Ghent itself. Besides better embedding the city in the nation's infrastructural framework, re-tracing the highway's route makes it possible to envision a plan to "urbanise" and modernise what the engineer calls the slums surrounding the city centre. With the same rigorous zeal with which he calculated his basic computation that indicated the most appropriate route in function of time, distance and speed, Desplanques figures the maximum public investment that might be spent in order to still be beneficial in comparison to the southern route.²⁰

Although he leaves the actual design of the new modern neighbourhoods to the skill of architects and urbanists²¹, he concludes that such a project is technically and financially certainly feasible.

The manner in which the proposal deals with the highway and its territorial consequences (in particular for Ghent) show the great importance Desplanques attaches to the project of urbanisation and the place of the engineer therein. He ascribes a very specific and important societal role to urbanism that cannot be attributed to a single utility service such as the electricity distribution. Exactly because of its comprehensivity, an appropriate model of urbanisation is crucial for the economic and by consequence social spheres of society.²² Yet such a model could, in his view, only take advantage of “[t]he engineer who, in so many domains, has showed his bold, beneficent, at times staggering power to create[.]” And he continues:

“[He] has to take the lead of a movement to resolutely address the study of the multiple problems of the road and of urbanism, in collaboration with the architect, the artist and the hygienist. He will once again render an immense service to the collective and in this way, better than the most distinguished economist, he will set things right and to prepare the ground for the realisation of an ever better future.”²³

ANOTHER FUNCTIONAL CITY (IS POSSIBLE)

With the highway project and its urbanistic implications, Desplanques is involved in the debates on the accommodation of the Belgian territory. He firmly takes position in favour of the city and argues against the further dispersion of infrastructure, dwellings or urban functions. Or, as is written in a discussion on the Desplanques-Magnel project, a “prominent city, resolutely modern, or rather triumphant” which will only materialise if “urbanism intervenes vigorously”²⁴. The city Desplanques pleads for is of course no other than the functional city.

Nonetheless and to a seemingly greater extent than his mentor Le Corbusier²⁵, the Belgian engineer also takes into account the logics behind the current dispersed nature of the territory. From the second half of the nineteenth century onwards, Belgium’s spatial policy had been centred around the easy access and use of land and labour and a generalised mobility in order to propagate the industrialisation. Combined with an administrative system which was distributed over powerful municipalities, provinces and a liberal oriented central government this resulted in the chaotic dispersion of activities all over the territory.²⁶ His discussion of the highway as an indispensable connective infrastructure in Belgium’s multipolar economy, combined with understanding the necessity for accessible, but well-delineated villages makes that Desplanques’ plea for the functional city can be read as an attempt to rationalistically restructure this condition of dispersion in the Belgian context.

The way in which Desplanques employs the functional city to achieve his goal was not the only take on the concept within the Belgian territory. Moreover, just as the concept of the functional city varied considerably among the supporters of the modernist views on the city, so did the ideas for the reterritorialised Belgian urban framework. This becomes clear when Desplanques’ vision for Ghent is juxtaposed to the studies undertaken by Victor Bourgeois on the region of Charleroi as the latter’s studies reveal yet another layer of the discussion on the functional city.

Unlike Desplanques, Victor Bourgeois was a prominent figure. He stood at the forefront of Belgian modern architecture and was elected vice-president of CIAM. In his recent monograph on the architect, Strauven notes Bourgeois’ broad approach to urbanism.²⁷ His combining of the ideas of the functional city with that of Milyutin’s linear city, Otlet’s universalism and Geddes’ emphasis on survey, reveals a non-dogmatic understanding of the concept. This made that Bourgeois’ relation to the organising committee of CIAM IV, presided by Cornelis Van Eesteren, was rather turbulent. Also the Belgian contribution to the congress, which Bourgeois supervised, attests of his nuanced take on urbanism and urbanisation.



FIGURE 4 The north-south axis as illustrated in the Belgian contribution to CIAM IV. In the north lies Antwerp, with its major seaport and good connection to the administration in and the bourgeois culture Brussels. From the capital, different types of transportation networks radiate all over Belgium, with a significant bundle linking the city to Charleroi. The latter city lies in the middle of the economically important string of Walloon coal basins, square to the southern end of this ABC-axis.

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"CETTE AUTRE NÉCESSITÉ ESSENTIELLE: L'URBANISATION" – ELECTRIFICATION OF THE URBANISATION OF THE NEBULAR CITY PRIVATE VERSUS PUBLIC THROUGH AN ANALYSIS OF THE UNPRIVILEGED WORKING CLASS HISTORY

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7480/iphs.2016.4.1292>

In the Belgian contribution, the nation's territory is interpreted as the interplay of various processes of urbanisation. Within the multipolar network of merchant towns that characterised the territory since the Middle Ages, the rise of a north-south axis is observed. The authors of the project argue that the historical strengthening of the functional complementarity and of the communication channels along this axis made it the spine of the nation's economic framework.²⁸ It connects the logistics of the Antwerp seaport, the light industry and administrative centrality of the capital Brussels and the heavy industry of Charleroi. According to Bourgeois and his collaborators, none of the Belgian cities, and these three in particular, can be considered outside their relation with this axis and its secondary branches.

Bourgeois' CIAM contribution wanted to analyse both the separate and the combined territorial logics that shaped these three cities. Internationally, his effort had limited impact on the theoretical development of the functional city. This might be due to none of the Belgian contributors being aboard the S.S. *Patris*.²⁹ Furthermore, the discussion of the multipolar Belgian territory proved to be a rather singular case. Most of the CIAM contributions started from the historical city and remained attached to its centre, e.g. Le Corbusier's 'reconstruction' of Paris into a 'concentrated city'. While other distributed city models, where for example introduced by the German and the British groups of CIAM, these were centred around a single main city. A discussion of the German Ruhr, which probably would have needed a similar approach to that of the Belgian ABC-axis was, although asked for by Gropius, not presented on the congress.³⁰

Nonetheless, throughout the 1930's, the architect would elaborate his studies on Charleroi.³¹ Not only was this his native town, also its genesis and particular type of urbanisation fascinated him: "Charleroi has grown by force of a single factor: Industry. [...] It owes its development to a sole economic determinism."³² In his studies he analyses the industrial logics that drove the emergence of the Charleroi agglomeration, but also develops strategies to coordinate these territorial processes. Indeed, he writes, after accommodating the development of industrial activities "it is now time to proceed to this other essential necessity: urbanisation."³³

In the way Bourgeois deals with services such as the electricity distribution his strategy to reach this objective becomes clear. He recognises the necessity of electricity in the emergence of industrial production processes and locates the original significance of the service there. He goes on, however, to emphasise that extended benefits can be achieved when the organisation of such services is over time embedded in a more comprehensive perspective. Also the utility of electricity in the modernisation of the home must be taken into account, for example. Therefore, Bourgeois argues in favour of shifting the approach to the accommodation of the territory from a logic of industrialisation to one of urbanisation..

His text is illustrated with schemes and maps with a key inspired on the CIAM conventions. Also the topics Bourgeois deals with resemble the different zoning categories used by CIAM. In the book *Charleroi, Terre d'urbanisme* he and René De Cooman successively address 'industry', 'transportation' (by road, water and rail), 'dwelling', 'planting' [*verduration*], 'physical education and recreation', 'zoning and agglomerate functions' (administration, health and provisioning) – according to the chronology in which they came to affect the Charleroi region. In each of these categories Bourgeois tries to understand the logics that drive their development, their function in the greater whole and makes proposals to retrofit these logics from a comprehensive perspective. In the end, this results in a coherent vision for the region rather than in a distinct project. "It is not a question of increasing the pace of public works, but of coordinating the activity of about thirty communities and their inhabitants – industrials and individuals – of arranging the needs and their fulfilment in order to make a reasonable and harmonious whole."³⁴

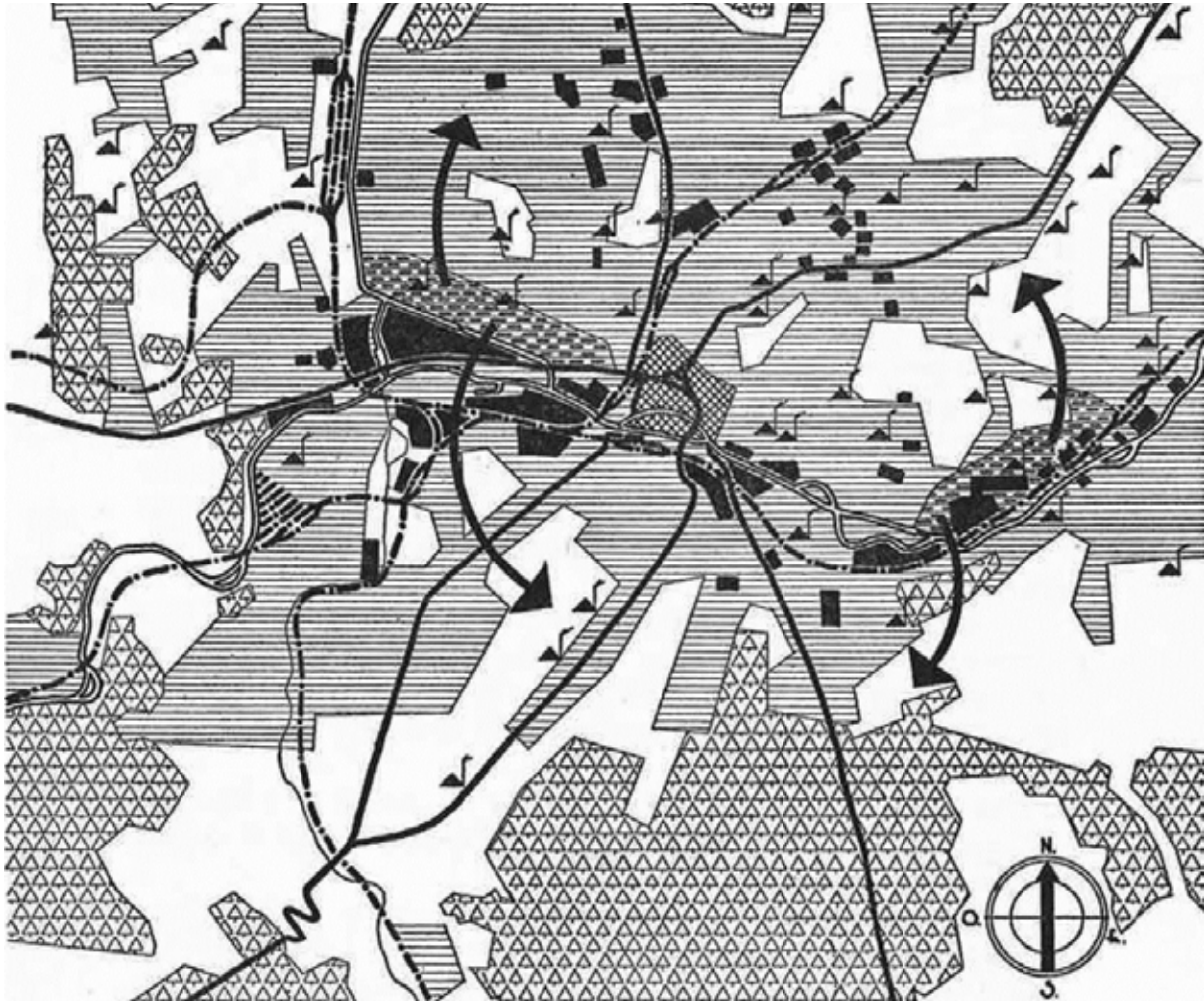


FIGURE 5 Map discussing the suitability of dwelling space in the region of Charleroi, drafted – with a CIAM-like key – as part of Bourgeois' studies. Bourgeois proposes to progressively move the dwellings that have historically been constructed around the polluting factories in order to create separate industrial and (healthy) residential zones.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION: THE NEBULAR CITY AS A FUNCTIONAL CITY

Desplanques was aware of Bourgeois' studies. In his letter to Le Corbusier, he stated to have participated in one of the workshops that were organised as part of their research trajectory and “*was pleased to observe that his conclusions were the same as mine*”.³⁵ Indeed, as well Desplanques as Bourgeois tried to embed the ideas on the functional city in the Belgian territorial context, but at certain points their approach differs. Desplanques emphasises the reciprocity between the various types of services and accommodation that are being spread all over the nation and pleads for a more conscious attitude in their planning. Bourgeois, for his part, examines the various processes of industrialisation that have shaped the territory and tries to envision an urban structure that improves the outcome of their interplay and that can generate new opportunities.³⁶

In their projects Desplanques and Bourgeois developed an approach to the Belgian urban condition inspired on the international debate on the functional city. As such they can be considered the vehicles through which the urban ideas and ideals of the modern movement resonate locally. Nonetheless, both projects are still marked by the characteristics of their Belgian context. These works do not merely elaborate these ideas in conceptual plans, but try to search for the functional city in (what later would become known as) the nebular city.

Both authors are concerned with the loss of efficiency and opportunities that might result from the loose and chaotic dispersion that characterises the nebular city. To avoid ‘the great waste’³⁷, Desplanques argues to better engage the dynamics that come with the laying out of territorial accommodation. In this way he wants to rationalise the territory in order to minimise the costs of the economic and societal organisation that implements itself on this infrastructural framework. The nuance Desplanques displays in his consideration for the route of the highway, however, somewhat gets lost in the schematic and decontextualised vision for a modern Ghent.

By acknowledging the logic of the dynamics in the multipolar Belgian territory, Bourgeois reveals a functional understanding of the existing condition. He then goes further to advocate a generative, creative coordination and rearrangement of the processes that shape the territory. In his view, it becomes the task of the urbanist to conceive structures that are as well capable to accumulate as to engender opportunities in line with this multipolar functionality of the Belgian territory: “[U]rbanists reconcile the most diverse interests and assays in light of a better reciprocal return of things that come forward and things that edify. In other terms, urbanism perfects the relations between natural elements and the organised basis of the territory. It is the amelioration of relations and reactions of the outside world.”³⁸

As well Desplanques as Bourgeois see improving the efficiency of the territory as preventing the possibility of a parasitic urbanism.³⁹ Their projects start from a position in favour of the collectivity and want to avoid that some can profit disproportionately from opportunities in the territory or from societal efforts (e.g. public investments such as the electricity distribution).

In the dense, but chaotic interplay of the manifold processes of industrialisation and modernisation, complicated by the traces of several territorial strategies of former modes of production, the plea for urbanisation that is expressed in the projects of both men seemed to offer a meaningful and rich perspective to reterritorialise the Belgian territory. Since this condition has merely changed and the impact of these logics and processes has only endured, such an ‘art of urbanisation’ might still be valuable to deal with the questions of urbanisation today.

Acknowledgements

The author wishes to thank Maarten Van Acker for suggesting the Desplanques-Magnel project as an interesting case for his doctoral research; David Peleman, Delphine Studer of the Fondation Le Corbusier and the staff of the MIAT-factory for their help in collecting documentation of the projects; Michiel Dehaene and Tom Broes for the talks in which the perspective from which to discuss these projects emerged.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Notes on contributor

Dieter Bruggeman (*1989) is a PhD student at the Department of Architecture and Urban Planning, Ghent University. His research traces the territorialisation logics of several projects of electrification in the interbellum period in order to study the spatially and temporally divergent processes, frames and arrangements that shaped – and are often still shaping – the Belgian urban context.

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Image Sources

- Figure 01: J. Desplanques, Organisations du réseau routier, 39.
- Figure 02: Fondation Le Corbusier [T2(12)214].
- Figure 03: J. Desplanques, Organisations du réseau routier, 44.
- Figure 04: René De Cooman and Victor Bourgeois, Charleroi, 33.
- Figure 05: GTA-ETH Zürich.

Endnotes

- 1 The metropolis can be described as a first urbanistic answer to the industrialisation. However, the ever growing cities, the extension of industrial activities in terms of size and geographical scope and its social implications made that new strategies had to be found to cope with the spatial consequences of industrialisation.
- 2 This becomes clear with an overview of all the contributions. Evelien van Es et al., eds, *Atlas of the Functional City: CIAM 4 and Comparative Urban Analysis* (Bussum: THOTH, 2014). assembles all contribution of the congress and includes as well some revealing essays. Especially those of Daniel Weiss et al. (11-24), Sokratis Georgiadis (49-59) and Sophie Wolfrum (83-90) go deeper into this particular discussion.
- 3 The 'nebular city' is a notion used for describing the dispersed condition of the Belgian territory. Although the notion was only introduced in the Belgian context around the turn of the 21st century, it appears as well in studies that research the historical logics and processes that produced this particular condition.

- 4 Investing in collective consumption (housing, education, health care, ...) could largely be avoided by distributing these costs over the resources of the many local communities. See on this Dieter Bruggeman and Michiel Dehaene, "Urban Questions in the Countryside: The history of Electricity Networks as Collective Consumption in Early 20th Century Belgium" (paper presented at the RGS-IBG Annual International Congress, Exeter, September 2-4, 2015).
 - 5 On the history of the nebular city, see, for example, Bénédicte Grosjean, *Urbanisation Sans Urbanisme: Une Histoire De La "Ville Diffuse"*, (Wavre: Mardaga, 2010); Maarten Van Acker, *From Flux to Frame: Designing Infrastructure and Shaping Urbanization in Belgium*, (Leuven, Leuven University Press, 2014); Greet De Block, "Designing the Nation: The Belgian Railway Project, 1830-1837." *Technology and Culture* 52, no. 4 (2011).
 - 6 The research on which this article is based is part of a project that wants to investigate this shift from industrialisation to urbanisation in the Belgian context. It does so by looking at the evolution in the way in which the territorial impact of the provision of electricity was dealt with. While these kind of utility services were initially only seen as a way to induce industrial productive activities, this research tries to examine to what extent reflections on its possible role in projects of de- and reterritorialisation led to the (determined) consolidation of the industrialised territory in a logically coherent urbanism – urbanisation.
 - 7 Jerome Desplanques (1891-1943) is quite an enigmatic figure. Apart from his professional career as director of the Ghent municipal electricity company little is known about the man: He commissioned (Jan-)Albert De Bondt to erect several of the company's buildings (technical as well as administrative and residential buildings) and his own villa in Asse. Early in the Second World War, Desplanques joined the originally left-wing resistance movement 'Independence Front', likely because of a connection to the freemasons lodge 'De Zwijger'. At that time, this lodge mainly grouped people within the academic circles of Ghent University.
- See Dossier Desplanques Jeromes [archival document], PM 156, Nationaal Museum van de Weerstand, Brussels; Lucien Deconinck, "Verslag over de weerstandbedrijvigheid gedurende de bezetting" [archival document], 4A2/5, box 8, dossier weerstand 1944-45, Universiteitsarchief UGent, Ghent; Anthony Demey, Norbert Poulain and Andrea De Kegel, *Jan-Albert De Bondt, Architect* (Ghent: Provincie Oost-Vlaanderen, 1994); P.-L. Flouquet, "L'architecture industrielle expressive: les sous stations électriques gantoises de J. Alb. De Bondt," *Bâtir* 47 (1936): 884-886;
- 8 The original text reads: "Monsieur Le Corbusier; / J'ai le grand bonheur de posséder et d'avoir lu presque tous vos ouvrages; j'ai visité le très intéressant pavillon des "Temps nouveaux" et tout cela a éveillé en moi une très vive sympathie pour les idées que vous défendez. / Comme directeur du service d'électricité de l'agglomération gantoise (200.000 habitants), je me suis rendu compte combien est important le problème de l'urbanisme. Et cette importance n'est pas moindre pour tous les autres services publics et pour beaucoup d'activités du domaine social et du domaine économique en général." J. Desplanques to Le Corbusier (18/10/1937) 1, accessible in the archives of the Fondation Le Corbusier T2(12)187-190, translation by the author.
 - 9 Gustave Magnel (1889-1955) was a professor at Ghent University well-known for his pioneering work on reinforced and prestressed concrete.
 - 10 Leen Meganck, "Bouwen te Gent in het Interbellum (1919-1939): Stedenbouw, Onderwijs, Patrimonium: Een Synthese" (doctoral thesis, Ghent University, 2002) 39-40.
 - 11 As he recounts in Jerome Desplanques, "Tracé de l'Autostrade Bruxelles-Ostende dans la région Gantoise," *Bulletin de l'Association Permanente des Congrès Belges de la Route* 9 (1935): 7. The minister in question must have been Hendrik de Man, who commissioned the construction of Belgium's first highway as part of his policy of Grands Travaux to temper the effects of the long-lasting depression of the 1930's. As an international renowned champion of the rationalistic 'planism' the manner in which Desplanques writes of the laconic attitude of the latter's objections ("Gand ne compte que très peu de contribuables" and "le passage par Gand n'intéresse ni les Bruxellois qui vont à la mer; ni les Anversois qui vont à la mer ou à Lille") is remarkable.
 - 12 As shown in P.B. "Un projet d'autostrade Bruxelles-Ostende traversant diamétralement Gand," *La Flandre Liberale*, June 27, 1935, 3; Belgian Chamber of Representatives, Acts, 23 May 1935: 1182-1183.
 - 13 P.-L. Flouquet, "Pour un urbanisme héroïque...: L'autostrade Bruxelles-Ostende et le problème gantois" *Bâtir* 50 (1937): 1007-1010.
 - 14 Jeromes Desplanques, "Tracé de l'Autostrade Bruxelles-Ostende," 3-4 & 6-7; J. Desplanques to Le Corbusier (18/10/1937), 2; J. Desplanques, *Organisations du réseau routier*, 14-15; P.L. Flouquet, "Pour un urbanisme héroïque..." 1008 & 1010.
 - 15 Jeromes Desplanques, "Tracé de l'Autostrade Bruxelles-Ostende," 3-4 & 6-7; J. Desplanques to Le Corbusier (18/10/1937), 2; J. Desplanques, *Organisations du réseau routier*, 14-15; P.L. Flouquet, "Pour un urbanisme héroïque..." 1008 & 1010.
 - 16 J. Desplanques, *Organisations du réseau routier*. The of the basic computation he uses throughout his texts (e.g. p. 14). The diagram can be found as figure 1 on pp. 22-23.
 - 17 Jeromes Desplanques, "Tracé de l'Autostrade Bruxelles-Ostende," 7-8; J. Desplanques to Le Corbusier (18/10/1937), 2; J. Desplanques, *Organisations du réseau routier*, 15-16; P.L. Flouquet, "Pour un urbanisme héroïque..." 1009-1010.
 - 18 J. Desplanques to Le Corbusier (18/10/1937), 1 & annexes; J. Desplanques, *Organisations du réseau routier*, 16-27.
 - 19 J. Desplanques, *Organisations du réseau routier*, 6.
- Unfortunately for Desplanques ribbon development would in time develop into one of the most recognisable characteristics of the Belgian built environment.
- 20 Jeromes Desplanques, "Tracé de l'Autostrade Bruxelles-Ostende," 4; J. Desplanques to Le Corbusier (18/10/1937), 3-4; J. Desplanques, *Organisations du réseau routier*, 12-13 & 27-28; P.L. Flouquet, "Pour un urbanisme héroïque..." 1008-1009.
 - 21 J. Desplanques, *Organisations du réseau routier*, 17-18.
 - 22 J. Desplanques to Le Corbusier (18/10/1937), 1; J. Desplanques, *Organisations du réseau routier*, 3-4 & 32.
 - 23 The original text reads: "L'ingénieur qui, dans tant de domaines, a montré sa puissance audacieuse, bienfaisante, quelquefois déconcertante de créer, devrait prendre la tête d'un mouvement pour attaquer résolument l'étude des multiples problèmes de la route et de l'urbanisme, en collaboration avec l'architecte, l'artiste, l'hygiéniste. Il rendra un immense service de plus à la collectivité et ainsi, mieux que l'économiste le plus distingué, il mettra de l'ordre dans la maison et préparera le terrain pour la réalisation d'un avenir toujours meilleur." J. Desplanques, *Organisation du réseau routier*, 38. Translation by the author.
- In his letter to Le Corbusier he, however, downplays this belief in the capacities of the Engineer: "Je n'aurai pas la prétention de dire que cette façon d'envisager certains aspects de l'urbanisation est complète. Je pense toutefois avoir montré que l'urbanisation est un problème complexe où l'étude de l'ingénieur peut utilement seconder l'art de l'urbaniste." J. Desplanques to Le Corbusier (18/10/1937), 4.

- 24 The original text reads : “La ville des Comtes [Ghent] se trouve placée dans la quasi-impossibilité de devenir une grande ville résolument moderne, c’est-à-dire triomphante, si l’urbanisme n’intervient avec vigueur.” Pierre-Louis Flouquet in, “Pour un urbanisme héroïque,” 1007. Translation by the author.
- 25 As well Le Corbusier’s statements on the ‘reconstruction’ of the centre of Paris as the 1933 plan for the left bank of Antwerp reveal an only minimal attention for the broader territorial contexts of these cities. See, for example, Enrico Chapel, “From Paris to Athens,” in *Atlas of the Functional City: CIAM 4 and Comparative Urban Analysis*, eds. Evelien van Es et al. (Bussum: THOTH, 2014).
- 26 These three aspects are well-known topics in the study of the emergence of the nebular city, see for example Bénédicte Grosjean, *Urbanisation Sans Urbanisme*.
- 27 Iwan Strauven, *Victor Bourgeois (1897-1962): Radicaliteit en pragmatisme. Moderniteit en traditie*, 2 vols. (Ghent: Ghent University, 2015).
- 28 Victor Bourgeois, “4me Congrès Internationale d’Architecture Moderne: Extrait du Rapport sur l’Urbanisme en Belgique,” *LEquerre* 12 (1933): 8-10 ; and Iwan Strauven, “Belgium: a Peculiar Meeting between Nikolaj Miljutin and Patrick Geddes,” in *Atlas of the Functional City: CIAM 4 and Comparative Urban Analysis*, eds. Evelien van Es et al. (Bussum: THOTH, 2014).
- 29 See Iwan Strauven, *Victor Bourgeois*, 296-297 (note 50 & 51).
- 30 See Enrico Chapel, “From Paris to Athens,”; and from the same volume Gregor Harbusch et al. “Established Modernists Go into Exile, Younger Members Go to Athens”; and John R. Gold, “In Search of the Linear City”.
- 31 Apart from the CIAM contribution, Bourgeois would work at his studies on Charleroi in the frame of a lecture for L’Association des Géomètres du Bassin de Charleroi, a commission for l’exposition de l’eau and a study during the war for Le Centre Belge d’Etudes et de Documentation. See René De Cooman and Victor Bourgeois, *Charleroi: Terre d’urbanisme* (Brussels: Art et technique, 1946) 9-10 in which he assembles these studies and Iwan Strauven, *Victor Bourgeois*, 316-317.
- 32 The original text reads: “[...] Charleroi a grandi sous la pression d’un seul facteur : l’Industrie. [...] Ille doit son développement au seul déterminisme économique.” René De Cooman and Victor Bourgeois, *Charleroi*, 15. Translation by the author, emphasis by De Cooman and Bourgeois.
- 33 The original text reads: “Il s’agit maintenant de passer à cette autre nécessité essentielle: l’urbanisation.” René De Cooman and Victor Bourgeois, *Charleroi*, 67. Translation by the author.
- 34 The original text reads: “Il est question non d’augmenter le rythme des travaux publics mais de coordonner l’activité d’une trentaine de communes et de leurs habitants – industriels et particuliers – d’hiérarchiser les besoins et leur satisfaction pour en faire un tout raisonnable et harmonieux.” René De Cooman and Victor Bourgeois, *Charleroi*, 67. Translation by the author.
- 35 The original text reads: “Je m’empresse de vous dire que j’ai assisté cet hiver à une conférence de l’urbaniste belge Monsieur Victor Bourgeois sur l’urbanisation de la région de Charleroi, et où le problème de l’urbanisation était étudié d’une façon beaucoup plus complète du point de vue économique et social. J’ai eu le plaisir de constater que ses conclusions étaient les mêmes que les miennes.” J. Desplanques to Le Corbusier (18/10/1937) 4.
- 36 A crucial, third figure in this respect, and for the visibility of the ideas of the modern movement in the 1930’s in general is Pierre-Louis Flouquet. It was he who interviewed Desplanques on the highway project for the magazine *Bâtir* and it was he who would give the engineer the contact details of Le Corbusier (as written on the visiting card of J. Desplanques, accessible in the archives of the Fondation Le Corbusier T2(12)186). Flouquet was also a close friend of Bourgeois. Already in 1922, the two friends co-founded the avant-garde group 7 Arts which published an eponymous magazine. About Flouquet, it can be argued that he offered the advocates of the modern movement a platform to their ideas and present their projects.
- Flouquet figures in a several studies on modernism, architecture or urbanism, but his life and work are never the prime subject. Other studies focus more on his role as a poet or painter. An ongoing doctoral research project by Irene Lund at the Université Libre de Bruxelles and Ghent University tries to shed more light on this intriguing and important person.
- 37 See Le Corbusier, “Le grand gaspillage: Exposé à Chicago,” in *Quand les cathédrales étaient blanches: Voyage au pays des timides* (Paris: PLON, 1937), 193-201. Deplanques quotes this text extensively in J. Desplanques, *Organisation du réseau routier*, 7-8.
- 38 The original text reads: “[...] les urbanistes concilient les intérêts et les essais les plus divers en vue d’un meilleur rendement réciproque des choses qui poussent et des choses qui s’édifient. En d’autres termes, l’urbanisme perfectionne les rapports qu’ont entre eux les éléments naturels et le fond organisé du territoire. C’est l’amélioration des relations et des réactions du monde extérieur.” René De Cooman and Victor Bourgeois, *Charleroi*, 11. Translation by the author.
- 39 Both men describe this aim very precisely:
J. Desplanques: “[...] l’urbanisation rationnelle des grands centres [...] mettrait à la raison les parasites nombreux, plus ou moins visibles et voraces qui rongent toutes les activités réelles de notre vie économique et portent entrave au développement harmonieux de notre vie sociale.” As quoted by P.-L. Flouquet in, “Pour un urbanisme héroïque,” 1010.
- V. Bourgeois: “Aussi est-il condamné à sacrifier l’aspect individuel ou égoïste au profit du groupement, de la cité, de la région.” René De Cooman and Victor Bourgeois, *Charleroi*, 11.

Public Space

Chair: Ana Maria Fernandez Maldonado

A HISTORICAL INVESTIGATION OF SEXUALITY AND MARKED SPACE – CASE STUDY: URBAN HISTORICAL NEIGHBOURHOOD IN TEHRAN

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Before the 1970s, the adoption of an old global hypothesis (i.e. male/female dichotomy), was a key reason why the approach to gender justice could not adopt in urban planning. This hypothesis argued in particular that women belong to the home and men to the public sphere, while planning is to ensure that social justice is established and therefore the attention should inevitably give to the approach of inclusion. Thus, the main goal of this paper is to discuss the concept of gender justice and present the approach of women's inclusion vs. women's exclusion through history of urban planning. For better understanding of the influences of urban planning models on producing the gendered marked space or a responsive space, neighbourhood scale as the main space of women's presence has chosen in Tehran- Chizar neighbourhood. This study is an applied research of descriptive-analytical nature, in which the in-depth interview was used as the data collection method and the sample size was 30. Women's narrations about their everyday space considered as a measure to analyse markedness, which serves as the basis for identifying binary oppositions that are affected by the old male/female dichotomy. The results showed that the changes in historical neighbourhood during the urban development process in Tehran have failed to respond to gender justice concerns and, compared to previous structure, sometimes have worked more inappropriately in viewpoints of women.

Keywords

Urban Planning, History, Gender Justice, Women, Markedness, Binary Opposition, Historical Neighbourhoods, Tehran.

INTRODUCTION

One of the most important objectives of urban planning is to provide spatial and social justice. Although, as studies showed, traditional planning has been challenged by women and their supporters, the planning models used since the late 1970s have tried to involve all groups in urban planning. For example, strategic planning in Iran was used as an alternative model that addressed the objectives such as social justice. This paper aims to study the evolution of urban planning and also address the idea of women and gender justice. At first, the importance of justice and gender sensitivity will be discussed in relation to urban planning and development, and then the case study will be examined through the approaches of women's inclusion and exclusion in planning models. This will be done with identifying the binary oppositions that lead to markedness. It should be mentioned that the idea of "binary oppositions" is rooted in the structural linguistic model of Saussure, who describes them as "means by which the units of language have value or meaning and each unit is defined in reciprocal determination with another term that is not present"¹.

IMPORTANCE OF JUSTICE AND GENDER JUSTICE IN THE URBAN DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

The idea of justice is so important that it has been considered as a prerequisite of any action that aims to increase quality of life². Although it is a long-standing concept, the cities include all forms of injustice and discrimination, among which gender justice is less emphasized or considered. Emphasizing on the patriarchal views besides considering a great difference between men and women in urban planning process, have made women to deny their basic rights, despite their important role in various spheres is negligible. It is crystal clear that gender justice is not only a demand to guarantee the basic human rights and social justice, but is an indispensable tool for preserving the environment, sustainable development and human security³.

HISTORICAL REVIEW OF GENDER SENSITIVITY IN PLANNING

Gender justice is discussed below as an important issue in the context of the most significant shifts in urban planning models. Therefore, we first examine the effects of the traditional planning model with the approach of gender exclusion and then the importance of gender justice in the strategic planning model.

BEFORE THE 1970S: THE ERA OF TRADITIONAL PLANNING MODEL

Traditional planning actually offered the concept of zoning in the form of the comprehensive plan which led to marginalisation of women⁴. In other words, women were separated from the cities and activity centres within this planning model that produced zones and created the suburbs. Thus, the idea of gender exclusion was intended to separate activities and spaces. For example, in the planning of public transport, the economic role of men has been adopted as a general principle in locating and planning the transport system, regardless of the women's employment, care responsibilities and activities. This model has been adopted in America, Scandinavia, the UK and developing countries⁵. In addition, there are many different issues that, according to theorists, led to gender blindness and hostile attitudes to women in traditional planning:

- “Low presence of women in professional careers, including academic programs, urban development and architecture;
- Adoption of the commonly accepted assumptions that pushed urban planning to the direction that is non-responsive to the women’s needs and demands. In other words, urban planning was a widespread show of patriarchy, which was more likely to marginalize women in all areas of life⁶;
- “Communities and cities were considered as a mass of similar individuals with the same basic needs and requirements;
- Planning has been adapted to the pattern of men’s life;
- Limited opportunities for women (i.e. limited time) because of the traditional sexual division of labour;
- And lack of knowledge about the different impacts that policies, plans and projects have on women and men’s life, and lack of understanding of women’s roles and responsibilities⁷.”

PROBLEMS AND LIMITATIONS ARISING FROM THE ADOPTION OF TRADITIONAL PLANNING MODEL

This planning model not only led to the increased anonymity, but also increased the violence, as some studies have shown. In other words, people’s alienation with the city is believed to lead to an increase in human hurts and also to an increased risk for groups who are more physically vulnerable, such as women. Thus, since women do not feel the same sense of excitement as men do in the cities that are planned based on male needs; they find the cities as a terrible and strange spaces. For this reason, Elizabeth Wilson (1991) expressed undesirably this fact that many feminists are anti-city⁸. Thus, such an urban planning has led to an intense sense of fear, violence and lack of belonging to the city and alienation with the environment⁹.

AFTER THE 1970S: TRANSITION FROM TRADITIONAL PLANNING

In this section, attention will first be given to the women’s inclusion in the city and in particular, the historical trend towards the issue of gender justice in the context of sustainable development will be then presented as a paradigm affecting the strategic planning model. Also the significance of justice in strategic planning is explained because this model has been currently adopted in process of urban development in Iran.

EMERGENCE OF GENDER SENSITIVITY IN URBAN PLANNING

Since the late 1970s and early 1980s, attention has been drawn to the issue of women in architecture, urban development, geography, anthropology and sociology in order to improve women’s life quality. This was achieved through organizing the numerous conferences and the publication of several books and periodicals such as the Canadian magazine named: “Women and Environment”, Heresies magazine in 1981, and “Social Considerations” magazine (1985). A variety of subjects were included in these publications, including the activities, preferences, needs, and problems of women in the cities.

During this period, the concept of gender has been focused in the most studies on women and the environment. Here at first, the difference between the concepts of gender and sex should be addressed by giving more weight to the first concept than to the second one. In other words, gender is considered as a social structure^{10,11}. It has been considered that social, cultural and historical structures can make various systems that make gender differences more obvious^{12,13}. Thus, the groups advocating women's rights have addressed the following general issues, through considering the concept of citizenship and civic society in the 1970s:

- Demands for making changes in the urban planning process with an emphasis on women's rights;
- Considering Women's Inclusion due to the creation of institutional structures and emphasizing on gender concept in urban governance¹⁴.

Since the 1970s, security in cities has been demanded by women in Northern Europe. Women's Organization in Frankfurt has called for holding the training workshops to teach and involve citizens to focus on how to "build a city more affectionate with women?" The issues of women and the city have been highlighted in a separate report published by the Association of Equal Opportunities for the European Communities in 1995, the European Charter of Women in the City, and the Agenda of European Projects. European Agenda detailed 12 objectives to improve the idea of active citizenship from the lowest to the highest groups. The main focus was on increasing the participation of women in decision making processes, especially in urban planning and housing. Women's demand for participation and decision making is considered as a measure for evaluating justice and inclusion. Thus, the efforts of feminists and other movements have led to a great attention to women's demands in urban planning, and also make an appropriate terrain for women's participation. These progresses in urban planning have provided more responsive services and transportation for women. The idea of local empowerment and the right to freedom of expression has also been identified as a fundamental principle of collaborative or multicultural planning for less emphasized groups (like women)¹⁵.

EMPHASIS ON SOCIAL JUSTICE IN THE STRATEGIC PLANNING MODEL

Over the past two decades, the comprehensive plan has been replaced by the strategic planning model in Iran. The evaluation of the theoretical framework and main objectives of this model shows its profound correlation with the concept of sustainable development¹⁶. The final goal of strategic planning is to achieve sustainable development and promote the quality of life for all citizens. Given the importance of sustainable urban development and strategic planning objectives, this section therefore discusses the importance of gender justice in the approach of sustainable urban development.

GENDER JUSTICE AND SENSITIVITY IN SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: THE APPROACH AND HISTORICAL TRENDS

A brief history of how the concept of gender justice has been addressed in the approach of sustainable development will be discussed in this section, which is provided in the form of a review of women's rights to the environment and development. Some of the most important milestones are listed below^{17, 18, 19}:

- 1945: The First International Charter on the Equal Rights of Women and Men. The International Association of Women was found during this decade, when the universal declarations of human rights were presented in 1947 and 1948.
- 1975: Although the movement began in the 1940s, it did not draw attention until the 1970s, when the First International Conference on Women was held under the theme of "Justice, Development and Peace" and Non-Governmental Organizations were founded in Mexico City (this decade is considered as a starting point).
- 1985: Holding the Third World Conference on Women, and establishing Non-Governmental Organizations in Nairobi. At this conference, special attention, for example, was paid to the key role of women in protecting and managing the environment, and the role of women and their contribution to sustainable development.

- 1992: International Conference on Environment and Development, which resulted in the Rio Declaration and Agenda 21. Thus, women were considered as a large group that contributes to sustainable development. Chapter 24 of the Agenda was called “The Role of Women and Sustainable Development”. Article 20 of the Rio Declaration also states that “women play a vital role in environmental management and development, and their full participation is therefore essential to achieve sustainable development.”
- 1995: The Fourth World Conference was held in Beijing, China, followed by the formation of Non- Governmental Organizations in Huairou. Twelve keywords were proposed in the principles of the Beijing Conference to achieve gender justice. Section K of the report was also devoted to the issue of women and the environment.
- 2000: Millennium Conference, which discussed eight primary objectives to be achieved by the participating countries until 2015. The third objective of the Millennium Development Goals was declared to “establish gender justice and empower women”.
- 2003: The eleventh chapter of the report of the International Association for Sustainable Development stated that gender justice should be addressed as the main theme in all activities until 2015.

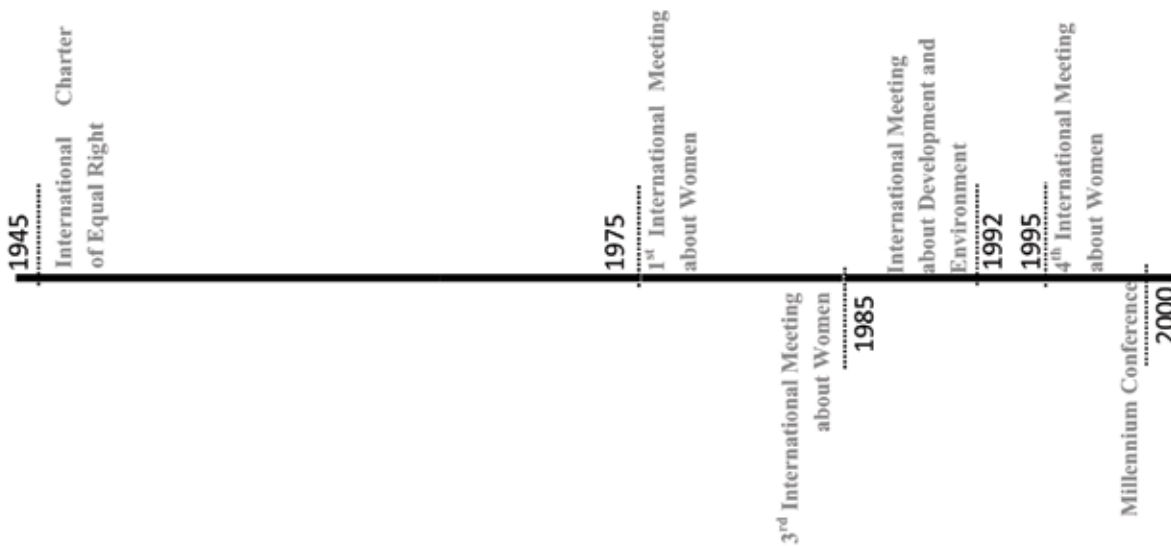


FIGURE 1 Historical milestone regarding women's right

A brief overview of the contents of reports and conferences in the history of the subject presents four basic stages in the understanding and discursive thinking of gender justice in urban sustainable development: in the first stage, which extended until the early 1960s, there were no particular ideas about gender and social differences. The role of women in development was addressed in the second stage where the focus was mainly put on the development and supportive policies, and projects were implemented in favour of women. In the third stage, the created crises require careful attention to the injustice between men and women, and after the holding of the Third International Conference about Women in 1985, a deeper reflection emerged on the issue of gender in international levels. Finally, a thorough understanding of the issue has been obtained in the fourth stage²⁰.

DEVELOPING A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Thus, the approaches of women's inclusion and exclusion can generally be identified in urban planning. But without any doubt, urban planning should consider the needs of women with their participation. In whole, gender exclusion in the city has been produced through the adoption and intrusion of the following dichotomies in planning which lead to women's exclusion:

- **Private-public dichotomy** or **home-city dichotomy**: The approach of women's exclusion in urban spaces is supported by those who believe that women belong to the home space and the private sphere, while men belong to the public space²¹.
- **Male-female dichotomy**: A look at the nature of gendered space demonstrates it as a desirable sphere for the presence of men rather than women, so the space is marked in terms of its desirability for men's presence.
- **Internal-external dichotomy**: Gendered spaces have provided the context for the emergence of an important dichotomy: "external spaces" that are more appropriate for the presence of men, as opposed to "safe internal spaces" for women.

The result of accepting these dichotomies (which led to create the gendered marked spaces) produce other dichotomies such as: safe/unsafe, comfortable/uncomfortable, desirable/undesirable, responsive/non-responsive. Accordingly, this paper aims to evaluating the gender justice and to identify the binary oppositions at the neighborhood planning scale so that the indicators leading to the markedness of the city are defined. The reason for choosing a neighbourhood scale is that women have the most behavioral and emotional attachments to their residence.

CASE STUDY: CHIZAR NEIGHBOURHOOD, TEHRAN, IRAN

As recently mentioned neighbourhood scale is a proper text to measure and evaluate the issue of "women's inclusion in urban planning". The historical neighbourhood of Chizar was chosen among the neighbourhoods in Tehran. It was formed before the Islamic Revolution of Iran in relation to the structure of Tehran and the historic core of Tajrish in the north. This area has had an organic fabric, religious identity (due to several Imamzadehs in the neighbourhood), and religious residents with strong cultural and social norms.

The urban plans implemented during the development of Tehran after the Islamic Revolution (1992 and 2007) have contributed to the social and physical changes in many historical cores and rural settlements – the changes in transportation network, density, as well as the land uses and activities, which have also been experienced by Chizar neighbourhood due to its geographical location and favourable climatic conditions. In addition, the cohesive social structure of this neighbourhood was changed by the wealthy and people from middle class upwards²².

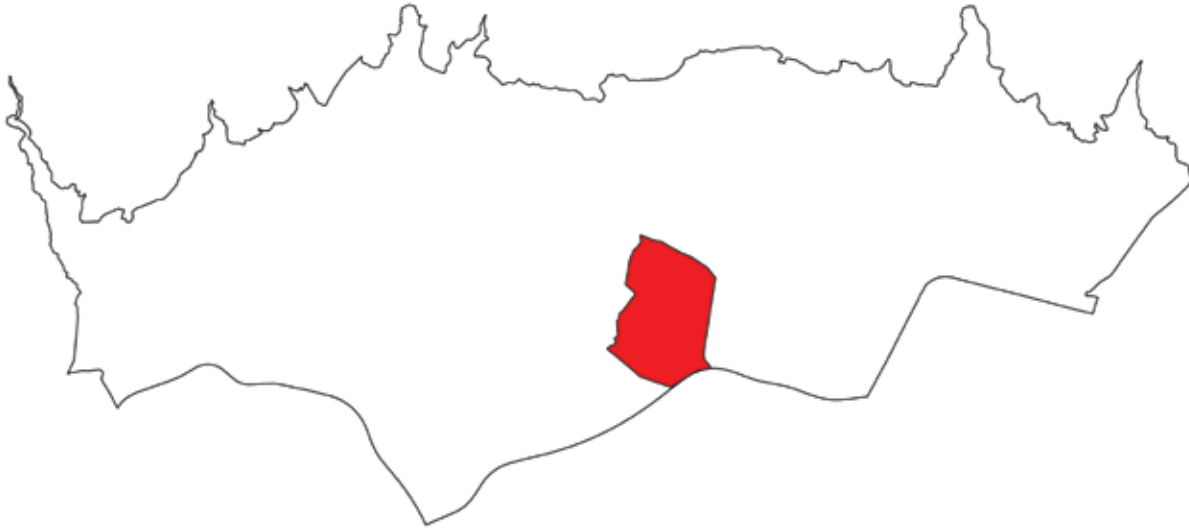


FIGURE 2 From left: location of Tehran Province in Iran, Location of District 1 in City of Tehran, and Location of Chizar Neighbourhood in District 1 of Tehran municipality

HOW TO COLLECT AND ANALYSING DATA

For evaluating the gender justice and to identify the binary oppositions in the case study, in-depth interviews were performed not only in the neighbourhood space, but also as door to door, to benefit from the experience of women who may be less present in the neighbourhood. The sample size based on statistical rules of thumb was 30 women.

Regarding the factors that influence the presence or absence and therefore show gender justice, the women were asked to explain their reasons in a few sentences, which were then rewritten and qualitatively analysed to develop indicators and identify binary oppositions. It should be noted that in some cases, some questions were asked by the researcher during interviews, in order to achieve the relevant reasons. In other words, analysing women's narration about Chizar neighbourhood was done through structural linguistic in order to defining marked concepts.

ANALYSING DATA

The results obtained from the data are presented in these sections.

- **Presence in the space (day and night):** The results indicate the weak presence of women at night (The results are presented in details in below table).
- **Accompany in the neighbourhood space:** Because of household duties and responsibilities, care duties, and restrictions and norms, women are more compelled to be present in the neighbourhood with families and children²³. In other words, the space has the features which reduce the personal presence of women and thus has been gendered.
- **Reasons of women's presence:** Activities of interest are generally based on the Gehl (1987)²⁴ classification. As we see, women are present in the space to a large extent for necessary activities and to a small extent for optional and social activities.

THE TIME SPENT IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD SPACE	PERCENTAGE IN EACH ROW	ACCOMPANY IN THE SPACE	PERCENTAGE IN EACH ROW
Morning	46.6	Alone	46.6
Noon	10	With Friends	20
Afternoon	60	With wife	16.6
Early evening	13.3	With children	13.3
Late Night	3.3	With family members	33.3
-	-	With parents	10
-	-	With others	3.3
Reason of presence in space	Type of activities	Percentage in each row	
Daily shopping	Necessary	76.6	
Taking and bringing children	Necessary	13.3	
Waiting for friends	Necessary	3	
For a walk	Optional	13.3	
Going to the Imamzadeh	Optional	63.3	
Social interaction	Social	10	
For spending leisure time	Social	3.3	
For watching others	Social	3.3	

TABLE 1 Presence specifications of participants

INDICATORS	FREQUENCY FROM 30 QUESTIONNAIRES	PERCENTAGE	BINARY OPPOSITION IN THE MARKED SPACE
Day security	12	40	Secure/non-secure
Night security	16	53.3	
Social control in the space	8	26.6	
The incidence of crime in the space	3	10	
Comfort and convenience	14	46.6	Comfortable/uncomfortable
Considering the needs of children in the space	11	36.6	Responsive/non-responsive
Addressing the needs of women	17	56.5	
Being part of space	8	26.6	Receptivity/lack of receptivity
Sense of belonging	6	20	
Disability for the presence of men	13	21.6	Male/female
Prohibition of presence in the space	7	23.3	Normative/Non-normative
Being against social conventions and norms	16	53.3	
Being non-cultural	14	46.6	

TABLE 2 The identified verbal indicators and binary oppositions

BINARY OPPOSITIONS OF GENDERED MARKED SPACE

As it was mentioned in various researches a good and sustainable neighbourhood planning should include these criteria: life quality, various opportunities for different groups, energy efficiency, reinforcing social cohesion, social inclusion and economic prosperity.²⁵ Thus inclusion is defined as one of the main criteria for realising the social dimension of sustainable neighbourhood. Therefore considering all these, here by several sub-criteria are defined which are necessary for women's inclusion in the neighbourhood such as: security, convenience, considering their needs, sense of belonging, participation^{26,27}.

In the following, the relevant indicators were identified from the given responses and women's verbal analysis, and then the binary oppositions of marked space were determined by qualitative and analytical classification based on the conceptual framework and the theoretical bases.

Secure/non-secure: Security is seen as a measure to reduce the presence of women in the neighbourhood so that the reduced presence has been shown to be followed by criteria such as lack of security in the day or night and lack of control by social groups. In other words, the space is gendered marked because of the lack of security. In other words, planning which doesn't consider women's inclusion in the public realm evaluate non-secure from their viewpoint. Regarding this, a 48-year-old married woman said:

- .. I go out only for bringing the children to school or shopping ... and prefer to do my shopping before night because I don't have a good feeling to stay out after that time...

In other words, there are many aspects to consider, such as the feeling of insecurity in the space and the lack of security at night in the neighbourhood and, at the same time, a necessary presence of women.

Comfortable/uncomfortable: The feeling of comfort and convenience is another criterion influencing the neighbourhood appropriateness. Thus, one the feature of gendered space is the lack of comfort for presence of women. For example, one interviewee, a 30-year-old married woman, said:

- .. I don't think neighbourhood space and particularly Chizar Square is a suitable space for presence of women. Better to say, I don't have the feeling of comfort and convenience while staying in the space, because the presence of some men and shopkeepers in the space and their look doesn't give me a good feeling...

A 36-year-old woman who was present in the space with her child stated:

- .. I feel better at home and ... I come here only to take and bring my daughter to school or do home purchase. Home gives me a sense of peace and calm...

Responsive/non-responsive: Another binary opposition in the gendered space can be seen to be the lack of appropriateness of space for women and groups that they care. It is important to note that the responsiveness of space to children's needs is very important for married women. Here is the answer of a 36-year-old woman who was present in the space with her child:

- .. One problem is that the neighbourhood lacks equipment in the green spaces... it has no facilities for children... drinking fountain and sanitary services are available only in Imamzadeh Ali Akbar which is located in Chizar Square...

Therefore, the environment is found to not be suitable for the presence of women and the groups that their care. Various criteria (such as lack of equipment, including utilities and furniture) reduce the presence of women in the neighbourhood. Regarding the responsiveness of the environment, a 28-year-old single woman stated:

- *I don't go to Chizar Square or I don't like be present in the neighbourhood. Many of religious women go to the Imamzadeh for leisure, but many young girls prefer to go out of the neighbourhood because the Imamzadeh is a very religious space, and it is unpleasant to me... the lack of minimum facilities in the space is one of the things that I don't like spending my time in the neighbourhood. There isn't even a bench in the proper location in the square and the presence of men in the space bothers me all the time...*

As can be seen, the presence of girls in the space is reduced by the lack of equipment and facilities in the space as well as the lack of responsiveness. This case is selected among other cases to show this fact that the younger and new residents don't have any strong willing for being present in the neighbourhood.

Receptivity of space/lack of space receptivity: There are different phrases that are considered equivalent to this concept: The lack of sense of belonging, the presence of strangers, and the feeling of strangeness. As recently said, inclusion approach in planning makes space more unknown for women and so they feel insecure in the space or they don't have any sense of belonging to the neighbourhood. A 25-year-old girl answered to the question 'whether you feel to be a part of the space?':

- *.. Not so much... I think strangers and the people of adjacent neighbourhoods are present in our neighbourhood because of the Imamzadeh... I think my neighbourhood does not belong only to residents... Whenever I pass through the main square, I see a lot of strangers... the presence of others in the space have reduced the feeling of comfort in the space and, in my opinion; it isn't pleasant for young women...*

The following is a part of an interview with a 47-year-old woman who had a different impression on the receptivity of the environment. However, it should be noted that the Imamzadeh, located in the southwest corner of the main square, is a space for the presence of women with religious beliefs while according to the researcher's observations, women have little presence in Chizar Square and neighbourhood itself.

- *.. When I feel so alone, I go to the Imamzadeh... the Imamzadeh has a very different atmosphere with a variety of religious programs... I have gotten acquainted with a lot of ladies in the Imamzadeh...*

Male/female: A male vs. female dichotomy can be seen among the responses. In other words, neighbourhood and the main square, with the exception of the Imamzadeh, is a truly gendered space; and there is no difference between religious and less religious people in this regard and also between old and new residents.

An elderly woman, about 65, who was present in the Imamzadeh and was an old resident of the neighbourhood said:

- *.. In the past, there was too much communication between us and our neighbours... women were strongly linked together... the alleys were spaces for the presence of women... but now the communication has reduced after the construction of new apartments... In the past, women had certain gathering places, but now they are usually present only in the Imamzadehs... the presence of women in the alleys has reduced, and only young men and men can be seen in the main square...*

Regarding the presence of women in the neighbourhood, due to the existence of a hierarchy of spaces (from semi-public and public) and social norms in Iranian-Islamic cities, women could be present in semi-public and private spaces (at the end of local streets and cul-de-sacs) in the past. However, because of the fabric redevelopment after Revolution, dramatic physical and social changes occurred to the extent that the spatial hierarchy was destroyed in this neighbourhood. It seems that old residents of Chizar have not been able to adapt themselves to these changes, due to strong religious beliefs and the adoption of the views on gender exclusion.

Normative/Non-normative: This dichotomy has been expressed in many sentences by women. For example, some have said that it is not necessary for women to be present in the neighbourhood, while others have stated that, except for shopping or going to the Imamzadeh, they are prohibited by their family or their husband. The analysis of the responses showed that religious and cultural values, along with traditional beliefs prevail among women. In other words, for studying this hypothesis that scio-cultural norms besides planning has a great influence on women’s participation, several questions are considered, for example in a door-to-door interview, a middle-aged married woman answered the question ‘do you have any restriction from your family for being present in the neighbourhood space?’:

- .. No... my husband doesn’t say that I shouldn’t go out or don’t be present in the neighbourhood... but I don’t like going out on my own... purchase for daily use is made by my son or my husband and if I have to shop, I go out with my daughter... the main square is too crowded... but I like the space of Imamzadeh... I go out for the Imamzadeh... it is culturally obscene for women to be present in the streets...

An overview of this response shows the strong influence of religious beliefs and the acceptance of the view that the home is a safer place for women. It is also quite evident clear in her answer that the presence of women in external space is absurd and uncultured.

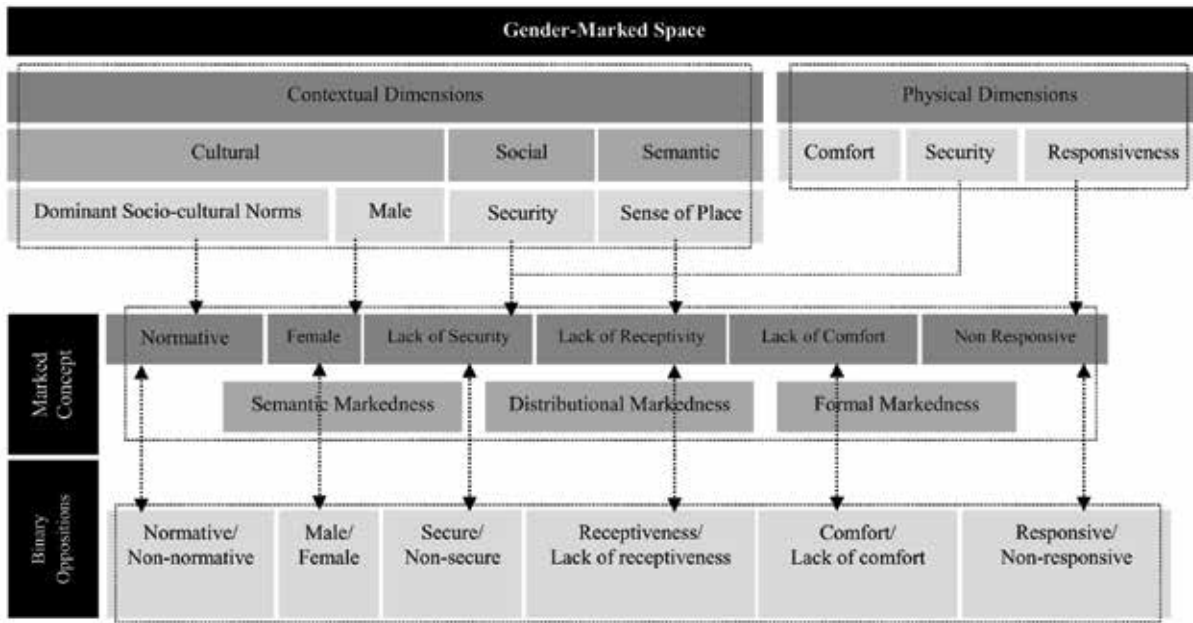


FIGURE 3 Final model of Gendered Marked space

CONCLUSION

This paper examined the historical evolution of the concept of gender justice in urban planning. The most important milestones were discussed in the two categories of traditional and strategic planning to determine the importance of considering women's issues in the planning process, and the examples of the binary oppositions created under the influence of the gender exclusion approach vs. inclusion approach are defined. Analysing the viewpoints of women in the historical neighbourhood of Chizar based on the dichotomies of the gendered space has shown that both physical and contextual aspects were perceived undesirable for women during redevelopment process. The diagram below shows the binary oppositions in the neighbourhood scale that have led to markedness of space and have created a gendered area.

In whole, evaluating this neighbourhood as a suitable example of historical Iranian neighbourhoods, shows that the old and historical structure of Iranian neighbourhoods is still acceptable for residents, despite this fact that the gender separation in the space based on the cultural and social norms of Islamic cities can be simply observed (such as: the threshold of home entrance, the end of dead-end streets, the cul-de-sacs and the semi-public spheres). In other words, urban plans at the scale of historical neighbourhood of Tehran (where original Tehrani residents live), regardless of the needs of women and groups that they care, have led to the new structure which not only is inappropriate for the old residents, but also is an undesirable place for the new residents. It is therefore essential to consider the cultural and social norms, the demands and requirements of women on the scale of their everyday life (neighbourhoods), in addition to considering the gender sensitivity in the neighbourhood planning process.

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HEART DISEASE – THE QUEST FOR A CIVIC CENTRE IN AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND

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Established as a British colonial settlement in 1840, Auckland is now a diverse city of c.1.5 million citizens. The British Governor William Hobson selected the site for the economic potential of its harbour and commissioned a town plan for its orderly development (Felton Mathew 1841). The city was granted legal status in 1871, with its governance modelled on the British Municipal Corporations Act 1835. A town council was elected by rate payers/property owners and responsible for public health and utilities. Notwithstanding, there was a desire to make Auckland as ‘worthy’ as the great European cities through amenities to enhance cordiality and civic pride. Although it developed as a new world suburban city, Auckland aspired to have a symbolic physical focus from its inception, and to have “the one place to be called the “heart” of the city” (City Development Section Town Planning Division, 1968).

Drawing on archival materials, this research documents the historical development of the central area designated as the civic ‘heart’, and traces milestones with this aim in mind: the Felton Mathew Plan; an Imperial Baroque Town Hall opened in 1911; failed ‘City Beautiful’ proposals 1923-26; partially realised Modernist schemes with architectural and traffic initiatives 1946-1980; the Aotea Square and underground car park (opened in 1979 and redeveloped 2008-2010); a multipurpose arts and convention Aotea Centre opened in 1990; ‘The Civic’ heritage cinema restored and reopened in 1999 with an adjoining multiplex ‘entertainment centre’ abutting Aotea Square; and twenty-first century plans for the ‘The Aotea Quarter’ envisaged as the city’s “civic and cultural centre, and arts and entertainment hub” (Auckland Council City Centre Masterplan 2012). The paper investigates why many of these plans were only partially put into effect or not implemented at all - with the civic centre now best defined by a loop of roads predicated on modernist traffic management theory and compromised buildings rather than the constitution of a coherent public realm prioritizing the citizen and humanist values. Fiscal centralisation and ratepayer resistance, a fragmented local government structure, suburbanised retailing and the rise of competing centres (three edge cities and the Auckland waterfront), the inability of city decision makers to transcend short-term politics and priorities contribute to this outcome, and uncritical adoption of modernist urban ideologies. This paper is of wider relevance given the growing global appreciation of the significance of the cultures of cities – socially, economically and politically.

Keywords

Civic Centre Planning, Colonial schemes, City Beautiful schemes, Modernist schemes, Cultural Corporate schemes, Auckland New Zealand

LOCATING THE URBAN IN SEXUAL CITIZENSHIP: NATIONAL IMAGINARIES AND QUEER COUNTER-NARRATIVES

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Cities have played an important role in the queer movement's emergence and the consolidation of its gains from the 1970s to today. In current debates around sexual citizenship there is a marked absence of the physicality of urban space and the specific environments that have historically fostered non-normative socialities. I propose the re-thinking of sexual citizenship as a place-based, and predominantly urban, rights-discourse template with specific policy legacies. My presentation will briefly outline current scholarship that focuses on the expansion of normative, state-sponsored citizenship formulations to include "sexual others" civil and socio-economic rights. Important contributions in the study of differentiated citizenship consider the intersection of sexuality with ethnicity, class, and social attitudes towards age. My work traces the urban manifestations of this debate in specific infrastructures in San Francisco and New York City, attempting to establish a dialogue between scholars working on citizenship studies and their urban counterparts through an interpretation of queer space in the two cities from the perspective of spatial practices that both influence and are shaped by an insurgent kind of urban citizenship.

During the past year an important Supreme Court decision expanded the civil rights associated with U.S. citizenship to include LGBTQ activists' long-term demands for recognition of gay marriage. This landmark decision, together with policy changes in the military and across levels of federal and state institutions, were certainly important gains for the queer movement, the effects of which we can see in the increasingly more open participation of LGBTQ people in public life and polity. At the same time, these gains solidified a conservative turn in the queer movement, which like feminism in the 1970s and 80s has lost some of its most radical elements, which pertain to demands for social and economic rights for marginalized citizens. I propose that the most activist aspects of sexual citizenship relate to its distinctly urban attributes. My presentation looks at the legacy of the AIDS services in San Francisco in relation to the current HIV care and prevention infrastructure, specifically around the rollout of Pre-Exposure Prophylaxis (PrEP) as a municipal health initiative that aims to make the city "AIDS free" in the near future. A comparative approach with STI prevention programs that utilize the existing network of LGBTQ venues in New York City highlight similar planning methods that the two cities employ by tapping into existing physical networks of queer infrastructure. Struggles for access to health-care and the free expression and practice of sexuality in public venues and in private suggest a notion of "queering the city" that goes beyond popular stories of bourgeois-bohemian neighborhood make-overs and that can affect the lives of citizens at a deeper, more systemic level. I consider LGBTQ infrastructure, health clinics, community centers, bars, clubs, saunas, hospices, housing, and senior centers as a resilient infrastructural network, where an alternative rights-based discourse emerged from and where it is still brewing.

Keywords

urban citizenship, sexuality, policy making, health infrastructure

THE AUTHORITY OF PLANNERS AS SEEN BY THE COMMON POPULATION: REPRESENTATIONS IN POPULAR MUSIC (SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL)

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This paper aims at examining the images and discourses related to urban planners or managers as seen by the common population, especially the poorer inhabitants of the city of São Paulo (Brazil) during the 1950's and 1960's. The general purpose is to establish a contrast between the usually celebrated image of urban planners as professionals devoted to the “common good” and the popular perception that they often adopt an authoritarian approach towards the people, their lifestyles or identity places. The study examines a series of popular songs recorded during the period and, by means of a discourse analysis of their lyrics, investigates the representations of the urban authorities found in popular music. The songs can illustrate the forms by which the population dealt with the authority of State in situations of urban reforms and resettlement. The main finding of the study is that, for most of the “ordinary people”, the planner is simply an authority to which the inhabitants must submit. In addition, the transformations of the city means frequently the loss of places of memory, sociability and identity, since the small, local features of a place are usually disregarded in favour of a large-scale view of city management.

Keywords

São Paulo (Brazil), urban planner, urbanization, popular music, social representations

How to Cite

Silva, Marcos Virgílio. “The authority of planners as seen by the common population: representations in popular music (São Paulo, Brazil)”. In Carola Hein (ed.) *International Planning History Society Proceedings, 17th IPHS Conference, History-Urbanism-Resilience, TU Delft 17-21 July 2016, V.04* p.235, TU Delft Open, 2016.

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7480/iphs.2016.4.1294>

INTRODUCTION

This paper aims at examining the images related to urban planners or managers as seen by the common population during the 1950's and 1960's, and the popular perception that urban planners often adopt an authoritarian approach towards the people, their lifestyles or identity places – in contrast with the usually celebrated image of as professionals devoted to the common good¹. Here, there has been examined three different aspects of these mediations: the general political context that have induced people to this submissive treatment given to the authorities; the ways in which the discourse of law and authority had been incorporated by the population in their own conflicts in informal codes of conduct; and finally as authority figures are recognized in the narratives of urban transformations, and how the samba players are directed to these figures. This work concludes by discussing the significance of this treatment of the authorities when they relate to the urban transformations of the period.

The study examines a series of popular songs recorded during the period and, by means of a discourse analysis of their lyrics, investigates the representations of the urban authorities found in popular music. The relationship between popular songs and urbanization is an emerging field of research, and this work intends to contribute for the consolidation of this approach to urban history and planning history².

To enable the understanding of the songs, their lyrics have been freely translated. In this translation, peculiarities of the original language were not considered, such as grammar and spelling errors referring to the popular language with which of these songs were seeking to identify. Certain terms were kept as the original, especially those related to samba - the musical form, but also the dance associated with music - and peculiar forms of housing, such as the “maloca” (whose meaning is approaching ore the slum, ore tenement).

'POPULISM' AND THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE COMMON PEOPLE AND AUTHORITIES

In Brazilian history, the period between 1945 and 1964 is commonly termed as “populist”³. This period, between two dictatorial regimes, is marked by intense popular mobilization and by governments seeking to legitimize the power to adopt measures aimed at popular support. What is called ‘populism’ is often understood as a political regime of charismatic leaders who availed themselves from direct and personal relationship - not institutional - with the population. Social accomplishments were treated as a direct addition from the leader, not an impersonal public policy, from which guaranteed social achievements depending on a kind of favours exchange (a boon for the vote), a relationship based as “clientelism”⁴.

There is a discussion on how this relationship weakens institutions and favoured certain authoritarianism since it weakened the notion that the population was holding rights in favour of the idea that the social achievements were concessions that should be bartered in a personal relationship. At the same time, the need to obtain a “favour” from the governing forced the population to maintain a deferential attitude and submission, that would not have cause discomfort or disgust. The ruling could even justify the adoption of authoritarian or repressive attitudes by the outrage that received from a portion of the population.

This context it is essential for the understanding of the relationships that were established between the poor and the authorities when it comes to dealing with urban problems such as lack of infrastructure, housing precariousness or urban spaces transformations - especially when these were promoted directly by the government⁵. Popular dissatisfaction was expressed in several cases, in the form of demands or complaints, or even irony and satire, but was less common in direct demonstrations or frontal opposition⁶.

The composers have used this same very language - deferential, submissive and conciliatory - in several of their sambas, creating fictional narratives with the authorities as a way to address urban issues of interest to the samba players. An example of this approach is the samba “Court Hearing to the Mayor,” recorded by Germano Mathias in 1958:

*I'll request a court hearing to the mayor
Because it isn't right for the favela to be knocked down
I'm a samba dancer from the new generation
I'll make my appeal against the end of the favela, I will*

(“Audiência ao prefeito”, Tobis & Orlando Líbero)⁷

The demands for the inclusion of a more significant portion of the population, particularly by the poorest of the city, is a common theme for the “sambistas” (samba players) of the period. It is interesting to note that the artist proposes to make use of his state of “new generation sambista” to be heard, becoming the bearer of a demand from the other residents of the slum where he would himself practice his samba. Here, what matters is not the population’s right to housing, but the personal intervention. It is worth noting, moreover, as the samba player uses not only a condition that allows acceptance by the leaders, but also the appropriate language for this cry, and an equally recognized proceeding: asks a court hearing to present his appeal. This appropriation of the language and the resources available to forward their demands is also illustrated by the samba “Petition” by Elzo Augusto, recorded by group Demônios da Garoa also in 1959:

*Sir, the undersigned ones in this petition
With your excuse hereby ask you sir
We want to make samba in the borough of Bexiga
Every night we have samba but we fight
It's the neighbours that don't like the sound of the drums
They want to get rid of the samba with their bare hands
To the Chief of Police, I hereby request deferral
The ones who sign the document with five cross
We want providence.*

(“Abaixo assinado”, Elzo Augusto)⁸

Samba does not fail to exploit the witty effect of the fancy language used on the “petition” appropriated by the unschooled (“the ones who signs five crosses”) and the language that is not attached to the document formality (“wants to get rid of samba with their bare hands”). But also these terms as “petition”, “Chief of Police” “request deferral”.

On Adoniran Barbosa's samba, it is possible to observe an intermediary between the artist and the representatives of government on two different occasions: in "Vagabonds Shelter", 1959, and "Eviction in the slum", 1969. The military dictatorship that settles in the range between the two compositions seems to reverberate in the way the relationship with power occurs in these two situations. In the first case, there is a clear clientelism relationship established between the narrator and John Saracura's character:

*I was told that it can't be built without a floor plan
But those who work can achieve it all
Joao Saracura who is the town hall inspector
Was a great friend indeed.
He arranged everything for me*

("Abrigo de vagabundos", Adoniran Barbosa)⁹

"Despejo na favela" (Eviction in the slum) portrays the dialogue of a slum resident with the bailiff that brings the narrator an eviction notice for the slum residents, the two main characters are portrayed in a powerlessness situation before "a higher order". Both the official excuse and the resignation of Narciso indicate that the eviction order will be fulfilled.

*When the bailiff arrived
At the favela
And against his wishes he handled to Narciso
A warning, an eviction notice
Signed your Lordship, the petition read:
"Within ten days I want everyone out and all the sheds on the ground "
It's a superior order
Oh my Lord, it's a superior order
That's ok your lordship, that's ok
I'll leave my house tomorrow, that's ok
That's ok your lordship, I'm gonna leave here
To avoid listening to the sound of the tractors
[...] But all those people, huh? What would they do?*

("Despejo na favela", Adoniran Barbosa)¹⁰

What is in question here in that samba is the absence of a solution to the collective housing problem. The call that should be taken into account "those people" also shows dissatisfaction with the selective inclusion strategy, which puts the possibilities of maintenance of standards of living, its dignity or merely the living conditions on the resources individually accumulated by people in question¹¹.

THE APPROPRIATION OF A LANGUAGE: POLITICS AND THE SAMBA RIGHTS

The official authority is present in sambas in at least one important situation: at the image of the police figure¹². There are many are samba songs that the police figures are present, usually depicted as a timely intervention in times of "disorder". In these situations, the narrator identifies as a "swindler"¹³ who uses his cunning to outwit or sensitize the police, managing it to avoid more drastic resolution like the arrest of those involved in such disorder.

Paulo Vanzolini narrates a conflict that takes place between several women in a poor community that ends with the arrival of a police car, taking them all to the “district” (the police station), where the issue is resolved by arresting those involved.

A police car arrived
taking all women with them
[...] They all went to the police district
Not satisfied they kept protesting
The Chief of Police was apprehensive
And yelled loudly
“Take these skanks, lock the door and lose the keys”

(“Alberto”, Paulo Vanzolini)¹⁴

The reports often show flexibility in the relationship between the samba players and officials, which testifies, from the perspective of the narrators, the “intelligence” that they deal with persecution. Samba “Senhor delegado” (Chief of Police), recorded by Germano Mathias in 1957, narrates well how swindler smooth things up when dealing with the authority:

Chief of Police
Your substitute has mistaken me
I once was a rascal
I am now reformed
[...] If you arrest me
It will be a great injustice
Tomorrow is Sunday
I have to take my wife to the mass.

(“Senhor Delegado”, Ernani Silva e Antoninho Lopes)¹⁵

In other sambas, one can observe how the samba players appropriate the language and procedures of the law, not only in order to circumvent the possibility of repression, but subverting itself in a peculiar form of its own usage. Another example serves to illustrate this strategy. In “Baiano capoeira”, recorded in 1962 by Germano Mathias, a very particular code is presented in terms of territories for each swindler:

Let's look for a different territory
To resolve this situation
Don't be cocky here in my district
So I won't invade your jurisdiction
I don't believe in brave man
Because my name hasn't died yet
Be cocky at your yard
Because here at up the hill I'm the boss
(You make a mistake, you die)

(“Baiano capoeira”, Jorge Costa e Geraldo Filme)¹⁶

THE URBAN PLANNER AS AN AUTHORITY: “YOUR LORDSHIP”

Public authorities were also summoned when it comes to directly mediate social conflict, and even issues related to the city and its transformations were taken by the population itself to those authorities. An example is given in samba “Lei do Inquilinato” (Tenancy Act), recorded by the Demônios da Garoa in 1958:

*Your Lordship, I beg your pardon
We have come to ask you
Only your lordship can answer us
We live in a shack town
With no flooring and no windows
On which we can barely even breath
We pay four hundred thousand “reis” to live in
And that’s ok
But on top of it we have to pay
An extra million “reis”
As if our situation were not enough
The landlord wants to tear the property down to the ground
Saying that the taxes have rose
And if we don’t pay extra, he will build a hen house
So we came seeking information
Tenancy Act, where is it?*

(“Lei do Inquilinato”, Lino Tedesco)¹⁷

The context narrated in this samba is the housing crisis caused by the collapse of the rentier housing production from the freezing of nominal values of rents, determined by the Tenancy Act which was in force between 1942 and 1964, as analysed by Bonduki¹⁸. The general complaint can be summarized as follows: housing is precarious and too expensive for what it offers; yet the owner’s threat to evict residents if they do not accept an increase of the amount paid. The law, therefore, should protect them from the owner’s abuse. The way the song ends (with a question) shows a distrust of the effectiveness of the law to protect tenants, but still is a recognized means.

The deference expressed in the opening verse illustrate the way of relationship with the power that requires attention, and shows in other examples, which will be examined further: the law, impersonal and remote, can represent an abstract right and to be treated with disbelief; since the agent of the law, “Lordship”, is treated personally and closely: in your favour depends on the realization of abstraction rights. So the narrator expressed the way is part of a favoured structure and deference that has been so often associated with clientelism practice of populism - the same kind of favouritism that allows the Adoniran character in “Abrigo dos Vagabundos” (noted before) realize their attempt to build a new construction.

After the establishment of the military regime, this possibility was restricted significantly. Throughout the period covered here, the city transformations undertook with the support of - and sometimes promoted directly by - the government in São Paulo have not gone unnoticed by samba players¹⁹. Still in the early 1950s, the Praça da Sé, the main square in the city center, was the subject of a comprehensive reform for the celebrations of the four hundred years of foundation of the city (1954). The transformation of the square was accompanied by the removal of many informal workers who had then worked in the area. Among them, the shoe shiners were the workers whose removal was more pitied by samba players: that because many of the shoeshine boys were also samba players who used their tools to samba at the end of the day, to close down the hours. The reform of the square was reported by samba “Adeus, praça da Sé”, recorded in 1952 by group Titulares do Ritmo²⁰:

*When they told me I didn't believe
But learning the truth, I have chocked
The damn progress will take place
And our Sé square will be over
The Fourth Centerary is coming
The city needs to be remoulded
Farewell my Sé square, farewell
Not even your clock will be respected.*

The square, of course, has not gone away effectively - but perhaps, in a sense, has ceased to be the one that sambistas recognized and held as owned space. It is important to note that it had been attributed to the disappearance of the square: the “progress con” and the need for the city to be remodel for the official celebrations. Cathedral da Se’s reform is unequivocally an official initiative, and in this case the emotional significance attached to the square were, to say the least, undervalued relation to that assigned to the ephemeris²¹. In 1952, it was expected a tragedy that, in fact, was not confirmed. After the celebrations, however, it was still possible to Germano Mathias to sing verses like these, from de 1958 recording:

*At the heart of the city
Lives today its sorrow
The old Sé square
Our tradition
The square of the drums
Remoulded today
Only left its remembrance
Even the shoe polisher
Was evicted
And had to move away
With your box
Oh how I miss
The drums*

*From the can of shoe polish
("Lata de Graxa", Geraldo Blota e Mário Vieira)²²*

In addition to the works made to the Cathedral, the square itself was an undergoing construction object and, although in a sad way, the removal of “undesirable elements”, which included the shoeshine boys who worked there. Even though it was recognized that the initiative was not the primary purpose of removing the shoeshine boys from the square, which the initiative evidence is that the presence of these workers was not indifferent to the bearers of “progress con”, or its return would have been allowed after remodelling. And if it was not, what is apparent is that the practice of samba in the public space was still stigmatized and frowned upon by the authorities. It had been seen as a possibly of disorder or rioting.

The criticism is not directed to any transformation. There are examples where the works and the changes of the urban spaces were greeted with euphoria. The construction of a viaduct overpassing the crossing of the railway line E. F. Brazil's Central in Brás, was a theme to the composition "Porteira do Brás", recorded in 1968:

*Farewell farewell to the gate of Bras
Going, too late gone
Long live Penha
And Agua Rasa, Tatuape and Belém
Long live Vila Maria
And Quarta Parada too
Instead of this gate
A viaduct took place
Farewell to the gate of Bras
Long gone to the museum*

("Porteira do Brás", Victor Simon e Lys Monteiro)²³

About the episode, it is said that with the passage of the trains of the São Paulo Railway to Santos, the wooden gate caused traffic jams on all sort of traffic between the Centre and the East of the city. Faria Lima's administration (between 1965 and 1969, analysed by Leme²⁴) is attributed to the construction of the viaduct. Thus, it does illustrate a case where an urban intervention was recognized as beneficial for the population. In another situation, the solution was quite different - for instance, in this samba composed by Geraldo Filme in late 1960's:

*I no longer have my samba school yard
I no longer can samba dance
Sambista without the Banana square
Barra funda will stop
A viaduct has risen, it's progress
I cannot protest
[...] I'm gonna go away
I'm gonna samba dance somewhere else.*

("Vou sambar noutra lugar", Geraldo Filme)²⁵

What, by the logic of favour to urban automobile which called for the construction of viaducts²⁶, is only a construction for the good of the city is qualitatively different for those who live the spaces subject to these constructions. The disappearance of the Banana Square had seemed to have been negligible in the face of "progress" which means that the construction of the viaduct itself. For samba players, however, it meant nothing less than the loss the "samba cradle" - probably one of the most important places for the samba and its memory of the city. Reason why the sambista Geraldo Filme returns to the theme in "Ultimo sambista" recorded by Demonios da Garoa in 1968:

*Farewell, the time is coming
Samba is over; farewell Barra funda
I'm gonna go
Progress has come
A borough turned into a city
It took our joy away
As well as our simplicity*

*I take the memories from the Banana square with me
Where we made samba
Every night of the week*

(“Último sambista”, Geraldo Filme)²⁷

The change is irreversible, the progress seems an unquestionable value, but its result does not have the unrestricted approval of samba players. In this situation, as the samba Geraldo Movie announces it is necessary to look for another place to practice samba. The feeling of incapacity is a recurrent feature in several of the sambas of this period having to deal with these changes in the city. In many cases, the cause of the change is attributed to an impersonal process - the “progress”. In some others, progress is embodied in the figure of an authority to which it may not appeal or claim. This figure is called in several sambas like “your lordship”.

The reference to “your lordship “ means concretely only that it is a person in a position of power in relation to the narrator, but the recognition of this position is that to suggest that it is an “authority,” and not just a person with more education or resources. The name is also used by Adoniran in “Despejo na favela”, quoted above, and appears in “Maloca dos meus amores”, recorded in 1958 by Demônios da Garoa:

*How I miss the maloca I lived in
It had everything that a building doesn't
Water at source, always running
Our lighting from kerosene
Never switched off
[...] Since I moved to the city
I'm sorry for the truth,
I don't feel well
Every time a “maloca” is knocked down to the ground
Your Lordship says
It's the progress coming
Oh, how I miss, ladies and gentleman's
The malocas of my loved ones.*

(“Maloca dos meus amores”, Canarinho)²⁸

In the comparison between the old housing and a present situation, which the samba suggests that is in a new building, the malocas are idealized as having “ everything that a building doesn't”. Scepticism toward “building” (increasingly present form of construction for housing in the city) by what appear to be normal situations, the lack of water and lighting, indicates a sense of frustration or dissatisfaction with the non-fulfilment of promise modernization. The change felt from the song is, somewhat the testimony of recurrent demolitions of the malocas - “every time” indicates that this is not a single case, or exceptions. To take-over the malocas follows by the legitimizing discourse (“progress is coming”), given precisely by the authority figure called “your lordship”.

CONCLUSION

This paper examined several ways by which the population of São Paulo conceived the urban transformations during a critical period of the city history in the 20th Century, and how such transformations led to different forms of dialogue and negotiation with the authorities established. These forms were mainly limited by the perception of an authoritarian initiative, specially in late 1960's, and resulted in a careful, deferent approach. The figures of authority with which that population used to deal is also determinant to this tone: the police is one of the most frequently cited authority. One of the main findings of the study is that the urban transformations promoted by the State is often seen by the population as an action from above, from a rather unquestionable authority, symbolized by the urban planner or manager (who could be a political authority, such as the city mayor, or a generic "lordship").

The definition of the term "your lordship" does not state that it be always a direct criticism of planners and urban planners. Observing the narrated contexts, yet, one can associate the figure of general authority to the professional accountable for promoting or authorizing the urban transformations that sambistas mourn in his compositions. Urban authorities represented by the bailiff or the police personify the "progress" as a distant and indisputable authority. The appeal to the progress or evasive "higher order" reveals the limitations of the populist clientelism in São Paulo (as in Brazil in general during this period), and becomes the justification of authoritarian actions increasingly common after the establishment of the military dictatorship, but that already was presented before. So, the resignation is an attitude that permeates the various narratives of urban transformations observed in this work, and seem a possible response to an increasingly tight power to popular demands. Even the deference that the "your lordship" gets in several of the songs does not open a wider possibility for further negotiation or mediation when it comes to reviewing urban interventions of interest to the ruling class.

In conclusion, if it is not possible to say that the "your lordship" is always the urban planner, it does seem clear that the planner would be in the eyes of sambistas a "your lordship". For most ordinary people, those responsible for planning and city management, those who promote or permit processing in certain aspects, are simply authorities to whom people should reverence and be submissive. The city changes promoted by these agents also are promoted on an authoritative way, without the community being able to intervene or influence, and often result on the loss of places with memories, sociability and identity, as the small details and sites are usually disregarded in favour of a large-scale vision by the city authorities. That is a situation very specific of the Brazilian political context at the time, and São Paulo offers a typical case of how the State promoted transformations of the cities in their period (being São Paulo one of the most privileged in terms of public investment, given the growing importance of the city for national economy).

The memories of the old places prior to the reforms, and the recurrence to report these changes in tone of sadness and nostalgia are an indicative of how the ruling classes were maintained over the entire period studied, indifferent (or insensitive) the value attributed by samba players - in his dark skin and poor majority - a few places in town. The Praça da Sé, another key reference for samba players, has had its extirpated attendance on behalf of a celebration of design that absolutely had been denied the right to memory, it had showed how these residents were permanently bound to be noticed for and perhaps may be heard and considered. The use of the song, in this case is more than a mere record, it was a way found to preserve their places in the city as the powerful agents, including the governors themselves, tried to destroy them. From this particular case, several questions can be raised in order to discuss the limits of the representation of urban planners as simply neutral professionals aiming at the common good. The real conditions of dialogue and negotiation are a crucial factor for evaluating the verity of such assumption.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Notes on contributor

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Endnotes

- 1 The contrast between formal and informal discourses on the city and urbanization is object of a wide debate, which extrapolates the limits of this paper. In order to indicate a few references of this subject, there can be cited some recent works, such as: Langford, Will. "Gerald Sutton Brown and the Discourse of City Planning Expertise in Vancouver, 1953-1959." *Urban History Review / Revue D'histoire Urbaine* 41, no. 2 (2013): 30-41; Zitoun, Madani Safar. "The Development of the Bay of Algiers: Rethinking the City through Contemporary Paradigms." *Built Environment (1978-)* 36, no. 2 (2010): 206-15; Sies, Mary Corbin. "North American Urban History: The Everyday Politics and Spatial Logics of Metropolitan Life." *Urban History Review / Revue D'histoire Urbaine* 32, no. 1 (2003): 28-42.
- 2 Some works with the same approach can be seen in: *Music and the City: Musical Cultures and Urban Societies in the Southern Netherlands and Beyond, 1650-1800*, edited by Beghein Stefanie, Blondé Bruno, Beghein Stefanie, Blondé Bruno, and Schreurs Eugeen, 7-16. Leuven University Press, 2013. See also: KLOOSTERMAN, ROBERT C. "Come Together: An Introduction to Music and the City." *Built Environment (1978-)* 31, no. 3 (2005): 180-91, as well as other articles from the same issue of that periodical.
- 3 See Boris Fausto, *História do Brasil* (São Paulo: Edusp/FDE, 1998).
- 4 For a broader discussion of populismo in Brazil, see Jorge Ferreira, *O populismo e sua história: debate e crítica* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2001).
- 5 See, for an account of the city transformations in this period: Semple, R. Keith, Gauthier Howard L., and Youngmann Carl E. "Growth Poles in Sao Paulo, Brazil." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 62, no. 4 (1972): 591-98. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2561915>. As a context of São Paulo case in terms of Brazilian urbanization, see Gall, Norman. "Brazil's Impossible City." *The Wilson Quarterly* (1976-) 31, no. 3 (2007): 14-21. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40262438>.
- 6 Lucia Maria Machado Bógus, "Urbanização e Metropolização: O Caso de São Paulo", in *A luta pela cidade de São Paulo*, edited by Lucia Bógus and L. E. Wanderley (São Paulo: Cortez Editora, OBSUR, 1992), 29-51.
- 7 "Eu vou pedir audiência ao prefeito / porque não está direito com a favela acabar / Sou sambista da nova geração / vou fazer o meu apelo pra não acabar com a favela não". Germano Mathias. *Em continência ao samba*. RGE XRLP 5016, 1958, long play disc. The sound recording can be heard at: www.youtube.com/watch?v=QFj-v4B3FP0
- 8 Demônios da Garoa. *Pafunça*. Odeon MOCB 3036, 1959, long play disc. Original lyrics and sound recording can be checked at: <https://www.letras.mus.br/demonios-da-garoa/abaixo-assinado/>
- 9 "Me disseram que sem planta não se pode construir / Mas quem trabalha tudo pode conseguir / João Saracura, que é fiscal da prefeitura / Foi um grande amigo sim / Arranjou tudo pra mim". *Pafunça*. Odeon MOCB 3036, 1959, long play disc. Sound recording can be checked at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rMYME7NZfXI>
- 10 Adoniran Barbosa. *Adoniran Barbosa - 70 anos*. EMI-Odeon 064 422868, 1980, long play disc. Original lyrics and sound recording can be checked at: <https://www.letras.mus.br/adoniran-barbosa/43966/>
- 11 See Maria da Glória Gohn and Lucio Kowarick, "As lutas sociais e a cidade", *Espaço & Debates* 25 (1989), 105-109.
- 12 For the understanding of the structure and functioning of the police in São Paulo during the period, see Thais Battibugli, "Democracia e segurança pública em São Paulo (1946-1964)" (Masters thesis, University of São Paulo, 2006).
- 13 About the "swindler" in Brazil, see Gilberto Vasconcelos and M. Suzuki Jr, "A malandragem e a formação da música popular brasileira", in *História geral da civilização brasileira*, edited by Boris Fausto (São Paulo: Difel, 1984). Cf. Márcia Regina Ciscati, *Malandros da terra do trabalho: malandragem e boemia na cidade de São Paulo, 1930-1950* (São Paulo: Annablume / FAPESP, 2000), for specifics related to São Paulo.
- 14 Paulo Vanzoni. *Paulo Vanzolini por ele mesmo*. Eldorado 14.79.0340, 1979, long play disc. Original lyrics and sound record can be checked at: <https://www.letras.mus.br/paulo-vanzolini/1670314/>
- 15 Germano Mathias, op. cit.
- 16 Germano Mathias. *Ginga no Asfalto*. Odeon MOFB 3278, 1962, long play recording. Original lyrics and sound recording at: <https://www.letras.mus.br/germano-mathias/baiano-capoeira/>.
- 17 Demônios da Garoa. *Os Demônios da Garoa*. Odeon MOCB 3023, 1958, long play disc. Original lyrics and sound recording can be check at: <https://www.letras.mus.br/demonios-da-garoa/576970/>.
- 18 Nabil Georges Bonduki, *Origens da habitação social no Brasil: arquitetura moderna, lei do inquilinato e difusão da casa própria* (São Paulo: Estação Liberdade, 1998).
- 19 A panoram of these interventions can be seen in Maria Lucia Refinetti Rodrigues Martins, "São Paulo, metrópole e isso tudo - 1920 a 1980" (Masters thesis, University of São Paulo, 1982). The general context of the transformations of the city in the period is available in Juergen Langenbuch, *A estruturação da grande São Paulo* (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação IBGE, 1971).
- 20 "Quando me contaram não acreditei / Mas conhecendo a verdade me assustei / A picareta do progresso vai funcionar / E a nossa praça da Sé vai se acabar / O Quarto Centenário vem aí / A cidade precisa se remodelar / Adeus, minha praça da Sé, adeus / Nem seu relógio vão respeitar". *Titulares do Ritmo. Bem ou mal*. RCA Victor 80-1008-a, 78 rpm disc. No accessible version of the song was found.
- 21 Silvio Luiz Lofego, *IV Centenário da cidade de São Paulo: uma cidade entre o passado e o futuro* (São Paulo: Annablume, 2004).

- 22 “No coração da cidade / Hoje mora uma saudade / A velha praça da Sé, nossa tradição / Da praça da batucada / Agora remodelada / Só ficou recordação / Até o engraxate foi despejado / E teve que se mudar com sua caixa / Ai, que saudade / Da batucada feita na lata de graxa”. Germano Mathias. *Em continência ao samba*. RGE XRLP 5016, 1958, long play disc. Sound record can be checked at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JRgpWpj5uHc>
- 23 “Adeus, adeus, porteira do Brás/ já vai embora e já vai tarde demais / Salve Penha / E Água Rasa, Tatuapé e Belém / Salve a Vila Maria e Quarta Parada também / Em lugar da tal porteira / Um viaduto se ergueu / Adeus porteira do Brás / Já vai tarde pro museu”. Wilson Roberto. *Porteira do Braz*. ProPago P-472-B, [1968], 78 rpm disc. The sound recording can be found at: <https://youtu.be/eC8iwT49Anw>
- 24 Maria Cristina da Silva Leme, “Planejamento em São Paulo: 1930-1969” (Masters thesis, University of São Paulo, 1982).
- 25 “Fiquei sem o terreiro da escola / Já não posso mais sambar / Sambista sem o largo da Banana / A Barra Funda vai parar / Surgiu um viaduto, é progresso / Eu não posso protestar / [...] Eu vou embora / Vou sambar n'outro lugar”. Plínio Marcos. *Plínio Marcos em prosa e samba – “Nas Quebradas Do Mundaréu” – Geraldo Filme, Zeca da Casa Verde e Toniquinho Batuqueiro*. Chantecler CMGS 9072, long play disc, 1974.
- 26 Nadia Somekh and Cândido Malta Campos, *A cidade que não pode parar: planos urbanísticos de São Paulo no século XX* (São Paulo: Mackpesquisa, 2002)
- 27 “Adeus, tá chegando a hora / Acabou o samba / Adeus, Barra Funda / Eu vou embora / Veio o progresso / Fez do bairro uma cidade / Levou a nossa alegria / Também a simplicidade / Levo saudade lá do Largo da Banana / Onde nós fazia samba / Toda noite da semana”. Demônios da Garoa. *Leva Este*. Chantecler CMG 2486, long play disc, 1968. Sound recording available at: <http://www.musicasamba.com/dem-nios-da-garoa/leva-este/ultimo-sambista/>.
- 28 *Demônios da Garoa. Os Demônios da Garoa*. Odeon MOCB 3023, 1958, long play disc. The original lyrics and sound recording can be checked at: <https://www.letras.mus.br/demonios-da-garoa/1370959/>.

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Civic Space and Public Memory

Chair: Eloisa Petti Pinheiro

THE AEZELPROJEK: BUILDING CITY HISTORY WITH A COMMUNITY!

Peer H. M. Boselie

Archief De Domijnen

Introduction

In the Netherlands most southern province of Limburg since 2009 an innovative historical project is being undertaken by a community of over 100 volunteers, under guidance of a few professionals. Historical mass-data of about 40 cities and villages are the result.

Research-question

What if we could connect as many as possible layers of information attached to a cadastral parcel together? Attach it to archeological data, building history, permits attached to it, and even prosopographical information of the residents who lived there? Would that not give a very integral view on the city's history? Would not connections be discovered that we cannot see in an analogue way?

Case-study

The project was invented initially by Martin Pfeifer, a volunteer in the Sittard-Geleen archives. The archives saw the possibilities and embraced the idea and the Aezelprojek was born. Because of lack of money, we used seven main principles:

- a) starting from volunteers, their interests and capacities
- b) digitally excavating the history of the city
- c) doing that starting from vectorized cadastral information
- d) connecting history of people with cadastral information
- e) using only authentic (archival, archeological, museum, building)-information
- f) make every part of information traceable to its source
- g) making use of open source programs and simple formats only

After having invested over 150.000 hours of scanning, digitizing, vectorization, geo-referencing, transcribing and filling out forms and formats, the results are quite stunning. Thanks to the mass-data, we now see connections we could not see before. Where lived the Jewish citizens, or the butchers? What were the tax levels, or the professions? We discovered a 13th century road entering the city before the 14th century magnification, and fortifications, just by visualization of cadastral data, sometimes even in 3D (giving again new opportunities).

Sometimes even money can be earned (or saved) by integrating the project in municipal policy, for instance by using archeological data to predict and prevent an excavation.

The volunteers are partly people with 'a spot' like autism, long-term unemployment or reintegration. Some of these volunteers even got a paid job again...

To connect not only to historians, but also to 'the crowd' we need an online presentation. This has long been a problem, because every bit of information is traceable to its source: the scan of the original document(s).

Recently however we started a cooperation with the University of Leuven to build an interactive front-office, that will be available by the end of 2016. We welcome partners from other parts of Europe to join us or connect with us (linked open data!). Community-sourcing and crowdsourcing can enrich this kind of projects enormously.

Conclusions

The Aezelprojek is a 'proof of concept' of an integrated system in which heritage and location-based information is secured and can be interactively presented. Costs are low because of the work done by volunteers. New insights in the history of the city already have seen the light. Integration with municipal policy gives possibilities to save money in nowadays administration.

Keywords

heritage, geo-location, vectorization, mass data, cadastral data,, authenticity, genealogy, open source, low-budget, volunteers

THE SLUM TOPONYMY OF NAIROBI: A CULTURAL ARENA FOR SOCIO-POLITICAL JUSTICE AND SYMBOLIC RESISTANCE

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There are an estimated 134 informal settlements (slums) which occupy about 1% of the city area and house half the population in Nairobi, Kenya. Although much scholarship has focused on living conditions in slums, very little has been on the socio-political challenges faced in the slums and their impact on the cultural landscape. The overall aim of this study is to provide a toponymic (place naming) interpretive base for slums. Place naming is seen as an arena whereby the cultural, political and legal rights of marginalised groups are debated. These debates serve to reshape the identity of urban places and the corporate identity of cities. Typically, slums in Nairobi are named after their pioneer settlers, geographical conditions, socio-economic activities, political leaders, other places or past or present local and global events. This study takes a case of Kibera, the largest slum in Kenya. Data was obtained through archival research, field surveys, interviews with residents of Soweto Village and two focused group discussions (FGD) with the Nubian Council of Elders and community leaders of Kibera. This study ultimately indicates that an understanding of the meaning of slum toponyms, and the processes that led to their inscription provides a ground for interpreting the socio-economic, political and cultural processes embedded in their histories.

Keywords

informal settlements, marginalised groups, socio-political struggles, Kibera

How to Cite

Wanjiru, Melissa; Matsubara, Kosuke "The slum toponymy of Nairobi: A cultural arena for socio-political justice and symbolic resistance". In Carola Hein (ed.) *International Planning History Society Proceedings, 17th IPHS Conference, History-Urbanism-Resilience, TU Delft 17-21 July 2016, V.04 p.251, TU Delft Open, 2016.*

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7480/iphs.2016.4.1295>

INTRODUCTION

Nairobi informal settlements also known as slums are cosmopolitan settlements whereby, most if not all of the more than 40 linguistic communities of Kenya are represented. The slums which are mainly organised in villages, have an eclectic variety of names that provide an interesting area for investigation. This study of the names within informal settlements provides a unique perspective on their history and that of Nairobi at large. Slum toponymy in Nairobi showcases how naming, rather than being merely a symbolic act, takes place within and perhaps contributes to the larger geographies of social opportunity and disparity, concealing of justice, cry for justice and other forms of symbolic resistance.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: CRITICAL TOPONYMY AND SPATIAL MARGINALISATION

Traditionally, toponymy focused on the collection and description of place names without paying much attention to theoretically guided interpretations of the meanings and processes behind those names.¹ In the 1990's, this approach was challenged by a new school of thought referred to as critical toponymy. This approach stresses that place names have a greater semantic depth that goes beyond making reference to a physical location. It therefore focused on the political and social interests that are behind the construction of cultural identities.² Scholars in critical toponymy,³ also highlight the need to look at the process that led to the specific names being selected to fit into their specific contexts and to do a critical exploration of the social struggles that underlie place naming. There is also an emphasis on the need to move beyond the focus on the social struggles associated with place naming, to the communicative meanings of the names themselves. This is because the meanings behind the names provide a means for interpretation of the urban landscape. The two i.e. social struggles and communicative meanings are not contradictory but complementary. The urban landscape of Nairobi can be well understood by analysis of the socio-cultural and political processes that led to the inscriptions of names and further by interpreting the communicative meanings behind them.⁴

The metaphor 'cultural arena' implies the capacity of place names to serve as sites of contest, debate and negotiation as social groups compete for the right to name and even define the meaning that should be read from those names on the urban landscape. In their argument, Rose-Redwood and colleagues pose that naming can be used as a conduit to challenge dominant ideologies.⁵ Toponymic warfare is another concept which suggests that marginalised communities appropriate place names within their territories which do not tally with the official nomenclature.⁶ The place naming process may act as an arena whereby the cultural, political and legal rights of minority groups are debated. These debates serve to reshape the identity of urban places and the corporate identity of cities.⁷ In Nairobi, this is typical in the informal settlements whereby the names originate from the residents themselves rather than the government. They name their settlements after the original settlers, geographical conditions, or significant local events that occurred there. They also name their settlements after global events and places with which they can relate their local conditions. Such settlements include: Soweto - named after the Soweto Uprising in South Africa (1976), Kosovo - referring to the war in Kosovo (1998-1999), Vietnam named after the war in Vietnam (1955-1975), Beirut, and Gaza among others.

Place names also provide a rich source of discussion on space and power.⁸ This is because the way in which they are used as identifiers is embedded with various contestations. To illustrate this, Myers who studied the case of Ng'ambo in Zanzibar, noted that the place names were often used to demarcate neighbourhoods, leading to an association of certain places with social groups or classes. In addition, as cultural arenas, names were spheres of performance which were used as vehicles of empowerment or ridicule. The performance role of names in informal settlements also indicate an 'us versus them' consciousness, like in Zanzibar, where Ng'ambo estate emerged as a colonial construction of the city's "other side."

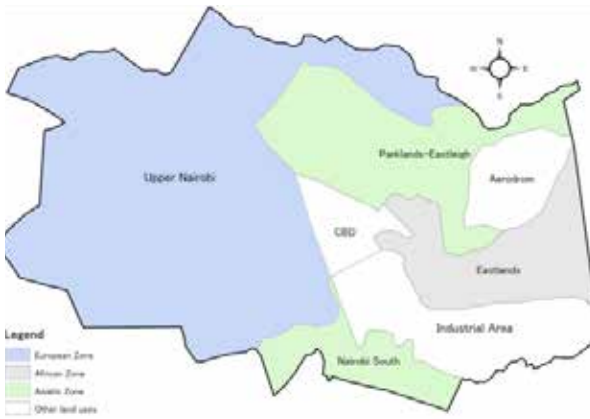


FIGURE 1 Racial Segregation in Nairobi Kenya, the 1926 plan for Nairobi. Adapted from Morgan W. and Halliman D, 1967



FIGURE 2 Old Map of Kibera. The first villages around 1920's. De Smedt, 2011

In Nairobi, a distinctive indication of marginalisation is the fact that many of these settlements, despite having been in existence since the city's inception, were left out of official maps and hence not fully recognised as legitimate settlements in the city. Therefore, in such cases the 'informal toponymy' is the only known toponymy, because the government has not appropriated any names for these settlements.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: ORIGIN, GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF SLUMS IN NAIROBI

During the colonial period in Nairobi (1899-1963), the African native population was quickly rising in the city. The supply of housing could not meet the demand and the natives resorted to constructing shanties on empty land. These shanty towns (slums) were from time to time destroyed and the occupants forced back to their rural homes. These evictions had been legitimized by the enactment of the 1922 Vagrancy Act which made provisions to segregate, evict, arrest, expel and limit the movement of the natives and indentured workers.⁹

Nairobi's current socio-spatial structure is a legacy of that colonial past.¹⁰ Spatial planning was based on racial segregation. The first three spatial plans for the city were: The 1898 *Plan for a Railway Town*, the 1926 *Plan for a settler capital* and the 1948 *Nairobi Master Plan for a Colonial Capital*.¹¹ The 1898 and 1926 plans were explicitly racially segregated confining whites on raised grounds to the West and North areas, the natives to the environmentally inapt East (because of poorly drained black cotton soils and a hotter climate) and the Asian community to the North and South parts of the city.¹²

A decade after independence, the first post-colonial plan for Nairobi was developed. Similar to previous colonial plans, the 1973 Nairobi Metropolitan Growth Strategy was formulated under heavy western influence through the foreign firm British Colin Buchanan and partner.¹³ As a result, it did not succeed in dismantling racial, spatial and social segregation but continued to reinforce the status quo.¹⁴ The legacies of the colonial and immediate post-colonial plans is still manifested in the city's socio-spatial structure to date.

Various studies, including the global report on human settlements have shown that currently, more than half of Nairobi's population live in informal settlements. These settlements occupy less than 1% of the city's area and less than 5% of the residential area.¹⁵ Currently, it is estimated that there are about 134 slums in the city of Nairobi, some which are loosely scattered and others which are consolidated. The major slums in Nairobi from the oldest are: Kibera (1904), Mukurukwa Njenga (1958), Mathare (1963), and Korogocho (1980's).¹⁶

After independence native Africans were given the right to live anywhere in the country. As a result, many people moved to the city to look for opportunities such as higher education, and employment. Nairobi was ill-prepared to handle such an influx of population both infrastructurally and institutionally. Inadequate provision of housing led to the expansion of informal settlements and efforts to curb them through demolitions did not succeed.¹⁷ The residents of slums rebuilt their demolished houses and with time, the settlement area and density increased. This excerpt from Meja Mwangi's novel, *Going Down River Road*, which was written during the post-colonial period illustrates how slums were usually destroyed by the City Council of Nairobi and re-built quite as fast by the residents.

The whole of Nairobi valley is awake in chaos. Up and down the stinking murky river fire, huge tongues of red hot fire, lick up contraptions of paper and wood and extend impotent black smoke to the dark heavens above. Shanty dwellers mill around saving whatever is possible

There is something malignant about shanty huts. They go up in the smoke at dawn, spring to life again at twilight. One just cannot keep them down. The council knows this. Char them as many times as you like, and they mushroom back just as many times. Sticks, wires, paper and iron sheets is all it takes.¹⁸

METHODOLOGY

The method applied is a case study analysis of Kibera informal settlement, the oldest and biggest slum in Nairobi. The first settlements in Kibera can be traced back to the early 1900's. The settlements' intricate socio-political history has shaped the toponymy, which in turn provides a basis for the interpretation of the cultural landscape. Since the initial settlers were of Sudanese (Nubian) origin, and ethnically not native to Kenya, there has been numerous legal battles regarding land ownership rights. In order to understand some of these socio-political issues, two focused group discussions were carried out. One with the Nubian Council of Elders,¹⁹ and another with a representative group of leaders and village elders from other communities in Kibera.²⁰ A map showing the village toponymy of Kibera was obtained from mapkibera.org, the webpage of an NGO which focuses on collecting spatial information of Kibera and other informal settlements. Field surveys were also carried out in September 2015. A critical toponymic analysis was done taking into account the information collected on geographical conditions, political changes, and social and ethnic characteristics of the settlement and relating this to the place-names along a historical timeline.

A CASE STUDY OF KIBERA: SLUM TOPONYMY AS AN ARENA FOR SOCIO-POLITICAL JUSTICE AND SYMBOLIC RESISTANCE

SETTLEMENTS DISPUTES IN KIBERA DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD

Kenya's Sudanese (Nubians), the first settlers in Kibera are originally from South Sudan. In Kenya, they served as soldiers for the British Kenya African Rifles (KAR) during World War 1. In 1911, Nubians were settled informally in the (KAR) training ground a few kilometers South West of Nairobi city center. The settlers were mainly survivors and widows of Sudanese soldiers fighting for the British KAR. By 1912, the area was officially sanctioned for the residency of 291 Sudanese soldiers in what was now known as the 'KAR shambas'. Soldiers who had served for more than 12 years were given shamba passes, meaning they could live in Kibera rent free. Later on in 1918, the colonial government officially gazetted the 4,198-acre plot of land as a Military Reserve.²¹ By the 1920's, Kibera was known for social ills and this led to an antagonizing relationship between the Nubians and the government. By 1932, Kibera's social ills had escalated to an extent that in 1935, the commissioner for local government called for the eviction of anyone involved in criminal activity.²² Half of the households in Kibera belonged to women

who were also described as prostitutes and two thirds of the population were Kenyan born Africans.²³In 1939, after many plans to evict the Nubians failed, and as their petitions became more sophisticated, the government conceded to let the Sudanese remain in Kibera, but they did not develop it or provide necessary amenities like water, sanitation, electricity, schools and hospitals. This was a silent policy to make life unbearable and drive the Sudanese away, but the settlement continued to grow especially due to the influx of Kenyan natives. By the end of World War 1, Kibera was under direct European administration. The colonial government could no longer ignore the fact that Kibera was a permanent settlement.

By 1947, only 1700-acres of the original land of Kibera remained. 550 more was required for the military expansion, and 52 more for the realignment of the railway line. Further attempts to relocate Kibera residents did not succeed. By 1948, Kibera had grown into a heterogenous settlement of most of Nairobi's poor people. In the mid 1950's, when Kenya was on the verge of independence, Kibera was a political hotbed, and the rising African political elite also became more interested in Kibera. Hence, evicting Kibera residents became increasingly difficult. However, the Nubian community faced a new challenge because the other Kenyan natives viewed them as allies to the British Colonial Government and hence they were socially alienated. They also could no longer expect any special privileges from the rising African political class as they had from the British. They therefore continued to live a secluded life among the other communities in Kibera.

NUBIAN TOPONYMY IN KIBERA (1912-1963)

The original name of Kibera was the Nubian word Kibra which means: a bushy place, a forest; empty. Figure 2 shows Kibera in the 1920's as a settlement comprising of a few scattered villages. The village names were all of Nubian origin, an indication of how the Nubians made their cultural imprint and exercised power over space. The names were of significance as well, because their meanings were related to the geographical conditions and the cultural practices of the Nubians. The meanings of the names in the old Kibera are as follows: Sarang'ombe was initially called Sarabagara-Bagara meaning cows in the Nubian language. This was then changed to Ng'ombe (Swahili name for cows) after other communities moved to Kibera. These communities could not easily pronounce Bagara. So the word Sarang'ombe is a blend of Nubian and Swahili words to mean a place of grazing cows. Galalima on the other hand, was initially Gala Halima which means 'Hill of Halima'. Halima being a person's name. According to the Nubian Council of elders, Halima was probably of the clan leaders. Toi was used to refer to the large field. Gumberedu literally means 'wake up and shower'. It was referred to as such because there was a stream flowing through the settlement and the people used to shower there. Makina, was originally known as Makan, which in Nubian language means home. Lindi was used to refer to a big hole, this is because of the area where it is located was a kind of valley. Lain Saba, which originally was known as Lain Shabaan, meant a rifle range area. It was used as a place for military training. The settlement also had three villages referred to as Kambis (Swahili version of the word camp). These were Lendu, Alur and Muru. The Nubians who were originally a military group, organised their settlements this way as it was normal for them to do in the barracks.²⁴ The name camp also implies the temporary nature of the settlements.

POST-COLONIAL POLITICS, ETHNICITY AND LAND ALLOCATION IN KIBERA (1963-1992)

The toponymy of Kibera can be understood within a framework of the history of the settlements, the ethnic distribution within the settlements, the geographical conditions and the political processes that have occurred within the settlements. The political processes mainly reflect the contestations that ensued especially in the post-colonial period with regard to land allocation to various communities and to other developments in the settlement.

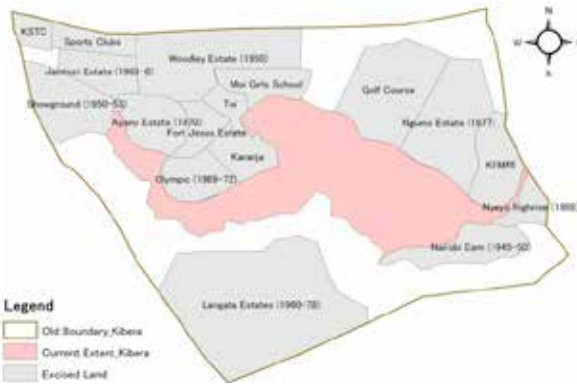


FIGURE 3 The current extent of Kibera Settlement. The previous land was taken up by other developments such as formal residential estates and government institutions. De Smedt, 2011



FIGURE 4 Spatial distribution of ethnic tribes in Kibera. Mapkibera.org and Nubian Council of Elders (NCE) 2015

In the 1960's the area of Kibera was further excised to cater for housing developments. Between 1961 and 1967, plans were made and implemented to build model homes in Kibera. The Nubians were given priority to lease those homes, but they no longer had special rights in Kibera. In the same period, more land was taken from Kibera, to build more housing estates. However, in 1969, the area where Kibera is located was declared government land and further developments were prohibited. By then Kibera had been reduced from 4,198 acres to 700 acres. Politics is highly interlinked with the ethnic composition of Kibera. For instance: In 1969 after the assassination of Tom Mboya (an iconic Luo leader, minister, and trade unionist in the post-colonial government), there arose ethnic tensions in Nairobi and Kenya at large especially between the Luo and Kikuyu community. The Luos who lived in Dagoretti area were evicted because the area is predominantly Kikuyu. The Luos moved to Kibera and settled among the Nubians.

A decade later in 1979, after the death of the first president of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, there was what is called the 'Kibra invasion' whereby other Kenyan communities came to live in Kibera. The first group were those people who were forced out of Langata area due to the housing initiative by the National Housing Corporation were moved to Kibera. Most of these people were moved to Kibera area. It is at this time that one of the settlements created by the incoming squatters was called Soweto. Based on interviews carried out in Kibera, the settlements name was borrowed from the Soweto Informal settlements as well as the Soweto Uprising in South Africa.

The people who came to settle in Soweto were very poor as compared to other villages in Kibera. A majority of them were single mothers. They did not have an alternative and they squatted on government land. They built houses using cartons and polythene papers. The people built the houses closely packed for security purposes because the area was deserted. At the time, some members of the Kings African Rifles were from South Africa. It is said that while doing their military practise, one of them pointed out that the settlement looked like Soweto in South Africa, and that was how the name begun(Harrison Githuku, Soweto Village, Kibera).²⁵

When the Soweto Uprising begun in South Africa, the first settlement called Soweto East in Kibera was just starting. This was when the people currently residing in Soweto were forced out of Langata area. Because of this eviction struggle, the people identified with the Soweto uprising in South Africa and hence named their settlement after it (Paul Owino, Kianda Village, Kibera).²⁶

The second phase of the invasion was when Chief Kamau (the locational administrator of Kibera), liased with Mr. Mwangi Mathai (the then member of parliament), Mr. Waitukia (the district officer) and Mr. Mburu (the provincial commissioner of Nairobi) to allocate land to people of Kikuyu ethnic descent. All the leaders belonged to this ethnic community. Therefore, much of the land was sold to the Kikuyu community even land that was covered by Ngong

forest. As a result, 75% of the houses in Kibera currently belong to Kikuyu's. The Nubians in an attempt to counter this invasion, invited other communities into Kibera, in a move which was termed 'Jengayangu, Jengayako' which means 'build mine, build yours'. This meant that the Nubians would give them land to build their house and in return they were supposed to build a house for the Nubian family as well. As a result, many other communities moved into Kibera.

In 1982 and 1983, eviction letters were issued to residents of KambiLendu Village. One was reference number KIB/CH/PLOT/1/27 dated 31st December, 1982 and another one reference number KIB/CH/PLOT/1/28 dated 26th February, 1983 from the office of the district officer, Kibera Division and signed by the then Chief M.A Okeka of the then Woodley Location.²⁷

In 1992, when Raila Odinga (former Prime Minister of Kenya) entered into politics, he vied for the Langata constituency parliamentary seat as a Member of Parliament. At the time, his main competitor was Hassan Ali Amedo, who was of Nubian origin. In order to ensure that he won, Raila needed more people to move into the area so that he could get more votes. It is during this time that more people of Luo ethnicity moved into Kibera, and are currently the majority. Currently, one of the villages in Kibera is named after Raila Odinga. Raila Village though named after a Luo leader, is occupied by members of the Kisii community and it is the newest settlement in Kibera. It is also known as Kisii Village.²⁸

In the post-colonial period, immigration of various tribes into Kibera was due to various reasons. For instance: the eviction of Luos from Dagoretti due to ethnic tensions; forceful eviction by government in order to give way for development (Nubians living in Langata areas had to move to Kibera); and as a strategy by some politicians to have their ethnic communities move into Kibera to increase their voter base. This had a double effect on Kibera, ethnic diversity coupled with political tensions. The village toponymy of Kibera is a reflection of these. There are names include Raila (after a politician), Soweto (political struggle against apartheid in South Africa), Kisumu Ndogo (small Kisumu-origin of the Luo community) among others.

Figure 3 shows that the land extent of Kibera native settlement has shrunk from its initial 4198 acres to a meagre 788 acres. Similarly, the toponymy has changed especially for those areas which are now owned by government and other agencies. Toi informal market, which borders Kibera managed to carry on that Nubian name. Lomle on the other hand which was the name of a Nubian village, disappeared after the area was renamed to Ayany (Ayany Estate). The old names are mainly of Nubian origin, but the new village toponymy of Kibera shows a more diverse ethnic composition of the settlers.

CURRENT VILLAGE TOPONYMY OF KIBERA SLUM (1963-2016)

Kibera is currently divided into 13 villages. Kianda, Soweto West, Raila, Gatwekera, Kisumu Ndogo, Makina, Kambi Muru, Kichinjio, Mashimoni, Lindi, Silanga, Laini Saba and Soweto East. Some of the former and current names resemble each other for instance Makina which was previously Makan, Lindi was previously Lindi and Laini Saba was previously Laini Shabaa. The Nubian slum toponymy has therefore been resilient on the landscape of Kibera.

The village toponymy of post-colonial Kibera is now reflective of a more ethnically diverse settlement. It also reflects the socio-political, economic struggles the residents have encountered over time. Taking the case of the 13 villages, Kianda (valley in Kikuyu language), Mashimoni (quarry holes in Swahili Language), Silanga (water pond) and Lindi (meaning hole in Nubian language) are reflective of the geographical conditions. Gatwekera, Makina, Laini Saba and Kambi Muru were originally Nubian names. Gatwekera was the name of a bird katulteer which was found in the forest area before the settlement began. Makina referred to Makan meaning home and Kambi Muru was one of the Nubian camps. These names speak of the Nubian heritage of Kibera. As other communities came in they had difficulty in pronouncing the original Nubian names and they evolved into their current form. According to one of the community elders in Kibera, Kisumu Ndogo was named as such because there were many people of Luo ethnic origin who resided there. Kisumu is the main town from which the Luos come from.



Legend

- Nubian village names
- Foreign village names

FIGURE 5 Current village toponymy of Kibera. mapkibera.org

Kichinjio means slaughter house in Swahili language. In the area where the village is, there was a slaughter house. Therefore, the economic activities in a place also influence the toponymy. Soweto East and West make reference to the 1976 Soweto Uprising and Soweto informal settlement in South Africa. The Soweto Student Uprising which occurred on June 16, 1976 when thousands of students from the African Township of Soweto. This was in opposition to a decree issued that Afrikaans would be used as a medium of instruction in half the subjects in middle and high schools. The opposition came about because Afrikaans was viewed as ‘the language of the oppressor.’²⁹The naming of one of the villages after Soweto was indication of the effect of globalization on the toponymy of Kibera and that the people identified with global struggles because they were also going through struggles such as forceful evictions by the government, poverty, and poor living conditions.

ANALYSIS:IMPACT OF SOCIO-POLITICAL, ETHNIC AND GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS ON THE SPATIAL TOPONYMY OF KIBERA

The slum toponymy of Kibera is reflective of the processes that have shaped the settlement over time. It is indicative of the geographical setting, the ethnic composition and evolution and the social and political struggles faced by the residents. The original name of Kibera, Kibra was changed because different ethnic communities moved into Kibera but could not pronounce the name correctly. At the village level some names disappeared and while others were changed because of language pronunciations. Language therefore contributes to a great extent to the evolution of the toponymic landscape.

Symbolic resistance through toponymy is also seen when the Nubians on the other hand, refused to pronounce Kibra as Kibera like the other ethnic communities. This eventually led to the reinstatement of the name by the creation of a constituency called Kibra. This toponymic resistance led to the toponymic restoration and formalization of the name Kibra.

TOPONYMIC INFLUENCE	VILLAGE	
	Old Kibera	New Kibera
Topography	Galalima Toi Shilanga Lindi	Kianda Silanga Lindi
Ethnicity		Kisumu Ndogo
Spatial Politics		Raila Soweto East Soweto West
Socio-economic activities/organization	Makina Gumberendu Sarang'ombe LainiShabaa KambiAluru KambiLendu Lomle	Makina Kichinjio Mashimoni (Quarries) LainiSaba KambiMuru

TABLE 1 Factors that influence the toponymy of villages in Kibera
Source: Nubian Council of Elders (NCE), 2015

There were also demarcations and groupings according to ethnic tribes. These spatial territories (villages) would be named as to indicate that. For example: Kisumu Ndogo village, meaning small Kisumu is named as such because initially many residents were of Luo ethnic descent and hence thought to have come from Kisumu. Figure 5 shows the spatial distribution of the dominant ethnic communities in Kibera. This is according to the Nubian Council of Elders. The dominant tribes were the Kikuyu, Kisii, Luhya, Luo and Nubians. However in addition to them, all the other communities of Kenya can also be found in Kibera.

The concept of toponymic warfare is seen in this case of Kibera whereby, names are used as a cry for social justice against the challenges faced by the residents such as: denial of rights to land ownership, poor living conditions, forceful evictions among others. Residents, by identifying with global struggles are essentially saying that they are going through the same struggles within their local contexts as well. The use of foreign names which identify with global struggles e.g Soweto named after the Soweto Uprising in South Africa also reflected the effect of globalisation on toponymy of informal settlements.

Kibera, because of its long and complex history, provides a rich base for toponymy to be used in interpreting the cultural landscape of informal settlements. Toponymy in relation to ethnicity, politics, geography and language can also be utilized in other informal settlements to understand their complex histories and interpret their current identities. Table 1 below shows how the toponymy of villages in old and new Kibera has been influenced by those factors.

As shown in Table 1, the names in old Kibera mainly reflected the socio-economic activities of the society. The other names reflected topographic features of the settlement. Ethnicity and spatial politics played a less significant role in Kibera at the time because there was one ethnic tribe - the Nubians. Although there was contestation over land ownership rights between the Nubians and the colonial administration, it did not reflect in the Nubian toponymy of Kibera.

In the new Kibera, some settlements' names reflected the spatial politics that were occurring. For instance, the village named Raila was named after Raila Odinga in 1992. He was then a prominent politician, and he later became the Member of Parliament for Langata constituency under which Kibera fell. Soweto East and West are a reflection of global struggles and the name Soweto was used after some of the initial evictions in the late 70's soon after the Soweto Uprising. Other village names in new Kibera reflect on socio-economic activities such as Kichinjio which means slaughter house or Mashimoni meaning the holes left open after quarrying activities. Most of the names which reflect the topography were retained even in the new toponymy of Kibera.

CONCLUSION:

The toponymy of Kibera has been discussed in this paper based on the socio-political processes behind the names, their communicative meanings and how they have evolved over time. On the one hand, the Nubian heritage of Kibera is has become indelible and this is reflected in the original and current toponymy of the settlement. The meanings of the names show how the community understood its topographical surroundings and it also reflected the socio-economic organization of the Nubians. On the other hand, in the post-colonial period, with the influx of other communities into Kibera, the toponymy started to reflect a more ethnically diverse community. Issues of social opportunity and disparity among the communities, and between the community and the government became more rampant and this also reflected on the toponymy. Hence spatial politics of constant evictions and economic marginalisation politically instigated ethnic migrations and groupings also influenced the toponymy of Kibera during this time. Therefore, we conclude that, the toponymy of Kibera is a mirror into the history and socio-economic and political factors that have made the settlement what it is today.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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SHAPING LANDSCAPES – DEFINING CULTURAL MEMORY

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The contribution of this research investigates a cultural vision which is in direct and dynamic relationship to the natural landscape, the railway landscape and the historical value of Tempe in Greece. The Vale of Tempe is strategically located between Olympus and Ossa. The Pineios River flows through the Vale on its way to the Aegean Sea.

Tempe has been a place of worship and inspiration for mythology as well as a key staging point for political and historical events and archaeological discoveries. It is a protected archaeological site and historic site. How can the design shape the waterfront of the Pineios River and activate the abandoned infrastructures in order to connect the fragmentary memories and the basic functions of this unique place? What can be done to improve both the conservation and enhancement of the area, increase access and create awareness amongst the general public? Dysfunctional access, the absence of public transport which services this area, the overflow of the river and the cultural amnesia of people inhabiting and passing through the area presents a permanent abandonment scenario. Since 48 BC the main road between the south and the north of Greece has passed on the right side of the Valley, at the foot of Ossa. In recent times the new highway has been constructed underground on the same side. On the left a new underground railway tunnel has already been constructed instead of the two former railway lines that cross the area by the waterfront. The new highway and railway are disconnected to the natural and cultural landscape, in contrast with the old ones that were part of history. The new concept is to reuse the old railroad infrastructure, create a new station and schedule touristic routes in this way connecting to the whole area. In order to respond functionally to the variability of the flow of the Pineios River, the planning design shapes the landscape in new levels making huge pedestrian ramps. In this way safe access is provided to the area, even if the water of the river reaches the maximum limit. So as to recover cultural memory and honour the resilient landscape, the existing tunnel of the older rail line is designed to be reused as a museum, while a part of the second railway tunnel inside the mountain incorporates a small hosting center for young artists. Furthermore, the space around the three natural springs on the northern bank is designed to be an amphitheatre with a direct view of the surrounding nature, showing respect for the indigenous vegetation. According to mythology, the worship of the place is directly linked to water springs and the Pineios. The Vale of Tempe was dedicated to the worship of Apollo, god of purification and divination and archaeological ruins from a temple have been found near the main spring. This research emphasises how to create a new cultural core and new memories for visitors linking the past (geophysical and cultural history) with the present and future of Tempe

Keywords

cultural vision, railway landscape, natural landscape, history, adaptive design, cultural memory

THE RESILIENCE OF THE TRADITIONAL URBAN CENTER OF RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL

Eloisa Petti Pinheiro

UFBA

The Traditional Urban Center of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, had passed through many urban reforms and interventions, but it remains at the same place as in 1567, among the quadrilateral formed by four hills: Castelo Hill, Santo Antônio Hill, São Bento Hill and Conceição where the streets were drawn parallel and perpendicular to the sea, producing an irregular grid that consist by lots with a narrow front and long in the longitudinal dimension. Today, the urban center is not the geographic center of the city, is not equidistant from the principals neighborhoods of Rio. Is difficult to get there buy metro, by bus or by car. So we ask, what happens that this place is so resilient that the urban functions do not move to another site?

Since 1763, when the capital moved from Salvador to Rio, changes always happened all around the city center. In 1808, the Center changed because of the installation of the Portuguese Court and Rio became the capital of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and Algarve. New services were introduced and new areas were created. The city was expanded beyond its initial boundaries.

Between 1902 and 1906, a urban reform took place with new avenues, the enlargement of some streets and the modernization of the port.

In the 1920s the downtown suffered drastic surgeries with the Castelo Hill dismantling conclusion which opened new spaces: an esplanade and the use of the land for the landfill at the bay. In the 1940s, the construction of Avenue President Vargas destroyed some tracks of the colonial city and reflected a new urban model with high buildings, linked more to the Chicago School than to Paris. In 1960, the Federal Capital was moved to Brasilia, transferring to the new city the federal politic and administrative functions. This fact brought changes to the City Center. The 1980s economic crisis and the stabilization of urban population growth leaded to stagnation in the real estate industry in the Center.

However, Rio has always preferred to preserve its traditional center as the principal business, political and administratively space, besides cultural and historical. Now, Rio is changing once more. The Olympic Games will be settled in Rio in 2016 and the city must improve itself. This is the principal point of this paper. Our question is: why the traditional urban center was rebuilt over and over again and had been expanded and become vertical but never changed to another part of the city.

Keywords

city center, preservation, urban projects

New Approaches towards Heritage Landscapes and Territorial Planning

V.04 P.268 **Eloisa Petti Pinheiro**
THE RESILIENCE OF THE TRADITIONAL URBAN CENTER OF RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL
PRIVATE VERSUS PUBLIC THROUGH AN ANALYSIS OF THE UNPRIVILEGED WORKING CLASS HISTORY

Historic Estates and Estate Landscapes

Chair: Gerdy Verschuure-Stuip

THE QUINTAS ESTATES – THE TAGUS ESTUARY AND LISBON URBAN PLANNING HISTORY

Rodrigo Dias

Lusida University Lisbon

The Tagus Estuary is one of the biggest estuaries of the world, and the second biggest of occidental Europe. In its center lays the capital of Portugal, Lisbon city of the seven hills and its deep water Port. The surrounding natural landscape includes a diversity of geomorphology with mountains, plains, rolling hills, and gentle slopes. Lisbon's waterfront and the Estuary margins surround a water mirror. Around it we found several dozen Historic Landscape Estates, which we call Quintas. They are scattered by the estuary's Municipal areas, they were planned and constructed with unknown original architectural landscape designs. Mixing agroindustry productions and irrigation systems, with artistic, esoteric and symbolic sceneries, of azulejos (glazed tiles), sculptures, cascades, pools, and pavilions in an environment of villegiatura, and Genius Locci. The projects cover periods from the 16th century Portuguese Discoveries and Overseas Empire, to the Baroque, Illuminist Estates, and finally the neoclassic 19th century English Landscape Parks Fashion. We have already researched some of the Quintas' architectural landscape design, according to a methodology to read the projects basic and spatial form, as well as the metaphoric and programmatic structures. This research gave us a better understanding of the projects allowing new and more efficient ways to promote, protect and manage this heritage. We have also researched the Quintas' dispersion and position around the Estuary, setting up the "Lisbon and Estuary Villas Landscape". Which classifies eight groups of Quintas with different types and compositions, concerning the water mirror contemplation axis, the estuary waterfront accessibility, the natural and urban skylines fruition, and the agro industrial productions, among others. We aim to develop further researches to answer questions like: In what way the Quintas Landscape construction, shape Lisbon's waterfront urban design? Did they have any role in the town's urban growing corridors and in the main urban metropolitan corridors? What was the role of the Quintas and the Villegiatura in Lisbon Urban Planning History? Why did the Quintas originate new towns around the estuary? Why did the Quintas, show such an extraordinary resilience? We found that some of them to this day, still produce agro industrial international renowned wines, as well as regional brands, they are successful touristic and cultural destinations. Why is their importance increasing in present economic crisis? Why are they promoting investments in real estate businesses, as well as in Cultural, Touristic and Social public and private sectors? Can they give clues and inspire new architectural landscape designs that meet today's concerns, taking into account the project's budget savings, the metropolitan food supply, the employment and the sustainable adequate recreations? We aim to answer these questions, in future inter university research teams. In Europe's metropolitan areas landscape estates, and in other metropolitan similar landscape estates heritage around the world.

Keywords

Villegiatura, Town tentacles, Landscape estates, Quintas, Meshes, Axis, Urbanization, Resilience

DUTCH ESTATES LANDSCAPES – METHOD FOR DESCRIBING THE SPATIAL ESSENCE

Gerdy Verschuure-Stuip

TU Delft

Between the 16th and 19th century, rich merchants and nobility constructed their (landed) estates outside the wealthy cities of Holland as part of the emancipation of the upcoming civilian life. The words of Cosimo di Medici's companion describe the essence of these estates in the Netherlands: 'many beautiful, small estates in Dutch style'(1). These estates were firmly connected to the city, city life and recreation as well as to the subsoils, the surrounding landscape in combination to agriculture and land reclamation (2). On a higher scale, these civilian estates were positioned next to each other, forming estates landscapes as part of larger landscape structures. These estates landscapes can be seen as part of the (pre) urbanization of Holland. Estates landscapes formed a coherent, but dynamic landscape structure, that was constructed in the past and changed overtime, because of fashion, financial situation, natural disaster and destruction of war and so on.

In times without national legislation to preserve the countryside, it's crucial to define the spatial (historical) essence of urban landscapes to maintain historic continuity and social sustainability. Therefore, we need to define new methods for transformation and renewal of large scale development in which we balance the great resilience to adapt changes and maintain the collective memory and the narrative of the area. In new methods heritage landscapes can be defined by both physical structures, objects in relation to the ground as well as collective and personal histories, memories, atmosphere, function and narrative. How can we connected these elements in current landscape analysis to describe the essence of a urban cultural landscape?

This paper wants to define the estates landscape as a method to define a heritage landscapes, which addresses the most important tangible and intangible foundation or corner stones of this landscape on different scales. A method to be used in other large scale heritage landscapes (f.e. New Dutch Waterline).

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Keywords

estate, estates landscape, urban landscape, city, resilience, abolishment of preservation of landscape laws

MEDIEVAL CASTLES AND PRE-MODERN CASTLE TOWNS PLANNED WITH NATURE AS THE HERITAGES FOR LANDSCAPE DESIGN TODAY: A CASE STUDY OF NANBU REGION IN TOHOKU

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This research aims to manifest the Japanese traditional urban forms in Nature, selecting the castle towns built by Nanbu Clan from the medieval time to the pre-modern as case studies, seeking to discover the matching harmony between the ancient urban planning and Nature for the three points. 1) The medieval castle residences were built to adapt to various topographical conditions; their inner castle zoning and moats were designed to match the geographic condition. The pre-modern castle towns are verified, also, for their relation with the periphery sceneries, water systems and mountain worship by using their Yama-ate vista urban design, and also the temple dispositions were determined by the sea level in accordance with the temple's status. 2) The urban design of each castle town, determined by its builder, was distinct from each other. 3) The mountains that gathered the Nanbu Clan belief are worth studying for modern landscape designs in that the mountain views are preserved and visible from the town's main street. The town distributing of each Nanbu Castle Towns differed from each other depending on the time and builder; yet they all share one character – they all correspond to Nature and ecological environments.

Keywords

Japanese Castle Town, Natural Symbiotic Planning, Sacred Mountain, GIS System, Landscape Guideline

How to Cite

Sugano, Keisuke; Okitsu, Ryutaro; Satoh, Shigeru. "Medieval Castles and Pre-modern Castle Towns Planned with Nature As The Heritages for Landscape Design Today: A Case Study of Nanbu Region in Tohoku". In Carola Hein (ed.) *International Planning History Society Proceedings, 17th IPHS Conference, History-Urbanism-Resilience, TU Delft 17-21 July 2016, V.04 p.275*, TU Delft Open, 2016.

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7480/iphs.2016.4.1296>

INTRODUCTION

The pre-modern castle town represents the traditional urban form of Japan, and the previous researches¹ so far concern themselves with observing the interrelation between the urban compositions and their peripheries. This research, in the light of their results, has tried to discover how the castle towns built by the Nanbu Clan with their own urban planning methods distinguished themselves from other Japanese castle towns. That the Nanbu planning uniquely corresponded to Nature topography had various reasons, such as choosing the plateau for military purposes, Sinto-linked social hierarchy, mountain worshipping and, surely, their landscape planning designed to match their environment. Thus does this paper concern itself with disclosing the methods of Nanbu urban planning for their castle towns, trying to analyse the Nanbu planning developed back to the medieval days and applied up to the pre-modern era. Japanese castle towns preserve the essence that recalls the disappearing historical beauty being visible today from those traditional urban forms. For the following reasons the medieval castles and the pre-modern castle towns built by the Nanbu Clan are selected for this research.

Nanbu is the district located in Tohoku (Northeast) Region of Japan, and the Nanbu Clan had ruled there from 1200 AD onwards till the End of Edo, a regime of six centuries. The Nanbu family tree consists of three main stalks; Sannohe-Nanbu the head House, Nejyo-Nanbu the major branch family, which had governed the district for generations², and later on the revolt branch of Tsugaru-Nanbu, which became independent from the Nanbu Clan and ruled the Tsugaru territory. Along the vicissitude of rising, revolting and falling, several Nanbu medieval castle towns and residences were built among several locations, and following the process of town-distributing and varied styles of castle designs, each castle town distinguished itself characteristically from each other in its urban form. Still, how was it that the urban planning dispositions could correspond to the topographical condition? For instance, how was the vista designed to view the mountain top? All this must be studied and verified. Further, the aboriginal belief of Mountain worship, or Iwakura worship, was commonly seen in Nanbu District³ in particular. The Iwakura refers to the sacred place, usually a huge rock found in mountain, where the Kami deity arrives at, seats and dwells. And the Iwakura Rock was taken to be the centre of a concentric circle on which the town installations were placed.⁴ The vistas, or Yama-ate, serve as the “faith axes” that link the town streets with these sacred Iwakura spots, mountain tops or other installations like high temples or shrines, are verified.

After the fall of Nanbu Clan at the dawn of 19th century, the Japanese government enforced the legislation of urban modernisation upon the Nanbu pre-modern castle towns and took those located in the districts of Morioka and Hirosaki – the home bases of Sannohe-Nanbu House and Tsugaru House – as the bases to practice governmental urbanisation. The government expected them to become the capital city or metropolis of Iwate Prefecture and Aomori prefecture. And yet, fortunately, the culture-historical resources of these castle towns, highly esteemed, were not left unnoticed in recent year, the traditional heritages prevail upon modernisation. All these historical urban designs, owing to their harmonic relation with the natural environment, are expected to revitalise the urban life of castle towns today.

With respect to the expectation to live in harmony with nature, this paper aims to disclose the following four points. First, basing on the research of the historical texts of Nanbu Clan, the transformation of urban planning from the medieval to the premodern time becomes manifest. Second, the locations of these six medieval residences that were reformed to be the residential castles are surveyed and verified; the topographical forms of the inner castle zones and moats are studied; the locational relation between the castle moats and nature water system, rivers, marshes and the like, is surveyed. Third, all these five castle towns built in the pre-modern age in Nanbu district are studied with several attentions – the castle town’s relation to the locations of Iwakura and mountain top for the worshipping purposes of the aborigine of the Nanbu Clan in particular, and the relation of street composition, micro-topography and temple disposition in correspondence to nature. And lastly, taking Morioka and Hirosaki as research objects, the vistas to view the sacred mountain tops must be preserved, maintained and respected, as a major policy of modern landscape planning.

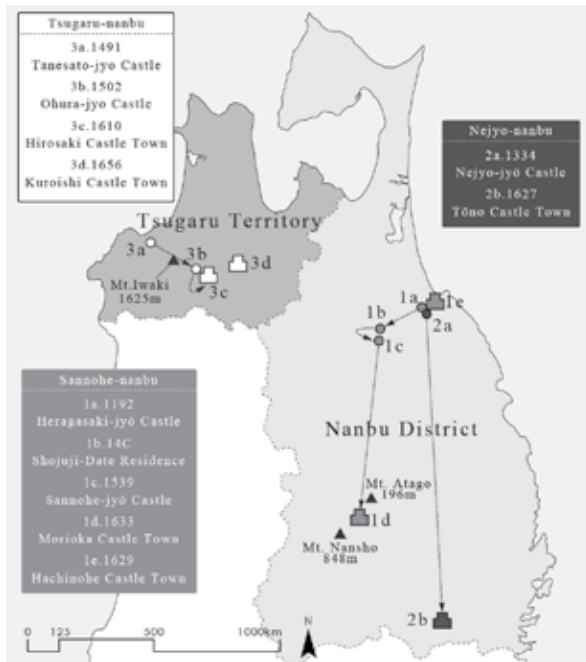


FIGURE 1 The Urban Planning Transformation of Nanbu Clan

THE URBAN PLANNING TRANSFORMATION OF NANBU CLAN

Basing upon the research of the historical texts, this chapter has the attempt to disclose the vicissitudinous Nanbu Clan from the Mediaeval to the Pre-modern. The Nanbu clan consisted of three Nanbu Houses – Sannohe-Nanbu the head House, Nejyo-Nanbu the major branch House, and Tsugaru-Nanbu House the revolted one that governed, independently, the Tsugaru territory. The events and dates as such are listed in the following.⁵

Take the transformation of castle construction of Sannohe-Nanbu to begin with, their rising and falling can be traced back to the year of 1192 when the Heragasaki-jyō Castle was built on the location of Heragasaki-machi (the city of Nanbu) today, and at the end of 14th century Shoujuji-Date Residence was built in the vicinity as the headquarter of Sannohe-Nanbu, and yet it was ruined by fire in 1539, and then a new castle was built on the hill some three kilometres south to the site of Shoujuji-Date Residence. The Morioka town-distributing began in 1597 and finished up till 1633, and people settled in the castle town. From 1628 to 1629, the town-distributing processes for the central area of Hachinohe castle town and its branch castles were done and ready for living; the periphery of Hachinohe castle town was prepared for settlement.

Second, the transformation of Nejyo-Nanbu castle town is noted. In 1334, it was built in Nejyo as the residential castle, and the residential castle was moved to Tōno in 1627; there, the Tōno castle town gradually got shaped up.

And thirdly, the Tsugaru House built the Tanesato-jyo castle in 1491 and the Ohura-jyo as their home base in 1502. Stepping into the Age of Civil War, the feudal lord Tamenobu Tsugaru revolted in 1588 and took the territory of Tsugaru as an independent state. In 1610 the town distributing of Hirosaki castle town started. In 1656, Kuroishi, the branch House of Tsugaru, started their town distributing and rebuilt the partial town area, and the urban structure was formed before 1656. And then, Tsugaru lord built the new areas prepared for the residences of Samurai class, and later on the business areas for townsman class (working class) were attached as their plans of town distribution.

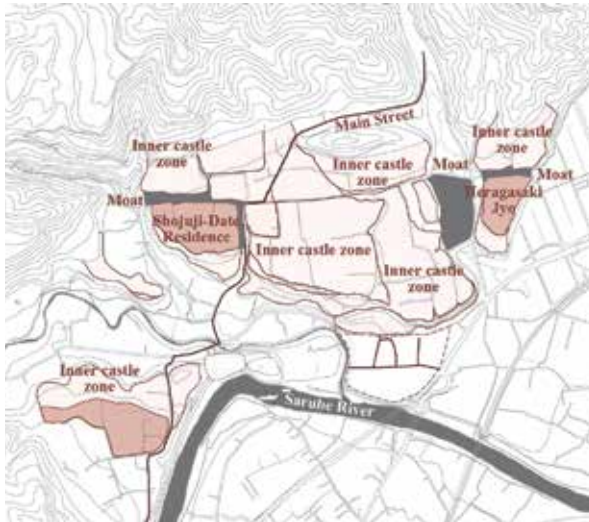


FIGURE 2 Sannohe-jyō castle and Heragasaki-jyō castle, located on the sides of sloping terrace

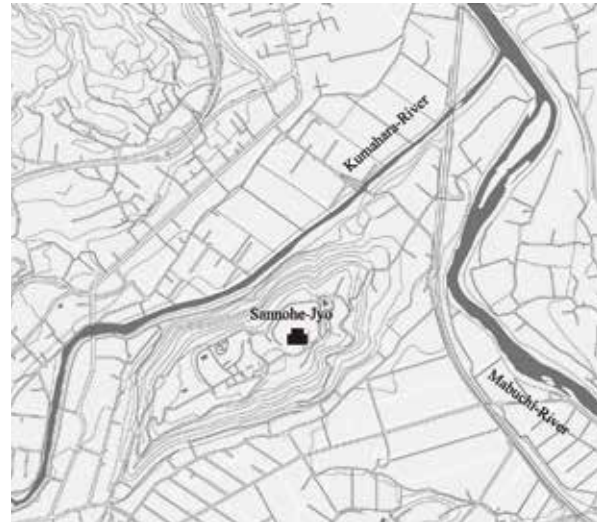


FIGURE 3 Sannohe-jyō castle, located on the low terrace of river bank

THE URBAN FORM OF MEDIEVAL CASTLE AND ITS PERIPHERY ENVIRONMENT

Following the transformational history of urban planning above, this research selects six Nanbu castles for GIS analyses. Three were built by Sannohe-Nanbu head House, Heragasaki-jyō Castle, Shōjuji-Date Residence and Sannohe-jyō Castle; one by Nejoyo-Nanbu branch House, which is Nejoyo-jyō Castle, and two by Tsugaru House, the revolt branch, which are Tanesato-jyō Castle and Ohura-jyō Castle. The aim of GIS application is to analyse their geographic locations, topographical shapes and river flowing courses. Two points become manifest.

First, Sannohe-jyō castle, Nejoyo-jyō castle and Ohura-jyō Castle are located on the low terrace along river bank; Heragasaki-jyō castle, Tanesato-jyō castle and Shōjuji-Date Residence are located on the sides of sloping terrace. Viz. all their locations illustrate one thing; they were built to match the surrounding natural topography. Second, each inner castle zone has irregular shape and area, but it was exactly the topographic formation in Nature that made all the castle zonings irregular and simultaneously made the appearance of man-made building be in harmony with Nature. Also, the sea-level differences of the castle site served to divide the inner castle zones. And further, their planning of zonings and distribution applied rivers and swamps in nature ways; e.g., they planned three inner castle zones and moats from using the flowing courses with respect to the geographical conditions.

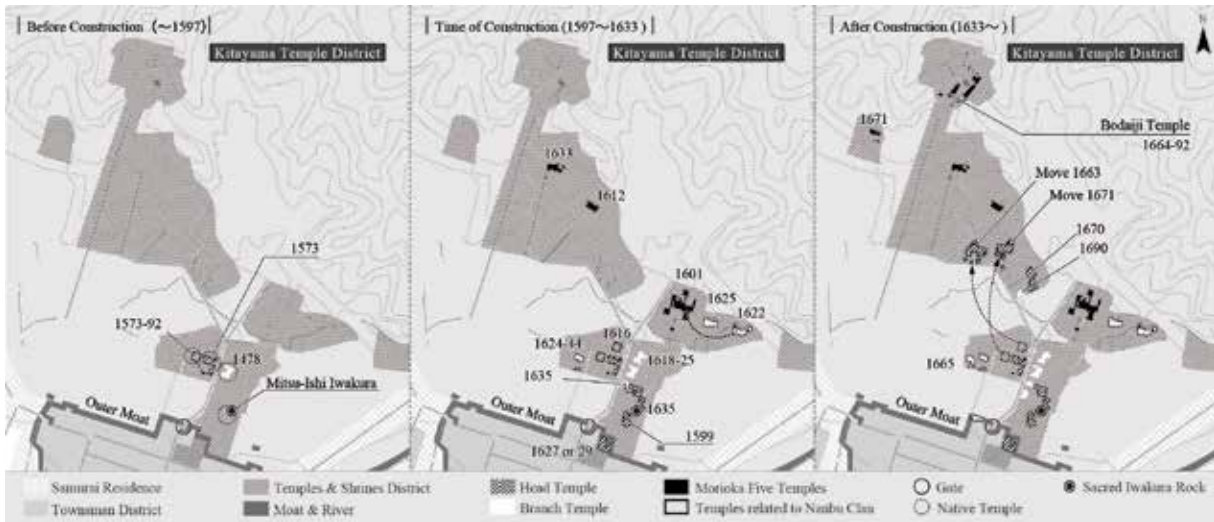


FIGURE 4 Disposition of Temples in Morioka

DISPOSITION OF TEMPLES, STREET COMPOSITION OF THE PRE-MODERN CASTLE TOWNS IN NATURE

This chapter concerns itself with the actual conditions of five Nanbu castle towns, as surveying objects, trying to disclose their town distribution methods done by these three Houses in the pre-modern age. This chapter yields three analyses. In the light of the historical texts to begin with,⁶ it aims to discover how the religious attitude of Nanbu Clan can affect the disposition of temples or shrines and, by means of GIS, how the topographic shapes can affect such disposition. Second, using GIS and field survey to verify the Yama-ate (vista) – the central lines of Main Street extended to meet the mountain top. Measure the gap-difference between the central line and the line that links the street’s central point and mountain top, and verify it quantitatively. The gap within 1° provides full mountain view, and that between 1° and 5° slips away from the unobstructed landscape. GIS also serves well to analyse how the mountain views affect the street framework designed with reference to vista. And thirdly, from the historical texts, the relation between the sacred mountains and Nanbu belief is verified.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF TOWN DISTRIBUTION OF MORIOKA AND HACHINOHE IN SANNOHE-NANBU

Those high-dignified temples, having ties with Nanbu Clan, were built to locate on the edge of the high hills – Morioka Five Temples – of the castles’ peripheries in Morioka territory; the higher the status of the temple is, the higher the sea-level of hill the temple shall be. Also, the peripheries where there were sacred Iwakura Rocks were built with the temples related to Nanbu Clan. However, those low-rank temples, most of which were not religious in bond with Nanbu Clan, were built on the level grounds. In Hachinohe territory, the high-rank temples tied with Nanbu Clan were all located either in their castles or on the halfway up the surrounding high sea-level hills or plateaus. For example, Bodaiji Temple, the family temple of Nanbu Clan, was located on the halfway of the highest hill on the periphery. Those temples irrelevant to Nanbu Clan were located on the level grounds of the central area of both castle towns, Morioka and Hachinohe.

Both towns below the castles were planned on the level grounds, and the street composition respectively set up the urban framework. Yama-ate, or vista design, is verified; the sacred mountain tops are visible from the main street of both towns. The periphery streets are either parallel or perpendicular to the main streets which

offer the vista. From the Ohte Street (the highway that links the castle gate), the beautifully sloping side of the sacred mountain tied to Nanbu Clan is visible; in Morioka, from the street the view of the mountain where the Iwakura Rocks were located is visible. The vista of the Ohte Street of Morioka castle town offers us the view of the mountain where the Iwakura that drew the Nanbu Clan religiously was located. And it is the Iwakura location that determined the urban planning of Morioka, in particular; the framework of town streets, the bended moat, and even the castle gate position were all related to Iwakura. The Ohte Street and the extension line of the Main Street cross each other by 60° at the junction on which the inner-castle Eboshiiwa Iwakura was located. The distance between Eboshiiwa and the Mitsuishi Iwakura – the North of Castle – is about 895 meters, and that between the Eboshiiwa and the Northwest Gate and the Southeast Gate is about the same distance of 895 meters. The distance between Eboshiiwa and Tokkobeishi Iwakura is about 415 meters, and that between the Eboshiiwa and the West gate has same distance. Also, around 855 meters away from Eboshiiwa, four bending moats are verified.

As shown above, the town distribution of Sannohe-Nanbu castle town has three verified points; first, the micro-topographic condition did affect the temple disposition. Second, the mountain worship did shape up the street planning as the urban framework. And third, the Iwakura worship was found only in Morioka; how did the Iwakura location affect the temple disposition? And, how did it affect the street formation that formed the urban framework? Also, how did the Eboshiiwa Iwakura in the castle serve as the concentric centre of the circle on which the facilities were dispositioned? All these are verified.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF TŌNO TOWN-DISTRIBUTING IN NEJYO-NANBU CLAN

A few shrines and temples rooted in the territory of Tōno in the medieval days were taken restoration and the process of Sengu renewal – the relocation of a Shrine; all these were located on the foot or halfway up the hill of the sacred mountain known for a series of veneration related to Nejyo-Nanbu Clan. Those temples and shrines built for ascetics and mountain worships, located either on the hill belly, the side of micro-terrace, or the strategic positions like the castle gate or Main Street.

The Main Street of Tōno castle town referred to the highway that ran passing through the façade Samurai Residences and linked to the Ohte Street; the periphery streets were either parallel or perpendicular to the Main Street. Yet, the Ohte Street and the Main Street shaped up the urban framework and give people the Yama-ate (vista), but the town distribution shows no evidence of mountain worship.

As shown in the town distributing of Nejyo-Nanbu, it can be verified that their temple dispositions and micro-topographic forms, as well as mountain top positions and the street framework were all related. Although the Nejyo-Nanbu town distributing shared similarities with that of Sannohe-Nanbu, the object mountains of vista had no relation to mountain worship.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF TOWN-DISTRIBUTING OF HIROSAKI AND KUROISHI IN TSUGARU CLAN

In Hirosaki Territory there were two temple zones located on the hills. They levelled down the hilly locations, whilst processing the town distribution, in order to make the sea-level of temple zone lower than the donjon. Disregarding each temple's status, the temple complex was distributed only to match the micro-topographic forms. Most streets of 200 meters and above in length were planned to face up the objective mountain with an elevation angle of 3° ~ 3.5°. These mountains, however, were not worship objects, bearing no religious tie with Tsugaru Clan. Quite a few streets of less than 150 meters in length and several tiled streets, however, provided us unobstructed views of sacred mountains from the elevation angle of more than 4°, which were bond to Tsugaru.

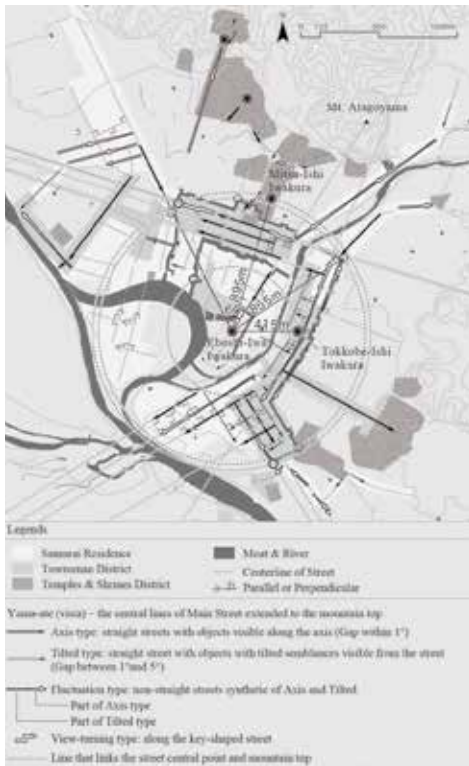


FIGURE 5 The characteristics of town-distributing of Morioka

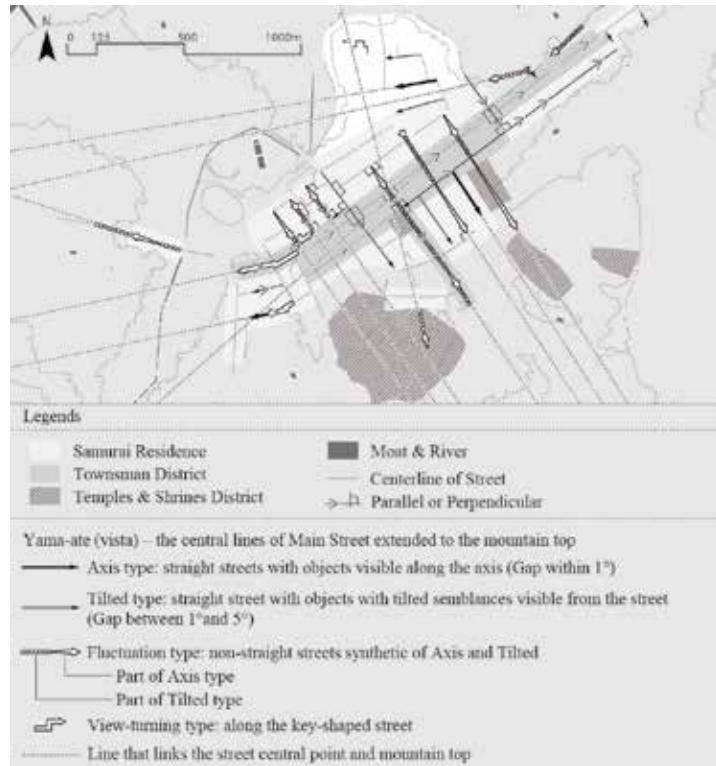


FIGURE 6 The characteristics of town-distributing of Hachinohe

In Kuroishi territory, *Bodaiji* family temple and the shrines bonded to the Kuroishi domain were, disregarding the status-based temple zone distribution like Hirosaki territory, located on the hill and corresponded to the micro-topographic shape only. Basing on the town distributing, the streets were curved to match the micro-topographic form and bended to see the changeable panorama/landscape of Mountain View.

As above, the town distributing of Tsugaru castle town shows two points; first, the town distributing of Tsugaru, being different from that of Nanbu Clan, distinguished itself by adapting the micro-topographic form and located their temples and shrines disregarding to their status. Second, by matching the elevation angle to see the Object Mountains, from the central line of Main Street bended and curved, the pedestrians may see changeable mountain views and landscape.

As shown in the town distributing of Nejoyo-Nanbu, it can be verified that their temple dispositions and micro-topographic forms, as well as mountain top positions and the street framework were all related. Although the Nejoyo-Nanbu town distributing shared similarities with that of Sannohe-Nanbu, the object mountains of vista had no relation to mountain worship.

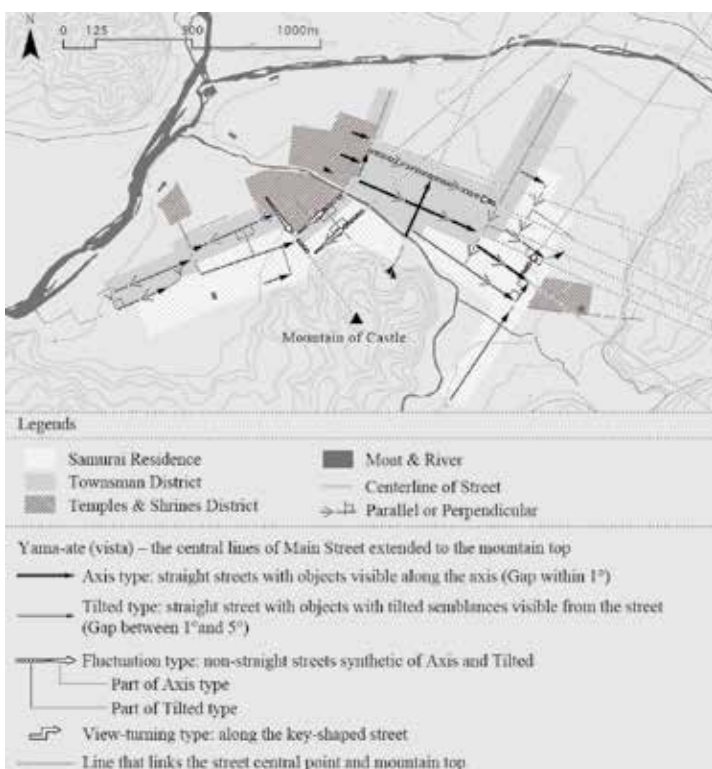


FIGURE 7 The characteristics of town-distributing of Tōno



FIGURE 8 The characteristics of town-distributing of Hirosaki

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF TOWN-DISTRIBUTING OF HIROSAKI AND KUROISHI IN TSUGARU CLAN

In Hirosaki Territory there were two temple zones located on the hills. They levelled down the hilly locations, whilst processing the town distribution, in order to make the sea-level of temple zone lower than the donjon. Disregarding each temple's status, the temple complex was distributed only to match the micro-topographic forms. Most streets of 200 meters and above in length were planned to face up the objective mountain with an elevation angle of $3^{\circ} \sim 3.5^{\circ}$. These mountains, however, were not worship objects, bearing no religious tie with Tsugaru Clan. Quite a few streets of less than 150 meters in length and several tiled streets, however, provided us unobstructed views of sacred mountains from the elevation angle of more than 4° , which were bond to Tsugaru.

In Kuroishi territory, Bodaiji family temple and the shrines bonded to the Kuroishi domain were, disregarding the status-based temple zone distribution like Hirosaki territory, located on the hill and corresponded to the micro-topographic shape only. Basing on the town distributing, the streets were curved to match the micro-topographic form and bended to see the changeable panorama/landscape of Mountain View.

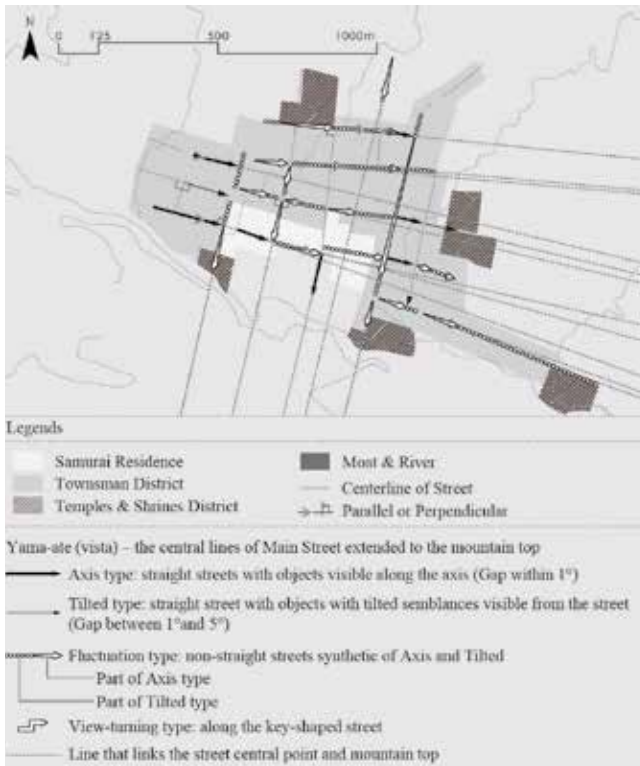


FIGURE 9 The characteristics of town-distributing of Tōno

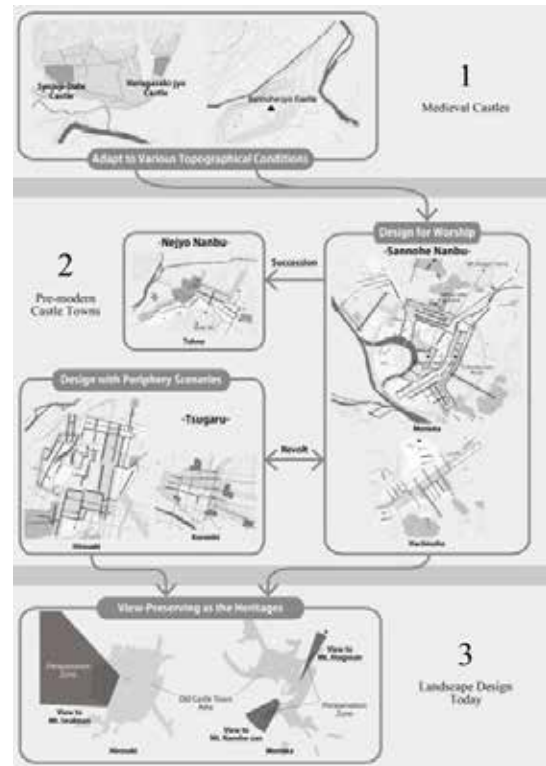


FIGURE 10 The characteristics of town-distributing of Hiroasaki

CONCLUSION

How was it that the traditional urban planning methods could make the man-made buildings correspond to Nature and adapt to their ecological environment well? This paper aims to answer this question, taking the castle towns built by the Nanbu Clan as case studies, analysing their castle residences built in the medieval age and their castle towns planned in pre-modern era. Three points are presented in the following:

First, the Nanbu planners built their medieval age castle residences with the principle of respecting their geographic conditions, using the topographic shapes, river courses and so on to plan the inner castle zones and moat. Obviously, it was the natural environment in the medieval age that shaped up their urban forms. The Nanbu pre-modern castle towns distinguished themselves from other castle towns; they were aware of the methods of Yama-ate vista that provided them the composition of mountain sceneries and helped dispose their temples and shrines on the sacred mountain. This was the urban design that absorbed Nature and be with Nature. Accordingly, all these Nanbu medieval castles and pre-modern castle towns shared the character; their urban planning and methods all sought to make the dwelling areas be with Nature. Among these, the urban forms of Nanbu medieval castles distinguished themselves by corresponding to surrounding topography, and the urban designs of pre-modern Nanbu castle towns did adopt, friendly, the periphery environment as the prime consideration in designing.

Second, this paper has tried to tell the differences of urban designs between the castle towns built in the Nanbu district and those in the independent Tsugaru territory; the former district was ruled by the Nanbu Clan from the early medieval age, and the latter territory was the revolt Tsugaru House in the late medieval age. The pre-modern castle towns built by Sannohé-Nanbu were urban-designed with relation to the Iwakura and mountain worship from the periphery mountains, and yet the urban planning of those built by Tsugaru House concerned themselves

with how to create mountain views by means of vista (Yama-ate), showing no religious tie to mountains. Thus so, the difference is clear; different Nanbu Houses build their castle towns differently. The castle towns built by the main stalk of Nanbu House concerned themselves with nature scenery as well as mountain worship; whereas those by the revolt Tsugaru House took scenery as their priority over nature worship in urban designs.

And third, the sacred mountains as the objects of Yama-ate vista gathered all kinds of local belief; such phenomena of view-preserving must be respected as the heritages for landscape designing today. Thus, these two characters of pre-modern castle towns, the expression performed by Nature Worship and the scenery directed by Nature Landscape, may apply to the landscape design and urban planning today; it is clear that both the citizenry and the governmental authority must inherit such heritages from the Nanbu Clan.

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PLACE-MAKING WITH AVENUE SYSTEMS, A DUTCH DESIGN TRADITION

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From the sixteenth century on the Dutch landscape has been transformed by the building of country residences called estates and their expansions with gardens and parks. These rural properties were surrounded by impressive avenue systems that (re-)ordered the waste landscape and made remote regions more accessible. Several Dutch avenue systems have remarkable layouts that are comparable with famous palaces like Hampton Court (Great Britain) or Versailles (France). The Dutch castles were owned by members of the Court or their political advisers, who used them as hunting estates. As the geometrical avenue systems expressed political power, they were extended over centuries, regardless of changes in garden fashion. The impressive avenue designs according to classic Italian design principles were initiated by the estate owners themselves. Especially members of the Dutch Court propagated their ideas to connect the avenue systems of the castles with new built churches and village expansions. This laying out of avenues was a new kind of urbanisation and a starting point for the classic Dutch landscape tradition that inspired many estate owners. Some of these early examples of 'place-making' are still recognisable as main structures in Dutch cities and landscape and express a well-structured place.

Keywords

landscape architecture, estates, geometrical garden, avenue system, design tradition, restauration, urban planning, place-making

How to Cite

Debie, Patricia. "Place-making with avenue systems, a Dutch design tradition". In Carola Hein (ed.) *International Planning History Society Proceedings*, 17th IPHS Conference, History-Urbanism-Resilience, TU Delft 17-21 July 2016, V.04 p.285, TU Delft Open, 2016.

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7480/iphs.2016.4.1297>

INTRODUCTION

From the sixteenth century on the Dutch landscape has been transformed by the expansion of country residences with avenue systems around castles, palaces or large mansions. The houses represented the status of their owners in which three categories are distinguished; wealthy merchants, the nobility and members of the Dutch Court. According to a building manual from 1681, their estates expressed their social status. Merchants used their properties as a quiet country retreat, the nobility did not glorify their status, but Court members however did express their position to emphasise their prestige in the architecture of their estates.¹ At the time, estates consisted of an ensemble of a house, a garden and surrounding lands. Except for a country residence, estates were intended as an investment in agricultural lands and for hunting purposes.² These rural properties were surrounded by impressive geometrical avenue systems that (re)ordered the landscape and made remote regions more accessible.

Several avenue systems, such as the ones at palace Het Loo (Apeldoorn), castle Renswoude or castle Rosendaal have remarkable layouts that are comparable with famous foreign palaces like Hampton Court (Great Britain) or Versailles (France).³ Enjoying the ‘most delightful, (...) advantageous, (...) healthiest and (...) blessed [country] life’ confirmed the free status of the nobility being not bound to the town by their profession.⁴ When the economic situation improved in the early seventeenth century Dutch merchants became the third important group of estate owners.⁵ The merchants commissioned architects to build modern new country houses, unlike the nobility who in general re-used or improved old medieval castles and palaces to expressing their noble backgrounds.⁶

There was a desire and need to organize the uncultivated landscape into good order by the laws of art and architecture. The design of nature was seen as an act of science. As Jan van der Groen, head Gardener of the Stadholder Willem III described; the outdoor areas were imperfect.⁷ Many land surveyors played an important part in the layout of Dutch gardens combining horticulture, surveying and mathematics as design principles. Geometry and uniformity were used to lay out avenue systems that expressed political power. However estate owners, in particular Dutch Court members, developed plans themselves to protect and enlarge their open spaces. For centuries, they were planted and extended at their hunting estates, regardless of changes in garden fashion. The avenue system at palace Het Loo for example shows several stages of extensions, even into the early twentieth century. The impressive avenue designs were undertaken by the Court members themselves; the stadholders, kings and queens, who were inspired by classic Italian design principles and propagated a pragmatic manner of applying these principles.⁸ Their ideas were put into drawings by land surveyors, while the head gardeners executed the details in the terrain.

The grand architectural organization of the ground plan derived partly from a land distribution system stemming from the late medieval times.⁹ With the avenue systems they connected their castles to new build churches and village expansions. The typical first step in the planning of these ensembles was the planting of trees, that had to be kept well to maintain the structure.¹⁰ The laying out of these avenues can be considered as examples of early Dutch place-making; a new kind of urbanisation as a starting point for the classic Dutch landscape design tradition that inspired many (foreign) estate owners. Most of these early examples of ‘place-making’ are still recognisable as main structures in Dutch cities and landscapes.

According to several authors place-making contains cultural activities that renders unique communities through creative designs that possess the potential to influence an urban environment profoundly. Place-making was often part of a private economic development that reflects the specificity of the place, culture, history or community. This capital investment is recognised as a simple desire for profit and speculative gain. History, memory and connections to the landscape are part of a social grid that is invariably woven in good part by flows of capital. Yet the intertwining of the two is omnipresent.¹¹

This paper describes a new understanding for avenue systems, why they were made and what they expressed. It explores place-making with avenue-systems as an Dutch architectural urban planning strategy that was actively deployed from the sixteenth century on. Several authors distinguish the fact that the planting of avenues was intended for display and decoration of estate properties, and was a costly investment that could be, according to the owners attitude, for all kinds of economic and domestic purposes. As was expressed in a travel journal in 1695: ‘The Dutch are great Improvers of Land, and Planters of Trees, of Ornament as well as Profit’.¹² Just a few authors described the design principles of avenues systems. The publications *Architecture and Landscape*¹³ and *The Villa and the Landscape*¹⁴ analysed German, Italian, French and English estates and the role avenues played in their layout as place-making attributes. Although *Courtly Gardens in Holland 1600-1650*¹⁵ is a thoroughly analyse of Dutch garden design it appointed insufficient the importance of avenue-systems at Dutch estates in their surrounding landscape or recognised it as a urban planning strategy. *The Dutch Garden in the Seventeenth Century*¹⁶ doesn’t describe any relation between avenues with urban planning or place-making. There is a clear knowledge gap on this matter. Edmond Bacons *Design of Cities*¹⁷ (1967) however is an important exception and compares the ancient Greek urban spatial system with the straight sightlines realised as avenues in the city of Rome that inspired the urban planning of so many European and American cities. He even compares three small Dutch cities (Culemborg, Zaltbommel and Wijk-bij-Duurstede) and their symbolic nodes with Roman principles. Interesting is his comparison of space used at some estates by projecting them on city plans. Nevertheless his discourse doesn’t describe how space was made by the lay-out of avenues around Dutch estates and the role they take in an international context is missing.

The urban planning strategy of Dutch estate owners during the stadholders period (1550-1800) will be stated in this paper by showing several examples of place-making with avenues. At first the application of classic design principles to express political power with urban expansions will be described. Secondly three examples of urban planning along goose foot avenues (palace Het Loo, castle Renswoude and castle Rosendael) will be explained. This approach shows the specific marking of Dutch place-making with avenue systems on bases of ownerships of the estates by comparing two categories; Court members and nobility. Explaining the knowledge gap can enhance the meaning of Dutch urban planning with avenues systems in an European design context.

DUTCH FOUNDING FATHERS

The typical Dutch tradition of place-making started in the fourteenth century, when cities were realised by individual landowners using their possibilities of borderland. For economic reasons these new cities were situated next to castles and along trading routes.¹⁸ Under the rule of bishops or dukes new cities arose along rivers to become economic and political power centres.¹⁹ From the seventeenth century wealthy merchants, citizens and the nobility fled crowded, noisy and unhealthy cities, and built country estates for a summer retreat. The explosive increase in estate possession reached its peak in the second half of the seventeenth century and persisted until the nineteenth century.²⁰ During this period of growth we also notice an expansion of straight lined avenue systems around estates.

The design of avenue systems in the Low Countries was based upon a long tradition that had been started by Dutch stadholders in the sixteenth century when hunting rights only were preserved for the Court members.²¹ In their designs, the stadholders applied classical Italian architectural rules and military science to the arrangement of their hunting grounds. Long straight roads, suitable for their beloved ‘parforce’ hunt, were surrounded by double rows of trees on each side.²² The specific way of planting in ‘quinconce’, applied into the geographical situation by the laws of perspective, gave the user a great perspective on the landscape.²³ According to Florence Hopper this planning practice was conceived by four important men: Prince Frederik Hendrik of Oranje Nassau (1584-1647), captain general and admiral of the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands and stadholder of five of the seven provinces; stadholder prince Maurits of Oranje Nassau (1567-1625), the older half-brother of

Frederik Hendrik; Jacques de Gheyn II (1565-1629), one of the most influential engravers at the time, and the mathematician and engineer Simon Stevin (1548-1620). In 1594 Stevin adapted the layout of Italian ideal towns for Dutch town planning and recorded his rules in *Vande oirdeningh der Steden*. The rectangular plan he created was used as an important reference for the development of Dutch fortified towns. According to Florence Hopper these basic principles were applied for the first time to gardens and parks by stadholder Frederik Hendrik at palace Honselaarsdijk in 1621 and described by the garden designer André Mollet in 1651 in his book *Le Jardin de Plaisir* after he had visited it in 1633, eight years after its construction.²⁴ The laws of perspective was introduced and applied by engravers and engineers in the designs of parks by the Dutch Court members and only later by garden designers.

THEORIES AND IDEAL GEOMETRIC FIGURES

Dutch gardens consisted of a large number of internally ordered architectural forms based on simple geometric shapes. All parts of the garden were related to each other and to their natural setting. The man-made forms expressed the harmony between man and nature. The Roman architect Vitruvius (ca. 85-20 B.C.) and the Italian architect Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472) based their theory of ideal architecture proportions on the principles that they deduced from the proportions and symmetry of the human body. This so called Vitruvian man can be shaped into four ideal geometric figures; circle, triangle, rectangle and cross.²⁵

Except for ideal proportions and forms, in his architectural treatise *De re aedificatoria* (1452) Alberti described the perfect location for a villa. Its position should enable a view of hills, plains and a town and should express the social and economic status of its owner.²⁶ In 1570 the Italian architect Andrea Palladio (1508-1580) summarized his thirty years practice in guidelines for classical architecture, in the treatise *I Quattro Libri dell' Architettura*. He also gave criteria for an ideal villa location.²⁷ Villas should be situated in the middle of their fields, close to a navigable river - for access to running water -, next to regional roads, on a prominent spot - to be visible from all sides - and if possible on the top of a hill or elevated terrain. The villa site should be demarcated and separated from the surrounding fields and farmlands by low walls or avenue trees, to make the size of the grounds clearly visible from the outside. Palladio emphasized the need for good infrastructure. He thought that roads should be built for military use like the Romans did: following the mathematical laws of universal order. If possible they should be realised as perfectly straight, continuous lines, so one could look far ahead and enjoy beautiful perspectives of the landscape. After having stated these rules he recommended that these roads would be more attractive and comfortable when planted with trees on both sides, to cheer the traveller with their leaves, and provide shadow.²⁸ Intersecting access roads and visual axes not only connected villa's with the surrounding landscape but also connected them with new built churches and urban planning expansions in the villages to symbolize the landowners political power.

As the Dutch stadholders studied these classic Italian principles they used them not only in the lay-out of their fortified cities, but also in the lay-out of park designs.²⁹ The straight line, as a path, avenue or road, whether or not edged with trees, is a constant element in the ideal landscape that was created around the Dutch country manor. From then on the characteristic avenue systems were frequently copied at country seats of the stadholders and their circle of friends. Except for aesthetic reasons, avenues were planted for protection against the harsh and windy Dutch climate. They marked the owners property as a seventeenth century 'skyline' in the uncultivated and open landscape and generated a regular income through wood sales. Practical benefits, economic profit and architectural beauty in ideal geometric figures were simply combined in the lower countries in a typical 'Dutch Way' with the planting of avenue-systems.

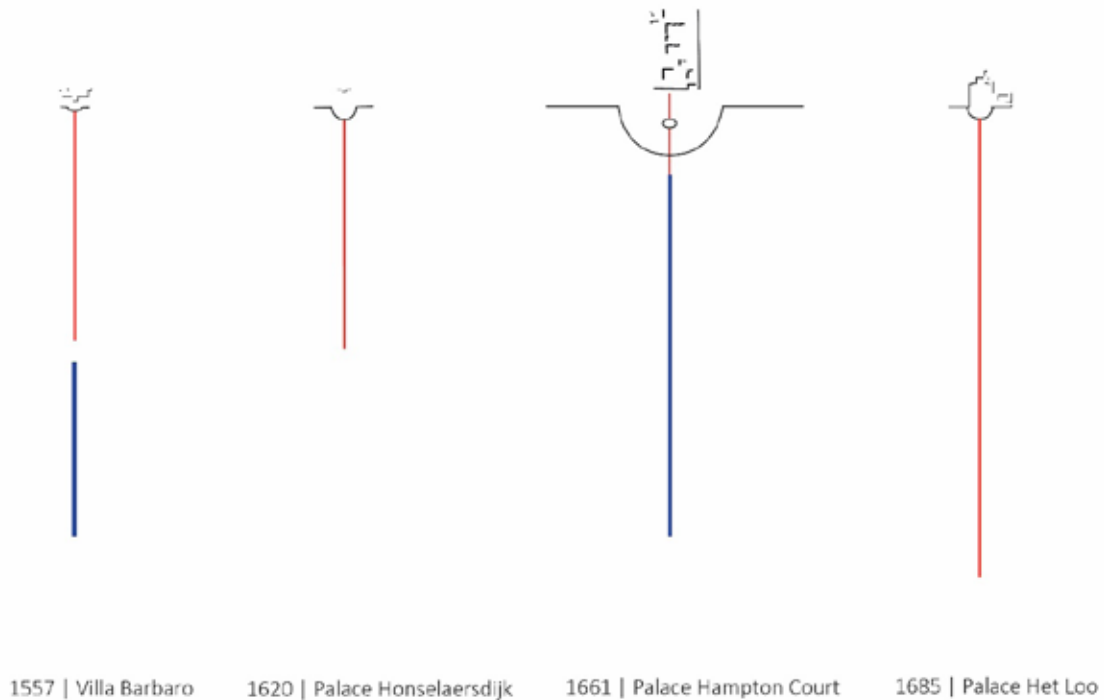


FIGURE 1 Comparison of schemes of sightlines (red = avenues, blue = Grand Canals) with the exedra's or half round squares (black = exedra with palace). The length and execution is striking; the 800 metres long avenue of Palace Honselaersdijk is as long as the avenue sightline of villa Barbaro. The complete 1.650 metres long sightline, consisting of an avenue and a canal, of villa Barbaro is almost of the same length as the canal at Palace Hampton Court or the avenue at Palace Het Loo. [drawing Debie & Verkuijl]

EXPRESSION OF POWER: URBAN PLANNING ALONG SIGHTLINES

Debie & Verkuijls study of avenues (executed in 2012) shows that the avenue systems were part of a geometric system that were formed by the ideal geometric figures; circle, triangle, rectangle and cross.³⁰ The figures formed ideal sightlines or visual axis to give perspective on features they connected. In the Dutch avenue designs urban planning became an important design element which will be explained hereafter.

The Dutch Stadholder-King Willem III (1650-1702) built sightlines in front of Hampton Court palace in London (1661) and at palace Het Loo in Apeldoorn (1685) starting from an exedra, a half round square. These 800 metres long sightlines might have been inspired by his ancestor, stadholder Frederik Hendrik, who extended his palace Honselaersdijk in Rijswijk with a sightline and exedra between 1620-1625. The avenues were planted with two rows of oak trees on each side.³¹ Willem III accentuated the sightline at Hampton Court with a Grand Canal, that might have been inspired by the Palladian villa Barbaro (1557) in Maser. This 750 metres Palladian sightline was extended with a Grand Canal to an impressive length of 1.650 metres.³² (see fig. 1)

Initially sightlines to position new palaces in the landscape, formed a cross with the access road that ran perpendicular on it. The palaces of court members were situated conveniently in the landscape, using occupation patterns or existing landscape elements like hills to situate them and being connected with the straight avenues. One would approach the castle from aside, not from the front, which is often proclaimed to prevent access roads blocking the sightline. The sightline in front of palace Het Loo for example is only used as the main entrance road since 1807, on behalf of King Lodewijk Napoleon. Its paving was one of the improvements he made for the main roads around the palace to be accessible for the French army.³³

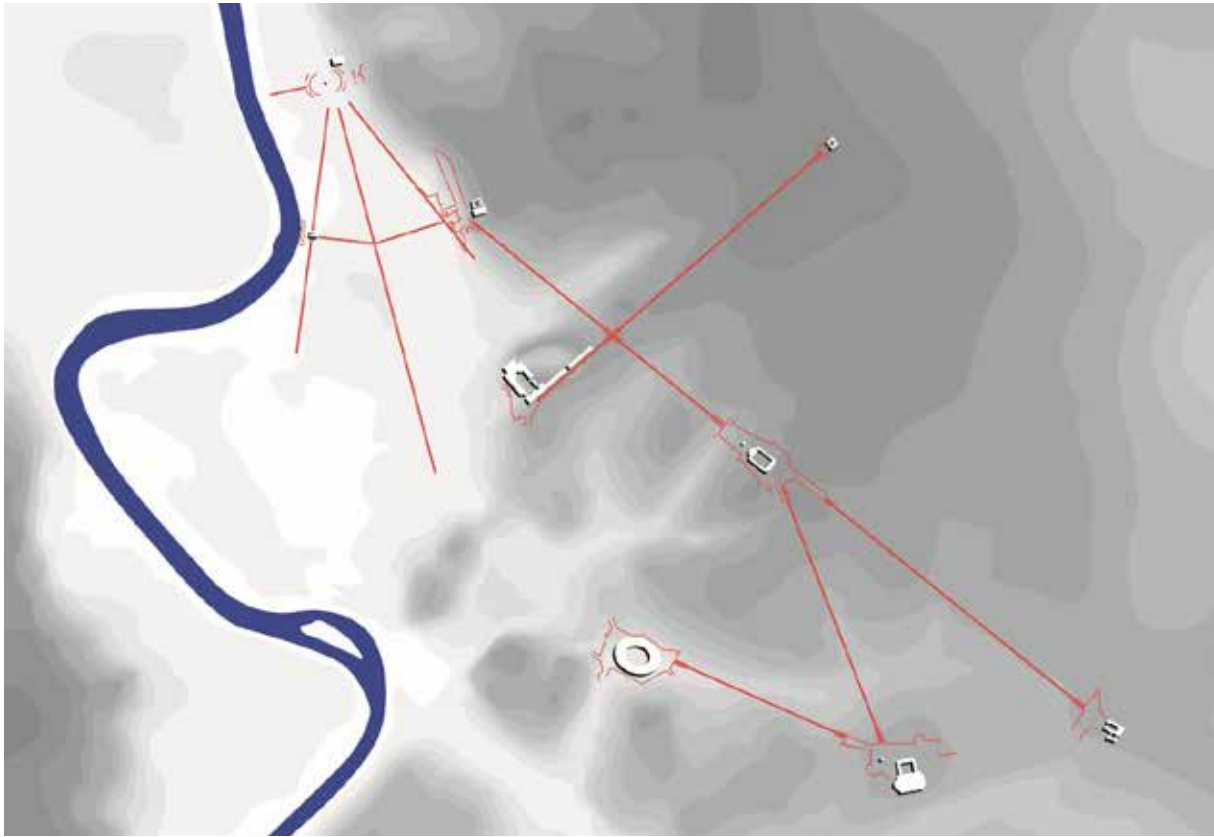


FIGURE 2 Scheme of the design concept that Pope Sixtus V (1558-1590) in 1585 introduced in the city of Rome connecting straight sightlines from churches with squares and obelisks with the seven hills of the city. [drawing based on several maps of Edmund Bacon, *Design of cities*. New York, 1967 adapted by Debie & Verkuijl]

Connecting palaces with natural elements like hills was a design concept implemented in 1585 in the city of Rome by Pope Sixtus V (1558-1590). He had the seven hills of the city connected with various landmarks like churches and obelisks by straight roads.³⁴ (see fig. 2) The Dutch stadholders imitated this ordering principle in sightlines of straight avenues that ran from their palaces towards hills in the landscape and situating obelisks on them. To express the status of the monarchs these sightlines were often part of a goose foot. Therefore it is interesting to compare several goose feet. Although Versailles (1664) is well known of its greatness and grandeur and Hampton Court (1708) is extended splendidly in a triangle and a Grand Canal, Het Loo (1685-1691) shows an exceptional position by placing its goose foot 800 metres on distance of the palace. Although Het Loo is usually described as a rather small hunting estate we can recognise a kind of competition between the French and Dutch monarchs in this lay-out comparison. (see fig. 3)

The application of a goose foot was for the first time made by Palladio at villa Pisani Bonetti in Bagnolo (1569).³⁵ It formed an ensemble with a church, several houses and the villa on the other side of the river Gua and had a sightline that reached out to the hills in the distance. This kind of urban planning with a goose foot consisting of straight roads can also be demonstrated with three Dutch avenue examples that not only connected palaces with churches but also with new housing as will be explained in the following text.

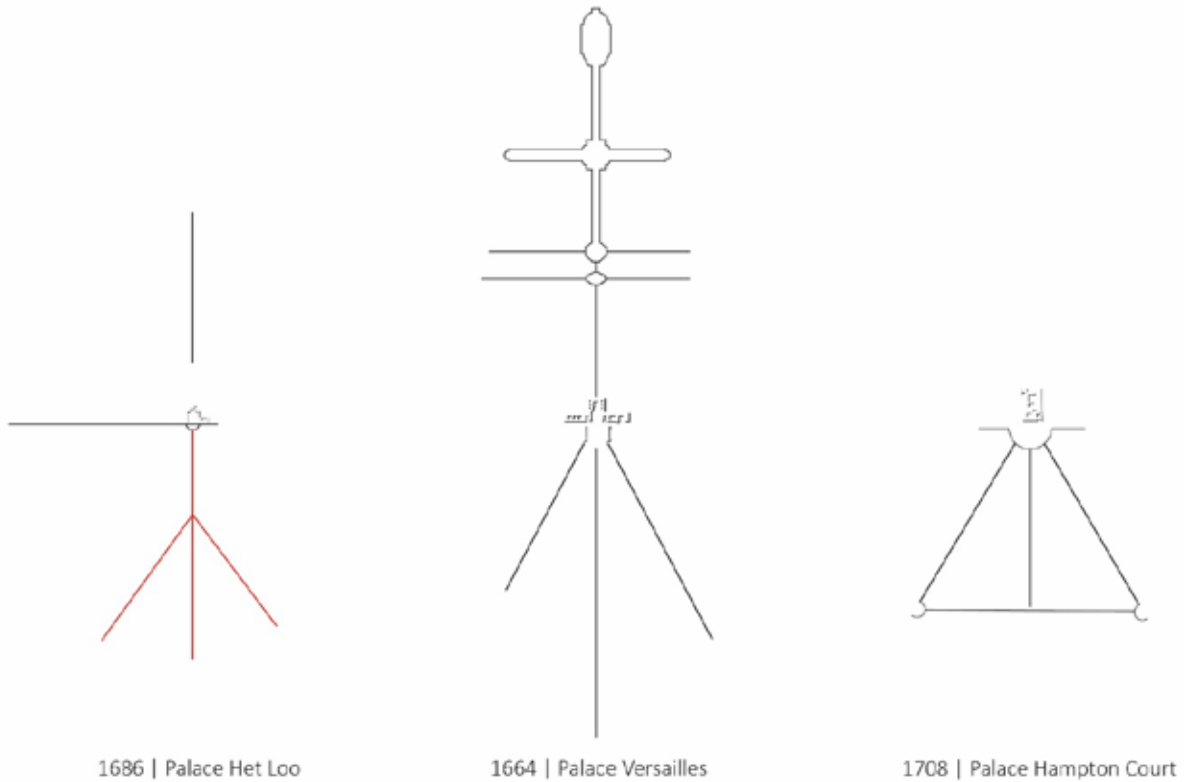


FIGURE 3 Schemes to compare size and position of three goose foots. In red the exceptional goose foot of Palace Het Loo that is positioned on 800 metres distance from the palace and forms a sightline of 1.600 metres long. Interesting fact is that the left toe of Het Loo (Jachtlaan = 1,5 kilometres) is a little longer as the left toe of Versailles (Avenue Nepveu Sud = 1 kilometre). [drawing Debie & Verkuijl]

The first example of a goose foot described here was built in 1686 at palace Het Loo by stadholder Prince Willem III. It connected the palace with the existing medieval church *Oude Kerk* of the village Apeldoorn. Het Loo's second goose foot was built in 1808 in front of the palace by the French King Lodewijk Napoleon. It connected the palace with a new urban expansions called *de Nieuwe Haven* with an exedra that was twice as large as the exedra in front of the palace. The *Nieuwe Haven* consisted of a bloc of 24 small terraced houses, a large guesthouse and a market square with two detached new churches which were planned as counterpart of the former *Provenierswoningen Oude Haven*.³⁶ Between 1907 and 1912 a third reversed goosefoot was realised by Queen Wilhelmina to complete a diamond shape avenue system and connected it with her new build church, the *Grote Kerk*.³⁷ The extensions of this complex avenue system made since then settling in the neighbourhood of the palace Apeldoorn popular for wealthy retirees, former Dutch East Indies and industrialists. In spite of the involvement of several landscape architects who made drawings for these extensions, the stadholders, kings and queen preferred their own design for the avenue system at Het Loo.³⁸ This complex avenue system, that consisted of ideal geometric figures (triangle, rectangle and cross) became an important structure for the urban development of Apeldoorn in the twentieth century, and expressed the power of the involved monarchs. (see fig. 4)

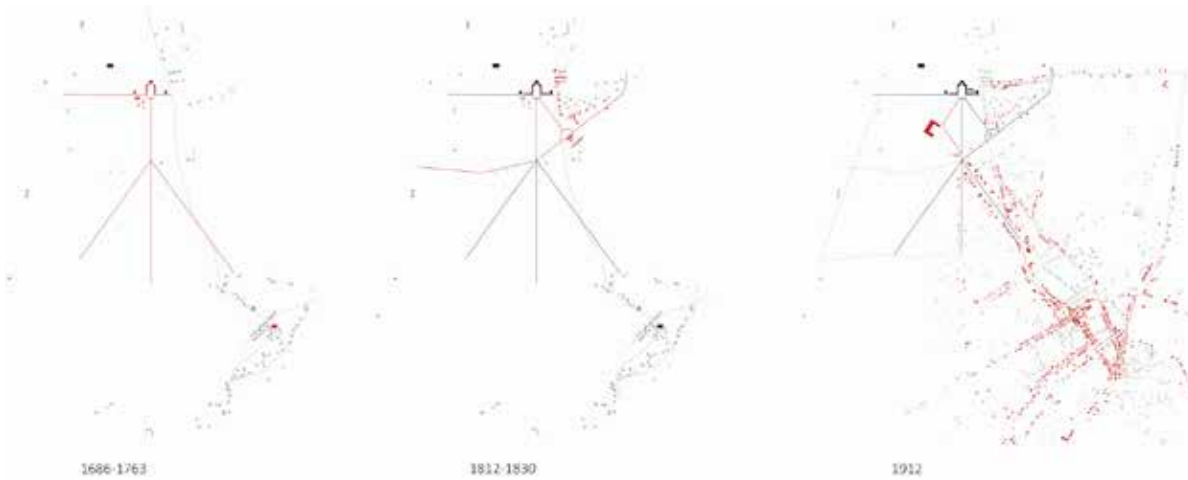


FIGURE 4 Schemes of urban planning along sightlines being part of the extensions of several goose foots over three periods, initiated by the monarchs of palace Het Loo. (red = new avenues and new buildings; grey = existing elements; black = important existing elements like palaces, castles or churches). The sightlines connected the palace with different new build churches and even an obelisk, in the same manner as Pope Sixtus V did in 1585 when he applied this urban design principle to the city Rome. [drawings Debie & Verkuijl]

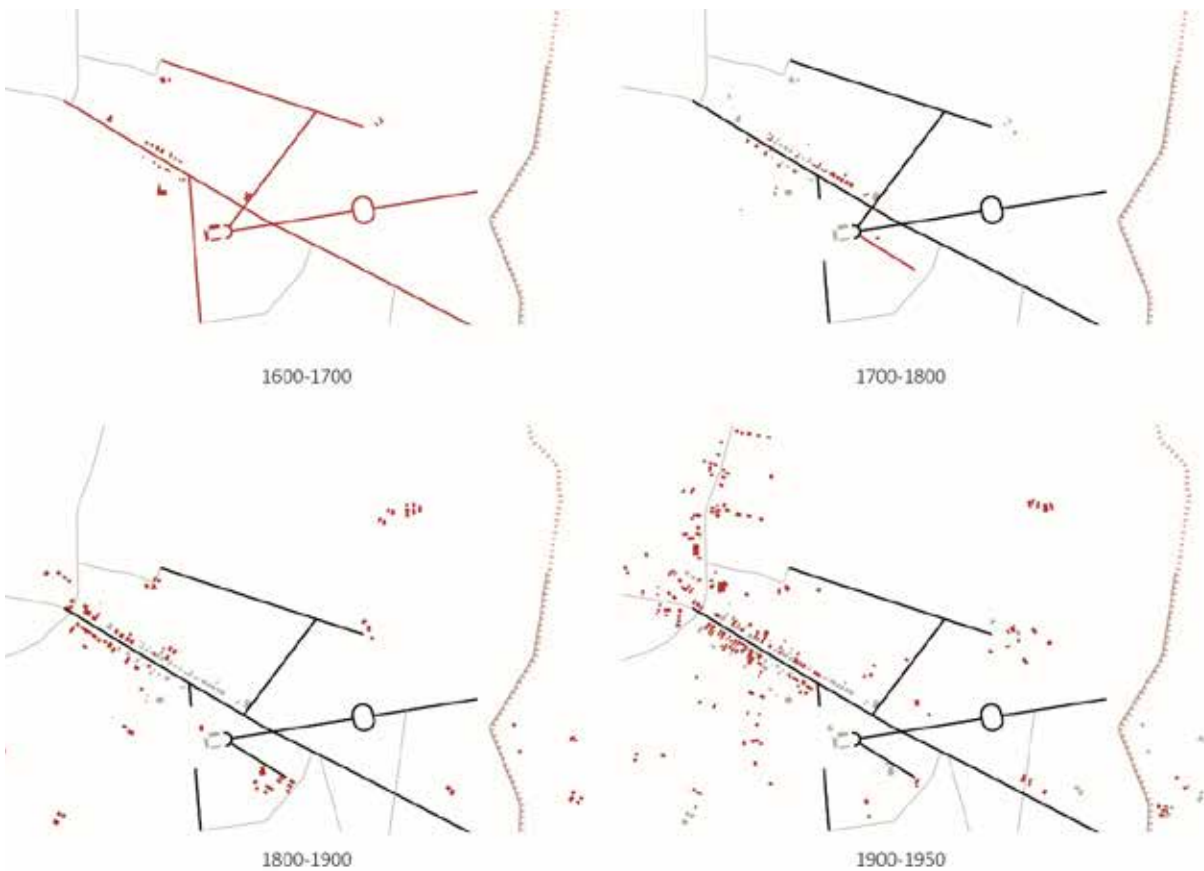


FIGURE 5 Schemes of urban planning along sightlines being part of the extensions of a complex avenue system in four periods, initiated by Johan van Reede, the political advisor of stadholder Frederik Hendrik and owner of castle Renswoude. (red = new avenues and new buildings; grey = existing elements; black = existing main avenue structure). The sightlines connected the castle with a new build church, a rectory, fifteen new worker houses and two farms. In later centuries the number of houses rose and turned Renswoude into a small town. [drawings Debie & Verkuijl]

The second Dutch example of a goose foot was built between 1639-1641 at the medieval castle Renswoude by Johan van Reede, the political advisor of stadholder Frederik Hendrik. This goose foot was part of an impressive avenue system that was designed as an urban plan. It consisted of an ensemble of a prestigious new dome church, a rebuilt castle, fifteen worker houses for his employees, a rectory and two farms.³⁹ The goose foot of castle Renswoude was of strategic importance because it marked the border of the region Het Sticht (nowadays known as the Province Utrecht) with the region Gelre (nowadays known as the Province Gelderland). The avenues reached out to the border, that was marked with a dike. The middle 'toe' of the foot was a sightline at the front of the castle accentuated with one of the largest Grand Canals of the Netherlands at that time.⁴⁰ The whole avenue system of Renswoude expressed the political power and status of its owners, as they were the political advisors of the stadholders Frederik Hendrik and stadholder-king Willem III.⁴¹ The number of houses along the main avenue was enlarged in 1704 up to 17, and in 1818 up to 33, thus turning Renswoude into a small town.

The third example is the lay-out of avenues which formed the basis for urban planning around the modernised medieval castle Rosendaal (1615) nearby the capital city Arnhem (province of Gelderland). From 1667 the avenue system was extended and decorated by Johan (Jan) Van Arnhem (1632-1721), who was a member of the prestige nobility family, mayor of Arnhem and personal advisor of king-Stadholder Willem III.⁴² In 1711 the nobleman Lubbert Adolph Torck (1687-1758), who owned Rosendaal and was the mayor of Wageningen became bailiff of the Veluwe and political advisor of the Stadholder Willem V at the remarkable age of eleven.⁴³ From 1721 he modernised the castle and its surroundings radically, but kept and extended the avenues realised by his predecessor.⁴⁴ The seventeenth century goose foot was a symbolic axis lines towards Arnhem and Wageningen. The main avenue Rosendaalse Allee clearly being part of place-making connected the castle to Arnhem running five kilometres down from the bushy slopes toward the city centre and its Eusebius church. Remarkable is that its centre points starts from the park and not from the medieval castle. A few months before Torck died the construction of the extended goose foot and the new church 'Herenkerk' was finished. He realised several country homes for the family and business relationships and built houses in farmhouse style for their staff. Also a school, post office, tailor shop, blacksmith and laundries were built; everything that was required for an autonomous municipality. After the death of Torck his wealthy widow Petronella van Hoorn created a community known as the village of Rosendaal that in 1818 became an independent town. The presence of these facilities and a large financial legacy enabled the village of Rosendaal to keep its estate appearance untouched.⁴⁵ (see figure 5)

These three examples of Dutch urban planning along avenue systems specifically related to goose feet, show strong similarities with Palladio's goose foot at Bagnolo and the planning ideas of Pope Sixtus V in Rome, both designed to strengthen a region and the city. Since the 17th century avenues became an important design tool for the lay-out of landscapes. Not only did avenues express political power of their initiators, nor were there avenues being planted just for profit and speculative gain. Being extended over several periods as an urban planning strategy avenue systems they can be considered as an important place-making statement that influenced our urban environment profoundly.

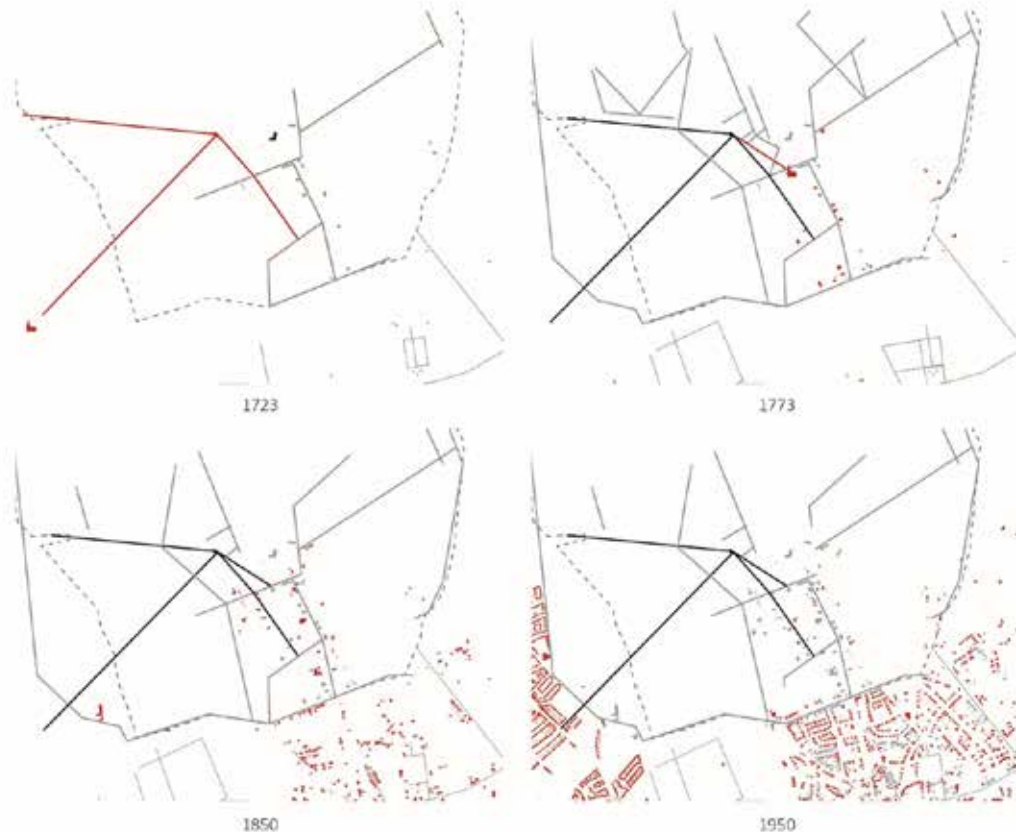


FIGURE 6 Schemes of urban planning along sightlines being part of the extensions of a goose foot at castle Rosendaal. (red = new goose foot with extension and new buildings; grey = existing elements or other avenue extensions; black = the goose foot avenues). The goose foot connected the castle with the town Wageningen and the centre of the capital city Arnhem and its Eusebius church. With a new extension the avenue connected a new build church Herenkerk and stimulated further urban development done by its owner Lubbert Adolph Torck, who was the mayor of Wageningen became bailiff of the Veluwe and political advisor of the Stadholder Willem V, to develop Rosendaal as a small town. [drawings Debie & Verkuijl]

REGIONAL IDENTITY

Place-making with avenue systems was an important way to structure the landscape. It possessed the potential to influence an urban environment. One might question if these historic avenue systems around estates have such strong patterns that they can be meaningful in our collective memory. Therefore the first step is to unravel its clarity so we can develop strong landscape symbols and accentuate its regional identity.

At the moment Debie & Verkuijl performs a research on avenues of estates in the stadholder period (1550-1800) in different regions in the Netherlands on a larger scale. The research examines its regional identity or an existing regional avenue typology and their similarities or differences for three different provinces; Gelderland, Utrecht and Noord-Holland. In this research already some interesting facts have been acknowledged as we have shown in the previous paragraphs. The Italian design concept of Rome is recognisable in Dutch examples as we have described. They create an a unique routing system that provided a similar rhythmic experience. Comparing Dutch avenues in different regions and with other countries can give greater meaning to the Dutch avenue systems and places its design principles in an international context. Something which was missing in previous publications.

CONCLUSION

The Dutch avenue systems described in this paper show a large number of internally ordered geometric forms that are related to another and to the natural terrain that can be compared with the urban spatial system that the American urban planner Edmond Bacon described in his book *Design of Cities* (1967). Bacon explained that the straight lines that were realised in the city of Rome were of such great meaning because they connected important spaces that were meant to last forever.⁴⁶ To compare the geometric Dutch avenue systems with Bacons analyses and other avenue sightline examples places Dutch garden art in a remarkable international position.

The case studies show that since the beginning of the seventeenth century in the Netherlands around estates a unique landscape was formed with straight-lined avenues and canals. Court members and the nobility participated in urban planning by applying avenue systems, in particular goose feets, and building churches and housing. They expressed political sense and prestige with charity for their employees. These structures formed a social grid that was invariably woven in urban planning during the stadholder period and were a starting point for the growth of the cities as we recognise them nowadays. This new kind of urbanisation can be seen as a starting point for the classic Dutch landscape design tradition that inspired many (foreign) estate owners. This Dutch place-making, was often part of a private economic development designed to strengthen a region and the city.

The importance and recognition of avenues as identity systems should be emphasized. Avenues reflect the specificity of the place, culture, history or community. Today, regions can significantly enhance their identity by using these avenue structures to create a high-quality heritage and cultural climate. The avenue systems around estates express a well-structured place. Their designs have influenced the urban environment profoundly and their patterns are strong enough to give meaning to our memory. Therefore the first step is to unravel its clarity of regional structure so we can develop strong symbols and accentuate its identity in our urban landscape.

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Acknowledgements

Special thanks for the Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds which made the research possible with a financial contribution. Also thanks for the Province Gelderland who commissioned the elaboration of the methodology of our research. Special thanks to Imke van Hellemond who kindly edited my text.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Notes on contributor(s)

With her firm Debie & Verkuijl, landscape architect and architecture historian Patricia Debie works on many projects throughout the Netherlands. She is committee member of Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds and member of spatial quality and heritage at MooiSticht. In 2012 she received the first Carla Oldenburger-Ebbers award for her research into landscape architect Hendrik François Hartogh Heys van Zouteveen (1870-1943). Currently she conducts research into avenue systems in the Stadholders period as European garden art development. As PhD researcher at the University of Antwerp she examines the influence of landscape architecture on the urban planning of the early twentieth century.

Image Sources

Figure 1-6: Drawing schemes made by Debie & Verkuijl tuin park landschap, Renswoude.

Endnotes

- 1 'De Lanthuizen konnen in dry geslachten onderscheiden werden, namelijk in Gemeene; in Eerlijke en in Adelijke: d'eerste dienen tot gemeen gebruik en stille buitenwooning; de tweede voor vermogende luiden, die niet al te veel willen laten blijken, daar glorie in te stellen: en de laatste voor die met Pragt en Hoflijke omslag, hun naam en geslagt pogen in aanzien te houden.' Willem Goeree, *d' Algemeene Bouwkunde. Volgens d'Antyke En Hedendaagse Manier. Door een beknopte Inleiding afgeschetst, en van veel onvoegsame bewindselen en verbasteringen Ontswagteld en Verbeterd*, Amsterdam 1681. 175.
- 2 Jong, de, Erik. 'For Profit and Ornament: The function an Meaning of Duch Garden Art in the period of William and Mary, 1650-1702' in: John Dixon Hunt (ed.), *The Dutch Garden in the Seventeenth Century*. Washington 1990. 16.
- 3 A castle was generally a fortified medieval structure built by the nobility and used as a private residence, while a palace owned by a member of the court was not only used as a residence but often also was used as a seat of the government that was not fortified. An estate was usually an extended farmhouse or new build villa that was surrounded by agricultural lands for economic profits and used as a country residence.
- 4 De Jong 1990. 17.
- 5 Dutch merchants realised several large scale developments like the Beemsterpolder realised by land surveyor J. Adriaansz. Leeghwater with fifteen investors from Amsterdam between 1608 and 1612 about 27 kilometres big and 's-Graveland (1625-1634) where 27 new estates were developed on grounds that were used for sand mining. Toon Lauwen, e.a., *Nederland als kunstwerk. Vijf eeuwen bouwen door ingenieurs*, Rotterdam 1995. 154-167. Heimerick Tromp / Jacob Six, *De buitenplaatsen van 's Graveland*. Zeist 1975. 11, 13, 17-18.
- 6 Koen Ottenheim, e.a.. 'De zestiende, zeventiende en achttiende eeuw 1500-1800'. In: Koos Bosma, Aart Mekking, Koen Ottenheim, Auke Van der Woud. *Bouwen in Nederland: 600-2000*. Zwolle, 2007. 235-237. In 1633 the architect Philip Vingboons build a new house Elsenburgh in Maarssen as a country retreat which was an investment for the wealthy mearchant Joan Huydecoper who sold it in 1636 to the merchant Hendrick de Beyer. Patricia Debie, *Historisch-Ruimtelijke analyse landgoed Doornburgh*, Renswoude 2016. 6 en 38-39. The medieval castle Renswoude was bought in 1638 and extended and partly rebuild in 1654 by the nobleman Johan van Reede (1593-1682) political advisor of stadholder Frederik Hendrik van Oranje Nassau. The stadholder Willem III van Oranje Nassau bought in 1674 his hunting rights and in 1684 he bought the medieval castle Het Oude Loo as his hunting estate, were he in 1685 extended the grounds and build a new palace Het Loo with impressive avenues around it.
- 7 Erik De Jong 1990. 19.
- 8 Ibid. 20, 22. Florence Hopper, 'The Dutch Regence Garden', *Garden History* 9 (1981) 2. 119. Patricia Debie, 'Een historisch-ruimtelijke analyse als uitgangspunt voor de herstellvisie lanenstelsel Het Loo', *Groen* 71 (2015) 5. 45. Patricia Debie, *Historisch onderzoek & toekomstvisie, sterrenbos en lanenstelsel landgoed Zuylestein*, Renswoude 2013.
- 9 Ibid. 20-22.
- 10 Anthony Sutcliffe, *The Rise of Modern Urban Planning 1800-1914*, London 1980. 20.
- 11 Allan, J. Scott. *The cultural economy of cities*. London 2000 and David Harvey. 'From space to place and back again: reflections on the condition of postmodernity'. *Mapping the futures: local cultures, global change*. Eds. John Bird et al. London and New York 1993. Cited in: Katherine Fox Lanham. *Planning as Placemaking: Tensions of Scale, Culture and Identity*. [Virginia] 2007. 4, 13-16. '(...) A place is largely shaped by a patchwork of actions that set up patterns of familiarity over time. (...) which is not simply well organized, but is poetic and symbolic as well. It should speak of the individuals and their complex society, of their aspirations and their historical tradition, of the natural setting, and of the complicated functions and movements of the city world. (...) [This] clarity of structure and vividness of identity are first steps to the development of strong symbols. By appearing as a remarkable and well-knit place, (...) Such a sense of place in itself enhances every human activity that occurs there, and encourages the deposit of a memory trace. (Lynch 1960) (...) Katherine Fox Lanham. *Planning as Placemaking: Tensions of Scale, Culture and Identity*. [Virginia] 2007. 4, 13-16.
- 12 Erik De Jong 1990. 22.
- 13 Clemens Steenberg and Wouter Reh, *Architectuur en Landschap*, Amsterdam 2009.
- 14 Gerrit Smienk and Johannes Niemeijer, *Palladio, de villa en het landschap*, Bussum 2011.
- 15 Vanessa Bezemer Sellers, *Courtly Gardens in Holland 1600-1650*, Amsterdam 2001.
- 16 Erik De Jong 1990.
- 17 Edmond Bacon, *Design of Cities*, New York 1967.
- 18 Hans Renes, 'De stad in het landschap' in: Reinout Rutte en Hildo van Engen, *Stadswording in de Nederlanden*, Hilversum 2008. 27.
- 19 Reinout Rutte, 'Stadslandschappen. Een overzicht van de stadswording in Nederland van de elfde tot de vijftiende eeuw' in: Reinout Rutte en Hildo van Engen, *Stadswording in de Nederlanden*, Hilversum 2008. 151.
- 20 Patricia Debie, 'Van tuinpaviljoen naar koepelkamer, Geschiedenis en ontwikkeling van de Utrechtse Maliebaan', *bulletin KNOB* (2011) 2, 68-79 and 69.
- 21 Owning a Manor often went together with rights as collation right (right to appoint a vicar), doing justice and having the hunting right. Within 200 rods around a Manor had the owner the hunting right, just beyond if others as peers in the Knighthood, the nobility and other persons from Court governments. Abraham Jacob van der Aa, *Aardrijkskundig woordenboek der Nederlanden: T-V deel II*, Gorinchem 1848. 418.
- 22 In a parforce hunt game, mostly deer and boars, was chased over long distances on horseback. The straight roads were ideal to keep the wild in the barrel of the gun. Since he became stadholder in 1625 Prince Frederik Hendrik visited scarcely populated areas on the Utrechtse Heuvelrug in the east of the Republic regularly. These vast areas of open, waste moorlands were very attractive for hunting because of the hilly terrain. F.J. Gaasbeek, 'Boscultuur, De esthetische aspecten van bosbouw op de landgoederen Zuilenstein en Amerongen' in: *Jaarboek Oud-Utrecht*, Utrecht 2000. 57.
- 23 Quinconce is a planting scheme like a play card that accents the perspective with long lines, in spite of a tri-angle scheme that gives only shortened perspective.
- 24 Florence Hopper 'De Nederlandse klassieke tuin en André Mollet', *Bulletin KNOB* 82 (1983) no. 3 and 4. 98-101 and 112-113.
- 25 Bacon 1967. 67.
- 26 Steenberg and Reh 2009. 21 and 26.
- 27 Smienk and Niemeijer 2011. 7, 30, 127 and 151.
- 28 Ibid. 29. Steenberg and Reh 2009. 111.

- 29 The stadholders studied classic literature, urban planning, architecture and garden art. Their private library consisted of many classic works. Hopper 1983. 106.
- 30 The goose foot is in fact a simplified triangle, a diamond shape are two reversed triangles. Patricia Debie, Koos Bosma (ed.) en Jan Holwerda (ed.), *Lanen met vorstelijke allure. Historisch onderzoek lanenstelsel Paleis Het Loo*, Renswoude 2012. 79-80, 83. Patricia Debie, *Historisch onderzoek & toekomstvisie landgoed Zuylestein*, Renswoude 2013.
- 31 The designs were measured and compared with the current situation in Google maps. See the painting of Palace Hampton Court by H. Danckerts (1665-1667) and the painting by Leonard Knyff (1702-1714) (Royal Collection Trust). Or the descriptions of William Harris during his visit at palace Het Loo (William Harris, *A Description of the King's Royal Palace and Gardens at Loo*. (...), Londen 1699. 7) The map of Honselaersdijk (1620-1625) by Floris Jocabz.van der Sallem (Algemeen Rijksarchief's-Gravenhage, Nassau Domeinraad, eerste afdeling, vervolg nr. 1475, fol.22).
- 32 Fieldtrip in 2014 to Palladio villa Maser (1557-1558) on basis of Schmienk and Niemeijer 2011. 95 and measured with Google maps.
- 33 Schrijverscollectief Van Haectenkazerne, *Kleine Geschiedenis van een Inlichtingcompagnie*, Apeldoorn 1992. 18.
- 34 Bacon 1967. 69 and 145.
- 35 Smienk and Niemeijer 2011. 51-53.
- 36 The 'Proveniershuizen' was a residential complex where residents bought themselves for a one-time fee and then could enjoy a lifelong 'free' room and living. C.A. Evers, *Het Loo in de Franse tijd 1795-1813*, z.pl. 1916. 353 from kind remarks of mister H.A.M. Ummels.
- 37 The church was built in 1842 by King Willem I and was after a fire in 1890 was rebuilt by Queen Wilhelmina in 1891. Debie 2015. 45-46.
- 38 In 1806 the French landscape architect Alexandre Dufour designed four sketches and the Dutch landscape architect Leonard Springer designed one sketch which are not realised. Debie 2012. 27, 59-62, 65.
- 39 Patricia Debie en Jan Holwerda, *Historisch onderzoek lanenstelsel Renswoude*, Renswoude 2015. 23-24.
- 40 Patricia Debie, 'Het Grand Canal van Renswoude in historisch perspectief', in: J. Holwerda (ed.) en A. van der Does (ed.), *Tuingeschiedenis in Nederland II. Denken en doen in de Nederlandse tuinkunst 1500-2000* (Ulvenhout 2016). 78-79.
- 41 Johan van Reede (1593-1682) was from 1634 member and from 1652 president of the state Utrecht and was the political advisor of stadholder Frederik Hendrik van Oranje Nassau. Frederik Adriaan van Reede (1659-1738), grandson of Johan van Reede, was from political advisor of stadholder-King Willem III and delegate of the Court. Since 1705 he was on military duty and in 1713 he contributed in the peace negotiations of Utrecht. Egbert Wolleswinkel, Renswoude. *Geschiedenis en architectuur*, Zeist 1998. 96 and Debie 2016. 74-79, 80-81.
- 42 Johan (Jan) van Arnhem made important improvements at the estate Rosendaal, and realised an impressive avenue system with extensions of gardens. As an advisor he also was involved with other garden design. Johan Carel Bierens de Haan, 'Rosendaal, groen hemeltjen op aerd': kasteel, tuinen en bewoners sedert 1579, Zutphen 1994. 23, 28, 39.
- 43 Lubbert Adolph Torck (1687-1758), Lord of Rozendaal, was a dutch mayor (Wageningen), knight and member of the Admiralty of Amsterdam (1717-1744), and member of the State Council (1741-1746), and a wealthy and powerful advisor of the stadholders. As a urban developer he also build eleven rent houses in Wageningen. Johan Carel Bierens de Haan 1994. 83-85, 94, 135, 199.
- 44 The birds view of Rosendaal by Jan Smit drawn after Barnd Elshof (1718) shows the existing large avenue system around castle Rosendaal. Coll. VGK (Vereniging Gelderse Kastelen) Rosendaal in; Johan Carel Bierens de Haan 1994. 58.
- 45 In his will Thorck captured the maintenance of the estate, were no trees were to be cut down, except for improvements of the gardens or use as lumber. Johan Carel Bierens de Haan 1994. 83-85, 89-90, 93-94, 135, 199.
- 46 Bacon 1967. 67, 124-129.

THE TRANSFORMATION AND INTEGRATION OF ESTATES IN THE DUTCH URBAN LANDSCAPE

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In the past, many municipalities in the Netherlands purchased bordering country estates. They were incorporated within the city's urban structure. To this day such development is still on going.

This development has in recent decades been neglected by researchers. Even the Atlas of urbanization in the Netherlands, pays insufficient attention to this. It pays no attention the integration of country estates in the urban structure. Transformed and incorporated estates are being threatened yet again by new spatial developments.

In 1982 the exhibition: 'Estates in Utrecht' was organized. The topic was the five surviving and the 25 disappeared country estates within the municipality of Utrecht. The exhibition showed that no outdoor area still had its original function, but they were still present in a very reduced form and had been retained with a different function. The municipality of Haarlem placed during this period a focus on outdoor locations within the city with an exhibition on 400 years Haarlemmerhout (1984), in which the former country estates on the edge of the Haarlemmerhout were presented. Neither of these exhibitions nor the accompanying catalogues and books, paid much attention to the question of how urban planners coped with their task to incorporate country estates within their plans.

In large-scale urban expansion from the mid-nineteenth century and especially since the beginning of the twentieth century it shows that agricultural land, market gardens and country estates disappear. Some estates were acquired in their entirety, the farmlands were intended for housing and the country estate itself was used as a city park for the inhabitants of the newly developed residential areas. We see that the main structural elements such as like water features, paths, roads and gardens were lovingly incorporated by urban planners and much attention was paid to greenery.

Since 2000 the green spaces in urban areas are under pressure. New planning requirements such as increase in building density, changes in infrastructure and expansion and developments such as office vacancy rates, high land prices, and cuttings on maintenance costs for public parks and greens, threaten these incorporated country estates, for the second time in their existence.

On the other hand we also see that since 2000 country estates and even remnants of country estates have had a positive contribution, and were even leading, in the design of new neighborhoods in Houten and Utrecht Leidsche Rijn. Municipalities are since 2012 mandatory to include cultural history in their new zoning plans. This legislation will give more attention to the incorporated estates. A thorough historical analysis of the way in which these estates were incorporated in the past 100 years and the coming future is highly recommended for the further conservation of these estates. There is fragmented knowledge on the subject, but the broader historical context is missing.

The endeavour to save as much as possible of these estates and their remnants would be supported by further research of the way in which in the past these were incorporated into the city structure and were transformed into urban green structures.

Keywords

Urbanization, urbanism, country estates, estates, integration, incorporation, dutch, landscape

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE GREEN SPACES AND THEIR USE IN AND OUTSIDE COPENHAGEN IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

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In Denmark the Netherlands were considered as the most modern state in Europe in the 17th century and a model for urban planning and urban life. However, space was increasingly scarce inside the town. The recorded private gardens of the 16th century disappeared, leaving Copenhagen without private green spaces to speak of except for the churchyards. 1606-34 King Christian the 4th - confined in the outdated castle of Copenhagen - had a mixture between a castle and a villa constructed in the Dutch style on the outskirts of the town. Rosenborg was surrounded by a spacious park -The Kings Garden -still in existence. The aristocracy and the wealthy merchant class had summerhouses outside the fortifications. And it seems that the poorer habitants sometimes had small allotments let from the state. In the other half of the 17th century after the establishment of absolute rule a new residential quarter was created. Here in Frederiksstad the queen dowager Sophie Amalie created a small castle surrounded by a big park in the Dutch style. And later on Ulrik Frederik Gyldenløve, viceroy of Norway, erected Charlottenborg in the residential style of the Hague. The nobility followed and for the next century small parks with rare plants were a common feature to royal and noble palaces.

In addition to their urban residences, the royal family and the rich and powerful aristocracy of the 18th century usually owned a small summerhouse just outside the fortifications of Copenhagen and a small country house further north of the town for longer stays.

This presentation will focus on the use and purpose of these seeming less useless constructions, the access of the public to some of these private spaces and the creation of promenades in and outside the town. And finally the behavior exhibited by the different layers of society moving in these green spaces.

Keywords

Gardens, Copenhagen, promenades, green spaces, urban planning, 17th century, nobility, Dutch influence, Denmark

GREEN SPACES IN CZECH URBAN AREAS: EXPLORING A DIVERSITY OF APPROACHES (1914-2014)

Jan Dostalik

Masaryk University

For the 20th century, rapid urban development was typical. In Central Europe, including the Czech Republic (or historically the Czech lands), towns and cities began to expand very quickly. This wild growth brought many problems – social, economic and environmental. Especially with the onset of the crisis after the First World War and the Great Depression in 1929, politicians, officials, theorists, architects, engineers and biologists intensively started thinking about spatial planning from many different perspectives. They were interested not only in towns and cities, but also in the background of cities – the countryside, regions, landscape and the whole of nature. In the following decades, many approaches arose that were meant to solve the problems of growing towns and cities and changing landscapes. Many topics were opened; many questions discussed.

One of the most outstanding topics became green space in urbanized areas. Green spaces did not concern merely parks, avenues, solitary trees, lawns, or the lovely gardens of the new garden districts, but also included allotment gardens for the poor, urban wilderness and semi-wilderness, brownfields, suburban forests and interrelated systems of greenery. Gradually, green spaces were also the manifestation of ecosystems and the nature system, which began to be considered as superior to any city or urban area.

After 1914 many questions emerged: Why should green spaces be protected and how should they be developed? What are their functions? How can green spaces be designed? How can they be controlled? Who is green space for? What approach is appropriate for a specific situation? These questions remained relevant in the next decades of the war and post-war period, as well as after the communist takeover in the 1950s. In the 1960s, these questions gained importance because of the intensive construction of dwellings, which continued in the years of so-called normalization in the 1970s and 1980s. In the 1990s, there were new impulses that brought a time of rising and often wild capitalism, some of which continued into the first busy years of the 21st century.

The paper presents some possible answers to these questions and outlines the different approaches that were typical for the specific territory of the Czech lands. There is also emphasis on the social and political context and development of the sciences. The diversity of approaches was vast: from romantic positions through to artistic conceptions, as well as more scientific solutions to (eco)system approaches and technical or even technicist solutions.

The default approach of this paper is a multi-disciplinary approach, which is typical for urban and environmental history. The research which the paper exploits has been ongoing since 2006 and is focused mainly on primary sources such as professional journals, books and textbooks, as well as projects that were constructed and those that remained unrealized.

Keywords

20th century, green space, urban history, town and country planning history, sustainable planning, Central European planning history, Czech Republic

THE RESILIENCE OF A LONDON GREAT ESTATE

Juliet Davis

Welsh School of Architecture

The concept of resilience — “evolutionary” resilience in particular — has been said to offer a fresh perspective on the role of planning in contexts of change. It denotes the ability of socio-ecological systems to respond to vulnerabilities resulting from ‘slow’, endogenous change or sudden disturbances that may or may not be anticipated. It thus helps to foreground issues of flexibility, adaptability and the path-dependency in planning over such classic priorities as the creation of certainty, permanence or stability (Folke and Gunderson, 2006; Eraydin and Tasan-Kok, 2012; Davoudi and Porter, 2012; Raco and Street, 2012). This paper turns to planning and development history to explore this concept in the context of a piece of London that has been in the making for several centuries, focussing on spatial adaptation processes in response of change and aspects of governance that these have depended on. This is Grosvenor’s Mayfair landholding, owned by the aristocratic Grosvenor family since 1677 and first planned in 1720, a ‘complete unit of development’ according to Summerson (1945) within the pattern of London’s westward expansion following the traumatic 1666 Great Fire of London. This trajectory was dominated by speculative building processes involving aristocratic landlords, surveyor-planners, and developer-builders, shaping London’s growth into the late 19th century.

But, Grosvenor has continued to adapt its landholding into the 21st century in response to shifting social, political and economic circumstances in order to retain desirability, value and quality. The paper begins by providing an overview of the estate’s original development and giving examples of sources of vulnerability and adaptation since, drawing on archival research and urban analysis. Sources of vulnerability have included multiple recessions, public health and housing crises, bombing during the Second World War, social upheavals in the 20th century and surging prime property values today. Spatial strategies for addressing them have included retrofit and facade retention, changes of use, piecemeal redevelopments, long-term visioning processes, public realm improvements and conservation. The result is generally continuity in terms of the flexible, gridded urban structure of streets and building plots, and yet evolution in the incrementally developed, fine grained urban form which encompasses a wide range of architectural styles and typologies.

Grosvenor has itself drawn attention to the ‘adaptive capacity’ that this reflects, recently engaging directly with the resilience concept (Grosvenor, 2013). The paper turns to explore this capacity further, drawing on interviews with contemporary estate surveyors. This is rooted, centrally, in the long-term nature of urban management (with knowledge building up within the institution over time), the integration of ownership, planning and development, the scale of the landholding, and continuity of purpose. The primary long-term purpose has clearly been to build the Grosvenor family’s legacy but, it is also said to have been to care for the land, environment and life of the estate, adopting and maintaining a ‘sense of stewardship’. The paper concludes with reflections on some of the issues of governance and path-dependency that this raises, and possibilities it suggests for resilience planning more broadly.

Keywords

Resilience, London, Great Estates, Grosvenor, Stewardship

Urban Ruralities since the Nineteenth Century

Chair: *Celina Kress and Sylvia Necker*

URBAN RURALITIES OR THE NEW URBAN-RURAL PARADIGM - INTRODUCTION

Celina Kress¹

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Classical theories of urbanisation are based on a strict distinction of 'the urban' and 'the non-urban' and closely linked with concepts of order and organisation. Statistics continuously reflecting the changing relation between people living in cities and outside cities and the extensive celebration of the demographic shift towards the 'urban side' in 2007 as a significant marker of the "Urban Age" clearly reflect this perspective. We do not question the general historic dichotomy of cities and the countryside, but we do oppose models that generally place the city in the centre, or tend to colonise the country conceptually ("urbanised landscapes," "planetary urbanism," etc.). The concept of "Urban Ruralities" assembles research approaches that challenge a supposed hegemony of the "urban order." In this session we rather propose to take into account a complex relationality of the complementary qualities: we are interested in examples that show and help explain that in most urbanising processes, order and disorder, aspects of 'the urban' and 'the rural', are deeply entangled and belong together as the two sides of a coin (the "new urban-rural paradigm"). The four case studies of this session discuss two influential perspectives in this field: the planning and testing of modern infrastructure systems during the late 19th century in Berlin and Hanoi, and the concept of 'urban landscape' (Stadtlandschaft) in the reconstruction master plans of Madrid and Hamburg during the 1940s. Both topics are closely related and demonstrate complementary manifestations of territorial, material, and representational ambivalence in urban-rural and centre-periphery relations.

This article introduces "Urban Ruralities" as a transdisciplinary research field. It provides a historic basis discussing some of the most influential urban theories of the 20th and 21st century: the ones which are focused on 'the urban' and more or less deliberately dominate 'the non-urban' or 'the rural' and the opposing position biased toward decentralisation and dissolution. We wonder whether some spatial and social assemblies may not adequately be addressed using these models: as there were inner and outer urban fringes, zones of spatial, functional and habitual overlap, or simultaneously growing and shrinking areas worldwide. The paper concludes in proposing an alternative, possible "new urban-rural paradigm," aiming at a clearer conception of the complex, uncontrolled and intertwined urban-rural dynamics and associations, which dominantly materialise in these uncertain spaces.

Keywords

urbanisation theory, urban and non-urban, order and disorder, town and country, center and periphery, urban-rural relations, overlaps

How to Cite

Kress Celina. "Urban Ruralities or the New Urban-Rural Paradigm - Introduction". In Carola Hein (ed.) *International Planning History Society Proceedings*, 17th IPHS Conference, History-Urbanism-Resilience, TU Delft 17-21 July 2016, V.04 p.309, TU Delft Open, 2016.

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7480/iphs.2016.4.1298>

INTRODUCTION

Classical theories of urbanisation are based on a strict distinction of ‘the urban’ and ‘the non-urban’ and closely linked with concepts of order and organisation. Continuous statistics regarding the changing relation between people living in cities and outside cities and the extensive celebration of the demographic shift towards the ‘urban side’ in 2007 as a significant marker of the “Urban Age” clearly reflect this perspective. We do not question the general historic dichotomy of cities and the countryside, but we do oppose models that generally place the city in the centre or tend to colonise the country conceptually (“urbanised landscapes,” “planetary urbanism,” etc.).

During the 19th century, dynamic urbanisation processes were marked by variegated cooperation models, by economic and cultural forms of exchange and mixture, as well as by push-and-pull dynamics between town and country, and were always accompanied by ambivalent valuation (devaluation and revaluation): Urban settlements and infrastructure had not been prepared for the mass migration from the countryside. Town planning developed according to the new and enormous challenges caused by the arrival of the migrants. Zones of arrival at the urban seams were characterised by rapid change of material and structural formation, informal building, social heterogeneity and manifold forms of mutual exchange and bidirectional mobility between the city and the countryside.¹ Some examples will be raised here. (1) Urban-rural multilocality: While migrants supported their families in the country with money and goods from the city, they conversely received regional products and secured emotional backing from their rural relatives. Such forms of urban-rural multilocality faded during the next generation.² (2) Housing types and infrastructure: The rural villa immigrated into the urban area while at the same time – in tandem with the development of efficient transportation systems – a newly arising urban bourgeoisie settled in the easily accessible landscapes as to realise their individual dream of a rural arcadia and integrated it into new urban lifestyles.³ (3) Finally, at the end of the 19th century the garden-city model comprehensively channeled the general longing for qualities of rural life into the urban realm.

How can we explain – in view of the manifold urban-rural permeation of the 19th and the early 20th century urbanisation processes – that classical urbanisation theories of the 20th century strictly defined an urban/non-urban dichotomy? How did such an excessive emphasis of ‘the urban’ develop in theories of space during the last decades? And which territorial, ecological, social and cultural aspects of the human-natural environment escape from such a theoretical approach?

The first and second paragraphs follow two complementary strands of urbanisation theory: the tradition of urban sociology and the tradition of radical reform as intellectual basis of the most influential structural models, and will reveal their little-noticed multifold historic entanglement throughout the 20th century. The third section focusses specific spatial configurations that are significant for, and have been produced by, economic, social and political logics and dynamics since the mid 20th century: located at the inner and outer fringes, spaces less determined, less stable, less carefully designed, and not clearly defined as urban or rural. Regarding these spaces, the fourth and concluding part will discuss some recent structural models. Concepts like the ‘network city’ (Netzstadt) integrate the periphery, landscape, and rural, but still have a strong urban bias. We argue here for an equal notion of urban and rural qualities (“urban ruralities”) and propose to consider the new “urban-rural space.”

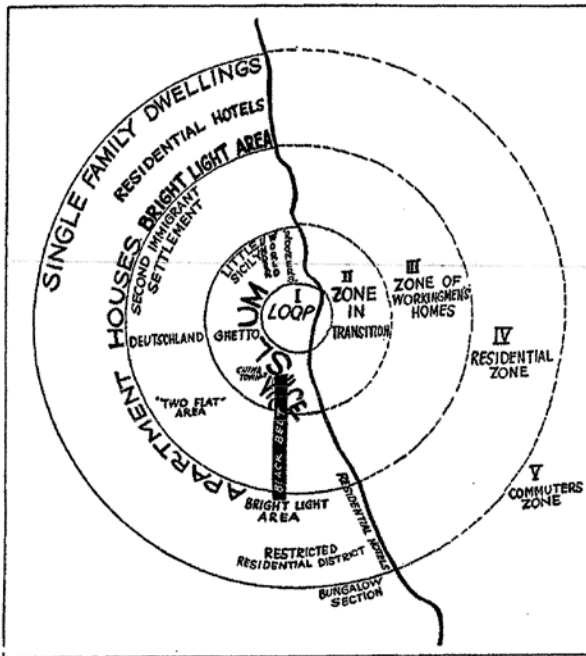


FIGURE 1 Ernest W. Burgess (1925): Structural model of the city as a closed, circular system

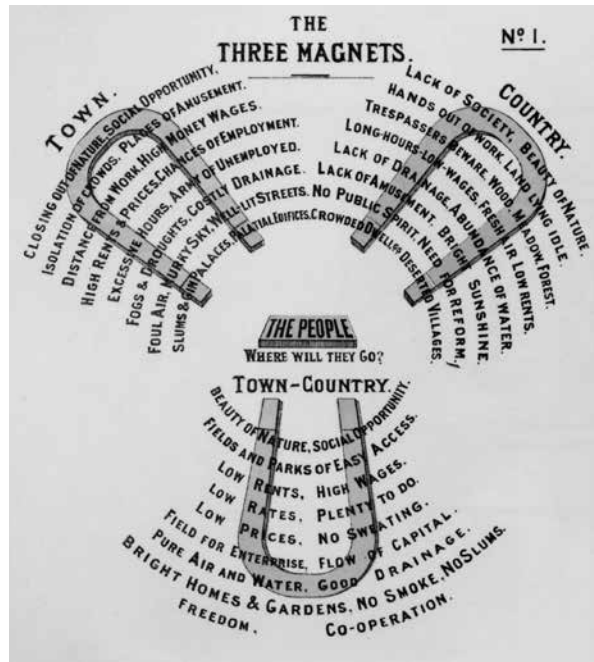


FIGURE 2 Ebenezer Howard (1898): Analysis of the urban and the rural sphere

THE URBAN/NON-URBAN SPACE

“The city is a state of mind, a body of customs and traditions, and of organized attitudes and sentiments that inhere in this tradition. (...) It is involved in vital processes of the people who compose it, it is a product of nature and particularly of human nature.”⁴ Robert E. Park 1915

Starting in 1915, a particularly fertile research environment developed at the Social Department of the University of Chicago under the leadership of Robert Ezra Park. The anthology published ten years later, “The City,”⁵ became the “manifest of the Chicago School of Sociology.”⁶ In his editorial article, Park unfolded the anthropologist perspective and raised the main topics of the project: (1) The metropolis or large city as a configuration of spatially defined social units; (2) the emergence of new “urban types,” which found their expression in new urban professions in line with specific mentalities and behaviors; (3) changes of integrating and regulating systems leading towards new social formation and consumption patterns. With the subsequent article, “The Growth of the City,”⁷ Ernest W. Burgess explained the model and methods of urban analysis: He regarded the city as a closed system in a continuous process of growth. In concentric circles Burgess described the “succession” of defined zones of social milieus. These milieus and their adaption dynamics were examined with journalistic research methods in a number of various projects at the Chicago School.

The model – based on a mixture of behaviorist and biologist thinking – interprets the city as a mosaic of secluded social environments, which together form a whole, encompassing system. It establishes a clear inside and outside, and entails a conceptual ignorance towards the latter.

Rolf Lindner traces the roots of the Chicago School of Urban Sociology to the tradition of early social research and urban analysis in England – such as the work of Henry Mayhew (1812-1887) and Charles Booth (1840-1916).⁸ The motivation for their pioneering work of social survey was fear: fear of the unknown, the strange, the dangerous – manifest in the threats of contagion, disease, delinquency, and revolutionary energy. The Chicago School of Urban

Sociology followed the earlier German tradition of urban sociology and transferred it to the context of the US American city: Simmel and Weber had mainly scrutinised political, social, and cultural configurations as to sound out conditions and opportunities of a new civic urban society. In this sense, they had acted as advocates of the urban bourgeoisie. Their background was the specific German experience of the city as place of civic economic and political autonomy. Consequently, Weber had referred to the Medieval city with its social, political and material boundaries, which also defined a clear inside and outside of the whole system as well as of its singular parts. The short survey of urban/non-urban space approaches in urban sociology of the early 20th century clearly shows that the definition of a distinct inside and outside of the urban system mainly reflects the interest of an urban bourgeoisie to physically, socially and culturally secure their existence in the city as a rapidly transforming environment.

In 1938, Louis Wirth even extended the urban sphere of influence beyond the physical confines of the city. His influential essay, “Urbanism as a Way of Life,” conceptualised the dominance of the city regarding the “virtue of the power of its institutions and personalities operating through the means of communication and transportation.”⁹ Furthermore, Wirth defined the city as being identified by three characteristics: size, density and heterogeneity. He stated that these socio-ecological criteria would produce a certain ‘lifestyle,’ the “urbanism as a way of life.”

Though the text became a classic in urban sociology, some authors raised critique starting in the early 1960s. So, the American sociologist Herbert Gans, who had studied the social formation and interaction in ethnically homogeneous villages centrally positioned in the city, as well as in the suburban neighborhood of Levittown, most radically questioned whether it made sense at all to speak of the city in terms of social behavior: “But if ways of life do not coincide with settlement types, and if these ways are functions of class and life-cycle stage rather than of the ecological attributes of the settlement, a sociological definition of the city cannot be formulated.”¹⁰

From “Town-Country” via ‘Urban Landscapes’ (*Stadtlandschaften*) to “Planetary Urbanisation” and ‘Urbanised Landscapes’

“Each nation – her own agriculturalist and manufacturer; each individual working in the field and in some industrial art; each individual combining scientific knowledge with the knowledge of a handicraft – such is, we affirm, the present tendency of civilised nations.”¹¹ Alexander Kropotkin 1902

“I’ll begin with the following hypothesis: society has been completely urbanized. This hypothesis implies a definition: an urban society is a society that results from a process of complete urbanization. This urbanization is virtual today, but will become real in the future.”¹² Henri Lefebvre 1970

The concept of the garden city marks the other end of the imaginary field of modelling urbanisation dynamics throughout the 20th century. Its moral origins and aims can be regarded as antithetical to the research interests of the Chicago School, to their scientific methods and also to their scholarly networks. If 20th century city planning, as professional movement, essentially represents a reaction to the evils of the 19th century city, the strands of urban sociology aimed at the intellectual understanding of the phenomena, while the driving force of the garden city idea was empathy and compassion for the plight of the poor (urban and rural) and the positive mission to lift and remove the burdens of the nineteenth-century city for all its inhabitants. As Peter Hall particularly stressed, Ebenezer Howard’s model was rooted in anarchist thinking.¹³ And, though none of its ingredients were actually original, it was Howard’s remarkable contribution to assemble ideas that at the time were flourishing in various disciplinary fields, and join them in a coherent master-model, which he then communicated in easily comprehensible ways. His concept was based on a simple analysis of the urban and the rural sphere and it operated with three essential elements.

The core message of the model – following anarchist Alexander Kropotkin's ideas – was the 'integration' of the urban and rural sphere – spatially, socially, economically, and culturally – in a conceptual space ('town-country'), which would be based on FREEDOM and CO-OPERATION.

Howard's model consists of three essential elements which refer to urban and rural practices.

- co-operating commonwealths: communities of manageable size (rural context)
- regional production cycles (rural context)
- three-pillar model of generating land ownership (urban capitalist economy)¹⁴

The model became exceptionally successful, which means that it was incorporated into official town planning on manifold levels and in different ways, as most important strands there were:

- 1 Municipal and national planning institutions ('urban landscape' (Germany), new towns (Anglo-Saxon realm), regionalism (US))
- 2 private sector of land use (advertising garden-city)
- 3 bottom-up collective movements (still of little importance, future potential)

Exactly herein lay the particular problem of the concept: While operationally adopted by municipal planning institutions and state bureaucracy, absorbed by NS-ideology as well as by the Charta-of-Athens-based functionalist planning doctrines of the post-war era (1), it was misinterpreted in manifold ways¹⁵. Private developers picked up the catchy name and banalised the idea in commercial settlement projects (2). My thesis is, that the third scope of action – bottom-up collective, which Howard actually had intended – was, during the 20th century, too weak and still lacked decisive tools of communication.

The doubtful heritage of the new towns and the grand settlements at the city peripheries discredited the idea of the garden city. It became a main target of the critique of post-war modernist urban planning, which actually aimed at dissolving the cities within the 'urban landscape' (*Stadtlandschaft*). The garden-city model was made responsible for what it never had intended: for the joint ignorance and aggressive approach toward the compact historic city and for the baracking of the people into socially structured super blocks.

In order to replace the prevailing functionalist planning paradigm, the growing critique had to create a strong counter-model. The choice was made for an uncompromising united campaigning for the revaluation of the city and the urban. This categorical, theoretical, and practical reorientation went in line with the thesis of "the complete subordination of the rural to the urban."¹⁶

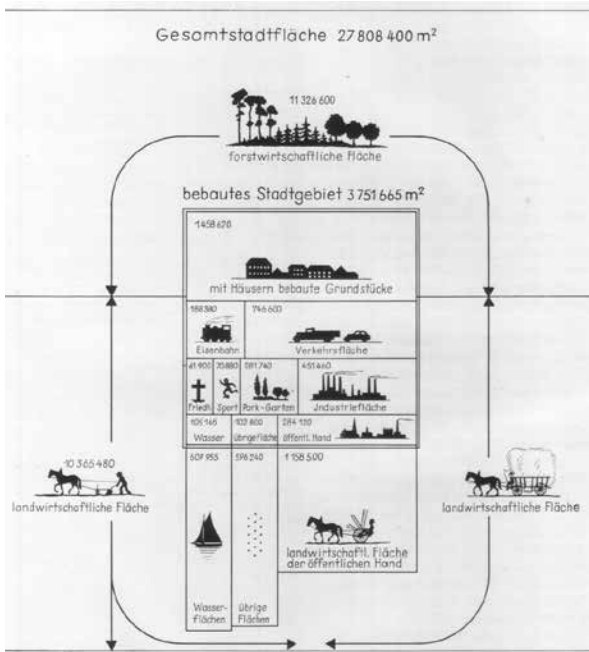


FIGURE 3 Gottfried Feder (1939): Die neue Stadt. Cybernetic cycles of the 'urban landscape' (Stadtlandschaft).

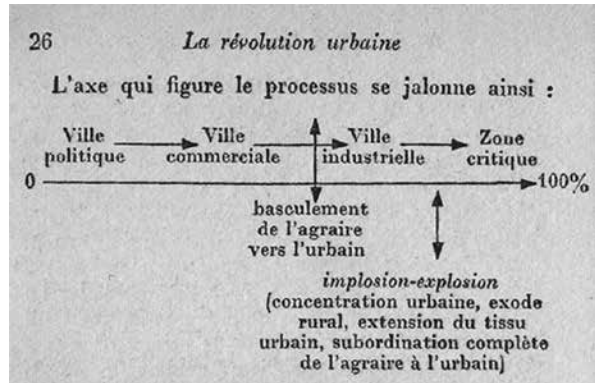


FIGURE 4 Henri Lefebvre (1970): Exodus of the rural. Complete subordination of the rural to the urban.



FIGURE 5 Marseille nord, GR_2013: Walking through uncertain spaces

The 'reconquest of the historic city' was the visible manifestation of its gradual success. It resulted in a number of protective measures (e.g. Venice Charter 1964, and European Architectural Heritage Year 1975) and the perceivable change from the radical urban renewal to new ways of gentle urban regeneration in the European and the US city centres during the following decades.

However, the then nicely historically reconstructed, well-ordered and embellished inner cities found themselves surrounded by suburbia that its own characteristics: segregated single-family houses, DYS mentality of home owners, inherent car dependency, driveways, parking lots, mega stores etc. Since the 1980s these dynamically growing areas between the urban and the rural space became more and more interesting objects of scholarly research mainly in Europe and in the USA.

UNCERTAIN SPACES AND UNCERTAIN DYNAMICS¹⁷

"Venice Charter 1964, Amsterdam declaration 1975, Noto Charter 1987; It was referred to as the 'recapture of the city.' Very good! Except the fact that we started to care for the city centers only when the essential dynamics already happened elsewhere, that is at the periphery."¹⁸ André Corboz 1997

Publications such as "La città diffusa" (1990, F. Indovina)¹⁹, "Zwischenstadt" (1997, T. Sieverts)²⁰, and "La ciudad dispersa" (1998, F. J. Monclús)²¹ directed the analytical conception towards the intermediate and peripheral zones of and between the urban cores. These publications spurred major research cluster throughout Europe as the 'Ladenburger Kolleg zur Zwischenstadt'²² (Germany), various projects in the context of 'Stadtland Schweiz'²³ (Switzerland), and the most encompassing multinational European project 'Outskirts of European Cities.'²⁴ In the United States scholars of the Los Angeles School conceptualised the complex urbanisation patterns and dynamics of the expanding, functionally increasingly divers metropolitan regions and harshly criticised the urban centre-focussed approach of the Chicago school.²⁵ Since the 1990s a variety of concepts and new terms were proposed such as "Generic City,"²⁶ "Edge City,"²⁷ or the "Endless City"²⁸ More recently the IBA Hamburg started working on the 'inner peripheries'²⁹ as similarly did the Pre-IBA team in Berlin looking for 'voids' in the urban tissue. These research contexts have produced an enormous stock of information on (semi-)urban structures, which are to be found beyond the compact, historic city cores. Reviewing the rich literature, however, reveals that these spaces - though namely the 'living spaces of the majority of the people,' remained somehow 'different' and 'strange.'³⁰

Another demographic phenomenon is still less recognised: rural areas globally are depleting. These dynamics are object of extensive research too – but the prevailing urban perspective still has hardly produced effective antidotes.

So, actually there are several types of spaces, which on the one hand are considered to be 'problematic,' or 'special,' and at the same time seem to offer 'high potentials.' As 'remainder spaces of the urban' – similar to the entire rural space – they frequently are addressed as 'zones of special intervention.'³¹ However, it can be suspected that in this perspective they might remain – practically and theoretically – offside, at the periphery. As for quite some time such 'uncertain spaces' are the subject of scholarly research already as 'urbanised landscape' (see above), it seems not too effective simply incorporating them into an enlarged urban paradigm. Thus we propose here to rather strengthen their speciality as to offer a complementary arsenal for a productive cooperation with the urban. Therefore, a theoretical approach is needed as to systematically examine the positive potentials of these zones, and in doing so to make them available for further urban and regional development.

We argue that the prioritisation of the urban since the second half of the 20th century is essentially based on the late-Fordist political-economic formation of the planning sector. The significant construction volume after WWII was realised world-wide, following the then prevailing anti-urban ideal of the functionalistic city – a mixture of the principles of the Athens Charter and the ‘urban landscape’ (*Stadtlandschaft*). When it finally became obvious that this practice threatened the entire heritage of the European inner cities enormous intellectual and physical power had to be raised in order to stop the vast urban destruction. In the struggle for the ‘reconquest of the inner cities’ the concept of urbanism/urbanity (*Urbanität*) became a central lever, based on critical Marxist thinking which always had been urban-biased. Against this background developed - driven by multifold regional and economic-political dynamics, which have to be scrutinised carefully - the asymmetrical relation between the urban and the rural.³² And so, it was specific historic constellations since the post-war decades that hindered theorising the rural equally to the urban. What is still lacking is a theoretical concept that activates the positive power and potential of the rural aiming at equally cooperating with the urban: aiming at a co-production of the “urban-rural space.”

TOWARDS A NEW URBAN-RURAL SPACE

“I will undertake, then, to show how in “Town-country” equal, may better, opportunities of social intercourse may be enjoyed (...); how higher wages are compatible with reduced rents and rates; how abundant opportunities for employment and bright prospects of advancement may be secured for all; (...) how the bounds of freedom may be widened, and yet all the best results of concert and co-operation gathered in by a happy people.”³³ Ebenezer Howard 1898

For the planning disciplines, visual models are and always were an important communication tool. Accordingly, the above mentioned discussions and scientific networks were accompanied by the development and draft of new conceptual and visual models. Probably the network-city concept corresponds best with the phenomena of ‘Zwischenstadt’, ‘citta diffusa’ or ‘Stadtland Schweiz’. The net metaphor was neatly linked with the concept of the “Space of Flows,” which Manuel Castells conceived as a high-level cultural abstraction of space and time, based on an analysis of the dynamic interactions of the digital age society, its economy and politics.³⁴ At the same time social sciences discussed a shift from the relatively stable configuration of milieus towards momentary experience and ephemeral scenarios.³⁵ Franz Oswald und Peter Baccini have introduced the concept of “network city” (*Netzstadt*) into the urban design and planning sciences. It should figure as a structural model of the urban space based on relations and exchange processes between various types and formations of actors, as a planning method and and as a strategy within participatory planning processes.³⁶

This is where Oliver Frey sets his model of the Amalgaman City.³⁷ This model attempts to display the simultaneity of the dissolution and the reinforcing of urban development patterns by means of new processes of identity-building. It clearly includes specific spatial-historical facts and emphasises multifold entanglements and interaction of the built spaces, identity-creating forces, and social networks, as for example urban ‘scenes.’ Both models – *Netzstadt* and *Amalgame Stadt* - are actors orientated, relational, and they describe cities as open structures. However, both models reclaim potentials of innovation and originality more or less obviously for the cities, respectively for the urbane. In this regard, both models still tend towards a sort of ‘planetary urban usurpation.’ During the 1960s and 70s “planetary urbanisation”³⁸ expressed protest and revolutionary thinking against totalitarian modernist planning – and the architecture of new towns and the concept of the ‘urban landscape’ (*Stadtlandschaft*) as its material representations. At the same time Herbert Gans complementary claimed that it made no sense at all to use the term ‘city’ in a broader sense, especially as to describe social qualities. The driving force his provoking idea was Gans’ awareness and respect of the ‘other:’ something new, uncertain, that was mixing and hybridising well-known categories of the urban and the rural. This otherness was to be found in suburbia, or in main street - as later Venturi-Scott Brown have raised. We argue that it is the ‘otherness’ of the ‘urban(ised) landscapes, which calls for a revaluation of the rural as equally creative reservoir. Associating both qualities equally may lead to fresh concepts of a new “urban-rural space.”

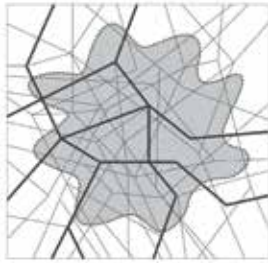


FIGURE 6 Network City (Baccini and Oswald 1998) Amalgam City (Frey 2006)

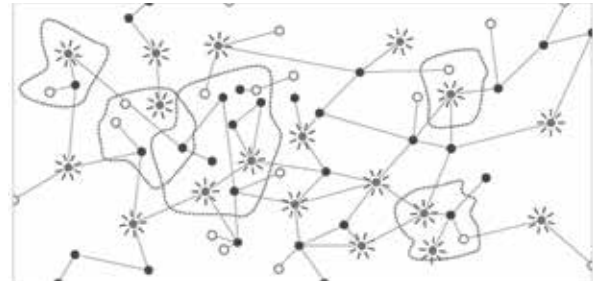
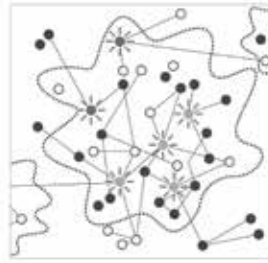


FIGURE 7 The New Urban-Rural Space produced by social-material interaction (co-operation)

This means that the manifold ways of the social formation of the urban space (discussed as ‘urbanism’/ urbanity) would have to face equal manifestations of the rural which we want to define as ‘ruralities’ (the plural form signalling its fluidity and multidimensional possible expressions) Yet hitherto the rural studies were hardly struggling with an encompassing concept of urbanism.³⁹

However, during the early 1990s the German sociologist Detlev Ipsen tried to introduce a new historically based perspective regarding the rural. Ipsen raised three examples for the meaningful creative force of the rural⁴⁰: He described (1) the urban-rural co-existences as “structural dualism” of urbanisation in the 19th century, (2) the rural space as important target of the Fordistic market, and (3) envisioned that specific rural expertises, such as economic multitasking or traditional rural-manufactural skills, might raise anew attention to facing the challenges of global transformation and new regulation systems.

This is the point of departure for our concept of ‘urban ruralities’ or the new ‘urban-rural space’⁴¹ which may help to newly conceive a space of equal encounter, exchange and co-operation of the urban and the rural.

The scheme relocates the image section towards the countryside. Connecting lines represent multidimensional actor networks following Bruno Latour’s definition of the term: “Thus, the network does not designate a thing out there that would have roughly the shape of interconnected points, much like a telephone, a freeway, or a sewage ‘network.’ It is nothing more than an indicator of the quality of a text about the topics at hand. It qualifies its objectivity, that is, the ability of each actor to make other actors do unexpected things.”⁴¹

Finally, we get back at the point of departure. The idea of the garden city presented the goal – as simple as it is radical: after carefully analysing the good and the evil in town (urban) and country (rural): combine all the best in a town-country. To get things done, this model aimed at civic engagement and participation: ... for and “by a happy people.”⁴²

As shown above, the well-known model not only derived, but also gained much of its intellectual punch from anarchist thought – in this tradition the French anthropologist Claude Lévi Strauss described the ‘wild thinking’⁴³ from other parts of the world and introduced myth and magic into modern western thought. Neither anarchist nor ‘wild thinking’ were exclusively focused on the urban sphere – but both inspired urban action in a highly fertile way. ‘Wild thinking’ stimulated the critical movements of the 1960s and spurred their protest against the authoritarian implications of moderist city planning most obvious in urban renewal projects transforming the historic urban tissue into dispersed urban landscapes: Artists, architects, and writers, such as Guy Debord, Alison and Peter Smithson or Cedric Price, Reyner Banham, Peter Hall, and Paul Barker in London operated intellectually as well as in practice, mixing urban and rural elements, respecting their nature and freely integrating both qualities within their critical projects.⁴⁴



FIGURE 8 Street Farmer Issue No 2, 1972,



FIGURE 9 Cover Archigram 9, 1970

An unbiased view drew their attention also towards the ‘uncertain’ spaces and it allowed one to “think the unthinkable.”⁴⁵ 1960s/70s activists already identified run-down or underdeveloped parts of the city as high potential for new ideas, provoking demands (for example the ‘enterprise zones’), and self-empowering projects and, last but not least, to accept suburbia as it was⁴⁶ – as the choice of the people.

CONCLUSION AND AIMS

Anarchist imagination – similar to ‘wild thinking’ – always referred to the planetary territory while incorporating urban and rural phenomena and treating them relationally. We propose to adopt this thinking as to establish a model which helps in describing and explaining the multifold entangled social, cultural, and territorial dynamics of the urban-rural spaces of the 20th and 21st centuries: ‘Urban ruralities’ will discuss both ends at eye-level. Moreover the new ‘urban-rural paradigm’ aims at (1) providing an adequate analytical framework (2) procuring visions or ideas for the ‘good city’ and (3) combines it with action. And once again – despite its slightly shopworn image – for this approach the garden-city model offers some compelling suggestions.

The concept of ‘urban ruralities’ or the ‘new urban-rural space’ is an invitation to theory and practice: it could open up new research perspectives and the potential scope for new questions guiding towards fresh interpretations in planning history.⁴⁷ It wants to encourage urban and rural studies to use it as a consequent strategic co-working space. Finally, for architects and planners, it will be the main task to re-translate complex participatory processes – which constitute the new urban-rural space – into visual scenarios and beautiful conceptual and material configurations.

Acknowledgements

This paper owes much to Peter Hall and his friend Paul Barker. Their radical arguments triggered my ideas and spurred the concept.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Notes on contributor

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Endnotes

- 1 See William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis. Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991). The comprehensive survey of Chicago's urbanisation dynamics during the 19th and early 20th century is focused on urban-regional interrelations and commodity flows. See also most recently: Franz-Werner Kersting and Clemens Zimmermann (eds.), *Stadt-Land-Beziehungen im 20. Jahrhundert. Geschichts- und kulturwissenschaftliche Perspektiven* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2015).
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- 15 See Hall, *Cities*, 87.
- 16 Henri Lefebvre, *La révolution urbaine* (Paris: Gallimard, 1970), 26.
- 17 Referring to Bruno Latour's concept of “uncertainty.” Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social. An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
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- 39 Helbrecht, "Urbanität," 168.
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- 41 The term was firstly used for a new participation-oriented spatial communication format "Stadt-Land gestalten" (*Shaping the Urban-Rural Space*) of the Brandenburg Chamber of Architects in 2015. See Bröcker, Nicola, Celina Kress, and Simone Oelker. *Stadt-Land gestalten 01: Garten | Stadt Plaue*. Potsdam: bud 2015.
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- 46 See Barker's comment: "Earlier in 1967, I had gratefully seized a book by the American sociologist, Herbert Gans. *The Levittowners: ways of life and politics in a new suburban community* showed how a spirit of community evolved within the most despised form of American suburban speculative housing. I ran long extracts from it in *New Society*, as a corrective to the usual we-know-best snobberies about suburbia." Barker, "Thinking," 4.
- 47 The four case studies of the panel "Urban Ruralities since the 19th Century," organised by Celina Kress and Sylvia Necker, at the IPHS Conference 2016, are a first step in this direction: Björn Blass: "Garbage in the City: Waste in and around Berlin," Sophie Schramm: "Hanoi's Septic Tanks – Technology of a City in Flow; Piero Sassi: "A New Master Plan for the Madrid Urban Region During Early Francoism (1941-46)," Sylvia Necker: "Gutschow's Stadtlandschaft Hamburg in the 1940s." This paper is the conceptual introduction to the panel.

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Image Sources

- Figure 01: Burgess, "Growth," 55.
- Figure 02: Hall e.a., To-morrow, 24.
- Figure 03: Feder, Neue Stadt, 48.
- Figure 04: Lefebvre, Révolution, 15.
- Figure 05: BEST projekte für baukultur und stadt, foto 2014.
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- Figure 07: BEST projekte für baukultur und stadt, re-design of Oliver Frey 2006.
- Figure 08: BEST projekte für baukultur und stadt.
- Figure 09: Street Farmer, 2, 1972.
- Figure 10: Archigram Nine, Cover, 9, 1970.

GARBAGE IN THE CITY – WASTE IN AND AROUND BERLIN

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The paper examines both discourses and techniques of waste disposal in Berlin around 1900. Novel patterns of consumption, dense housing, and an increasing population turned waste into an urban problem of unprecedented scale. Waste ranked high among metropolitan scourges as refuse and filth were markers of disorder and regarded as a potential threat to public health. Influenced by rising standards of public health, capitalist efficiency, and technological progress, established practices of collecting, sorting, and disposing came under close scrutiny. Increased public pressure applied by social reformers and fuelled by unsavoury and unsanitary living conditions turned waste into a political issue that led to a transformation of urban infrastructures and a policing of urbanites' every-day habits. At the same time, novel techniques of disposal had to address the tense relationality between the metropolis and its rural surroundings.

Keywords

waste, disposal, urban, rural, relationality, materiality, public health, 1900, Berlin

How to Cite

Blass, Bjoern. "Garbage in the City — Waste in and around Berlin". In Carola Hein (ed.) *International Planning History Society Proceedings, 17th IPHS Conference, History-Urbanism-Resilience, TU Delft 17-21 July 2016, V.04 p.323, TU Delft Open, 2016.*

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7480/iphs.2016.4.1299>

INTRODUCTION

“When you’re travelling in spring, you notice the proximity of a bigger city first and foremost by the fields fertilized with urban household waste. Wherever you look, shards are twinkling in the sun and among them you’ll see tin cans, parts of crinolines, corsages, springs, broken combs, and other things, the hedges and ridges cluttered with scraps of paper and rags. In other places you’ll spot entire mountains of shards; uneven parts in the terrain, forsaken gravel pits and the like are filled with garbage. [...] Urban dwellers in search of recreation during their Easter walk wander this wasteland just outside the city gates.”²

This vivid description offered by Johann Meyer at the nineteenth meeting of the German Association for Public Health (*Deutscher Verein für öffentliche Gesundheitspflege*, DVöG) in 1895 does not only refer to an aesthetic insult, it also summarizes the waste problem of rapidly growing cities like Berlin at the end of the nineteenth century. Five years after the construction of Berlin’s sewers had put the question of liquid waste and human excreta to rest, the puzzle of household waste remained unsolved.

Concepts of order, hygiene, and efficiency informed the turn of the century discourse on the city and facilitated the testing and implementation of specific techniques of disposal. Its hard-to-define nature and seasonally varying composition did not allow for a clear-cut solution. Did garbage pose a threat to public health? Or could some, if not all of it, be salvaged and profitably utilized? As a consequence of solid waste’s ambiguous materiality, public health advocates, administrators, civil engineers and entrepreneurs argued how best to deal with the taboo-laden “matter in the wrong place”.³

Meyer’s picturesque impressions equally hint at a tense relationality between the metropolis and its surrounding countryside that refers to the impact of modern systems of waste disposal on urban and rural spaces. While the imagery of polluted fields harkens back to anti-urban stereotypes, which marked the city as an industrialised monstrosity devouring the countryside’s resources, the “fields fertilized with household waste” complicate the matter. They refer to a less linear and more cyclical connection that contemporary experts on waste management had to address.

The article focuses on Berlin’s waste problem between the 1890s and 1920s. In the first section it provides an overview of issues encountered by experts of public health, citizens, and municipal administration in dealing with waste within an increasingly urbanized and industrialized setting. The second section touches upon a conceptual debate among experts regarding appropriate methods of disposal that had an impact on the connection of the German empire’s capital to its rural environs. Sections four to six focus on specific spaces and practices of disposal in and around Berlin. The German metropolis itself figures as the sum of individual households, the opposite and antagonist of its surrounding countryside, as well as a laboratory for coordinated efforts of waste disposal at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century.

By around 1900, waste constituted an urban problem of unprecedented magnitude, as it was identified as one of the sanitary scourges of urban environments. Due to the many intertwined roots of the problem, a structural explanation prevails in modern historiography.⁴ The workings of macro-processes, repeatedly subsumed under the shorthand of modernization⁵, set the scene upon which the war for clean and healthy cities was fought: The growing industrial and commercial centres’ gravitational pull on an impoverished rural workforce seeking material and social improvement; a shift in every-day patterns of consumption and disposal; and poor sanitary conditions, spurred by crowded living-conditions, worsened due to administrative neglect and academic ignorance, provided an ideal breeding ground for both endemic and epidemic diseases.⁶

Most prominently, cholera struck Berlin and other European capitals for the first time in 1831 and thus provided the grounds for a public debate on the state's responsibility to provide for and police adequate sanitary conditions.⁷ The pursuing twin rise of public health and urban sanitation over the course of the nineteenth century has been predominantly regarded as a reaction to the epidemic diseases that travelled along the routes of the growing global trade.

The aim of providing healthier living-conditions by supply of fresh water and the construction of sanitary infrastructures was not an exclusively German or Berlin-based problem. Similar circumstances and solution strategies have been explored for other metropolises such London, Paris, or New York.⁸ While a comparative or transnational⁹ perspective has its merits – as Frank Trentmann has recently demonstrated¹⁰ – it is worthwhile to focus on a specific case study to illuminate the nexus of geographical setting, urban development and municipal politics. By doing so, concrete planning measures and attempts to solve the urban waste problem can be questioned with regard to their feasibility and their consequences.

BERLIN'S WASTE PROBLEM AROUND 1900

Once established as the new German Empire's capital, Berlin was subject to a considerable growth of population and densification heightening political pressure on the city's government to provide for public sanitary services. Between 1820 and 1850, the city's population had doubled and in 1871, counting more than 870,000 inhabitants, the city neither possessed working systems for sewage removal, nor street-cleaning, or waste disposal.¹¹ Sanitary experts bemoaned the “disgusting condition of open sewers (Rinnsteine) along the streets which are poorly equipped to fulfil the task of, picking up rainwater, as well as taking away sewage and household waste. They invite mockery and ridicule by natives and foreigners alike.”¹²

Prior to the construction of Berlin's sewage system between 1875 and 1890, waste was thrown into pit latrines in the inner yard and regularly collected by small-time sewage farmers who sold the so-called “night soil” to neighbouring farmers as urban fertilizer. Due to the size of the latrines weeks and months could pass before they were emptied. The construction of the city's sewage system put an end to this practice that involved using wooden receptacles and open horse carts, regularly spilling the odorous content in hallways and streets.¹³

Although the latrines as breeding grounds for vermin and pathogens started to disappear, the fear of waste as a source for disease remained. The responsibility was left to the house owners who worked with private contractors who sought economic value in household wastes despite its diminished fertilizing utility.

“The materials in question are sources for ill health, of disease, of death [...]. You cannot leave it to the mercy of a single individual to ignore these materials as they can be as damaging as those materials that we remove through the sewers.”¹⁴

These were the remarks of physician and liberal politician Salomon Neumann, a friend and political companion of Rudolf Virchow. Both were representatives in the city parliament, which in 1873 green-lit the construction of the city's sewer system due to the petitioning of Virchow and James Hobrecht.¹⁵ For Neumann, this step alone had not solved Berlin's sanitary question. He insisted on centralizing waste removal and disposal services under the administration's auspices and do away with the more than 60 competing companies that house owners could contract.¹⁶ Although Neumann's colleagues did not share his enthusiasm, the liberal politician did not stand alone. Other contemporary public health advocates such as the Berlin-based hygienic expert and physician Theodor Weyl and members of the *German Association for the Cultivation of Public Health (Deutscher Verein für öffentliche Gesundheitspflege, DVöG)* shared Neumann's concerns.

PUBLIC HEALTH AND CONCEPTUAL DEBATES OF WASTE

Desolate hygienic conditions constituted a nation-wide problem and a central item on the agenda of a growing public health movement that recruited its members among physicians, biologists, chemists but also engineers, administrators, and politicians. The association's strategy of self-legitimation built significantly on the objective of furthering the growing nation's greater good, measured in their terms by a concern for the citizens' collective well-being. While this claim carried humanist overtones riffing on the improvement of the individual, it was ultimately the care for productivity that directed the focus of public health advocates towards sanitary conditions and those most affected by it: lower-class citizens. They were the smaller but necessary cogs in the machine of the national economy (*Volkswirtschaft*); a machine that needed to be efficient and productive in its workings.

This economical and utilitarian conviction figured prominently in the mission statement of the *German Association for the Cultivation of Public Health (Deutscher Verein für öffentliche Gesundheitspflege (DVÖG))*. The association was founded in 1873 with the aim to bundle all fields of expertise that affected public health, defined in its journal as the well-being and productivity of society as a whole. It built on the journal *Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für öffentliche Gesundheitspflege* that was established in 1869. The first editor in chief, physician Carl Heinrich Reclam, set the agenda both for the journal as well as the direction the association should take four years later: "It is not the task of public health to ensure the longevity and well-being of single individuals but rather to secure and enhance the productivity of the entire population."¹⁷ However, this increase in productivity was not to be gained by jeopardizing individual needs, "since a state's productivity is built on the health of the individual,"¹⁸ but rather by providing a sufficient health infrastructure through the participation of different experts.¹⁹

Waste and its occurrence as a civilizational danger was framed as a predominantly urban problem, rooted in the abundance of goods and newly created commodities.²⁰ Contemporary observers noted, that the propensity for reusing materials in a rural setting extended their life cycle. While some commentators overstated rural capacities for reintegrating waste into a (re)productive cycle²¹, differences in the quality and quantity between cities and the countryside remained. Estimates of yearly waste production per person in rural settings around 1900 varied between 125 to 150 kg per year, dwellers in highly urbanized environments such as Berlin produced about 0.6 kg of waste daily or almost 220 kg per year.²²

STORING AND DUMPING

Storing waste constituted the cheapest and most short-sighted remedy in coming to terms with these amounts. Until 1887 the city possessed no regulation regarding so-called "wild dumps". This practice included dumping waste in vacant or unused lots of land either within the city limits or its immediate periphery. Although the city offered to use three central storing sites the private entrepreneurs in charge of collecting the waste from the households went great lengths to circumvent the central sites as their use included a fee. Only a legal prohibition of the wild dumps by the chief administrator of the governmental district in Potsdam led to an increased use of the central sites.²³

In face of growing masses of urban waste, these sites only constituted a provisional remedy. Between 1871 and 1891 the amount of Berlin's waste more than doubled from 340,000 to 700,000 cubic metres of garbage per year with a population of about 1.6 million inhabitants.²⁴

Waste still had to get out of Berlin but in a more coordinated fashion and it needed to be put further away. To enforce the prohibition of wild dumps the police created a 30-kilometre-wide *cordon sanitaire*. The distance was designed to make it unprofitable for the small-time waste disposal companies to dump their loads for within the immediate periphery of the metropolis. A few significant exceptions were granted however. The city was allowed

to purchase property for sanitary dumps that could be accessed either by barges or by train and were operated by local companies. While these dumps created economic opportunities they also imported the exact same problems that the metropolis tried get rid off.

PUTTING WASTE SOMEPLACE ELSE

“The garbage has to get out of Berlin!”²⁵ Such outcries of administrators’ dismay were quite common as the waste problem of metropolises like Berlin reached unprecedented proportions towards the end of the nineteenth century. What remained unmentioned, however, was that getting the garbage “out” also entailed putting it someplace else. As disposal sites within the city limits were regarded as unsanitary and insufficient, the vast rural space surrounding the young empire’s capital appeared as an obvious solution. The growing metropolis needed the real estate for construction. Not only did the immediate periphery provide the metropolis with resources but it was now supposed to absorb its waste as well, thus adding to an already complex relationality between the urban and the rural.

The changes in waste management, however, did not come about without conflicts. While waste itself presents a resilient material leftover that defies attempts to (re)establish order, the sheer amounts of urban garbage could not be digested by the growing metropolis alone. The city depended heavily on its rural periphery for it to absorb and (ideally) reintroduce waste into material cycles of production and, by doing so, help to provide a modicum of urban hygiene. The issue of waste put the relationship between metropolis and periphery to the test, exemplified by Berlin’s 30-kilometers-wide *cordon sanitaire* destined to separate the delicate urban order from its rural waste deposits.

While smaller municipalities thought it an economically sound decision to help rid the metropolis of its waste, some of them found it hygienically troublesome to be the capital’s dump sites. In an attempt to close down a local dump site in Spreehagen, some 24 kilometres east of Berlin, the municipal government in Fürstenwalde marshalled the same reasoning that public health experts applied when arguing for a cleaner metropolis in 1902: intolerable smells, the multiplication of vermin, and a possible threat to the health of its proximate inhabitants caused by the dust emanating from the dump site.²⁶

As both communities could not find an amiable solution, Fürstenwalde put a case at the state court (*Landgericht*). The legal conflict involved physician and public health advocate Theodor Weyl who served as an expert during the trial. Weyl, who had been an outspoken proponent of waste incineration as the most hygienic and economical solution to the urban waste problem, sided with the reasoning of the plaintiff.

Despite the complaints and Weyl’s judgement, the dump site was not closed. Instead the state court merely ruled that Berlin had to alert its neighbouring communities to possible nuisances of future dumps. Dissatisfied with the outcome, Fürstenwalde took the case to Berlin’s highest state court, the *Kammergericht*, which ruled more solomonically: The city of Berlin had to pay damages and further guarantee provisions for its peripheral dumps to protect inhabitants that had been living in the area before the site was raised. Accordingly, they had to be at least 800 metres away from houses to avoid negative effects. Oddly enough, the *Kammergericht* also ruled out health concerns over vermin and dust altogether and merely acknowledged the obnoxious smells as an intolerable nuisance.²⁷

INCINERATION

In the wake of the 1892 cholera epidemic that ravaged Hamburg, hygienic concerns with regard to waste disposal dominated the debate and were further fuelled by the bacteriological findings of Robert Koch. According to Theodor Weyl, waste was “rich in pathogens micro organisms and predisposed for decay and fouling processes.”²⁸ In a report to the city’s magistrate he spoke out against dumping sites, which he deemed “nothing else than a breeding ground for decay, sanctioned by the authorities.”²⁹

For Weyl there was only one sanitary solution, waste needed to be incinerated: “Plague spots need to be fought, the best thing is to burn them out.”³⁰ His verdict was informed by a journey to England where he inspected several incinerators that had been in use since the 1870s.

According to Weyl’s recommendations, Berlin’s municipal parliament agreed in 1894 to fund a test incinerator based on the English model. Experiments started in 1898 but did not yield the desired outcome. Berlin’s waste would not burn. Firstly, the capital’s waste was too moist. Secondly, Berliners used brown coal for heating and cooking. The ashes from this lowest rank of coal constituted the heaviest and biggest part of household wastes, yet was of little ‘thermic’ value. The test facility would not operate properly without adding further burning materials, thus defeating the purpose of generating “electricity from garbage” as contemporary experts like István de Fodor advertised.³¹

Albeit the recent setbacks in application, the ideal of restless disposal continued to stimulate engineering ingenuity. While taking the hindrances of Berlin’s waste into account, civil engineer Clemens Dörr, proposed specific improvements to the English model. His “Dörr’sche Methode”, which became an oft-quoted alternative in contemporary discussions, included sorting and compartmentalizing garbage before burning it and thus singling out slowly burning materials such as kitchen wastes that in turn could be transformed into fertilizer or used for agricultural amelioration in general.³² Dörr’s argumentation aimed at highlighting that a well planned and operated system that combined sorting and incinerating would not provide a feasible alternative that benefited the metropolis but also its periphery and thus help improve the tense relationality between Berlin and its environs.

Proponents of rigorous incineration like de Fodor advised strongly against compartmentalised treatment of waste as unprofitable and unsanitary.³³ Such positions were seldom unbiased. De Fodor, for example, was the general director of the *Budapest General Electrical Company* (*Budapester Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft*) Unsurprisingly, he advertised incineration as – allegedly –the cheapest, cleanest, and simplest solution to the urban waste problem. To bolster his claim, de Fodor illustrated his book *Elektrizität aus Kehricht* with images that were supposed to document the desolate hygienic conditions of sorting through the dumpsters and to instill horror among their observers.

However, Dörr’s approach to incineration, which was based on a cautious yet practical stance on worries about hygiene, received widespread support among influential members of the DVöG. Among them was Professor Hans Thiesing, assistant director of the *Royal Testing Station for Water Supply and Waste-Water Removal* (*Königliche Versuchs- und Prüfungsanstalt für Wasserversorgung und Abwasserbeseitigung*) in Berlin-Dahlem. Thiesing, who had argued that waste was to be considered “matter in the wrong place”³⁴, tried to disband notions that waste might be the prime cause of infectious diseases. Both Dörr and Thiesing doubted the previous notions put forth by Weyl that waste was to be regarded as a primary source for epidemic diseases. Their scepticism notwithstanding, the two experts argued that the hygienic treatment still needed to be a priority if waste should be reintegrated into a (re)productive cycle.³⁵ One prominent example that implemented both objectives could be found in Charlottenburg.

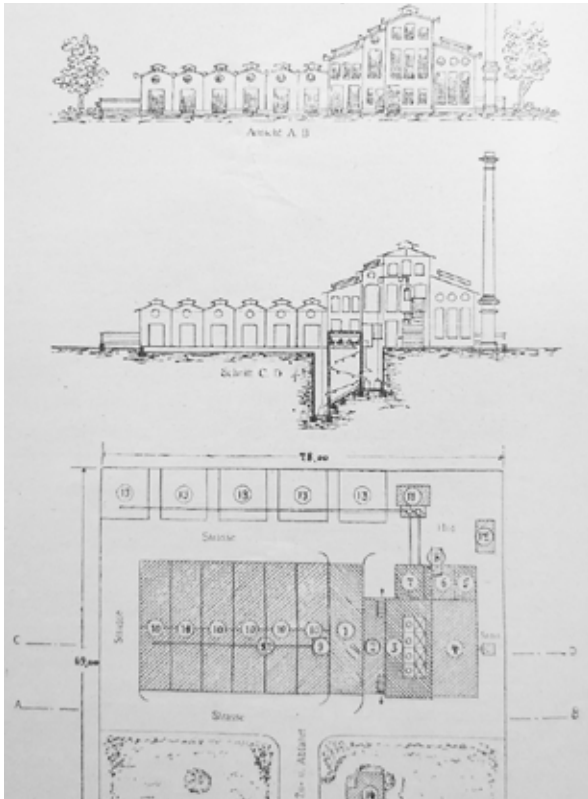


FIGURE 1 Schematic of Dörr's incineration and sorting facility, 1910.



FIGURE 2 "Searching for food scraps", ca. 1911.

ALTERNATIVES MADE IN CHARLOTTENBURG

Although Charlottenburg did not officially become a part of Berlin before 1920, its alternative approach to waste management served as a much-discussed example in the capital. Until 1907, the city pursued the same model like Berlin, which focused on transporting waste to distant but accessible vicinities via train or barges. Charlottenburg's own attempts at incineration had been unsuccessful for the same reasons as the capital's tests. Under the auspices of the municipal government, the private *Charlottenburger Abfuhrgesellschaft* (Charlottenburg Disposal Company) tried an alternative and novel way: a three-way separating system.³⁶

Waste was sorted in three categories: ashes and sweepings; kitchen wastes; and bulky, so-called commercial waste, such as paper, wood, rags, or metal. The idea was to strike a balance between removal efficiency and salvaging economic resources. Charlottenburg's mayor Kurt Schusterhus explained that it was the company's objective "not to throw away the great value that exists in a city's waste, but to return it to the nation's assets."³⁷ This claim had been nourished by the company's projections that their enterprise would yield an annual profit of 600,000 marks.³⁸

In order to achieve this goal, the management had to rely on the participation of maids and housewives in separating the household waste. To make matters easier, the company sold metal receptacles that contained three different containers, one for each sort of waste. Its contents were then emptied into bigger containers stored in the inner yards before the company picked them up.³⁹

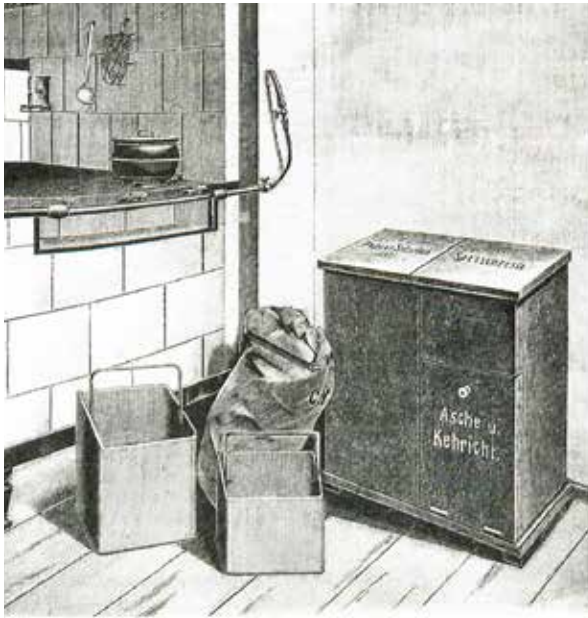


FIGURE 3 Container for sorting “paper”, “kitchen waste”, and “ashes and sweepings”, Charlottenburg, ca. 1905.



FIGURE 4 Woman using courtyard containers for sorting, Charlottenburg, ca. 1905.



FIGURE 5 Inside the sorting facility in Seegefeld, ca. 1915.

The different sorts of waste were taken to different facilities. Ashes and sweepings were transported to a dump, some 30 kilometres north of Charlottenburg. The rest, kitchen waste and 'commercial' waste were taken to a sorting facility in Seegefeld where they were either sorted for reuse or incineration. Kitchen wastes were processed and used at the local pig farm that counted 2,000 animals.⁴⁰

Experts hailed Charlottenburg's progressive model as the dawn of a new age in waste disposal.⁴¹ However, more sober assessments followed within the year once its actual costs became public. The whole complex procedure turned out to be extremely costly. Already in its first year of business, the company made a loss of 500,000 marks. Ironically, this deficit was ascribed to an amount of waste that was too small to be profitably separated. Additionally, the pig farm was infected with swine fever in 1908 and household wastes had to be sold for even less returns as fertilizing material.⁴² The overall endeavour of the *Charlottenburg Disposal Company* to offer an alternative disposal method was rather short-lived. In April 1917, the enterprise had to close up shop as the war effort had taken hold of the company's horses, its carts, and a crucial amount of its workforce.

CONCLUSION

Although Berlin got off rather mildly on this occasion, the case illustrates the downsides of the urban administration's attempt of providing an easy fix to a structural problem tantamount to the provision of adequate sewage systems. In fact, the discussion among public health reformers echoed argumentative structures that had been put forth in the debates about advantages and disadvantages of combined sewers.⁴³

On the same note, the issue of waste refers to the tense relationality between the rural and the urban that is marked by resilience on both sides. While the metropolis sought solutions to its own problems outside, the periphery struggled not to be merely passed of as a city's hinterland that both provides resources and simultaneously absorbs the city's excreta.

Late nineteenth-century experts of waste disposal struggled to resolve this conflict by either reintroducing waste into a cycle of productivity, most prominently as fertilizer, or by its absolute destruction through incineration. The problem of dealing with waste stimulated the imagination of engineers and the horrors of sanitary advocates alike.

The variety of solution strategies to the urban waste problem hint at a motivational conflict between the establishment of visible order, concerns for public health, and economic concerns at the turn of the century. While the city administration eventually agreed to test new methods of waste treatment, it was only willing to do so as long as it covered the costs. Thus the most economical solution, dumping, prevailed and dominated. This technique of disappearance, however, merely shifted the waste problem from the metropolis to the periphery.

Acknowledgements

The paper is based on research that is part of the author's PhD project *Environments of Disposal: Moralities, Localities, and Practices of Waste (1880-1930)* as part of the International Max Planck Research School (IMPRS) for Moral Economies of Modern Societies.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Notes on the Contributor

Björn Blaß (born 1985 in Germany) received his B.A. in History and English Speaking Cultures from University of Bremen and his M.A. in Modern & Contemporary History from the Freie Universität Berlin. During his studies he received a stipend from the German Merit Foundation and worked as a research assistant at the University of Bremen, Freie Universität Berlin and Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Since 2014 he pursues his PhD as part of the International Max Planck Research School for Moral Economies of Modern Societies at the Max Planck Institute for Human Development in Berlin. His thesis *Environments of Disposal: Moralities, Practices, and Localities of Waste* focuses on the occurrence and solution strategies of the urban waste problem at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century.

Endnotes

– Endnotes)

- 1 This contribution is part of the panel “Urban Ruralities Since the 19th Century”, organised by Celina Kress (CMS/ TU Berlin) and Sylvia Necker (IfZ Munich). Further participants include Piero Sassi (Bauhaus-Universität Weimar) and Sophie Schramm (TU Darmstadt).
- 2 Meyer, “Beseitigung des Kehrichts”, 12.
- 3 Thiesing, “Müllbeseitigung und Müllverwertung”, 161. Thiesing’s practical definition of waste (“matter in the wrong place”) predates that of anthropologist Mary Douglas by half a century. According to Douglas, dirt is to be regarded as “matter out of place and has since the publication of *Purity and Danger* in 1966 served as a conceptual go-to reference for scholars of waste. Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 35-6. As Economic and social historian Frank Trentmann argues that “to understand the evolution of waste, we need both.” Trentmann, *Empire of Things*, 627.
- 4 Stokes et al., *Business of Waste*, 22-4; Barles, “Feeding the City”, 53-4; Strasser, *Waste and Want*, 14-5; Melosi, *Garbage in the Cities*, 17-9; Evans, *Tod in Hamburg*, 418-75; Gandy, *Recycling and the Politics of Urban*, 38-45, 70-7, 90-3; Münch, *Stadthygiene im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, 227-40.
- 5 Urbanist and geographer Matthew Gandy eloquently cautions against over-simplifying this narrative when it comes to urban sanitation: “The regularization of infrastructure provision forms part of what Stephen Graham and Simon Marvin term the ‘modern infrastructural ideal’ comprising specific ideologies of science, the modern discipline of urban planning, emergent patterns of consumption, and territorial dimensions to the modern state. Yet this ostensibly universal model that diffused outward from the nineteenth-century industrial city is itself under strain with the shift to more socially and spatially differentiated systems. [...] Similarly, the articulation of a ‘bacteriological city’ emerging in the late nineteenth century, in which advances in epidemiology, civil engineering, and modern forms of public administration predominate, has proved highly restricted in its geographic scope. Although the acme of this push towards spatial rationalization, and what historian Mark Mazower terms the ‘technocratic assurance’ of ‘imperial modernism’, is reached in the immediate post-war era of the late 1940s and 1950s, we should not forget that the geographic reach of modernization was highly uneven even within the global North.” Gandy, *Fabric of Space*, 8-9.
- 6 Lenger, *Metropolen der Moderne*, 12-4; Strohmeyer, *James Hobrecht*, 43-4; Bleker, “Die Stadt als Krankheitsfaktor”, 136.
- 7 During its first outbreak of the nineteenth century, 1,417 citizens died of cholera in Berlin in 1831. After this first global pandemic, the city was repeatedly struck by further epidemic waves in 1866, and 1904. See Jütte, “Die Choleraepidemie 1831”; Dettke, *Die asiatische Hydra*, 169-207.
- 8 The sanitary question of the British Empire’s capital has been primarily researched within the confines of the public health movement and the construction of the London sewer system, which served as a role-model of urban infrastructural planning world-wide. Allen, *Cleansing the City*; Hamlin, *Public Health and Social Justice*. More recently, *The Business of Waste* by Raymond Stokes, Roman Köster and Stephen Sambrook addresses the British and German waste industries from a comparative perspective. For Paris, the works of historical geographer Sabine Barles laid the ground for an urban environmental history of the city and its environs. Together with Laurence Lestel, Barles turned towards contemporary analyses of nitrogen concentration in Paris’ sewage and cyclical models of agricultural utilization of urban excreta as “urban fertilizer”. Barles/Lestel, “The Nitrogen Question”, 802-3. See also Barles, “Feeding the City”. In her earlier work, Barles focused on the reconstruction and reimagination of Paris’ urban landscape according to medicine and civil engineering. Barles, *La Ville délétaire*. The history of urban waste and its management per se originated in the United States and had first been explored in Martin V. Melosi’s seminal work *Garbage in the Cities* in 1981. Much like Susan Strasser’s *Waste and Want*, Melosi does not focus exclusively on New York, yet the U.S. metropolis serves as a key reference in both works. While Strasser focusses on every-day practices linked to what she calls a “stewardship of objects”, Melosi is more concerned with the political and administrative dimension of urban sanitation. For a New York-specific, albeit slightly prosaic, overview of the city’s history of waste, Benjamin Miller’s *Fat of the Land*.
- 9 Or should one rather say ‘translocal’?
- 10 Just this year Trentmann provided a fascinating chapter calling into question the paradigm of high as well as late modernity’s throwaway society in his compelling *longue durée*-monograph *Empire of Things*.
- 11 Stokes et al., *Business of Waste*, 27. Construction of Berlin’s sewage system began in 1873 under the auspices of the city’s great planner, architect James Hobrecht (1825-1902). Envisioned by his predecessor, Salomon Wiebe (1804-1892) in 1861. Hobrecht refined Wiebe’s designs that were inspired by London’s sewer system that the two men inspected in 1860. Wiebe suggested to direct the flow of sewage unfiltered into the river Spree outside of Berlin. To avoid containment of the city’s water supply, Hobrecht suggested to filter the sewage water by leading the pipes to sewage farms (Rieselfelder) in the periphery; see von Simson, *Kanalisation und Städtehygiene*, 112-26; Strohmeyer, *James Hobrecht*, 105-23; Münch, *Stadthygiene*, 98-9; Hardy, *Ärzte*, 144-5.
- 12 Börner, *Hygienischer Führer durch Berlin*, 97-8.
- 13 Hofmeister-Lemke, *Berliner Stadtreinigung*, 98.
- 14 *Stenographische Berichte*, 427.

- 15 Strohmeier, James Hobrecht, 110.
- 16 Hofmeister-Lemke, *Berliner Stadtreinigung*, 97.
- 17 Reclam, "Die heutige Gesundheitspflege," 1-4.
- 18 *Ibid.*, 1.
- 19 The German-speaking debate on urban sanitation initially treated the British public health movement as a model to be emulated, thanks to its progress in legislation and infrastructure. While examples from Great Britain dominated well into the 1890s, publications of the DvöG and other sanitary journals, increasingly reported on techno-scientific advancements in the field of public health from France, Italy, Austria-Hungary, the Netherlands but also from the United States. On the discursive parallels between the German-speaking and the British public health movement see Hardy, *Ärzte*, 98-119.
- 20 Trentmann, *Empire of Things*, 628-30.
- 21 Weber, "Stoffkreislauf," 149.
- 22 Koschmieder, *Die Müllbeseitigung*, 5.
- 23 Röhrecke, *Müllabfuhr*, 171-3.
- 24 Hofmeister-Lemke, *Berliner Stadtreinigung*, 101.
- 25 Letter of Nauen's head of district to the chief administrator in Potsdam (October 21, 1924) regarding a permission for a waste dump in Vorketzin, BLHA Re 2A I. Pol. 2583, 289, quoted in Köstering, "Zur Standortbestimmung," 87.
- 26 Weyl, "Der Streit zwischen Fürstenwalde und Berlin," 437-40.
- 27 *Ibid.*, 439-40.
- 28 Weyl, "Bemerkungen über den Stand der Müllbeseitigung," 59.
- 29 *Ibid.*
- 30 *Ibid.*
- 31 de Fodor, *Elektrizität aus Kehrlicht*.
- 32 Dörr, "Über eine neue Richtung," 1-7.
- 33 de Fodor, *Elektrizität aus Kehrlicht*, 20-44.
- 34 Thiesing, "Müllbeseitigung und Müllverwertung," 161.
- 35 Stakemann, "Über Müllbeseitigung in hygienischer Hinsicht," 546.
- 36 Jasner, "Frühe Alternative,"
- 37 District Archive Charlottenburg, Ch MA I., *Müllabfuhr 1900-1910*, 340-1.
- 38 Meyer, *Müllbeseitigung und Müllverwertung*, 12.
- 39 *Ibid.*
- 40 Weber, "Towards 'Total' Recycling," 376.
- 41 Koschmieder, *Die Müllbeseitigung*; Meyer, *Müllbeseitigung und Müllverwertung*.
- 42 Rüb, "Grenzen eines tradierten Systems," 93.
- 43 Münch, *Stadthygiene im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, 227-40; Hardy, *Ärzte*, 273-312.

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HANOI'S SEPTIC TANKS - TECHNOLOGY OF A CITY IN FLOW IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND TODAY

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Hanoi's septic tanks are part of a wider socio-material cycle that connects the human body with the environment through flows of water. As such they are shaped by and at the same time enable particular urbanization dynamics. Septic tanks were central to French colonial sanitation planning in Hanoi. From the end of the 19th century on they were supposed to replace the then predominant night-soil system and to bring a specific order to the city's sanitary situation. Sanitation planning involved not only the decentralized tanks installed under individual buildings, but a citywide re-ordering of material flows. Today, the tanks have become the city's predominant means of sanitation even though current large-scale sanitation interventions and planning ignore them. However, the actual technology that is known as the septic tank in Hanoi contradicts the imaginations of the 19th century. Hanoi's septic tanks deviate from original planning and defeat planners' imaginations of urban order as they incorporate elements of the night-soil system dismissed by urban engineers since French colonial era. They produce particular dis/orders, which transcend urban-rural boundaries and are constitutive of Hanoi's urbanization dynamics with blurred and constantly changing passages between the urban and the rural rather than fixed boundaries.

Keywords

Hanoi urbanization, septic tank, sociotechnical infrastructure systems

How to Cite

Schramm, Sophie. "Hanoi's septic tanks – technology of a city in flow in the late nineteenth century and today". In Carola Hein (ed.) *International Planning History Society Proceedings, 17th IPHS Conference, History-Urbanism-Resilience, TU Delft 17-21 July 2016, V.04 p.335*, TU Delft Open, 2016.

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7480/iphs.2016.4.1300>

INTRODUCTION

The simple and stable brick structures of septic tanks contrast the highly complex and dynamic social and material processes going on within and outside them. Bacteria digest wastewaters and perpetually change their composition as they flow from the households through the tanks and the city. Humans shape these dynamics as they build houses, re-construct tanks and drainage systems and with their practices regarding the maintenance of the tanks or their neglect. Wastewaters flow from the human body to the toilet to the tank and from there into a street, a drainage channel, the ground, a water body or green space. The tanks are part of a wider socio-material cycle that connects the human body with the environment through flows of water. As such they are shaped by and at the same time enable particular urbanization dynamics. Septic tanks were central to French colonial sanitation planning in Hanoi. From the end of the 19th century on they were supposed to replace the then predominant night-soil system which French engineers dismissed as unhygienic. Thus they were to bring a specific order to the city's sanitary situation. Sanitation planning involved not only the decentralized tanks installed under individual buildings and respective practices, but a citywide re-ordering of material flows. In contrast, current large-scale sanitation interventions and planning neglect septic tanks and attempt to bring order to sanitation in Hanoi with the installation of „central large-scaled wastewater treatment plants“. However, today septic tanks are spread throughout Hanoi; they have become the city's predominant means of sanitation.

In recent decades, urban studies have emphasized the networked character of cities, the interconnections and interdependences of actors and materials, the flows of water, energy, waste and people that constitute urban space¹. The dynamics of change and stability are a central concern of studies of sociotechnical infrastructure systems. These studies often hint at the durability of pre-designed infrastructure networks and artifacts, which appear to be stable and long-lasting material results of past planning and design decisions “frozen in space”. Notions such as inertia, momentum, obduracy and path-dependency describe the resistance to change of large technological systems^{2 3}. Hommels⁴ and Leigh Star⁵ emphasize that this resistance is rooted in the embeddedness of infrastructure networks and artifacts, which are elements of broader sociotechnical ensembles, closely interconnected with other technologies and social arrangements. At the same time, the study of urban infrastructure systems problematizes particular imaginations of spatial order and in the case of wastewater management and urban sanitation, a vision of the city as a clearly bounded entity separate from a hinterland as the sink of water discharged from the city⁶. Urban infrastructure systems regularly resist such imaginations of urban order and respective plans. However, this resistance to planned change does not mean that they are completely static. As urban actors appropriate infrastructures, they transform them and create new dis/orders⁷.

This paper conceptualizes Hanoi's septic tanks as elements in broader urban sociotechnical ensembles, which constantly change but at the same time perpetually resist formal planning. It examines the history of septic tanks in Hanoi regarding engineers' and planners' ideas and imaginations as well as the tanks' interrelations with urbanization dynamics in the colonial era and today. It contrasts these imaginations with the actual technology that became known as the septic tank in Hanoi and respective practices, which deviate from original planning, defeating planners' imaginations of urban order.

THE SEPTIC TANK IN THE COLONIAL ERA: AN “ELITE URBAN TECHNOLOGY”

Hanoi is an ancient city founded in 210 AD⁸. After roughly a millennium of Chinese rule, Hanoi became the capital of the state of Vietnam under the name of Thang Long (“Rising Dragon”)⁹. Changing political regimes have brought about dramatic ruptures which have influenced the city’s urban fabric and its society¹⁰. These influences – almost a millennium of Chinese rule, the French colonial intervention, economic and spatial planning from the Soviet Union, and the current international cooperation largely with Japan – have shaped the sanitation systems and practices of the city¹¹.

Hanoi literally means “city in a river”. Due to its location in the delta of the Red River it is an amphibious city which an intense proximity of land and water. In the pre-colonial era, the city’s rivers, streams, ponds and lakes defined urban life: they served as moats for protection, as a means of transport, for farming fish, cultivating rice, decorating pagodas, and as a place for disposing of household wastes¹². Before French colonialization, feudal Hanoi consisted of the royal enclosure, the people’s city and surrounding peri-urban villages. The royal enclosure exclusively featured water supply and disposal networks and the separation of human manure and stormwater¹³. Throughout the city, night soil collectors have gathered human manure which has regularly been used as fertilizer in agriculture; a practice the French engineer Fayet has dismissed as a “*défi aux règles d’hygiène les plus élémentaires*” already in 1939¹⁴. After Hanoi was conquered by the French military in 1882, French engineers and planners subjected it to the colonial planning logic. Particularly in the early phase of French rule from 1882 till 1920, the construction of colonial Hanoi did not preserve the pre-existing urban fabric¹⁵. Grandiose urban plans and large scale extensions, destructions and re-constructions of urban space as well as a socio-spatial segregation were a central part of the French “*mission civilisatrice*” in Hanoi¹⁶. Socio-spatial segregation of Hanoi was based on the discursive and material construction of two groups, the “colonial elite” and the “*indigènes*”¹⁷. This oversimplification of complex social structures allowed for the planned segregation of the city. A massive urban expansion toward the south of the people’s city, an area known as the “French quarter” today, was to be reserved exclusively for the colonial elite. This was the case even though in 1889 only approx. 400 French people have resided in the city¹⁸ (Figure 1). The introduction of the paradigm of the “dry and sanitary city”¹⁹ to Hanoi was an integral part of the colonial project. According to this modern paradigm, the construction of a large sewerage system transporting human wastes out of the city as fast as possible serves for the prevention of disease. This conception was fundamental to colonial sanitation planning which considered septic tanks as one central means to achieve sanitation²⁰.

The original design of Hanoi’s septic tanks resembled the invention of the French engineer Jean-Louis Mouras who started experimenting in 1860 and has had the “*fosse Mouras*” patented in 1882²¹. This design envisages tanks with two chambers, an inlet connecting to the house’s sinks, and an outlet towards an underground sewerage system (Figure 3). The tanks installed under individual buildings were to be an integral part of a citywide technological network. This integration into a sewerage network has rendered them feasible for densely inhabited urban space according to French urban planning and it distinguishes them from the anglophone version of septic tanks^{22 23} (Figure 2). The purpose of the tanks was to treat wastewater in two specific ways. Firstly, the chambers provide the sedimentation of solids within the tank that are thus separated from water, the ‘mechanic treatment’ of wastewater. Secondly, they allow for ‘biological treatment’, the digestion of these solid materials. Bacteria, which live in environments without oxygen, make anaerobic wastewater treatment work. They decompose the organic materials in blackwater, i.e. the fraction of wastewater including faeces. In this process they produce methane and other gasses as well as wastewater sludge²⁴. Septic tanks are suited for the drainage of Hanoi’s flat terrain because the installation of tanks under the buildings allows for the vertical flow of water and thus the separation of solids from the wastewater before its direction into the city’s river system. Due to the lack of slope in the city a direct inlet of wastewaters into the rivers of Hanoi leads to the sedimentation of solids which clog the mostly stagnant water bodies. The treatment capacity of the tanks depends on the volume and the composition of the wastewater it receives; the duration, the water stays in the tank; as well as emptying intervals. Bacteria react very sensitively to gradual environmental changes especially regarding the composition of materials they process as well as the temperature.

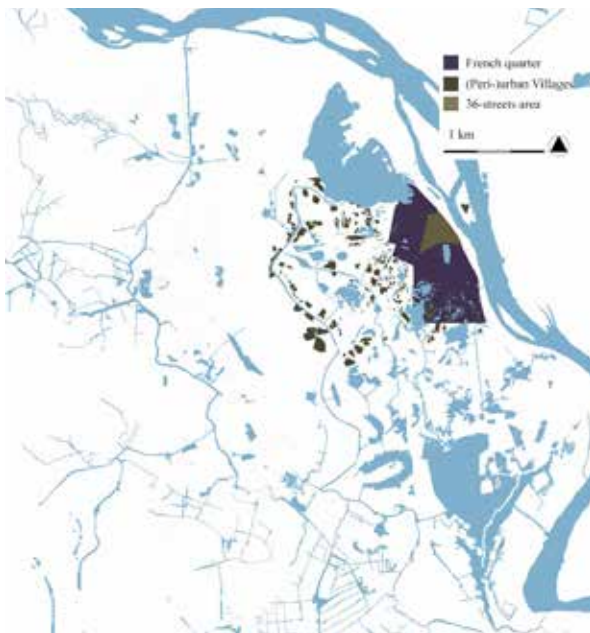


FIGURE 1 Hanoi at the end of the colonial period

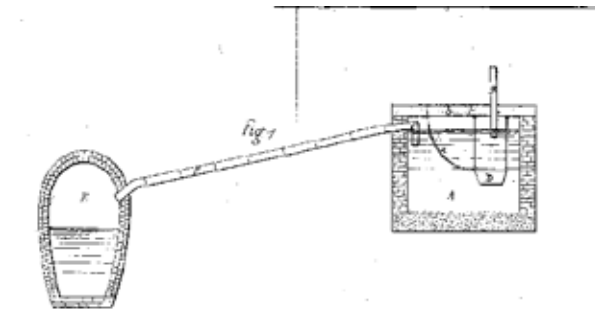
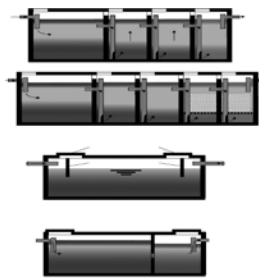


FIGURE 2 The fosse Mouras with connection to the sewerage system

FIGURE 3 The fosse Mouras in Hanoi

Thus, while the outer appearance of the septic tank – brick or concrete walls, a floor and a top, one inlet and one outlet, sometimes also a baffle to direct wastewater, speaks of simplicity and stability, the internal processes are complicated and fragile. French sanitation planning was based on the notion that the handling of these delicate processes, mostly the emptying of the tank in five-year intervals, could only be mastered by the European population of the city and not by the “indigènes”, as the inhabitants of the people’s city, known today as the 36-streets area, were labelled. As engineer Fayet, then “*chef des Travaux Municipaux*” in Hanoi explicated:

*“[...] l’éducation au point de vue hygiène de la masse annamite n’est pas suffisante pour lui confier le fonctionnement d’appareils qui seraient vite obstrués et mis hors d’usage.”*²⁵

At the end of the colonial period, Fayet²⁶ estimated that only 1.000 of the estimated 10.000 households in Hanoi were equipped with septic tanks and 8.500 with the much despised „*tinettes mobiles*“. In his “*Avant projet sur les Égouts de Hanoi*” he anticipated to eradicate the night soil system. He considered this system to be a major health thread due to two factors, the use of the untreated sludges in agriculture and the illegal dumping of household sludges into the existing sewerage system of the city. This procedure of collection and illegal dumping of night soil provokes Fayet’s particular repugnance:

*“[...] La rencontre à l’heure de la sortie des spectacles de ces véhicules malodorants est des plus désagréables.”*²⁷

Based on the socio-spatial segregation of the city already existing in this phase of colonial rule, the “*avant projet*” planned for the substitution of the night soil system with a septic tank system in the French quarter and with a large-scale centralised network “*tout à l’égout*” in the other parts of the city. This network was to separate stormwater and other household wastewaters and its installation was supposed to cost almost one third of the entire project budget²⁸. The idea to impose the use of septic tanks on the French quarter was rooted in financial considerations, as

*“[...] L’emploi des fosses septiques sera donc [...] imposé dans les quartiers européens à population diluée où l’installation du tout à l’égout serait ruineuse [...]”*²⁹

Fayet considered the large and less dense inhabited European quarters, whose inhabitants mostly resided in lavish villas, as ideal spaces for the septic tanks of Hanoi. The dimensioning of the tanks was adapted to the estimated low population density of the colonial quarters: it was expected that one or maximum two families inhabited the large mansions³⁰. Thus, this plan has reinterpreted the septic tank as an elite urban technology. It has assumed a particular socio-spatial order in Hanoi, with a clear segregation between the colonial, European elite and the “indigènes”, two groups with very distinct characteristics concerning their hygienic behaviour. The plan furthermore has supposed that this order was permanent, as long-term sanitation planning was based on it and it was considered a prerequisite for the functionality of sanitation devices such as the septic tank.

SEPTIC TANKS TODAY: APPROPRIATIONS OF A COMMON TECHNOLOGY

Like in the French colonial era, urban planning of Hanoi in the command economy was characterized by gigantic, oversized and unrealistic plans designed by foreign planning experts. In contrast to the plans, planned urbanization integrating urban infrastructure provision and urban design almost came to a halt between the early 1930s – the beginning of organized resistance against the colonial regime, and the early 1990s – the economic upturn in the wake of “doi moi” (renewal), the introduction of state and economic reforms towards market socialism from 1986 on³¹. At the end of the American war in 1975, when urban planning of Hanoi was supported by the Soviet Union, sustaining financial and economic difficulties as well as an ambivalent stance of the regime towards urbanization inhibited substantial urban re-constructions and expansions³². Formal urbanization in the planned economy was reduced to the selective construction of “socialist living quarters” outside the existing urban core. Thus, rapid urban growth in the course of the 1970s and 1980s led to a largely self-organized re-construction and expansion of houses in the core areas of Hanoi as well as a densification of peri-urban villages. At the beginning of the 1990s, living conditions were tense in Hanoi’s core: instead of one family, up to 120 people lived in the formerly luxurious colonial villas³³. The advent of doi moi in 1986 led to accelerated urbanization and urban expansion of Hanoi, as relaxed influx controls and new economic opportunities have motivated people to migrate to the city³⁴. Massive urbanization particularly of the western and southern edges of Hanoi has been shaped by the construction of planned estates and the incremental densification and expansion of urban space beyond planning (Figure 4). Systems of sanitation and wastewater disposal and particularly septic tanks reflect and shape these urbanization dynamics.

One of the first socialist living quarters, Kim Lien, had been equipped with a local wastewater treatment plant and an underground sewer system separating stormwater and household wastewaters. However, this system remained functional for a short time only³⁵ and the subsequent living quarters were equipped with a new generation of septic tanks. This model of the septic tank consists of one chamber of concrete or of brick. It has no filter and is designed to receive only blackwater from a flush toilet. The absence of filters means that on the one hand the tanks do not clog as easily and on the other hand the blackwater flows almost untreated into the river system, if the tanks are not emptied every year or every two years³⁶. Also most of the tanks under the villas in the French quarter have been adapted to the drastic rise of inhabitants. In order to reduce the wastewaters in the tank, only blackwater flows into them, while greywater, kitchen and bathroom wastewater without urine or faeces, flows directly into the drainage system. The more solid substance of the material flowing into the tanks requires the de-installation of filters. Tanks without filters have thus become the norm in Hanoi since 1954 (Figure 5).

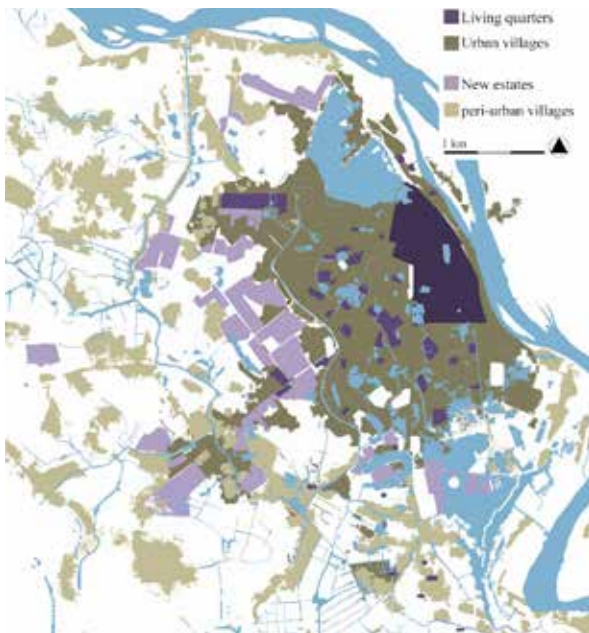


FIGURE 4 Hanoi southwest of the Red River today

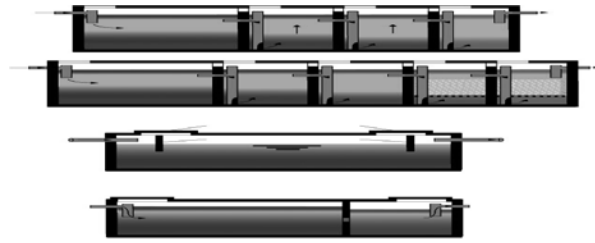


FIGURE 5 The Hanoiian septic tank today

The re-constructions of the septic tanks in the French quarter were pragmatic from the point of view of the villas' inhabitants as the absence of filters allowed for the sewerage to flow into the city's system more smoothly. The adaptation of the tanks to a drastically changed situation disproves the French regime's imaginations concerning the possibility to construct a lasting urban order. This idea of order is reflected in the installation of septic tanks, which require a certain stability of population densities to function. The French planners had not anticipated the massive rise of inhabitants and the transformation of the colonial quarter from an elite neighbourhood to an overcrowded popular area during the planned economy. This fundamental change was facilitated by the reconstruction of the tanks and their appropriation by inhabitants of Hanoi, who have created and established a new version of the septic tank. However, as wastewater flows largely untreated from the households through the tanks into the city's sewerage system, their contribution to Hanoi's sanitation is marginal.

The pragmatic adaptation of the septic tanks to the changed condition in Hanoi has rendered them dysfunctional in terms of sanitation. This motivates the Japan International Cooperation Agency and the Government of Vietnam to dismiss this technology. In a recent large-scale wastewater planning project, they envision Hanoi as a city served by a centralized large technological sewerage network complete with centralized plants at the outskirts of the city collecting and treating the city's sewage before directing it into rivers in the city's hinterland³⁷. The septic tank has no place in this modernist vision – a feasibility study grants the city's tanks hardly any attention, just casually mentioning that they „do not function satisfactorily and can reduce pollutants only slightly”³⁸. However, the septic tanks are the most common and, in absence of a functional centralized wastewater treatment system, almost exclusive wastewater treatment technology in Hanoi. The current septic tank system overcomes the urban-rural divide imagined by formal sanitation planning in the colonial era and present.



FIGURE 6 Septic tank emptying



FIGURE 7 HSDC staff with sewage sludge

TRACING SEPTIC TANK SLUDGE BEYOND URBAN-RURAL BOUNDARIES

The septic tanks' simple brick structure contradicts the complex processes happening within them as bacteria do their work carefully calibrated to the composition of sludge and temperature conditions. Furthermore, also the current septic tanks are not isolated from broader urban relations and flows. As sewerage flows from the tanks into the city's channels and rivers the septic tank system is not limited by the brick walls of the actual tanks. Due to the ever changing composition and materiality of sewerage sludge and the perpetually provisional and dynamic condition of the sewerage system itself it is extremely difficult to follow their ways through the city. Furthermore, humans shape the urban flows of wastewater, adding complication to the issue not least because of the stigma attached to the handling of human wastes. In traditional Vietnamese village societies, night soil collectors had a low social rank, comparable to that of thieves³⁹. As this is a topic that people in Hanoi avoid to talk about directly, especially not to strangers, several rumours evolve about it.

The opacity of the ways of the sludge through the city reflects the complex institutional structures of the operation of septic tanks. The 'Hanoi Sewerage and Drainage Company' is responsible for de-sludging the city's sewerage channels and rivers and states that it also empties septic tanks⁴⁰ (Figure 7). However, a visit to the utility's landfill at Hanoi's northern edge reveals that it is completely empty, a vast stretch of land without any trace of sludge. According to the Environmental Law, it is the waste management utility of Hanoi, the 'Urban Environmental Company' (URENCO) that is formally responsible for septic tanks⁴¹. This company runs a composting plant at the western edge of the city where sewerage sludge can be treated together with organic waste to produce fertilizer. However, an expert in the sector explains that hardly any sludge arrives there apart from the one that the URENCO collects from public toilets throughout the city⁴². The idea of gathering and treating the sludge from septic tanks at the edge of the city is in accord with imagined divide between the city as place of production of wastewaters and the open spaces outside the city. However, it does not actually appear to be a functioning concept for sludge management of Hanoi. The capricious ways of the sludge through the city are not under control or even known by the public utilities.

While two different utilities claim to manage septic tank sludges, small-scale companies are in fact the most important contacts for people wishing to have their household tanks emptied (Figure 6). These companies advertise their services all across the city, often by spraying their telephone numbers or by posting notes on walls, trees and any spaces available. An entrepreneur in the sector explains that he or his workers have actually never brought the sludge to a formal landfill or plant, but occasionally pay a fine for “illegal dumping” of sludge. This fine is a calculated risk he takes, as time and fuel spent on transporting the sludge from a household to a legal dumping site far from the urban core would possibly accrue to even higher costs, compromising the profitability of his business⁴³. He does not name the locations where he actually dumps the sludge. However, newspaper articles provide further hints as to where the sludge from septic tanks of Hanoi’s households actually ends up. One article reports that not one small-scale entrepreneur had signed a contract with the composting plant. Rather, apart from the city’s rivers and lakes, the sewerage lines of newly constructed housing estates at the western edge of the city are preferred locations for the dumping of sludge⁴⁴. This is because the modern underground sewerage networks of the housing estates are easily accessible through the gully. This is a situation, night soil collectors in the French colonial period had discovered already. A newspaper close to the communist party of Vietnam decries the “horrors” of human faeces being used as fertilizer for fresh vegetables – just like in the colonial era. The newspaper also observes carelessness among farmers who continue these practices despite a formal ban by the Ministry of Health in 2008⁴⁵. Of particular concern for the newspaper is the fact these practices allow faecal bacteria to travel back to the city and risk the health of citizens consuming the vegetables produced in the city’s peri-urban spaces. While the article denounces such practices as non-modern, it does not elaborate on the question where the sludge actually has been collected and how it arrived on the fields of peri-urban Hanoi. However, a turn to literature sheds more light on this issue. The Author Nguyen Hui Thiep describes a market that takes place in the early morning hours at a highway outside the city where people buy human faeces from the city for growing vegetables, especially eggplant. The market chief states: “Not religious, not political, not greedy, not sexy’ Mr. Mong told me, ‘Scooping up shit is the best profession in the world!’”⁴⁶ (own translation from German)

CONCLUSION

Hanoi’s septic tanks are shaped by and shape urbanization dynamics beyond formal visions of urban order in multiple ways. French engineers have conceptualized the tanks as a modern urban technology contrasting the night soil system, which according to planners has belonged into rural spaces only. However, the current version of septic tanks unites characteristics of both systems and thus overcomes the rural-urban divide that planners during and after the colonial period have imagined: like regular latrines, the tanks are simple structures that consist of only one chamber instead of two. As opposed to the original design, they receive only blackwater and not the entirety of household wastewater. Furthermore, they have no filters, just like the latrines, which changes the composition of sludge inside the tanks and renders smaller emptying intervals necessary. This is the case because bacteria no longer decompose the materials inside the tanks the way engineers have expected as they designed Hanoi’s septic tanks. Thus, the processes going on inside the tanks are more similar to those happening in the latrines than those the designers of the tank had anticipated. Unlike imagined by planners, septic tank sludge is not handled by formal utilities, but by small-scale entrepreneurs, who operate outside the formal legal system, dumping sludges into the sewerage system or facilitating their use as fertilizer in agriculture – practices that have been common before, during and since the colonial era and that French engineers have deemed unworthy of modern urban living and have intended to eradicate with the formalization of the septic tank system. They remain illegal, but common in the city of Hanoi to date. Entrepreneurs in the sector contribute to a blurring of urban-rural divides as they dump the sludge into the city’s sewerage system instead of transporting it to landfills or treatment plants at the urban edge. Thus, it is not only the style of construction, but also the complex and volatile journey of sludge and bacteria through the city, from the households to the sewerage system to peri-urban fields and aquacultures and via vegetables or fish back to the urban households, which overcomes the idea of city as the site of production and the rural space as the sink of wastewaters (Figure 8).



FIGURE 8 Aquaculture in Hanoi

Hanoi's septic tanks reflect the city's urbanization dynamics beyond any urban-rural dichotomy. Since their introduction in the colonial era, they have become an integral component of the urban sanitation system of Hanoi, closely embedded in broader urban socio-material flows, artifacts and practices. At the same time, they have resisted formal urban planning and respective modernist imaginations of urban socio-spatial order in the French colonial period as well as today. Urban sanitation planning in both periods has been based on the idea of a fixed urban space that is clearly delimited from rural space, which can be controlled via planning by state agencies, and whose inhabitants act in accord with legal provisions. In the French colonial era, the septic tank was an emblem of such modern urbanization, which was to replace the dismissed night soil system. In contrast, current sanitation planners consider the septic tank as an obstacle to the creation of urban socio-spatial order and hence exclude it from formal urban sanitation planning. However, the tanks remain an integral part of Hanoi's sanitation system beyond these changing ascriptions. The historic development of the septic tanks reveals that their resistance to planned change does not imply that they are static or fixed. The inertia of the septic tank system despite its current dismissal by formal urban sanitation planning is not rigid but flexible as it has allowed for the emergence of urban sociotechnical dis/orders intermingling urban and rural technologies, practices, and spaces beyond modern imaginations. These dis/orders are constitutive of Hanoi's urbanization dynamics with blurred and constantly changing passages between the urban and the rural rather than firm boundaries.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Notes on contributor

Sophie Schramm does research on urban infrastructure systems with a focus on the global south. She studied Urban and Regional Planning at the HafenCity University in Hamburg. In 2008, she joined the TU Darmstadt, where she has been working in research projects. In 2014, she published her dissertation thesis "City in flow – Hanoi's wastewater system in light of social and spatial transformations". Till April 2016, she was working as a research associate at the chair for Spatial and Infrastructure Planning, TU Darmstadt. Currently, she is a post-doc researcher at the University Kassel in the project "Dis/ordering African Cities".

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- Endnotes)
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Figure 2: Extract of patent of Jean-Louis Mouras, No. 144,904, filed September 22, 1881 to the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, France ‘Archives INPI’, acquired from https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fosse_Mouras, accessed 10 May 2016.
Figure 3: adapted from Viet Anh 2007.
Figure 4: own image based on Google aerial picture 2010, Fayet 1939; Quang/Kammeier 2002.
Figure 5: adapted from Viet Anh 2007.
Figure 6: own image.
Figure 7: own image.
Figure 8: own image.

A NEW MASTER PLAN FOR THE "GRAN MADRID CAPITAL DE ESPAÑA" AFTER THE CIVIL WAR

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As was the case in the allied dictatorships of Mussolini's Italy and Hitler's Germany, the attempt to impose a new order in the urban region of the regime's capital city was also an important issue of national concern in Franco's Spain. Madrid was to become the new capital city of the New State (*Nuevo Estado*), an expression of the transformed socio-political conditions. The new Master Plan had thus to overcome some of Madrid's chronic problems, such as a dramatic housing shortage among the poorest segments of society and the growth of informal settlements in the urban region. The intended solution was a "planetary system" based upon strong separations between inner city and new satellite towns, as well as between urban and rural areas. This paper critically discusses the proposed "new" order. Moreover, the contradictory manner of its implementation will be reflected upon. Looking back, there is an evident connection between the plan and the pre-war planning debate. From today's perspective, Madrid's uncontrolled urban growth into the surrounding region throughout that period (1940s and 1950s) can be understood more so as a consequence of the particular production conditions of the time than as an outcome of the new Master Plan.

Keywords

Madrid, Master Plan, Franco's Spain, new order, Europe

How to Cite

Sassi, Piero. "A New Master Plan for the . "Gran Madrid Capital de España" after the Civil War". In Carola Hein (ed.) *International Planning History Society Proceedings*, 17th IPHS Conference, History-Urbanism-Resilience, TU Delft 17-21 July 2016, V.04 p.347, TU Delft Open, 2016.

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7480/iphs.2016.4.1301>

A NEW LANDSCAPE FOR THE NEW STATE

On March 28, 1939, insurgent troops led by General Francisco Franco entered Madrid, the former capital city of the Second Spanish Republic. Only a few days later, on April 1, 1939, the end of the bloody and destructive Spanish Civil War, which had lasted almost three years (1936-1939), and the capture of the entire state was proclaimed. Thus began, in Spain, the history of one of the longest lasting European dictatorships of the twentieth century. The transformation of the socio-political conditions that ensued as a result of the coming into power of the insurgents also had tremendous effects on spatial policy. The political and economic role of the cities and rural areas as well as their relations changed fundamentally.

At the end of the Civil War, the new regime was confronted with tremendous challenges of reconstructing the nation. This extended beyond the reconstruction of the cities, infrastructures and industrial facilities that had been destroyed during the war.⁴ The establishment of new institutions, the backbone of the New State, and the definition of an appropriate economic system for the new political conditions were likewise important. In this regard, the situation, in 1939, proved to be highly complicated. Mussolini's Italy and Hitler's Germany, the old allies that had massively supported the insurgents throughout the Civil War, were preparing for the impending World War and unwilling to support the reconstruction of the New State. After their final defeat at the end of the Second World War, Spain's situation became increasingly exacerbated. Until the late 1940s, the nation experienced extreme political isolation and economic autarchy.⁵

In those years, the Franco regime focused on increasing agricultural production in order to supply the nation with food. However, this required the modernisation of a technologically backward agricultural sector. To achieve this, the newly established *Instituto Nacional de Colonización*, one of the most important institutions of the regime, launched a wide-scale internal colonisation process. Some 300 new towns (*pueblos de colonización*) were built between 1944 and 1969. These were settled with more than 65,000 families (some 500,000 persons), among which the available arable land was divided.⁶ Furthermore, new infrastructures, especially dams, were built with the aim of supplying an efficient irrigation system to the agricultural production, which was to be expanded. The new settlement structures resulting from the internal colonisation continue to shape the landscape of many regions, such as Extremadura and Andalusia, significantly.

In the new economic system of early Francoism, the rural regions decidedly moved into focus. The attention of the regime's urbanism policy turned to their reconstruction (*Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas y Reparaciones*) and new colonisation (*Instituto Nacional de Colonización*). Under the new conditions, cities played a relatively peripheral role at first. These maintained their importance as centres of political and military power. However, the internal colonisation and the associated internal migration to the newly established towns aimed to contain their growth.



FIGURE 1 Pueblo de colonización Vegaviana (construction 1954-1958) in Extremadura, 2015.



FIGURE 2 Area close to the La Minilla dam (construction 1946-1957) in Andalusia, 2015

THE MADRID MASTER PLAN (1941-1946): AN ATTEMPT TO ORDER THE URBAN REGION OF THE CAPITAL CITY

In the centralistic New State, the capital city was an exception. As was the case in the allied dictatorships, Mussolini's Italy and Hitler's Germany, capital city planning was an especially important undertaking of national importance in Franco's Spain.⁷ One of the most important challenges was dealing with the belt of informal settlements in the region surrounding the city, which grew over the course of decades. This was considered hostile by the new rulers, whose official press described it as a "dirty, bleak, gruff and disgusting belt" just two weeks after the end of the Civil War.⁸ According to disseminated myths, Republicans went into hiding there following their defeat.⁹ In fact, until the early 1950s, some 400,000 persons lived in miserable conditions in 30 chaotically built settlements throughout the urban region (*suburbios*).¹⁰ Here, the Franco regime saw potential, dangerous rebellious herds directly on the outskirts of the capital city.¹¹ In this settlement structure, which consisted in part of barracks-type buildings, "hybrids of urban and rural lifestyles"¹² developed. For the planning of Madrid, this situation amounted to one of the largest hurdles that had to be overcome in order to build a capital city adequate to the new socio-political conditions. The incredibly difficult situation of the informal settlements in Madrid's metropolitan region was the result of a lengthy process of uncontrolled urban development. After the demolition of the city wall by Philipp IV and the determination of the new expansion area (*ensanche*) in 1860, the city grew according to two spatially separate and uncoordinated processes. The official city developed in the generous space of the new expansion. Due to the high property prices, these were only affordable for the middle classes and proved unsuitable for providing desperately necessary housing for the poorest social classes. These were forced to search for housing in the surrounding towns as well as newly built and constantly expanding informal settlements. In the space between the periphery of the new expansion and the border of the municipal territory, the so-called *extrarradio*, the city had grown independently of any planning coordination since the middle of the nineteenth century. Over the course of decades, several planning solutions to overcome this situation were experimentally developed but always failed as a result of lacking framework conditions for systematic implementation. After the coming into power of the insurgents, the professional community in the New State realised that the restructuring and renewal of the uncontrolled settlement structure of *extrarradio* and the surrounding communities was one of the most important steps towards a new ordering of the urban region surrounding the capital city. Beyond that, this incredibly difficult task proved to be an optimal stage of the vigour and capacity of the new planning institutions.



FIGURE 3 Informal settlement in the eastern outskirts of Madrid, approximately 1950.



FIGURE 4 The Junta planning area, 1940.

On April 27, 1939, just one month after the end of the war, a new institution was established: the *Junta de Reconstrucción de Madrid*, the council for the reconstruction of Madrid. Its task was to support the municipal administration with the reconstruction process and prepare a plan for the new capital city and its surrounding region. For the development of the new Master Plan, a new technical office directed by the architect Pedro Bidagor Lasarte was established. Bidagor had already been a prominent figure, during the Civil War, in the planning debates about the future of the capital city.¹³ The institutional framework conditions reflect the major state intervention in the development of the new plan. The central government aimed for the “reconstruction of the symbols [...] of the former *Capitalidad Imperial*,” the imperial capital city character, but also on the development of Madrid as an industrial city.¹⁴ The new institutional conditions could be recognised in one important planning change, the *Junta* planning area. The subject of the new plan was an area that comprised of the entire city of Madrid and 28 surrounding communities.¹⁵ A population growth of up to circa four million people was intended for this metropolitan area.¹⁶ Therefore, the newly defined planning area expanded far beyond the municipal boundaries. This decision was justified by the strong influence of the capital city on the surrounding region. Furthermore, the former planning boundaries of the *Ayuntamiento* had proven, in the early twentieth century, to be one of main obstacles to previous attempts of steering the development of the settlement structure. In 1939, there was consensus in this regard within Madrid’s planning community.

Under the direction of Pedro Bidagor, the Master Plan for Madrid was prepared from 1939 to 1941 and came into effect, in 1946, with the final version of the urban development law (*Ley de Ordenación Urbana de Madrid y sus alrededores*).¹⁷ The new plan sought to steer the development of the settlement structure of the entire urban region. It was organised in a “planetary system”.¹⁸ The basic scheme consisted of a central core, the inner city and nineteenth-century expansion (*ensanche*), still to be completed, as well as several satellite centres, which were to be embedded in three green rings. The scheme was characterised by clearly defined borders for building areas – both in the inner city as well as in the satellite centres. According to the official justification, a high standard of living was to be secured in the long-term for all residents through the strict regulation of the ratio of open to built areas. In fact, the plan was aiming at the separation of functions on a spatial scale and especially at the displacement of unwanted functions, such as housing for the poorest segments of society and industry, away from the inner city.

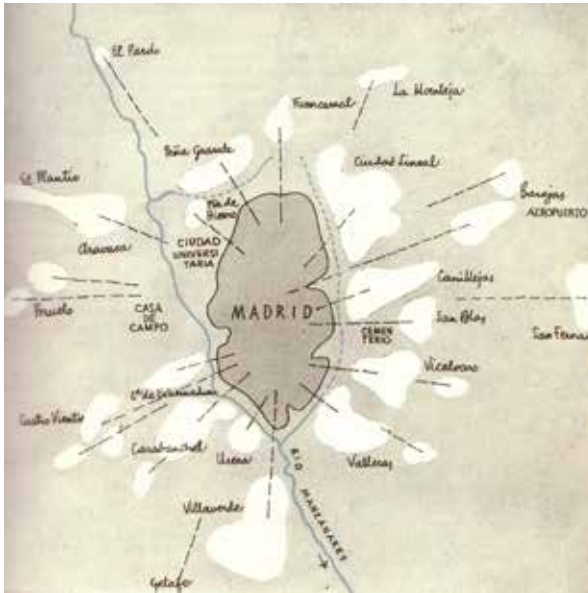


FIGURE 5 Plan for Madrid, basic scheme, 1953.

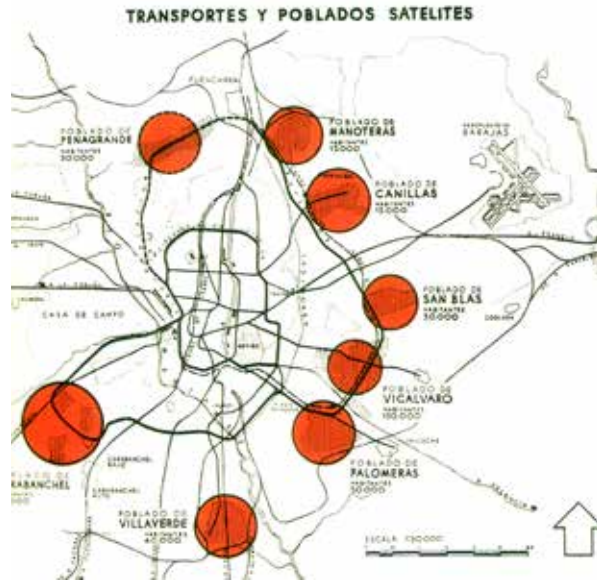


FIGURE 6 Plan for Madrid, satellite centres, 1953.

The growth of the inner city, which covered approximately 5,500 ha,¹⁹ was limited to 2,000,000 residents.²⁰ Official institutions of the capital city and housing for the middle classes were to be concentrated here. Only few expansions of this inner city were planned, the most important of which would be located along the extension of the Paseo de la Castellana, the new Avenida del Generalísimo. A new urban quarter with a mixture of functions and new housing for 100,000 residents²¹ was to be built. The satellite centres, eventually for 20,000 to 200,000 residents,²² had to include new industrial facilities, housing for poorer social classes, who could not afford to live in the city centre, and for a section of the middle classes, who preferred rural to urban surroundings.²³ Some of these centres were to be developed *ex novo*, while some were to be developed by completing and adapting existing suburban settlements.²⁴ All were to maintain a degree of independence from the city and be equipped with appropriate social infrastructure.²⁵ They were to be located approximately five kilometres away from the city centre.²⁶ Eight satellite centres were to be built. These were to house approximately 320,000 residents.²⁷ The settlement structure was connected by a system of open spaces, namely afforested green rings and wedges.²⁸ In order to secure an efficient connection between the satellite centres and with the city centre, road and railway transport on a regional scale was redefined through concentric ring and radial streets.²⁹ From the perspective of the official urbanism policy, the inner core was the most important element of the “planetary system”. However, in fact, the main challenge faced by the plan was how to replace the belt of informal settlements with new satellite centres.



FIGURE 7 Plan for Madrid, proposal by Secundino Zuazo and Hermann Jansen,



FIGURE 8 Copenhagen Finger Plan, 1947.

THE EUROPEAN DISCUSSION OF NEW PLANS FOR THE METROPOLITAN REGION

The basic scheme, especially in regard to the radio-centric structure with green wedges and rings, was based on suggestions that were widely discussed by urbanism professionals around 1910, such as in the context of the *Wettbewerb Groß-Berlin* (Greater Berlin competition) 1908-1910 and the *Allgemeinen Städtebau-Ausstellung* (General Urbanism Exhibition) in Berlin 1910, two events in which Hermann Jansen was directly involved.³⁰ The question regarding the organisation of a chaotically expanding metropolitan region played a major role in these events.³¹ Green spaces (wedges or rings), rings and radial streets as well as an active decentralisation policy were considered ordering elements.³² All of these characteristics of metropolitan urbanism were discussed and perfected further after the First World War. They were reflected in Josef Stübben and Paul Wolf's publications, but also in the Anglo-Saxon garden city debate.³³ Decentralization was also an important issue in Fritz Schumacher's book on Cologne's Master Plan³⁴ and in Gustavo Giovannoni's seminal work "Vecchie Città ed Edilizia nuova" (1931), which appeared in Mussolini's Italy.³⁵ When comparing the new Master Plan to the Plan for Madrid suggested by Secundino Zuazo and Hermann Jansen, in 1929, the continuities are apparent.³⁶ This applies mainly to the fundamental scheme with its inner core, which was limited in growth, and surrounding satellite centres as well as the design of a North-South axis through the extension of the *Paseo de la Castellana*.

INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION OF 1929.

The international references of the Master Plan for Madrid, developed under the direction of Bidagor, were not limited to the past. In those years, plans for steering urban growth on the metropolitan scale were discussed and developed in several European cities. Well-known examples from this time period include the Greater London Plan (1944) and the Copenhagen Finger Plan (1947). Similar to the Master Plan for Madrid, these focused on limiting the city centre in favour of polycentric growth and clearly-defined green spaces. The obvious coherence with the contemporary international professional discussion makes the contrast between the real content of the plan, the suggested *forma Urbis*, and its propagandistic patina, emphasising Madrid's role as a capital city (*Capitalidad*), even more obvious.³⁷

UPHEAVAL OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND SHARPENED CONFLICTS BETWEEN REGIME'S PLANNING INSTITUTIONS

One of the problems that prevented the plan's systematic implementation was already inherent to its nature. The *Plan General* provided a basic scheme on the metropolitan scale, a land-use plan and a number of references to the ideal urban structure in individual sections. These were not, however, binding and could be changed during the implementation process.³⁸ While the *Junta* was responsible for preparing the plan, a new institution, *Comisaría General de Ordenación Urbana de Madrid*, was established with the 1946 law, and commissioned with the implementation of the plan.³⁹ This was to be achieved through supervision of the building activities but also with the preparation of partial plans (*planes parciales*) and the provision of developed areas⁴⁰ for new projects.⁴¹ With that, the *Comisaría* had the final say regarding the plan's fate.

The institutional framework conditions for implementing the Master Plan for Madrid seemed optimal at first glance. Two state institutions, the *Junta* and the *Comisaría*, were responsible for preparing and implementing the plan. Both were subordinate to the Interior Ministry until 1957. However, this synergy was only profitable during the first phase, between 1946 and 1954, as long as Pedro Bidagor, who had directed the preparation of the plan, was in control of its implementation.⁴² During this period, the *Comisaría* was directed by Francisco Prieto Moreno. Bidagor was its technical director.⁴³

This changed abruptly in the mid-1950s, when the constellation of actors within the institutions responsible for the plan and their power relationships fundamentally altered. A process of international openness had begun in the late 1940s, which resulted in the agreements with the USA and the Vatican in 1953.⁴⁴ The political effects of this process were reflected, in 1957, in the most comprehensive government restructuring of the Franco era and the rise of the Opus Dei technocrats.⁴⁵ This transformation led to the retreat of the public hand from steering not only economic, but also urban development. An important product of the changing political situation was the "Stabilisation Plan" of 1959, which indefinitely cemented the end of autarchy's production conditions.⁴⁶

The upheaval of socio-economic conditions led to a restructuring of the *Comisaría* and, finally, to the renunciation of the plan's goals. In the mid-1950s, as a result of the failed internal colonisation, but also of the increasing industrialisation, Madrid experienced mass immigration from rural areas, which sharpened the already existing dramatic housing shortages. As a response to this problematic situation, Francisco Prieto Moreno was replaced as director of the *Comisaría*, in 1954, by Julián Laguna, a property developer in the real estate company Alcázar.⁴⁷ Laguna was to accelerate the construction of new, affordable housing for the poorest social classes through direct and fast action. To achieve this, vast areas were dispossessed, between 1954 and 1958, in the context of the so called "*Plan Laguna*".⁴⁸

Most affected were the slum areas on the edge of the city centre, whose residents had to be resettled, but also open areas, which were intended for the construction of the green rings according to the plan.⁴⁹ The selection was justified on the basis of the comparatively low costs and attractive location. Furthermore, the expropriation process for open spaces progressed much faster than that for built areas. In those years, several partial plans were prepared and authorised that strongly contradicted the designations made in the Master Plan. Examples included the plans for Villaverde, Carabanchel Bajo, Fuente del Berro and El Paraíso, which extended into areas intended, according to the plan, to become green areas.⁵⁰ As it became obvious, in 1956, that the activities of the *Comisaría* systematically contradicted the plan, Pedro Bidagor resigned his position as technical director. The significant state intervention in the planning of the capital city proved unable to guarantee efficient implementation of the *Plan General de Ordenación de Madrid*. At the end of the 1950s, it became apparent that the *Plan General de Ordenación de Madrid* was no longer appropriate for the new socio-political conditions. As a result, a new Master Plan for the capital city was prepared and adopted in 1963.

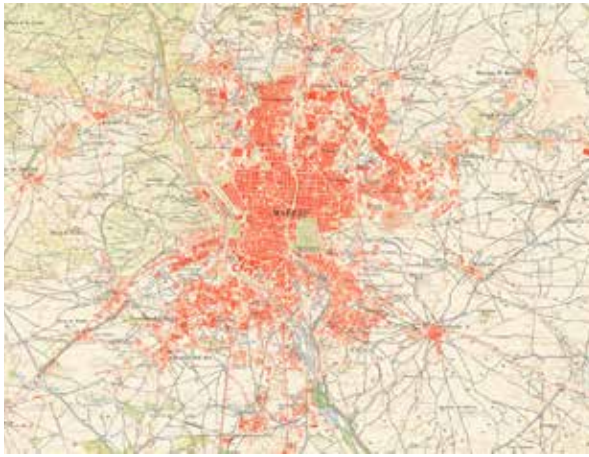


FIGURE 9 Built areas in the Madrid urban region, 1962.



FIGURE 10 Motorway M-30, the area of the first green ring in the Madrid Master Plan, 2016.

THE LEGACY OF THE MASTER PLAN WITHIN THE MADRID METROPOLITAN REGION

In regard to the goals of the Master Plan for Madrid, the green rings and satellite centres should have provided a new order to the metropolitan region surrounding Madrid. In an urbanism context, this would have meant a renewal of the *extrarradio* settlement structure and the peripheral settlements of the metropolitan area (*suburbios*), which developed without any urban planning approach. The measures required included equipping them with necessary social infrastructure and the demolition of slum areas, whose residents would have had to have been resettled into new housing in the satellite centres. The system of afforested green wedges and rings would have set clear boundaries to the resulting settlement structures in terms of their growth. Today, not much remains of the “planetary system” intended by the *Plan General de Ordenación de Madrid*.

The implementation of these ordering approaches failed as a result of the contradictory production conditions of this time period. The public sector should have played the main part in the implementation of the plan, especially in regard to the production of new flats for the poorest segments of society. However, the lack of resources, in the 1940s and 1950s, prevented the development of an appropriate housing policy. In addition, the non-binding nature of the Master Plan led to acute conflicts between the actors and institutions of the regime responsible for its preparation and implementation. The contradictory position of the state institutions made it difficult to overcome the pressure of private owners and prevented the systematic steering of their activities according to the Master Plan.

The fate of the three green rings is paradigmatic in this sense. Shortly after the coming into effect of the plan, its realisation was prevented by the owners of properties that needed to be dispossessed. They resisted, as they recognised a potential appreciation of their properties as building areas.⁵¹ Later, beginning in the mid-1950s, as massive migration from rural regions demanded increased housing construction, the *Comisaría General de Ordenación Urbana de Madrid* allowed construction on the partly already dispossessed areas of the green rings. Even the satellite centres, the other main element of the “planetary system”, were never realised as such. In some intended locations, social housing settlements were indeed built. However, the fragmentation of these projects, which were often expanded over the course of decades, and the construction of surrounding green spaces contributed to the loss of the cohesive and independent character given to the satellite centres within the Master Plan. Today, these urban quarters are inserts in the fragmented and chaotic settlement structure of the Madrid metropolitan region.

Regardless of its limited implementation, the *Plan General de Ordenación de Madrid* significantly influenced the development of Spanish urbanism in the twentieth century. The planning of the capital city served as a model for other cities on a national scale. As a result, similar planning instruments were prepared in other cities – Bilbao, Valencia and, later, Barcelona – in the years that followed.⁵² Finally, the Master Plan for Madrid served as the starting point for the development of the first planning law (*Ley del Suelo y Ordenación Urbana*).⁵³ In light of its obvious continuity with the European planning discussion of the first half of the twentieth century and its important role in the urbanism policy of the first phase of the Franco dictatorship, it seems inexplicable that the *Plan General de Ordenación de Madrid* continues to be largely unknown to the international scientific community.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This paper is based on some activities of the research project “*Städtebau unter Franco und Salazar. Stadtproduktion iberischer Diktaturen im europäischen Kontext*” (City Production by Iberian Dictatorships in the European Context), which is supported by the German Research Foundation (DFG). Direction: Prof. Dr. Harald Bodenschatz/TU Berlin, Prof. Dr. Max Welch Guerra/Bauhaus-Universität Weimar; research associates and doctoral candidates: Christian von Oppen and Piero Sassi; with the participation of Prof. Dr. Uwe Altrock/Universität Kassel. I benefited from constructive discussions on the Madrid Master Plan with Ainhoa Díez de Pablo, Jean-François Lejeune, Carlos Sambricio and Álvaro Sevilla-Buitrago. Furthermore, I wish to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments. The German version of the text was translated into English by Neele Reimann-Philipp.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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Endnotes

- 1 Junta de Reconstrucción de Madrid, *Plan General de Ordenación de Madrid*, 7.
- 2 This contribution is part of the panel “Urban Ruralities since the 19th Century”, organised by Celina Kress (Center for Metropolitan Studies / Technische Universität Berlin) and Sylvia Necker (Institut für Zeitgeschichte Munich). Further participants include Björn Blass (Freie Universität Berlin / Max-Planck-Institut für Bildungsforschung) and Sophie Schramm (Technische Universität Darmstadt).
- 3 Comisaría, *Planeamiento urbanístico de Madrid*, 12.
- 4 The reconstruction had begun in the territories under insurgent control by 1938. See Welch Guerra, *Spanischer Städtebau und Herrschaftssicherung unter Franco*.
- 5 See Bernecker, *Geschichte Spaniens im 20. Jahrhundert*, 219-220.
- 6 Lejeune, *Fondazioni, poetica rurale e modernità*, 5.
- 7 On Mussolini’s Rome, see Bodenschatz, *Städtebau für Mussolini: Auf dem Weg zu einem neuen Rom*; Cremaschi and Ernesti, *Probing the Region*, 59-74. On Hitler’s Berlin, see Reichardt and Schäche, *Von Berlin nach Germania*; Bodenschatz, *Nationalsozialistische Neugestaltungspläne für Berlin*.
- 8 *Madrid necesita sitio*. Cited in Dieguez Patao, *Un nuevo orden urbano*, 148.
- 9 See Dieguez Patao, *Un nuevo orden urbano*, 164.
- 10 *Ibid.* In 1950, the Madrid urban region had a population of 1,685,425 people. Comisaría, *Planeamiento urbanístico de Madrid*, 9.
- 11 See Dieguez Patao, *Un nuevo orden urbano*, 164.
- 12 Pelka, *Stadt als Raum sozialer Praxis*, 138.
- 13 See Sambricio, *On Urbanism in the Early Years of Francoism*, 122.
- 14 Ureña, *Arquitectura y urbanística civil y militar en el periodo de la autarquía*, 108.
- 15 Ministerio de la Gobernación, *Decreto de 1.º marzo de 1946*.
- 16 Comisaría, *Planeamiento urbanístico de Madrid*, 9. Also Terán, *Historia del urbanismo en España III*, 238.
- 17 Ministerio de la Gobernación, *Decreto de 1.º marzo de 1946*.
- 18 Comisaría, *Planeamiento urbanístico de Madrid*, 12.
- 19 *Ibid.*, 14.
- 20 Toledano, *Los proyectos parciales del Plan Bidagor*, 61.
- 21 Comisaría, *Planeamiento urbanístico de Madrid*, 31.
- 22 Toledano, *Los proyectos parciales del Plan Bidagor*, 61.
- 23 Junta de Reconstrucción de Madrid, *Plan General de Ordenación de Madrid*, 18.
- 24 Comisaría, *Planeamiento urbanístico de Madrid*, 12.
- 25 *Ibid.*
- 26 *Ibid.*, 27.
- 27 *Ibid.*, 26.
- 28 *Ibid.*, 21.
- 29 See *Ibid.*, 16-18.
- 30 See Sonne, *Ideen für die Großstadt*.
- 31 On the academic and professional discussion on urbanization processes during the 19th and 20th century, see Kress, *Urban Ruralities or the New Urban-Rural Paradigm*.
- 32 See Bodenschatz et al., *Stadtvisionen 1910/2010*, 29-233.
- 33 See Terán, *Historia del urbanismo en España III*, 239-240.
- 34 See Schumacher, *Köln*.
- 35 See Giovannoni, *Vecchie città ed Edilizia nuova*. For more on the specific contribution of this work to the contemporary European profession discussion, see also Bodenschatz, *Städtebau für Mussolini*, 407.
- 36 Before the Civil War, from 1935 to 1936, Pedro Bidagor was employed by Secundino Zuazo and was familiar with his Madrid projects. Terán, *Historia del urbanismo en España III*, 240. On the 1929 Madrid international competition, see Sambricio, *Madrid, vivienda y urbanismo*, 257-278; Medina Warmburg, *Projizierte Moderne*, 225-242.
- 37 See Terán, *Historia del urbanismo en España III*, 241.
- 38 See Ministerio de la Gobernación, *Decreto de 1.º marzo de 1946*.
- 39 *Ibid.*
- 40 Between 1946 and 1963, some 100,000 apartments, both privately funded and in the context of social housing policies, were constructed on 9,200 ha. Ayuntamiento de Madrid 2015.
- 41 Galiana Martín, *Comisaría ‘versus’ plan*, 38.

- 42 Ibid., 39.
- 43 In 1946, Francisco Prieto Moreno took over the direction of the Comisaría from Pedro Muguruza, who had served as Comisario during the first months. Galiana Martín, Comisaría 'versus' plan, 39.
- 44 See Bernecker, *Geschichte Spaniens im 20. Jahrhundert*, 220-230.
- 45 See Ibid. 230-231.
- 46 Ibid., 233.
- 47 Galiana Martín, Comisaría 'versus' plan, 42.
- 48 Ibid.
- 49 See Galeana Martín, Comisaría 'versus' plan, 41-45.
- 50 Toledano, *Los proyectos parciales del Plan Bidagor*, 68.
- 51 Dieguez Patao, *Un nuevo orden urbano*, 173.
- 52 Terán, *Historia del urbanismo en España III*, 237; Prieto Moreno, *Presentación*, 4.
- 53 *Ley de 12 de mayo de 1956 sobre régimen del suelo y ordenación urbana*.

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Image Sources

Figure 1. Photograph by Piero Sassi 2015.

Figure 2. Photograph by Piero Sassi 2015.

Figure 3. Source: Comisaría. "Plan de creación de núcleos satélites," *Gran Madrid* no. 11 (1950), 6.

Figure 4. Source: "Organismos del Nuevo Estado," *Reconstrucción* no. 2 (1940), 3.

Figure 5. Source: Comisaría. "Planeamiento urbanístico de Madrid," *Gran Madrid* no. 23 (1953), 13.

Figure 6. Source: Comisaría. "Planeamiento urbanístico de Madrid," *Gran Madrid* no. 23 (1953), 27.

Figure 7. Source: Jansen and Zuazo, "Anteproyecto del trazado viario y urbanización de Madrid," 15. Doc. In: *Anteproyecto del trazado viario y urbanización de Madrid*. Zuazo-Jansen. 1929-1930, edited by Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid. Madrid: COAM, 1986.

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Perspectives on Urban Heritage

Chair: *Enrico Fontanari*

FORTIFICATION AS AN ORIGIN OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOUTH OF UKRAINE CITIES (EIGHTEENTH - NINETEENTH CENTURY)

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INTRODUCTION

The topic of sustainable city planning in Ukrainian urban historical scientific field raised some decades ago. This research work is devoted to fortresses, which were founded on Northern Black Sea Coast of Ukraine. Authors review the fortresses, stages of their development since 1720 until nowadays, and satellite settlements development.

CASE STUDY

From 1484, with the occupation of the city-fortress Kilia started a gradual intervention of the Ottoman Empire on the territory of the Moldavian principality ended in 1595 by the accession into the city Smil (later Izmail). In order to keep control over a new territory engineers worked on the creation of defensive fortifications belt with fortresses. European principles of fortification architecture and achievements in the artillery were actively adopted but project was never completed. Historically network of trade routes, sea and river communication contributed to the aggravation of conflicts.

State carried out development of general plans of cities in view of the generally accepted principles and delegated powers, approved by the national authorities. A master plan of cities, forts and settlements are processed in the representative albums for the emperors. Historical data of these albums is the basis for this study.

METHODOLOGY

Timelines with schemes of each northern black sea cities of XVIIIth and XIXth century: Izmail, Kilia, Kherson, were prepared in reference to studies of archival maps. Drawings of these cities – fortresses and their modernization projects and also stylistic and architectural-planning analysis were placed in the table.

RESEARCH RESULTS

Each state was based or developed as a settlement compatible to the national traditions and forms. Pre-existing medieval urban centers give opportunity to a new type of city plan, classical city with a uniform rectangular grid of roads and neighborhoods.

In the comparison of stages it revealed that nowadays cities keep the features of classical (Baroque) town, with a corresponding rectangular grid of streets, a composition of public spaces typical of urban art of the Russian Empire of XVIIIth -XIXth century. Fortifications are presented in fragments, having lost original appearance. There are a lot of connections in nowadays appearance of cities in comparison to the XVIIIth century plans, moreover historical factors have a big importance in developing of Ukrainian cities. This research work is a first step to precise a guideline for future urban planning of Ukrainian cities in which traces of fortresses could be seen.

Keywords

ukrainian fortifications, urban development, historical fortress, Izmail, Kilia, Kherson

A STUDY ON WUHAN MODERN CITY HERITAGE (1861-1957) – FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

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Between the years 1861 and 1957, Wuhan transferred from a traditional feudal town to a modern industrial city. This paper aims to investigate the effect of social transformation upon Wuhan modern city heritage, in the aspects of spatial morphology, construction scale and landscape features. The contents of this paper include three parts: The first details the theoretical research, of which there are two narratives of social transformation attributed to shaping the form and direction of Wuhan's modernisation – both domestication and localisation. On the other hand, there are three transformation levels – physical, institutional and ideological. The second part concerns the empirical research. This paper divides Wuhan's modernisation processes into four typical periods, and examines the city construction activities and heritage features of each period – Colonial (1861-1888), Westernisation Movement (1889-1911), Xinhai Revolution (1912-1937) and the beginning age of CHN (1949-1957). Third, and finally, it is concluded that social transformation has profound impacts on construction activities, architecture styles, distributions and leading subjects. In addition, domestication and localisation have worked together to shape the urban physical space environment, and the three towns of Wuhan display a disparate heritage that could reflect the varied construction focuses and features across different transformation periods.

Keywords

Modern city heritage, Social transformation, Modernization, Wuhan

'MORE CONSTRUCTION THAN DESTRUCTION': THE AMBIGUOUS PLACE OF ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE IN A RECONSTRUCTING BELFAST CIRCA 1972-89

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The urban landscape of the city of Belfast was radically transformed from the late 1960s by a combination of state-sponsored reconstruction and civil unrest, including paramilitary activity associated with the period in Northern Ireland euphemistically known as the Troubles. This paper explores the sometimes competing and contradictory interpretations of destruction in the built environment as the UK government sought to promulgate a narrative of progressive change in the fortunes of Belfast in the face of a prolonged terrorist campaign, with the discussion partially framed using Vale's ideas on the social construction of urban resilience. The narrative is illuminated by the case of the Castlecourt development in the heart of the city in the 1980s, which was controversial for its demolition of prominent Victorian-era buildings. The paper addresses the political questions of the ambiguous place of architectural heritage in Belfast circa 1972-89, who dominated power relations in the city, and who benefited from key redevelopment decisions. It provides insights with contemporary resonance into the critical importance of institutional architecture and governance to the setting of government priorities and the application of power in conflicted places.

Keywords

Belfast, destruction, architectural heritage, Castlecourt, resilience

How to Cite

McClelland, Andrew G. "More construction than destruction': the ambiguous place of architectural heritage in a reconstructing Belfast circa 1972-89". In Carola Hein (ed.) *International Planning History Society Proceedings, 17th IPHS Conference, History-Urbanism-Resilience, TU Delft 17-21 July 2016, V.04* p.365, TU Delft Open, 2016.

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7480/iphs.2016.4.1303>

INTRODUCTION

An exhibition in 1976 at the Ulster Office in London, organised by the Northern Ireland Department of Finance, sought to convey the 'facts of life in the Province' to investors and property developers.¹ The Ulster is Building Exhibition depicted a series of recently completed office blocks in the centre of Belfast and optimistically declared that 'there is now considerably more construction than destruction' in Troubles-era Northern Ireland.² This represented an early attempt by the government to project a positive image of the city through its changing built environment to counteract the negative perceptions that routinely bracketed Belfast with the most 'troubled' cities of the late twentieth century.³ Such a conflict-ravaged reputation was deserved. For example, approximately 1,800 explosions were recorded in the city between 1970 and 1975,⁴ particularly caused by the Provisional Irish Republican Army (henceforth IRA), with the escalating violence resulting in 'economic and physical decay' and the 'outward movement of business, retailing, population and housing'.⁵ The government's response to bomb and incendiary attacks involved radical security measures and the construction of a 'ring of steel' in the city centre to control vehicular and pedestrian access. However, whereas public policy towards Belfast in the 1970s was defensive in nature, interventions subsequently shifted towards the encouragement of tentative recovery in the period 1980-84, followed by a process of active promotion from 1985.⁶ In particular, policy-makers and UK politicians were interested in the role of economic development and planning in managing the political process, and determined that the 'neutral' city centre could be 'harnessed as a symbol for a normal Northern Ireland'.⁷ It was in this multi-layered context that the ambiguous place of architectural heritage was exposed, revealing the highly contingent interpretations of destruction in the built environment, and the priority initially afforded to the new and the 'modern' in the symbolic landscape under construction.

In considering 'resilience-seeking' behaviour in Belfast during the Troubles this paper focuses on three dimensions of resilience which, according to Vale⁸, are frequently ignored by researchers outside of the social sciences: 'the centrality of narrative voice...architectural symbolism and political favouritism'. More specifically, the critical importance of examining *who* makes decisions impacting on the resilience of places and 'how dominant storylines get constructed, which powerful symbols are used to gauge progress, and how political power sets priorities for investment', is foregrounded in the discussion.⁹ These issues are explored through the case of Castlecourt, a shopping centre, multi-storey car park and office complex opened in Belfast city centre in 1990. This development was symbolically laden in the midst of a continuing and seemingly intractable conflict, representing the largest commercial development then undertaken in Northern Ireland, and argued to have laid the foundation for two further city centre regeneration initiatives.¹⁰ Furthermore, developments such as Castlecourt offered 'symbolism around state control...state triumph over the bombers, and...high levels of subsidy that created a new service class unbounded by sectarian labour markets'.¹¹ Nonetheless, as predicted in an *Ulster Architect* editorial in June 1990, Castlecourt would be remembered 'not just for what it has contributed to the city but for what it has taken away'. The demolition of prominent older buildings on the site and the building over of several streets provoked the ire of conservationists, with one exclaiming in the aftermath that the city had lost 'a part of our Victorian birthright'.¹² The case was inevitably implicated in wider discussions over the position of architectural heritage within the Department of the Environment (DOE) and the conflicted governance of change in the built environment.

The paper firstly introduces the historical context to the creation of Northern Ireland, the start of the period euphemistically known as the Troubles, and the changing governance landscape in response to civil unrest. Vale's thinking on the social construction of urban resilience is then briefly relayed, with his framework employed to guide the discussion on the Castlecourt case, centred on recovery narrative, symbolic milestones and the politics of redevelopment. The paper concludes with thoughts on the competing interpretations of destruction in the built environment and the significance of the Northern Ireland Troubles for the contemporary study of resilience.



FIGURE 1 Castlecourt's Royal Avenue façade in 2013.

NORTHERN IRELAND, THE TROUBLES AND SHIFTING GOVERNANCE

Northern Ireland was established in the aftermath of the Irish Home Rule crisis when the predominantly Protestant unionists opposed the creation of an independent Irish Parliament, culminating in a period of sustained violence including the 1916 'Easter Rising' by Irish republicans against British rule. The Government of Ireland Act 1920 subsequently provided for an independent 26 counties in the south of Ireland, while six northern counties containing a Protestant majority formed a devolved constitutional entity within the United Kingdom. Thus, the Partition of Ireland was confirmed in the early 1920s with the establishment of an Irish Free State, retaining Dublin as the seat of a new parliament, with a separate Northern Ireland parliament and other institutions located in the devolved 'capital city' of Belfast. However, the sectarian nature of much of the conflict did not dissipate once Partition became operative, and tensions continued to exist between authorities on either side of the Irish border, as well as between the majority unionist and minority Irish nationalist (predominantly Catholic) communities in Northern Ireland. For instance, between 1920 and 1922, the 'original' Troubles in Northern Ireland claimed almost 500 lives in Belfast alone.¹³ The subsequent hegemony of the Ulster Unionist party over Northern Ireland affairs in the period 1921-72, including discrimination against Catholics in the allocation of housing and jobs, contributed greatly to the sense of grievance that fuelled civil unrest from the late 1960s. For Prince¹⁴, the Troubles essentially began on 5 October 1968 when the police violently broke up a civil rights march to (London)Derry, leading to several nights of rioting in the Catholic-majority city and a downwards spiral in intra-communal relations.

The impact of the Troubles on life and property is well documented elsewhere. However, the period also had profound consequences for local governance and decision-making arrangements. Most significantly, the half-century of devolution in Northern Ireland was suspended by the British government in 1972 and replaced by a system of Direct Rule from Westminster. Neither the Secretary of State, nor any of the British government Ministers subsequently appointed to run departments in Northern Ireland, represented local electoral constituencies, and the main British political parties, with the exception of 'half-hearted forays by the Conservatives', did not run candidates at local or general elections.¹⁵ Although initially intended as a temporary arrangement, Direct Rule resulted in a democratic deficit that was further exacerbated by the weakness of local government following its reorganisation under the Local Government (Northern Ireland) Act 1972. From October 1973, a single tier of twenty-six district councils came into operation, devoid of a range of major functions, such as housing, education and planning, due to sustained calls for reform. This new dispensation effectively divested local government 'of any substantive role in Northern Ireland',¹⁶ with councils largely restricted to consultation responses, and their functional responsibilities reduced to the management of 'bogs, bins and bodies'.¹⁷

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF URBAN RESILIENCE

Definitions of resilience are not addressed in this paper, which is recognised as a rather malleable concept that can be interpreted in multiple ways and from differing perspectives. Rather, the paper embraces Vale's discussion of the politics of resilient cities and deploys this thinking to a prominent example from Troubles-era Belfast.¹⁸ In particular, three dimensions of resilience viewed through the lens of the planner provide a structuring framework for the narrative. The first dimension concerns 'efforts to promulgate and manage a dominant narrative about the state of recovery' of a city following a disaster or traumatic event. In essence, this category relates to the efforts of political leaders and government officials to regain public legitimacy and trust centred on conveying a sense of progress. Secondly, the social construction of resilience depends upon strategies to highlight symbolic recovery milestones, typically through highly visible construction projects or culturally significant events that demonstrably evidenced 'bounceback'. Finally, the politics of recovery matters as governments actively negotiate the policies and priorities of redevelopment with citizens, with the potential for electoral challenge or civil unrest dependent on the quality and reception of the ensuing response. In the context of these categories the critical importance of examining who makes decisions about resilience comes into sharper focus.

TOWARDS CASTLECOURT - A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE SITE

Castlecourt occupies a 3.5-hectare site in the commercial centre of Belfast fronting Royal Avenue and extending backwards over the former Smithfield Market (see Figures 2 and 3). Royal Avenue was once the finest thoroughfare in the city and a 'notable piece of town planning' created by Belfast Corporation (see Figure 4).¹⁹ Its development from the 1880s cut a swathe through the old butchers' quarter around Hercules Street, linking up what were once the residences of wealthier citizens in Donegall Place with the planned industrial area of York Street, in the process shifting the centre of the town away from High Street and towards the White Linen Hall.²⁰ The Corporation strictly controlled the height and cornice line of new buildings on Royal Avenue resulting in a 'disciplined and congruous but highly varied streetscape'.²¹ As a 'secular development', Royal Avenue initially contained government offices and institutions, including the Head Post Office, Belfast Public Library and the Water Commissioners' Office.²² In addition, as the principal commercial hub of late Victorian Belfast, it housed shops, offices and several hotels, with the Royal Avenue Hotel and the Grand Central providing high-end accommodation in the heart of the city.



FIGURE 2 Royal Avenue/Smithfield in 1972.

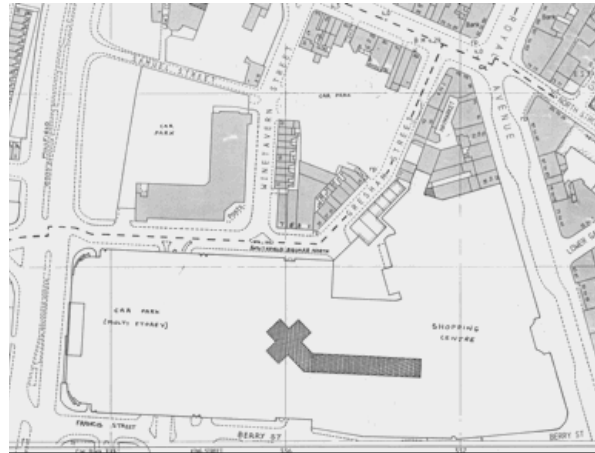


FIGURE 3 Royal Avenue/Smithfield in 1989, indicating the extent of change caused by the Castlecourt development then under construction.

The redevelopment of part of what was to become the Castlecourt site was imagined several times in the twentieth century. It was partially earmarked for a bus station in the mid-1940s under reconstruction proposals by the Planning Advisory Commission. Although not progressed, this idea re-emerged in the late 1960s with the publication of Building Design Partnership's (BDP) *Belfast Central Area* plan. In the contrast to the former, the BDP proposals embraced the Smithfield Market site and the more prestigious buildings fronting Royal Avenue. Smithfield Market was low rise, low-rent, and its ownership by Belfast Corporation, together with other publicly-owned landholdings nearby, undoubtedly made the area attractive for comprehensive redevelopment, supported by its central location and relative ease with which land assembly could be achieved. Moreover, few of the buildings were yet ascribed with heritage values by the nascent conservation movement in the city in the late 1960s. The outbreak of civil unrest inevitably impacted unfavourably on these plans, postponing for a decade attempts at redevelopment. The Grand Central and Midland hotels were both positioned within the ring of steel and closed in the early 1970s, with the former inhabited by the British Army until 1980. Smithfield Market was destroyed by an incendiary device in 1974, while many of the nineteenth century buildings fronting Smithfield Square had already been 'bombed into dereliction or out of existence' by the time that the Castlecourt proposals emerged.²³ Nonetheless, in spite of this and other 'modern incursions...the general texture' of Royal Avenue was not radically different from its original appearance.²⁴ However, with Smithfield resembling a 'big hole', and vacancy and dereliction particularly acute on the northern fringes of the city centre, the government was determined to kick-start a recovery in the area.²⁵



FIGURE 4 Royal Avenue circa 1888 before the construction of the Grand Central Hotel.



FIGURE 5 The Head Post Office in the mid-1980s prior to demolition.

RECOVERY NARRATIVE

The negative image portrayed by violence and the counteracting security measures was seriously damaging to Belfast in the eyes of investors and property developers.²⁶ In response, planners and other policy-makers increasingly pressed for action in the late 1970s to turn around the fortunes of the city centre,²⁷ particularly as it was viewed as ‘ethnically neutral space’ with the capacity to provide ‘employment opportunities for Catholics and Protestants alike’.²⁸ The 1978 announcement by the Secretary of State, Roy Mason, of a nine-point package to secure ‘the rebirth of Belfast’, provided the initial impetus for the Castlecourt development.²⁹ The package included the setting up of a working party to examine how the city centre could become ‘a lively focus of social entertainment for citizens and visitors’, in addition to exploring the possibility of partnering with private developers in future regeneration initiatives, with Royal Avenue/Smithfield identified as a key site.³⁰ However, with the exception of several background reports endorsing development, progress was limited until a consortium of two London-based developers, John Laing and Ellison Harte, successfully applied for outline planning approval for a retail-led scheme on the site in February 1984. The DOE Minister, Chris Patten, who personally met with the developers the week prior to their planning submission, swiftly welcomed the development in an article in the *News Letter* on 4 February, stating that it would “breathe new life” into Belfast city centre. An ‘upbeat boosterist’ endorsement such as this commonly accompanied development announcements in the 1980s, and was clearly aimed at asserting a dominant recovery narrative in the public mind.³¹ Indeed, according to Brown³², Castlecourt enjoyed ‘the vociferous support of the media, city council, central government, property industry and trading organisations’, and had already acquired a ‘semi-mystical status’ before its design was even finalised. Although conservationists within civil society – chiefly the Ulster Architectural Heritage Society (UAHS) – garnered critical media attention, a series of articles in the *Belfast Telegraph* in May 1985 under the banner ‘Belfast – the great revival’ exemplified the largely positive coverage.

The Castlecourt developers employed public relations consultants to ensure positive media coverage and a proactive approach to controlling the narrative. Although opposition to the scheme emanated from existing small traders in the area and some long-term residents threatened with losing their homes, the most sustained and effective critiques came from conservationists’ opposition to the demolition of Victorian-era buildings. Initially, in early 1984, a senior DOE official did not believe that the ‘conservationist lobby’ would present a blockage to the scheme progressing.³³ This proved wishful thinking and the UAHS successfully dramatised the issue and mobilised support from notable conservationists from Great Britain. For instance, the critical viewpoints expressed in October 1984 at the UAHS’s ‘No Mean City?’ conference against the demolition of the Head Post Office resonated beyond those in attendance, and the strongly worded resolution passed by delegates fulfilled many of the criteria for the successful construction of environmental problems.³⁴ By early 1985, therefore, the threatened demolition of the Post Office was a sufficiently

‘major local issue’ for the DOE Minister to express his concern that it might become an embarrassment for the Department.³⁵ What was needed, insofar as the DOE was concerned, was the ‘early construction’ of a ‘new building of architectural merit’, which would ‘go a long way towards deflating the opposition of the conservation lobby’.³⁶ Four months later, and with the conservationists kept ‘at bay’, demolition began, ensuring that ‘obituaries’ for the older buildings were the only things that remained to be written by conservationists. Castlecourt faced little further sustained opposition from that point forward, and the four IRA bomb attacks targetting the development ironically boosted the government’s narrative, with its opening in 1990 acclaimed by the local and international media for its contribution towards peace-building.³⁷

SYMBOLIC MILESTONES

The environment in Belfast city centre in the early 1980s was more conducive to investment, partly due to a shift in emphasis in the IRA’s bombing campaign and a concomitant loosening of security arrangements.³⁸ A range of organisations and local businesses used the relative respite to invest in marketing the city centre, organising special events to animate the city and encourage visitors, while seeking to further build on the successful introduction of weekly late night shopping from August 1982. Although these activities contributed towards providing cumulatively important milestones, the pursuit of investment for Belfast in the 1980s ultimately reached its ‘zenith’ in the Castlecourt scheme.³⁹ Indeed, Castlecourt was laden with symbolism for local and international audiences, with the government eager to attract institutional investment, the surfeit of which had placed a ‘constraint on retail development’, while being responsible for an under-representation of multiple stores, and the absence of a covered shopping mall in the city centre.⁴⁰ The promise of variety and choice for local consumers from well-known high-street retailers was clearly one thing, but securing investment in high risk Belfast represented a more significant milestone that might help ‘set a precedent for more such funding’.⁴¹ However, arguably the most successful economic narrative propagated concerned job creation, with Castlecourt’s close proximity to working-class communities in west Belfast critical from a public policy perspective. The prospect of new service-sector jobs for a part of the city most impacted by the conflict was further bolstered by the policy of relocating government office staff to the city centre, thereby enhancing the perceived neutrality of the site through a desegregated public sector workforce while ensuring ‘equal opportunity of employment’ for Catholics and Protestants alike.⁴² In stark contrast, as noted by David McKittrick in an article in *The Independent* on 7 June 1989, bomb damage caused to the complex months prior to its opening, allowed the Secretary of State, Tom King, to characterise the IRA as ‘the godfathers of unemployment’.

Much of the Castlecourt debate was dominated by the proposed appearance of its main façade.⁴³ It was clear that the development consortium had no intention to reuse the existing buildings on the site, with the structural integrity of the Grand Central Hotel known to be suspect, and the developers in any case seeking a cleared site for a more straightforward (and profitable) scheme. Indeed, the UAHS recognised that conservation of the Grand Central would be expensive, but suggested that the site would ‘provide an opportunity for a really “prestige” new building’, while integrating the Head Post Office into the development (see Figure 5).⁴⁴ However, the initial design was considered ‘clumsy and boring’, with Patton⁴⁵ observing that Belfast faced the prospect of replacing a ‘fine Victorian townscape for a building that will have all the charm of a tower block laid on its side’. Even the new Environment Minister, Richard Needham⁴⁶ was alarmed ‘at the prospect of a 300-metre unadorned brick frontage’, demanding that the building should instead be ‘faced in glass’. The Minister ultimately had his way, and the final design by BDP was ‘uncompromisingly modern’, consisting of a tainted glass façade broken into sections by white-clad staircases,⁴⁷ which respected the ‘traditional cornice height’ of the remaining Royal Avenue buildings.⁴⁸ This was partly a fiction, of course, as the main façade was non-transparent and backed by block-work so as protect against bomb blasts, and the general public attitude towards the design was ‘ambivalent’.⁴⁹ Nonetheless, the ‘international high-tech style’ fulfilled its symbolic purpose in communicating that Belfast had ‘a role to play in the international world’.⁵⁰ Images of the complex subsequently adorned official and other place-marketing publications promoting the transformation of the city.

POLITICS OF REDEVELOPMENT

The abnormal governance arrangements in Northern Ireland ensured that the politics of redevelopment over Castlecourt was very different to elsewhere and the case largely represented a negotiation between the government and developers rather than with the citizenry. The politicians involved in the decision-making processes were not accountable to a local electorate and the public administration machinery was also markedly different from elsewhere in the UK. The Belfast Development Office (BDO), a branch of the DOE, was a particularly pivotal agency within the city, and it held primary responsibility for progressing the Castlecourt proposals, although other branches were intimately involved. For Murtagh⁵¹, the BDO was ‘a highly segregated, centralised and unaccountable organisation’, which Neill⁵² suggests gave ‘privileged power access to property interests in the development of the city’. This included the Large Stores Association which used its access ‘to propel the city towards...accommodating national retail investment as an integral part of city centre regeneration’. Such treatment occurred against the backdrop of ‘Thatcher era’ economic policies, with emphasis placed on such things as ‘prestige area-based development initiatives’ and ‘private investment levered by public subsidy’.⁵³ Thus, the DOE’s role in Northern Ireland was redefined in the 1980s ‘from that of an agent to that of a facilitator of economic, social and political adjustment’,⁵⁴ and the department was ‘understandably willing to accommodate anyone who was prepared to take the risk of investing’.⁵⁵ In the case of Castlecourt, the DOE not only offered privileged access to the development consortium, but also actively deployed an array of planning, financial and other supports to ensure the scheme came to fruition – these are summarised in Figure 6 – rendering it, in the words of Mooney and Gaffikin⁵⁶, as more of a ‘public sector development dressed in the clothes of private initiative’.

The DOE’s involvement extended beyond the active use of powers at its disposal, however, and embraced inactivity insofar as conservation was concerned. Archival files indicate that the DOE at the highest level ensured that no conservation designations were applied to Royal Avenue in spite of ‘listing’ and conservation area recommendations emanating from the Historic Buildings Council and others on several occasions.⁵⁷ Indeed, the department were so keen that no such impediments might be placed on the future redevelopment of the site that they assured the developer in writing that the Head Post Office, as the primary target of contestation, would not be listed ‘for a period of at least 5 years’.⁵⁸ Thus, for conservationists, Castlecourt affirmed the low priority afforded to conservation within the DOE, the range of other departmental priorities that took precedence over architectural heritage, and the concentration of power in the upper echelons of the department, with little meaningful scope for critical interventions from local government or internal criticism.⁵⁹ In essence, the department’s range of responsibilities were extremely diverse, and inherently conflictual, ranging from housing policy, to roads and planning, with conservation often taking ‘second if not lower place to other priorities’.⁶⁰ The views of conservationists concerning the protection of the Head Post Office, therefore, could be ‘quietly ignored’,⁶¹ while the economic imperatives driving government policy meant that ‘when a major building...comes under threat, the arguments of the property speculator still tend to prevail’.⁶² The symbolism of Castlecourt extended for beyond the government’s preferred narrative, exposing significant issues in the relatively immature system for historic environment conservation in Northern Ireland, and propelling the governance and policy critiques of civil society higher up the political agenda, leading to several positive changes within a few years.⁶³

PLANNING	FINANCIAL
Outline planning application for Castlecourt approved within two-month period	£10 million Urban Development Grant (initially interest free loan later increased and commuted to grant)
Compulsory acquisition powers used to assemble land under Comprehensive Development Area 101	£5 million environmental improvement scheme in vicinity
New large store development restrained outside city centre under Belfast Urban Area Plan 2001	Office accommodation in Castlecourt pre-let to DOE for £11 million
Office developments, and government office relocations, concentrated in Belfast city centre	Claw back period reduced to 2 years ⁶⁴

TABLE 1 Summary of the direct (and indirect) planning and financial assistance provided by the DOE to the Castlecourt development consortium.

CONCLUSIONS

Castlecourt represents an unusual instance of a ‘clash of values’ between conservation and redevelopment in a UK city centre in the 1980s. Whereas competitive redevelopment pressures elsewhere were driven by rising property values seeking greater intensification of site usage in Belfast the government sought to promote city centre development in order to stabilise property values and attract outside investment. However, the narrative of recovery initially promulgated by the authorities was highly problematic for conservationists, who noted with irony that ‘throughout the last decade the world’s press has been able to use photographs of it [demolition] to illustrate the “blitzed” city of Belfast, often apparently...unaware that their photographs showed the result of demolition for new housing and roads.’⁶⁶ Although the city was synonymous with violence and destruction because of the Troubles, its depiction arguably gave a misleading impression of the principal causes of change in the urban landscape, which emanated from ‘civil violence and state planning’.⁶⁷ The phraseology used in the 1976 Ulster is Building Exhibition to frame the recovery process – ‘more construction than destruction’ – therefore, can readily be subject to contestation, with the demarcation line between what Gamboni⁶⁸ characterises as the “creative” eliminations undertaken by “embellishers” and the ‘aggressive ones by “vandals”, open to a wide range of interpretations. The government of the day in Northern Ireland undoubtedly sought to claim the former characterisation.

The term resilience was not in common usage in the lexicon of planners and others at the time of the Castlecourt case. However, it represents an example of ‘resilience-seeking behaviour’ offering pertinent lessons for contemporary cities dealing with terrorism, particularly as the Northern Ireland Troubles were a prolonged conflict resonant with the apparently open-ended, present-day ‘War on Terror’. Indeed, Castlecourt progressed at a time when the Peace Process was at a relatively undeveloped stage and the eventual conclusion of the Belfast (Good Friday) Agreement in 1998 was then entirely unforeseeable. As such, in terms of thinking about interpretations of urban resilience, Castlecourt does not reflect attempts at recovery from sudden traumatic events like the Christchurch earthquake, or even single terrorist atrocities such as the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing. Instead, it offers insights into the impact of the governance landscape and the complex delicacies involved in negotiating recovery processes in response to violence and competing visions for change in the built environment. Given the consequences of state-sponsored redevelopment presents significant contemporary challenges for Belfast,⁶⁹ including in relation to Castlecourt,⁷⁰ thinking about resilience in historical contexts is critical to understanding the present. Just as the issues of ‘whose heritage to conserve’ will remain a recurring theme for scholarly attention, so too will the political questions raised by Vale concerning ‘whose resilience and whose city’.

Acknowledgements

The author reiterates appreciation to his PhD supervisors and examiners for their support and encouragement, in addition to the former Northern Ireland Department for Employment and Learning for the Studentship funding upon which the research for this paper is based.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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Image sources

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- 1 Ulster Commentary, "This is the other Ulster," *Ulster Commentary* 357, 1976, 1.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 See, for example, Jon Calame and Esther Charlesworth, *Divided Cities: Belfast, Beirut, Jerusalem, Mostar, and Nicosia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).
- 4 Russell Murray, "Political violence in Northern Ireland 1969-1977," in *Integration and Division: geographical perspectives on the Northern Ireland problem*, ed. Frederick W. Boal and J. Neville H. Douglas (London: Academic Press, 1982).
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- 17 Jonathan Bardon, "Governing the City," in *Enduring City: Belfast in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Frederick W. Boal and Stephen A. Royle (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 2006), 137. Note that 'bogs' is a local colloquialism for toilets.
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- 42 Allowing the government to further argue that sectarian employment practices were a thing of the past in Northern Ireland.
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- 48 Patton, *Central Belfast*, 287.
- 49 McEldowney et al., "Architectural Ambivalence".
- 50 Mooney and Gaffikin, *Reshaping Space*, 58.
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- 57 McClelland, "Contesting destruction," 269-270, 288-289.
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- 59 McClelland, "Contesting destruction," 232-237, 289-291.
- 60 Jean Balfour, *A New Look at the Northern Ireland Countryside* (Belfast: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1984), 3.
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- 62 Brett, Revised edition, xv.
- 63 These changes included reports on the functioning of the main conservation agency within government, the progression of conservation area designation within Belfast, and the marshalling of heritage within broader attempts at 're-imagining' the city.
- 64 The Public Accounts Committee of the House of Commons subsequently criticised the DOE's failure to conclude an adequate claw back arrangement, meaning that when Castlecourt was sold in 1994, the profit-level for the developer (£16.2 million) was considered extremely high given the level of public subsidy.
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- 67 Jennifer Curtis, "'Community' and the Re-Making of 1970s Belfast," *Ethnos* 73 (2008): 402.
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- 69 Ken Sterrett, Mark Hackett and Declan Hill, "The social consequences of broken urban structures: a case study of Belfast," *Journal of Transport Geography* 21 (2012): 49-61.
- 70 For instance, a report published by the Northern Ireland Department for Social Development in 2005 highlighted the 'blocking' effect that Castlecourt had on connectivity and implementing urban regeneration to its rear.

THE HISTORIC URBAN LANDSCAPE APPROACH – HERITAGE AND URBAN REGENERATION IN THE TWENTY FIRST CENTURY

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This paper examines the reasons and the process that has led to the elaboration and adoption of a new tool for the preservation and adaptive reuse of the contemporary historic city.

Urban conservation has developed mostly in the second half of XXth century and is now an established discipline, based on a system of internationally accepted principles of conservation.

However, the system often proves to be weak and powerless towards the recent challenges linked to urbanisation and environmental change, to the shift of decision-making power from national to local governments, as well as from local to international actors in the areas of tourism, real estate or business.

More than a decade of systematic monitoring has revealed that many of the most important historic urban areas of the world have lost their traditional functions and are in a process of transformation that threatens to undermine their integrity and historic, social and artistic values.

To respond to these challenges, a new UNESCO Recommendation has been prepared in cooperation with a large group of experts. The Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape, adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO in November 2011, can be considered as the culmination of this process.

Keywords

urban, heritage, regeneration, landscape

How to Cite

Fontanari, Enrico. "The Historic Urban Landscape approach — Heritage and urban regeneration in the twenty first century". In Carola Hein (ed.) *International Planning History Society Proceedings, 17th IPHS Conference, History-Urbanism-Resilience, TU Delft 17-21 July 2016, V.04 p.377, TU Delft Open, 2016.*

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7480/iphs.2016.4.1304>

INTRODUCTION

In this day and age, an assessment regarding the state of advancement of conservation processes and the evaluation of cities can be difficult tasks given their diversified nature and inherent problems, especially for locations that have been recognized as important urban heritage or defined as World Heritage Cities. However, in combining the diverse realities of these cities, it can be possible to verify their possible similarities and common aspects.

In regard to what has been realized in terms of urban conservation, certain results of this type of research can hereby be registered:

- There have been certain progressive improvements made for the processes of identification and classification of cultural heritage. Likewise, the very dimension of the patrimony itself has grown due to an expansion of its definitions, particularly with its relevance to urban contexts.
- There is a common recognition and understanding for the necessity to conserve historically significant building of even “minor” importance (although this objective has not always been fully achieved).
- There have been positive progressions in the fields of town planning with the development of planning instruments and the layout of projects for the conservation of historical urban patrimony.

Certain problems, however, still remain open, and it appears particularly relevant that the issue of relations between conservation and development has yet to be fully resolved. This topic does not necessarily refer to measures of compatibility (meaning the defence from pressures of possible transformations), but it is intended more in terms of the attempt to make cultural heritage into an instrumental device for development. It is this challenge which presents itself differently according to the distinct countries in question and their socio-economic conditions. Notwithstanding this factor, it can be demonstrated how certain changes in our recent history have still been able to define a common international scenario, for which certain noteworthy characteristics deserve mention:

- At this point in history a great trend in urban expansion has developed, bringing about an elevated growth of urbanisation in both developed and developing countries. This phenomenon has reached the point whereby in certain cases, such as in Latin America, it can be said that the phases of rapid urbanisation, started after the Second World War, have almost been concluded. The South American continent in particular has become one of the areas with a highest percentage of urban population in the world – at over 80% - and the emigration flow from the rural areas to urban areas has been almost completely expended.
- This process of widespread urbanisation has favoured a fundamental change in the role that historic centres play within urban contexts; and in many metropolitan areas, this does not often correspond to the city’s real centre. As a result, an outgrowth of new urban centres tends to develop in other parts of the city, and the actual historic centre subsequently ends up yielding its central functions (almost becoming a “marginal periphery”), losing its attributes of centrality.
- Minor centres of this type consequently face the inevitable alternative of unqualified abandon or their transformation into mono-cultural zones of tourism. This determinant further highlights the difficulties of establishing a balanced rapport between conservation and development. It becomes quite evident, in developed countries for example, that a clear contradiction emerges between mass tourism and the necessity for conservation of urban places, which, for their physical characteristics, should restrain access to a limited number of people at a time. And it is this condition that gives rise to the growing attention regarding the important topic of governing tourist traffic in cities of art.
- This fundamental crisis of historic centres, which are foregoing their functions as central urban places, is accompanied by their general mutation from being characteristic urban locations, with a wide range of functions, to becoming mono-functional places destined solely to commercial or recreational uses. In this instance, there is a type of private appropriation of historic centres’ public spaces, which tends to transform city inhabitants from citizens into “clients”.

Nonetheless, if look at the methodology used to promote the preservation of historic centers, we can notice that in spite of the attention that should be given to a trans-disciplinary approach to conservation, there is currently little integration of expertise dealing with the process of heritage conservation and urban development. As reaction to the danger of leaving the urban heritage management activity compartmentalized, the launch of the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) realized by the Unesco with the proposal of a new recommendation in 2011 represents a proposal for a new approach.

The HUL aims to respect and celebrate diversity – of heritage resources and cultural traditions – by proposing a critical process of identification and analysis to arrive at informed decisions regarding the policies and tools aimed at strengthening sustainable urban conservation and management.

Urban conservation is now an established discipline, the conservation practices over the past decades have been successful in creating a global awareness of the importance of urban heritage and have made easier the safeguarding of historic areas and cities. However, we can now to look at urban heritage as a resource for the entire city and for its sustainable development. By implementing the HUL approach, this goal can be achieved in a clear way.

URBAN PLANNING TOOLS FOR CONSERVATION

On one hand, tools of regulatory protection, especially in developed countries, can generally be considered a prevalently common enterprise. On the other hand, however, these measures do not appear sufficient for impeding some detrimental trends, including a loss of residents, immoderate mono-cultural functions (particularly tourism), the permanence of ample urban areas in degraded or “critical” states, etc. For this reason, there is presently a gradual change of course on the part of urban operators, who tend to give more attention to the operative aspects of intervention rather than to the regulatory ones. This is due to the commonly held assumption that planning and regulations are not adequate in guaranteeing the start of a true and effective process of urban revaluation and revitalisation for historic centres. Although essential, regulatory planning is not a sufficient component in itself for effectively implementing urban re-qualification. Hence, among the new operative methods and approaches that can favour processes of urban recovery, the HUL approach represents an innovation that could reverse the actual decline of urban planning, which nearly ended as unified management system of complex urban processes.

Today, urban planning has lost its ability to govern the processes of urban-rural migrations, the rise of mass public and private transport systems, the industrial or commercial growth. Also with reference to the governance system of the cities, new attention during the phases of project planning and operations of urban intervention requires a greater recognition of the increasingly relevant role of the local dimension and particularly of the municipalities, as managers and co-ordinators of such processes. Furthermore, these elements are inevitable given that the topic of conservation of historic centres is always viewed and managed within the issues of the governing and control of urban development, for which the historic centre is a central component. This component, both essential and strategic to local governments, should be dealt with in consideration of the general framework of objectives for urban development, which are typically entrusted to the local authorities.

The main problem is no longer the definition of regulations and unitary approaches regarding urban restoration (that however remain necessary and important passages, even if not entirely sufficient), but rather the identification of distinct models and methods of approaching the problems of urban development, which in turn lead local governments to adopt historic centers as strategic components for the re-qualification of their cities. Often, more than a methodological problem, the question arises of how to introduce new mentalities within the administrations of these historic cities.

In particular, we have to think about the fact that now the cities are interconnected, and the main processes that determine their future are of a global nature, due to the shift of production centers, the increase of communication speed due to Internet, the accelerated and increase movement of people for work and leisure, beside the recent well known immigration phenomena, which are now putting forward new challenges also for the urban historic core.

Urban conservation is not immune from these processes and it can no longer be conceived as a separate reality, to be protected from these social pressures by plans and regulations. The relative success of urban conservation in some cities in the last decades, has created the illusion that some parts of the cities can be separated from the natural evolution of the urban context. This was perhaps possible for monuments or single buildings, but not for a living open system as a city, no matter how historic or protected.

Urban conservation, following the declined capacity of urban planning to face the new global challenges, is close to reach its limits and is losing the ability to deal with the new challenges to the conservation of the urban heritage.

Today we face a twofold challenge. Urban planning, intended as a top-down political and administrative process to regulate urban dynamics, has demonstrated its limits, and is being substituted by a variety of management, participatory and design tools. In the same time, urban conservation has also proved unable to ensure effective and long-term integrity of both the physical and social fabric of historic urban areas.

These issues are growing to a greater complexity if we think about the relationship between urban management and the concepts of sustainability, energy consumption, resource use, social inclusion and the transformation of urban mobility and work patterns. The growth of the attention in the planning debate to the Ecological Urbanism and Landscape Urbanism, opens up a new dimension for urban conservation itself. The historic city can become a model, a resource to respond to the new needs, to define innovative physical and social patterns, a place which offers examples and experience in designing urban open spaces e producing new urban forms.

This is the central message of the 2011 Unesco HUL Recommendation, a document which has the goal of redefining the role of urban heritage in society and the parameters to be used in managing its conservation, evolution and integration within a broader urban decision making process. The principles of this new approach to urban conservation are now integral part of disciplines involved in urban management, particularly in the area of civic engagement and participation, the analysis of urban form, the reflection on the context and the sense of place, the analysis of people's perceptions and memory in the creation of urban values, the understanding of the importance of natural processes in guiding urban development and management and of the economic role of the historic city.

URBAN HERITAGE AS A KEY ASSET FOR URBAN REGENERATION

Urban heritage can become a key asset of urban regeneration because it can join in on reducing a series of negative phenomena. Regeneration is a social, financial, physical, sustainable, demographic and collaborative issue. In the local redevelopment of disadvantaged areas (neighborhoods, cities, metropolitan areas, etc.), regeneration is a new method that acts on a steady and unchanging "target": the city, a socially complex environment that must be defended and preserved for its particular social and cultural qualities.

Urban sprawl has become particularly unsustainable, because suburban settlements involve costs that are too expansive for the welfare structures and greatly inconvenience environmental issues: regeneration can help reduce the waste of natural or agricultural lands because it plans on reusing the existing urban network without creating new wasteful development.

This action can have two positive consequences. On an urban area level, it would cooperate in the containment of sprawl because the limitation of new constructions at the edges of the city would reinforce existing urban structures and support a better service distribution. Regeneration of heritage could also spread to landscape infrastructure and open spaces, reinforcing the connections in a wider urban area, without creating new big public works. The reuse of linear or reticular heritage elements (such as canals, local roads, etc.) could also have an effect on traffic reduction and avoid the construction of expensive infrastructures such as highways, interchanges, etc. Inside the urban precinct, regeneration could aid the reconstruction of the “city over the city” and push towards a densification of the existing urban fabric (and not by substituting existing structures with higher buildings, such as office towers or real estate complexes).

Densification is the idea of producing a more “dense” and intense urban life by reactivating the existing structures. This can also happen by amplifying the density of what’s built, or by adding new structures over the existing ones, but always in the spirit of stratifying, reusing and regenerating the heritage. In this sense, densification can also be activated – and it would be better to say “especially” – in case of low quality urban fabric, informal, marginal and unprivileged urban areas¹.

HERITAGE AND URBAN REGENERATION IN EUROPE

The idea of heritage stratification and regeneration has always been at the center of European urban dynamics and in this frame we can insert the concept of historical urban landscapes.

Europe’s recent history is an “experiment” that, with many difficulties, tries to integrate and manage huge cultural differences and common beliefs. The life and urban heritage of the city have often been considered as the main resources for the accomplishment of this project. Europe is where the concept of heritage has been developed. Products of a long progressive process of stratification, its cities have always had to do with transformation of preexisting structures. Near one third of UNESCO World Heritage sites are concentrated in Europe (36 in Northern Europe, 37 in Western Europe, 77 in Eastern Europe, 140 in Southern Europe). Around 70% of these sites are in just five countries (51 in Italy, 44 in Spain, 41 in France, 40 in Germany 40 and 29 in United Kingdom). These include 20% of the sites in the whole world.

The concept of “Europe of the cities” has been, for a long time, one which describes not only a network reality but also a particular “feeling” of local interdependence, of administrative independence and of vibrant social environments. “Europe of the cities” is an “urban society” that is built on the tangible presence of a common past, where the construction of cities, architectures and open spaces is a way of expressing the populations’ citizenship and identity.

The European territory has been compared to a “palimpsest”, a manuscript with traces of another previous text: a place where traces of previous presences are always present². Until industrial modernity, it was much more convenient to reuse or adapt existing buildings rather than create new ones. If something new was built, or an old city site was changed, this was either for safety reasons, or because natural or political causes suggested not to occupy a certain place anymore, or simply to get rid of what was already clearly disposable.

Every time a new “layer” was added, creators or imitators, architects or engineers, artists or workers, reorganized and modified existing materials to adapt them to new social and economic social conditions. The “imprinting” left on European cities by each of these layers in time has very different effects. Heritage has always been connected to material goods acquired from the past: stones, buildings, streets, open spaces, acquired and reused in order to confirm existing identities or to build and create new ones³. The “choice of heritage” has always been a challenge, but it is only in modern times that this choice has been conceptualized as a “loss”: the risk of losing a part of the past and maybe miss something that might be crucial for humanity.

In Europe, the stratification processes have created an urban heritage that can be described by three overlapped city networks: a grander web of a few capital cities that have been models and examples for the development of other settlements; a narrower web of medium sized cities that organizes and characterizes urbanity in Europe; and a dense even fabric of small cities and towns that covers the whole region.

Size, role and functions of each kind of these cities are various and different. The three networks overlap in many ways and determine very diverse territorial conditions. This aspect is crucial in order to describe the relationship between Europeans – the uninterrupted urbanization that covers the entire region as an “urban continuum” – and the part of their urban reality that must be considered as “heritage” to preserve and protect. This means that the above mentioned three networks are modeled on similar processes of development and stratification, and that they have evolved in different ways and times.

If we look at the “material aspects” of urban conservation and regeneration, we can recognize some peculiarities and innovations in the experience of European cities. The European city is the result of a stratification process of urban elements produced by the civilizations that have built and modified the urban history of the region. This layering process and its consequences can be associated to specific European city typologies, which on the basis of the functional, political and administrative role played by the historical centers in their urban area, can be described as an ensemble of intertwined networks of settlements that structure what is now a single complex urban continent.

The administrative structures and subjects of urban governance, in the different settlement conditions (compact city, urbanized regions, etc.), from one hand have to consider the relevance assigned to Cultural Welfare in Europe, on the other hand have to face the challenges resulting from the aging of population, new immigration and the recent economic crisis. A first approach towards a new perspective for the future of European society is found in connecting environmental issues with the re-use of heritage and historical urban landscapes.

If Europe is the place where the concept of heritage was first developed, it is important to understand how this concept was created and how it has evolved. The threats to European urban heritage mainly come from the fact that Ancient centers either still play a crucial role in the social and functional life of the cities, or they are completely excluded from it. In Europe, heritage is the result of a long and intermittent experience. Rich in contradictions, this experience has produced a tradition of intervention projects, policies and strategies that has always been considered of public administration domain. But, above all, it has come to create the intimate profile of many cities. A general overview of the developments in urban conservation shows how many monuments are strongly integrated in the urban structures and still continue to be used by locals for important collective events and activities. Inspired by these conditions, regeneration can help the reconstruction of a “city over the city”, with a densification of the existing urban fabric.

In this case, densification is not to be intended as the substitution of existing structures with higher buildings (such as office towers or grand real estate complexes), but rather as the idea of producing a “dense” and real urban life by reactivating existing structures.

Urban conservation has been a successful policy and planning practice in Europe in the past half a century, as proven by many national urban conservation laws, plans and projects that have been proposed and implemented all over the world. Today, new challenges have emerged for urban conservation, prompted by the social and economic change processes driven by the European Union. As a consequence, regeneration policies and protection of local and regional urban heritage in Europe can no longer be conceived as separate actions or realities.

In the recent years, the European Commission has proposed specific investment priorities for urban areas, which gather funding for cities in a number of key strategic ways. The national level then reflects the region's degree of decentralization in the countries. High levels of implementation of the UNESCO policies and risk management characterize the European scenario. A wide system of national and European partnership networks for regeneration plays a crucial role in fundraising and supporting regeneration and conservation actions.

If culture and heritage mean to support urban conservation and regeneration in Europe, they must keep in mind the important evolution from the complexity of the old porous cities of the past to the simple functional metropolises of today. In the last decades of the XX Century, historical centers have been subjected to an intense cycle of renovation, first in Western and then in Eastern countries of the European region. This wave of regeneration has solved the “problem of the historical center”, as defined by the Modern Movement (housing, decline, health, etc.). If the salient feature of rehabilitation and revitalization in Europe is that of preserving existing structures, one of the distinguishing features of European regeneration experiences has regarded operations on open spaces (widespread renovation of squares and streets, transformation of waterfronts, public transportation, and the organization of social-cultural gatherings like collective events and public parks), as well as operations set up to strengthen urban identity and branding. But new practices and strategies are emerging after the recent economic crisis, and they seem to shift their focus towards maintenance and management aspects. These approaches are creating a new post-crisis scenario, based on a future characterized by creative industries, cultural tourism, and construction and conservation activities.

Because of the strong cultural roots and long term recognition of cultural identity, cultural appropriation by local communities is not an issue in Europe. Nevertheless, there are some aspects of innovation that are important, such as: the recent evolution of cultural institutions in gaining a more social and collective role, and new policies for the creation of social cohesion and against gentrification.

Together with an innovative and forward-looking definition of what we should consider part of urban heritage, through the HUL concept we are proposing an approach aimed at rethinking the way in which we address and plan urban conservation, development, redevelopment and regeneration. Urban heritage in Europe offers important models for sustainability and social inclusion, and it greatly represents a way to think of the future of the city.

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Large-Scale Planned Landscapes

Chair: Paul Meurs

SEASCAPES – THE PLANNING CHALLENGE OF THE CENTURY

Nancy Couling

EPFL

The sea - a material, spatial, ecological and recreational resource - is the site of one of this century's greatest planning challenges. Adopting the concept of seascapes as a parallel to landscapes, this paper traces the emergence of large-scale planned seascapes for both productive and protective purposes. While a relatively recent phenomenon, planning ocean space builds on centuries of seascape construction - a process merging natural, cultural, political and geological phenomena. Three types of seascapes are proposed following J. B. Jackson's landscapes one, two and three; the productive seascape, the essentially visual seascape and the all-encompassing, amorphous hybrid of architectural and natural systems. As a vital producer, the sea has become a site of spatial and environmental convergence- a condition within which economic value is threatened by overall ecological degradation. Marine Spatial Planning has therefore been initiated as a way of regulating interactions and conflicting spatial claims. The resulting plans are static and highly rational, divided into sectorial areas of economic priority. However a close-up study of the Nysted offshore windpark -a large-scale planned seascape- reveals surprising interdependencies; energy production infrastructure and sea-life must share both time and space. Can a deeper understanding of seascape types and properties steer their very planning towards shared, integrated, and open-ended spheres of activity?

Keywords

Seascape, cultivated landscape, wind-park, energy landscape, Marine Spatial Planning

How to Cite

Couling, Nancy. "Seascapes — the planning challenge of the century". In Carola Hein (ed.) *International Planning History Society Proceedings, 17th IPHS Conference, History-Urbanism-Resilience, TU Delft 17-21 July 2016, V.04 p.387, TU Delft Open, 2016.*

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7480/iphs.2016.4.1305>

INTRODUCTION

In western civilization, man's interaction with the sea is accompanied by his instruments of measure and control, both of which are a prerequisite to planning. *Spatialising* – that is producing a particular space – is a social act.¹ We are intrinsically spatial beings, continuously engaged in the collective activity of providing spaces and places.² Formalization of these spaces into legislative units is a political act carried out either through negotiation or the execution of power. The history of the formalization of ocean space is therefore as long as the history of negotiation and political power itself.

Alliances and rivalries between influential individuals or political units at sea were fluid and dynamic, similar to the situation on land before the rise of the nation state. However, the first fundamental territorial concepts of an international dimension were initially discussed and ratified in relation to the ocean.³ These concepts have subsequently laid the foundations for the establishment of *large-scale planned seascapes* and the emergence of a radical new urban realm within the unfolding history of planning.

TREATY OF TORDESILLAS

The 15th century Spanish and Portuguese expeditions, in particular Christopher Columbus's successful first voyage from Palos de la Frontiera to the Bahamas in 1492, sharpened the rivalry between Spain and Portugal and fuelled an urgent debate on the reign over ocean space and newly discovered territories. In 1493 Pope Alexander VI issued the famous bull resulting in the 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas, which divided the Atlantic by a line fixed at 1000 leagues west of the Azores & Cape Verde islands. Lands to the west of the line were to be governed and possessed by Spain, lands to the East by Portugal. Although the hypothetical line itself was not enforced and other states possessed a greater maritime strength and therefore contested its authority, it nevertheless represents a watershed in international relations and the concept of demarcation of ocean space on a grand scale.

POLITICAL TECHNOLOGY

In his investigations of the conceptual basis for understanding territory, Stuart Elden argues that territory has come to mean a politically contested and controlled space, depending on techniques of land surveying and cartography, hence defined as *political technology*.⁴ According to Elden, the 15th – 16th century concept of bounded space as a product of geometry existed before the instruments implemented to define it. He argues that this way of grasping space still persists as the “*overriding geographical determination of our world*”.⁵

The calculation and representation of ocean space have presented a formidable challenge for Western systems of navigation and cartography. Columbus's expedition owes its success less to his navigational skills than to his understanding of the Atlantic trade winds, which practically carried him across the Atlantic in a southeast direction and back up along the path of the westerly winds through the northern Atlantic and eastwards back towards Lisbon. The competition to accurately calculate longitude, which resulted in the prize being awarded to the English watchmaker John Harrison in 1774, (38 years after his first instrument H1 made its trial voyage) is a further example of this lapse between technology and the spatial practice of the time.⁶

However, despite the highly competitive nature of maritime exploration between 15th and the 17th centuries, the ocean itself was not of political interest as a place to possess or develop. Although merchant capitalism reigned and sea power was understood as the means to political and economic power, the role of ocean space in these activities is described by political geographer Philip Steinberg as a force-field:

“The sea was the surface across which transpired much of the channelled circulation that characterised merchant capitalism. It was a space in which state-actors exerted power and sought a degree of control... a special space within world society, but outside the territorial states that comprised its paradigmatic spatial structure.”⁷

MARE LIBERUM

In 1609, Dutch jurist and philosopher Hugo Grotius published his influential book *Mare Liberum*. This was a response to international discussions on the rights of passage at sea, in particular the Pope’s bull, since the Dutch East India Company also had vested trading interests in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. *Mare Liberum* argued for the freedom of the seas in the general interests of mankind, for innocent use and mutual benefit of the seas for all- a concept understood to be also of economic benefit for all.

It was however implicitly understood that nations should have jurisdiction over the territorial seas close to their shores and that other maritime nations could expect a certain amount of protection from pirates and other attacks within this zone. In the early 1700s it was also the Dutch who formalized this idea by issuing a decree to establish a three nautical mile-wide “territorial sea” - the hypothetical range of an imaginary cannon. The military defence of this zone was thereby implied and was accepted amongst maritime powers as a prerequisite for profitable trade.

UNCLOS

The processes of exploration, discovery and allocation of “territory” described above, construct a layer of legislative seascape, enveloping the sea within systems of order while ensuring that ocean “roadways” remain fluid and open. A blurred border between a calculable, tangible, manipulated territorial sea and the uncontrolled, contingent “high seas” is established. A border, however, that with the full realization of the value of subsea resources, is to become increasingly sharpened.

The 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) - the single-most influential document regarding ocean space since the Papal Bull- marked the culmination of fifteen years of preparatory studies.⁸ The Convention is a direct result of accelerating spatial conflicts at sea and a testimony to advancing urbanization processes, in particular since the end of World War II. The main features of the Convention were the definition of the Territorial Waters to 12 nautical miles (nm) offshore, and of Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZ) to 200 nm offshore, with the possibility of further EEZ extension under particular geological circumstances. Within this zone, coastal nations enjoy the right to resource exploitation and the responsibility for conservation (Figure 1). Beyond the EEZ, international waters thus become reduced to around 64% of ocean space (Figure 2).

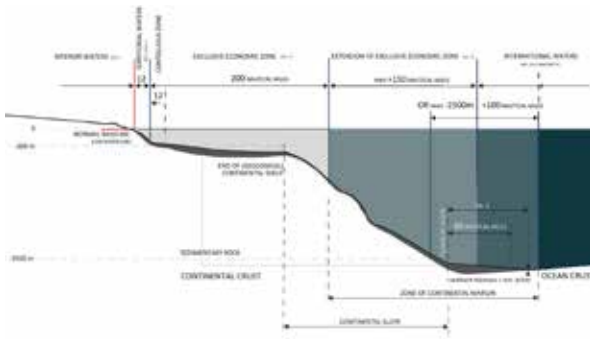


FIGURE 1 Ocean Zones defined by UNCLOS 1982

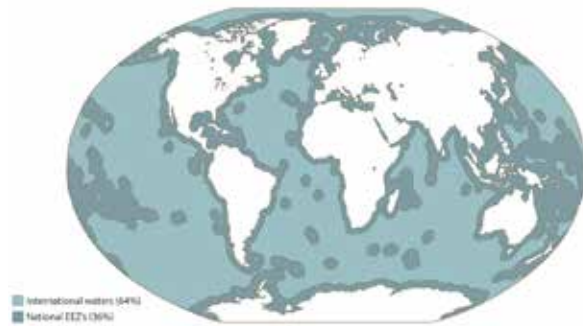


FIGURE 2 Global distribution of International Waters and Exclusive Economic Zones

THE UNTAMED SEA

Hence the large-scale planning of ocean space emerges under the combined influence of cultural and political conditions. However, due to the inherent nature of the ocean itself, tension reigns between control and the natural “laws” of the sea; the ocean and its mobile bounty roll through all legislative boundaries distributing both organic and inorganic contents en route. Changing temperatures transform and destabilize the oceans, which according to John Urry are “exacting their revenge”.⁹

Parallel to the formal spatialisation described above, other mechanisms interact with the ocean in unofficial, discreet and subtler ways. Ocean space is wide and deep and has the potential to harbour a range of activities and practices in a way that would be impossible on land. Outer EEZ limits come under surveillance only in the most extreme cases and borders are highly abstract. This means spatial practice effectively follows a logic rooted in centuries of ocean travel, exploration and exploitation, shipping, deep-sea fishing and warfare. Hence the high seas represent the largest periphery on earth. Far from being home to only pirates and renegades, many activities taking place here are firmly within the grip of multi-national corporations and unofficial political alliances. Keller Easterling vividly describes this zone as “slushy” waters¹⁰ and with the term “Offshoring”, John Urry exposes the wide-spread, secretive practices which dominate the global economy.¹¹

SEASCAPES

The Sea’s fundamental “landscape” characteristics hold the key to the economic potential of the fishery, wind, tourism, aquaculture and research sectors. Land- and seascape are topographical, have physical properties and are geographically rooted. I argue that seascapes are also “cultivated”, and manipulated over time, although at sea such modification has remained largely indecipherable.

The origins and meanings of Landscape have been well researched and documented, providing a rich terrain from which to approach seascapes. Theorists discuss three accepted and distinct understandings of the term landscape; the productive landscape, the essentially visual landscape and the all-encompassing, amorphous hybrid of architectural and natural systems. In all three of the above, landscape exists by definition only in relation to urbanization. J.B. Jackson called these landscapes one, two and three.¹²

SEASCAPE ONE

Landscape one is a productive unit of organisation.

According to its origin in Old German, *Landschaft* referred to a group of inhabitants intrinsically connected to a certain area through patterns of activity, occupation and space, including agricultural fields surrounding a cluster of houses, and people walking out to the fields on a daily basis. It also implied the inhabitants' obligation to the land and to one another.¹³ *Landschaft* represented the dominant form of domestic organisation in the medieval period and can still be found in some traditional communities today. Olwig uses the example of the *landschaften* of Dithmarshen located on Germany's north-western coast to illustrate the integral political essence of landscape:

*“Landschaft as place was thus defined not physically, but socially, as the place of a polity. The physical manifestation of that place was a reflection of the common laws that defined the polity as a political landscape”.*¹⁴

Until 1864, Dithmarshen managed to maintain its “*landschaften*” as a means of community organization alternative to the advancing centralized, urban modes of control in the adjacent regions of Schleswig-Holstein.

This *landschaft* relationship displays what Stilgoe calls a *fragile equilibrium between natural and human force*; terrain and vegetation are moulded, not dominated.¹⁵ When this balance tips towards structure and built form, it becomes a related, but distinct variety of *scape*- the *cityscape*.

I argue that traditional fishing practices also moulded their environment through a daily relationship with the physical environment and the organisation of a social group and therefore contributed to *scaping* the sea in the sense of *landscape one*. Mediation of the seascape through vessels, ports, fish-processing facilities, piers, buoys, nets, lines and cages, is ephemeral in relation to the scale of fishing grounds themselves. However, while traditional fishing practice produced seascape through habitual interaction rather than through visually marking the territory, the fishing industry has since become highly regulated and industrialized. Trawler vessels now scrape the ocean floor, modifying its profile and damaging adjacent habitats.

In order to achieve effective and sustainable fisheries management in the Barents Sea, all fishing activities are controlled through the monitoring of fishing vessels, quotas, licenses and restricted zones. Vessels over 15 m in length operating in Norwegian waters are required to carry a tracking device that automatically submits data to the fishing authorities. The electronic monitoring system records location and catch in each of the Norwegian, Russian and special Svalbard fishing zones. These invisible systems then become recognisable as a particular type of large-scale, planned, productive seascapes only through the translation of data into maps (Figure 3). In this example of the Barents Sea fisheries, which are signatories to the NEAFC¹⁶ Convention, the relationship between seascape one and the fishing community is mediated through sophisticated technology.

The scale and maritime reach of these communities is large, as demonstrated in figure 3., yet due to the shared environment and vested interest in keeping fish stocks balanced, the Norwegian and Russian fishing communities boast a long and largely successful collaboration.¹⁷ This type of planning, although adhering to large, bounded zones, is also regulated according to dynamic ocean conditions; areas may be closed and catches reduced. Seascape one is not a static entity.

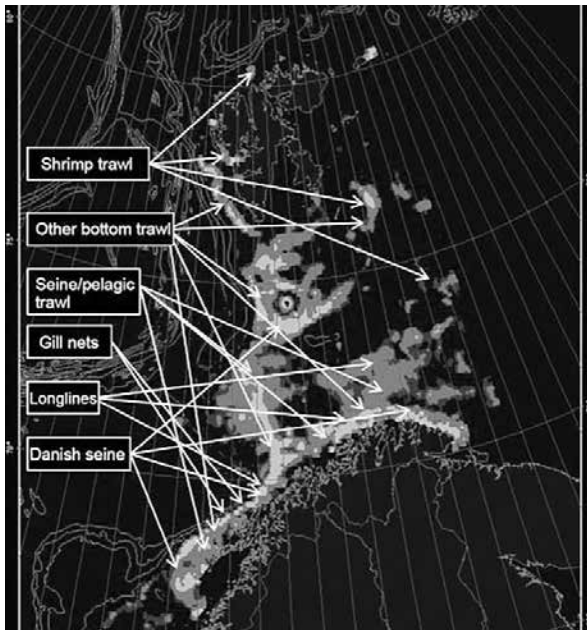


FIGURE 3 Fishing activity in the Barents Sea, 2011 Figure 4. Gerhard Richter, Meerlandschaften, Atlas 1970



FIGURE 4 Gerhard Richter, Meerlandschaften, Atlas 1970

SEASCAPE TWO

Landscape is believed to have entered the English language as *landskip* at the end of the 16thC, imported from the Dutch *landshap* meaning at first only Dutch landscape paintings. The meaning quickly developed to intend large-scale, aesthetically pleasing rural vistas and was the beginning of the inextricable association of landscape with image.

This period corresponded with the beginning of technological innovation and urbanization, and most of the great 16th & 17th century painters travelled and observed the landscape - that is the space shaped for agriculture- with an aesthetic interest in its picturesque and compositional qualities.

The common usage of the word seascape corresponds closely to the concept of landscape as a pictorial view. Capturing the sea through paintings followed the genre of landscape painting, although at a later date. The rising

importance of maritime trade and naval power in the 16th century, in particular in the Dutch Republic, provided new artistic subject material. The sea then also became a subject in its own right through the interest in ocean voyages and navigation. During the 18th century, seascapes revealed the fascination with ocean creatures and the ocean as a chaotic, mysterious wilderness that resisted taming by the forces of modernity.^{18 19}

The seascape image, however, differs from the landscape image in that the artistic “view” of the sea is not related to a possible ordered, scaped quality. Instead, the abstract, minimalistic potential of a seascape – a “view of the sea” – has attracted the imagination of several contemporary artists. The representation of the two essential elements – water and air – mean that seascapes can be both “nothing” and “everything” simultaneously (Figure 4). This was precisely the intention of Gerhard Richter in his “Meerlandschaften” - to avoid an “overly personal interpretation of the subject”.²⁰ Seascape two engages with the enigmatic horizon; ever-expanding as we move towards it yet demarcating the ultimate limit.. a shifting line where perception trails off.²¹

The Planning of ocean space must also engage with this phenomenon, respecting dedicated “open” areas and protecting an unencumbered horizon. The Spatial Plans of the German Exclusive Economic Zones, although strongly steered by economic priorities, also state this objective; *spatial planning also safeguards open spaces in the sense of largely unspoiled and undisturbed habitats and landscapes as a prerequisite for ecological regulation as well as for “landscape experience” and for basic research.*²²

SEASCAPE THREE

Landscape three is everywhere.

Jackson observed that what he saw in the contemporary American landscape matched neither of his own definitions of landscapes one or two. He defined landscape three as:

*“a system of man-made spaces on the surface of the earth... it is never simply a natural space, a feature of the natural environment; it is always artificial, always synthetic, always subject to sudden or unpredictable change. We create them and need them because every landscape is the place where we establish our own human organization of space and time...A landscape is where we speed up or retard or divert the cosmic program and impose our own”*²³

In *Great Leap Forward*, Koolhaas and team call the diffuse, amorphous urban conglomerations rapidly transforming the Pearl River Delta simply SCAPES; *the arena for a terminal confrontation between architecture and landscape.*²⁴

In oceanic zones of intense activity, seascape three can be readily recognized. In the example of the Baltic Sea, areas of human organization have been visibly imposed and programmes of seascape protection spatially compete with zones of production; traffic separation schemes have been installed in order to control heavy marine traffic, to protect vulnerable environmental sites and to optimize the highly frequented ferry routes.²⁵ The ocean floor is the location of energy and communication infrastructure as well as mines and dumped military waste. As part of the EU directive, Natura 2000 areas of ecological importance have been defined, however their protection remains to be reinforced by national legislation.

Seascape three is both the cause and result of planning processes. The acknowledged need to actively plan this space testifies to the densification of both traditional activities such as fishing, shipping, military activities and dredging and new energy-related activities gaining in critical economic importance. Planning is beginning to give visual form to the way we “scape” ocean space.

OCEAN PLANNING

The European Environment Agency has identified the Baltic Sea, the North Sea and the Mediterranean as the important European locations for concentrated off shore wind-energy potential.²⁶ Faced with ambitious renewable energy targets, offshore wind represents a plausible solution for many northern European countries, with Denmark and Germany in the foremost positions. Denmark is well on target for their goal of 50% electricity production through wind power by 2025, already breaking world records in 2015 by producing 42% of its energy through wind.²⁷ Germany’s feed-in tariffs for wind power, introduced in 1990, were responsible for a surge of investment interest, which ultimately moved offshore and triggered a flood of applications for offshore wind-power installations.²⁸ Preliminary work began in 2002 and in 2009 Marine Spatial Plans for the German Exclusive Economic Zones in the North Sea and Baltic Sea were released largely in response to these demands.²⁹

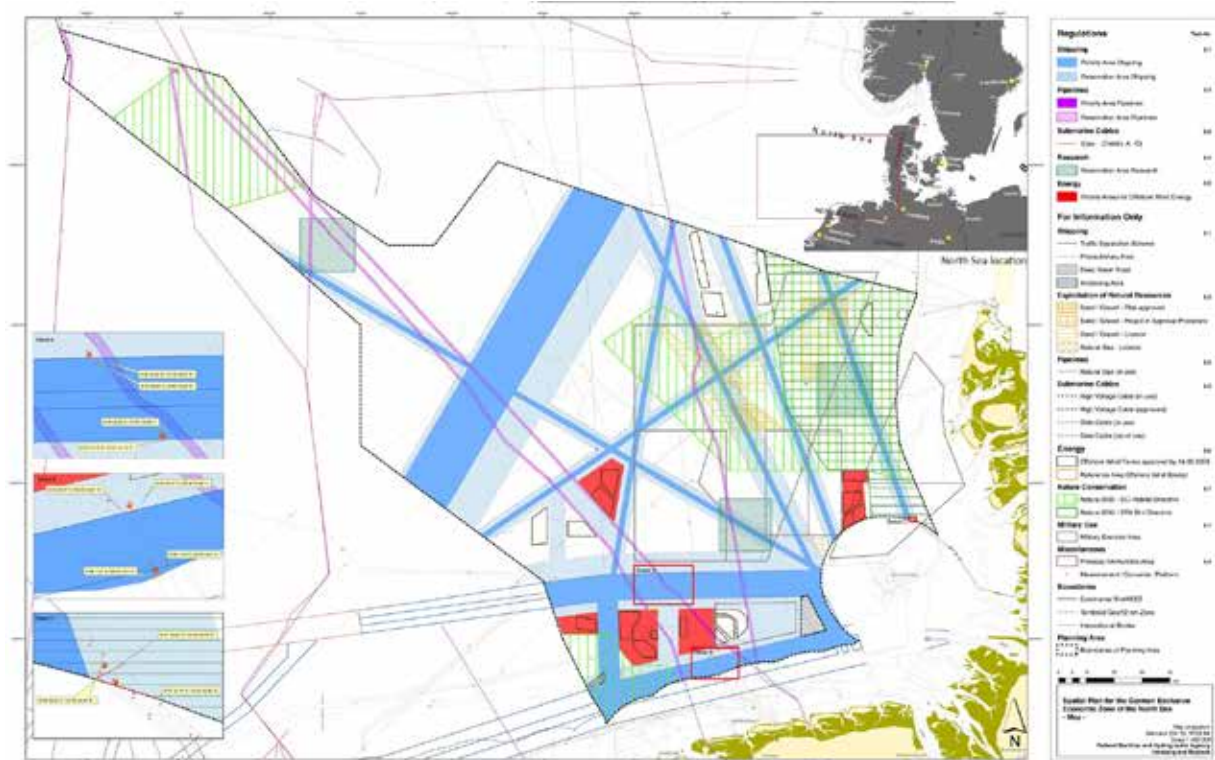


FIGURE 5 Marine Spatial Plan for the German Exclusive Economic Zone of the North Sea



FIGURE 6 Location, Nysted Windpark, Baltic Sea

The German spatial plans are regulatory documents clearly defining maritime transport and wind-power priority areas (Figure 5). Nature conservation areas under the EU Natura 2000 Habitat and Bird Directives are indicated for information only, since responsibility for applying legislation to these areas lies with the state, however protection does not mean full exclusion of human activities and individual management plans are required for each area.

The Marine Spatial Plan for the North and Baltic Seas are therefore an example of planned seascapes on a vast scale. Originally a UNESCO-supported initiative aimed at “finding space for biodiversity conservation and sustainable economic development in marine areas”³⁰ marine spatial planning has developed with a strong economic bias into an EU directive which requires all European coastal nations to develop marine spatial plans by 2021.³¹

NYSTED WINDPRK

Wind-energy production in the Baltic Sea is also creating new seascapes through the command of large offshore areas which double as important habitats for other species, in particular for wintering birds or spawning fish. Hence interrelations between ecology, seascape and technology are a characteristic of Baltic sea-space. Windparks are also referred to as *wind farms*. The Danish Energy Agency call wind-power production “harvesting the wind”.³² Unlike traditional fishing practices, this type of harvesting has a marked effect on the physical and visual environment.

Nysted windpark was chosen by the Danish government in 1995 as a test site for one of five demonstration wind energy projects aiming to expand power supply with offshore installations. Covering an area of 28 km² at an offshore distance of 10km from Lolland in the Belt Sea, Nysted consists of 72 turbines arranged in 9 rows of 8, each with a capacity of 2.3 MW (Figure 6). Energy production began in December 2003.

The selection of the Nysted location was due to local wind-speeds, the shallow water-depths of 6,5 – 9 m and the proximity of the high-voltage grid connection at Radsted switching station 18 km away. The ice-free port of Gedser provides the operational service base. Just 8 km south of the park, the T-route shipping lane connects the Baltic Sea to the North Sea with a volume of 48,000 ships/year.³³ A second windpark with 90 turbines, Rødsand II, was constructed upwind 5 years after the completion of Nysted.

The Rødsand lagoon directly north of the windpark, is on the other hand, an important breeding, resting and feeding ground for birds as well as the site of a seal sanctuary located 3 km away from the closest turbine. Within these restricted conditions, the local situation at Nysted reveals a high level of interdependence and spatial interpenetration of natural and cultural systems (Figure 7).

Adaptation of maritime life-forms to the windpark has both positive and negative features; the solid foundations and large protective stones provide a new hard-bottom substrate which can improve biodiversity and attract fish species. At Nysted, however, the main population to colonise the substrate was the large common mussel, which is only “moderately attractive for creating a diverse fish habitat.”³⁴ While fishing is permitted within the windpark area, trawling is prohibited due to the risk of cable damage, therefore fish populations are indirectly protected after the initial construction phase. The environmental impact report for Nysted concluded that migrating birds “show a natural response to the windfarm, specifically reacting by increasing lateral avoidance to the north and south of the windfarm”³⁵ Although bird migration paths were only marginally considered in the development of this windfarm, other studies have been more progressive in engaging bird-watchers to assist in windpark planning. Nadaï and Labussière discuss such methods in the South of France; “We approach landscape through the logic of affect, that is to say, by following the way in which birds might come **to share the wind** with wind power (and vice versa) and the way in which emerging wind power landscapes and planning might succeed (or not succeed) in recomposing the relations between these parties.”³⁶

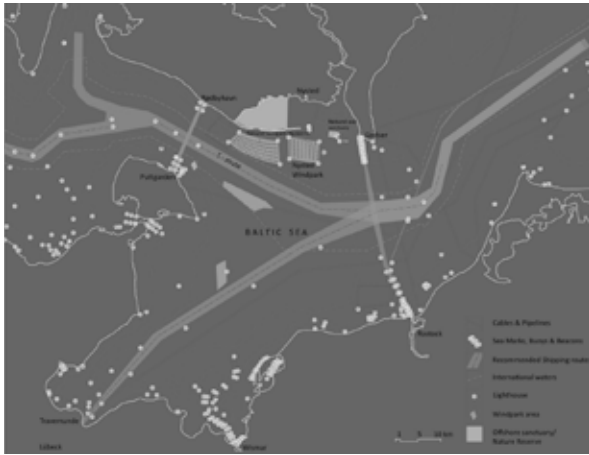


FIGURE 7 Territorial context, Nysted Windpark.

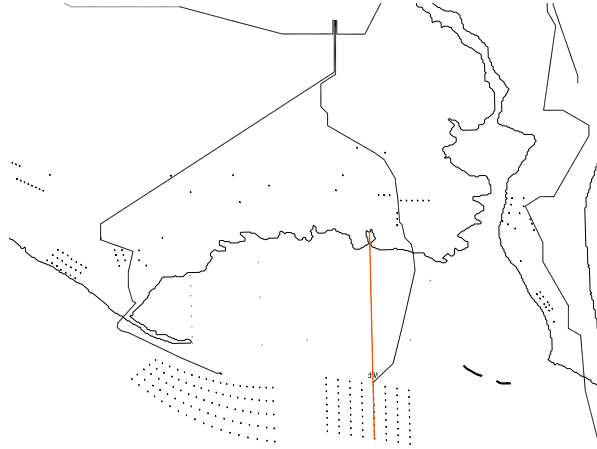


FIGURE 8 Local turbine distribution land and sea.



FIGURE 9 Open pathways through the windpark

Through a consultation process with the developers, the local Nysted community requested the windpark be named after their town and together the exact orientation of the 72 turbines was determined in order to minimize the volumetric visual impact of the park. An almost north-south orientation of the eight rows of nine turbines was agreed. On land, Denmark has a strong tradition of decentralized wind-energy production under local ownership, contributing to a high degree of “social interpenetration” and acceptance. This pattern is evident in the ca. 100 turbines located on land in the local Nysted area in Figure 8.

Differing levels of openness and closure allow different kinds of penetration through the park- regulatory boundaries are open and regular crossings of the space take place through individual sailing routes, tourist and research visits and daily maintenance (Figure 9). Turbines are placed at distances of 478m in the cross-wind and 865m in the downwind direction, therefore the uninhibited flow of marine life and water-masses is enabled.

CONCLUSION

In contrast to the surface view of spatial planning, the close-up examination of relationships at Nysted reveals a series of interwoven pathways and nature/culture interdependencies, enabled by the porous, distended arrangement of the park itself. This energy seascape contains numerous levels; the “smooth space”³⁷ of the ocean surface is fitted with turbine shafts but their wide dispersal maintains the passage of fluid movement, energy is generated in an upper zone shared with birds and sub-sea foundations offer potential habitats for a range of new species. The role of planning in the establishment of this seascape, has however still remained rudimentary. Within a sea-space urbanized through infrastructure, energy production and intensive shipping, the planning of large-scale seascapes faces the challenge of allowing for participation of both human and oceanic life-forms. Learning from Nysted, and at the same time reflecting on the history of ocean spatial demarcation, I argue that forms of spatial order should be more in line with the principle of *Mare Liberum*- that is, open-ended, interpenetrating layers of plural use rather than sectorial zones fixed in space and time. Such an approach calls for flexible design tools and oscillating boundaries. Seascapes one, two and three discussed here must all be accommodated and integrated into planning strategies- research shows that almost no part of the global ocean remains free from human impact.³⁸

Large-scale planned seascapes mark a paradigm shift in maritime interactions and the emergence of a new urban realm beyond the picturesque. Sustainable co-habitation of this realm calls for the democratic coordination of a deep, kinetic, contingent and highly differentiated spatial commons, engaging the active involvement of its global stewards.

Acknowledgements

Thanks to Dong Energy for on-site assistance at Nysted, the BSH for use of their maps and laba (Laboratoire Bâle), EPFL Switzerland.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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Nancy Couling is an Architect who has recently completed her PhD under Professor Harry Guggler at laboratoire bâle (laba), an architecture and urban design studio of the École Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne (EPFL), based in Basel, Switzerland. She is the author of *Barents Lessons* with Harry Guggler and Aurelie Blanchard (Park Books, 2013). She formed the interdisciplinary partnership cet-0 in Berlin in 2005, (2005-2010 cet-01) focusing on urban design, and also taught in the Department of Urban Design at the Technische Universität Berlin (TU Berlin). Her architectural studies were completed at the University of Auckland, New Zealand, and she received a scholarship to study at the Università Iuav di Venezia, Italy.

Endnotes

- Endnotes)
- 1 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*.
- 2 Edward W. Soja, *Postmetropolis*.
- 3 Theutenberg, 'Mare Clausum et Mare Liberum'.
- 4 Elden, 'Land, Terrain, Territory'.
- 5 Elden, 'Missing the Point'.16
- 6 Sobel, *Longitude*.
- 7 Steinberg, *The Social Construction of the Ocean*.105
- 8 UN, 'UNCLOS 1982'.
- 9 Urry, *Offshoring* p.166
- 10 Easterling, *Enduring Innocence*. 70
- 11 Urry, *Offshoring*
- 12 John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*
- 13 Stilgoe, *Common Landscape of America, 1580 to 1845*
- 14 Kenneth R. Olwig, *Landscape, Nature, and the Body Politic*.10
- 15 Stilgoe, *Common Landscape of America, 1580 to 1845*. 3
- 16 North East Atlantic Fisheries Commission
- 17 Hønneland, *Making Fishery Agreements Work*.
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- 19 Steinberg, *The Social Construction of the Ocean*.
- 20 Buchloh, *Photography and Painting in the Work of Gerhard Richter*. 135
- 21 Maleuvre, *The horizon* p xiii
- 22 German Federal Agency for Nature Conservation (BfN), *Spatial Planning in the German Exclusive Economic Zone of the North and the Baltic Seas- Nature Conservation Objectives and Principles*. 10
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- 37 Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*.
- 38 Halpern et al., 'A Global Map of Human Impact on Marine Ecosystems'.

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Image Sources

Figure 1: author

Figure 2: laba (Laboratoire Bâle)

Figure 3: Norwegian Directorate of Fisheries

Figure 4: Gerhard Richter Meerlandschaften, Atlas 1970 (AT_189) Reproduced with permission of the artist

Figure 5: BSH: Bundesamt für Seeschifffahrt und Hydrographie, Hamburg

Figure 6: author

Figure 7: author

Figure 8: author

Figure 9: author

"ALL THIS FOR 9000 ACRES OF AGRICULTURAL LAND? STATE, REGIONAL, AND CIVIC SECTOR PLANNERS DEBATE THE ORIGINAL PORTLAND URBAN GROWTH BOUNDARY

Sy Adler

Portland State University

"All This for 9000 Acres of Ag[ricultural] Land?" State, Regional, and Civic Sector Planners Debate the Original Portland Urban Growth Boundary. This paper analyzes the debates among state, regional and civic sector planners that culminated in the approval of Portland's Urban Growth Boundary by the Oregon Land Conservation and Development Commission (LCDC) at the end of 1979. The context for these debates was the system of statewide planning goals that took effect at the beginning of 1975. The quote above was scrawled on the document produced by the planner leading the LCDC review process to determine whether or not the growth boundary proposed by Portland regional planners complied with Oregon's statewide Urbanization goal. His comment expressed a combination of feelings: frustration, amazement, and professional exhilaration. It had taken five years to reach the state review stage, and civic sector planners continued to challenge the proposal even though a relatively small amount of resource lands appeared to remain at issue. The technical aspects of boundary drawing were extremely controversial and the political dynamics of adopting the proposed line at the regional level and approving it at the state level were very intense, in part because both technical and political aspects were transparent. However, he and his state colleagues were playing key roles in a land-use planning process that was unique in the United States at the time, one that was attempting to address environmental, economic, and social problems associated with a sprawling pattern of land development that were manifest across the country, in the context of a set of state and regional laws and public sector organizations that could effectively address them and maintain the viability of the region's working landscape, the balance and connection between urban and rural ways of life, and the culture associated with that landscape that characterized the Portland region.

This paper is part of a larger project about the origins of the Portland area urban growth boundary. It focuses on the critical final phase of the process during which the boundary proposed by the recently established Metropolitan Service District, the first – and still the only – directly elected regional government in the United States – was reviewed by state planners in the context of vehement criticism of the proposed line by the civic sector organization, 1000 Friends of Oregon.

Three issues are central to this paper: dealing with what were called "market imperfections," basically, speculation in the land market and the fact that most housing producers were very small scale; dealing with competition between local governments within the region to attract commercial and, especially, industrial development; and dealing with relationships between state, regional and local governments in the context of implementing the new state and regional laws.

The paper is based on primary sources, including archived documents, newspaper stories, and interviews with public, private, and civic sector participants.

Keywords

Portland Oregon, Urban Growth Boundary, Regional Planning, Debates Among Planners

NEW GARDEN FOR A NEW REGION - INVESTIGATING LANDSCAPE STRUCTURES IN ISFAHAN NEW TOWN DEVELOPMENT

Azadeh Badiee

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The presence of gardens as the structuring element in shaping Iranian indigenous cities played a key role in territorial organization and city development. They shaped the interrelation between infrastructural networks, settlements and agricultural tissue facilitating the exchange between culture and nature. Due to fast urban growth and introduction of new political and economic drivers into the territory, the new urbanization process ignored the value of indigenous practices, causing over-utilization of land and resources. As a result, this new model faces the most challenging problem of water scarcity. Therefore, integrating resource management systems into the study of the Iranian territory is essential to restore the relationship between natural resources management and landscape.

The focus is on the dispersed city territory consisting of New Towns around the city of Isfahan from the oil boom in 1960s. Radical changes in the territory are largely the result of a newly industrialized region with different resource consumption centers. This article targets the shift in perspective of Isfahan's New Town developments through the lens of the Garden as a regulator of development drivers. The garden concept is a multi-scalar component which unravels the inconsistency in the interrelation between the nexus of development drivers from the scale of one New Town to the dispersed territorial scale of Isfahan.

Therefore the research is divided into three periods, from the recognition of Persian garden as the resource management system during the 16th century of Isfahan, to the period between 1965 and 2015 as the period of construction of four new towns around the city. The third period will focus on the result of reintroducing the modified old system of resource management and its integration into the existing system of new towns for future development of territory.

Recognition of the problematic processes will be a starting point for projecting new sustainable agendas for the on-going and future development of New Towns and the metropolitan region. By having a comparison study between the indigenous landscape management in the Isfahan region and the new towns within the region, the infrastructural significance of garden will be re-work projectively. Therefore systematic mapping as a way to observe and unfold the complexities helps to highlight the shift in the role of garden in New Town development and investigates the relationship between resources and new settlements.

Keywords

Persian Garden, Resource management, Water Urbanism, New Town, Isfahan new development, natural and man-made disasters, water scarcity, comprehensive planning, demographic transformation, rural to urban migration

URBAN FORM, WATER AND GREEN SPACES: TOWARDS AN INTEGRATED APPROACH OF RESILIENT URBAN SYSTEMS

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Urban planning has been engaged for a long time with one issue: how to plan the expansion of cities. The main aim of this paper is to determine why have such theory emerged and why it is not working any longer. In addition, it reflects on what does urban metabolism has to do with the urban form arrangements and urban infrastructures (water and green spaces in particular). This reflection is based on an examination of the urban planning options taken for Lisbon and its region during twentieth century, in particular in what relates to urban form, water infrastructures and green spaces. Finally, this presentation argues that to transform our cities into more resilient places it is important that Urban Form should be recognized as a strategic tool to transform the current metabolic functioning of our cities. However that will only be possible when a full understanding of the role Urban Form, which integrates also Green Spaces and water infrastructures, within the urban system metabolism is recognized by society itself.

Keywords

Urban Form, Water, Green Spaces, Urban Metabolism, Urban Resilience.

INTRODUCTION

Urban Planning has been engaged for a long time with one main issue: how to plan the expansion of cities. Indeed, since Ildefonso Cerdà (1815-1876) and his influential theories ‘*Teoría de la construcción de las ciudades*’¹² and ‘*Teoría General de la Urbanización*’¹³ that the growth of the city can be identified as the main problem that urbanism has assigned. Moreover, this is the same concern that appears to lead urbanism today. Indeed, since the postulation of Cerdà’s theory, more specifically throughout the implementation of the *ensanche* (extension) plan for Barcelona⁴, that the discipline of urban planning has not abandoned Cerdà’s main idea on how to persistently expand the city, thus predominating within as part of contemporary urban planning culture. For example, during twentieth century investigation about the ‘Forms of Urban Growth’⁵ was conducted also by a Spanish Architect and Urbanist Manuel de Sola-Morales (1939-2012), throughout investigation within the Barcelona School of Architecture, at the Laboratory of Urbanism.

Based on a review of the different urban planning theories that have shaped the urban history of XIX and XX centuries, this presentation would like to offer a reflection on i) why did the expansion of cities theory emerged?; ii) why it is declining now?; iii) how should urban planning interpret this change?; iv) what lessons can we take to improve our cities and territories and transform them in more resilient places?; and finally v) how can water and green spaces contributes to such change?

In order to respond to the above-identified questions, this paper is organized in two parts. The first part introduces the topic under analysis. The second part exposes the problematic under consideration applied in a specific territorial context, Lisbon and its region. More precisely, it investigates how the work conducted by the architect-urbanist Étienne de Groër (1882-1974), for the city council of Lisbon between 1938 and 1948, but also for other Portuguese municipalities and regions as Costa do Sol⁶, aimed to counteract the expansionist urban theory that was in practice worldwide, including Portugal.

Furthermore it analyses how both green areas and water infrastructures were regarded in Groër’s urban proposals. For example, it identifies how Groër and the Portuguese authorities envisaged the expansion of the city through the planning of new water infrastructures, to benefit new residential neighbourhoods within the city but also in new urban areas outside the city limits. As expressed by Gandy⁷, Bell and Teh⁸ water infrastructures constitute one of the most expressive elements to explain the relationship between society and urban space over time, at the same time that accounts about the evolution of society’s metabolism. Therefore, in Lisbon a new social and urban metabolism was now being implemented, contrasting with a previous one, which was inherited from an agrarian society as witnesses by Niza et al⁹. Furthermore, a new urban form would emerge in Lisbon but also outside the city, while accommodating space, direction and opportunity for the insertion of the new water infrastructures, as it had already happened during eighteenth century¹⁰.

LIFE CYCLE STAGES OF THE EXPANSIONIST PLANNING THEORY

In order to analyse the lifecycle evolution of the Expansionist Planning Theory this section is organized according to three main questions: (i) how did the expansion theory emerged? (ii) Which were the problems that such expansionist theory aimed to solve?; and (iii) what are the consequences of such theory today, in terms of urban problems?. With this we aim to demonstrate how and when did the expansionist urban theory emerged but also why it has failed and should be abandoned.

Which has been the problem that urban planning has tried to solve?

The main problem that the urbanism has tried to solve since the advent of Industrial Revolution, as identified in a number of authors whose lines of thoughts are common to what the author of this paper argues, corresponds to the growth of cities. Such growth theory is here defined as 'The Expansionist Theory'. From all the analysed references we would like to focus on three specific ones, because they do clearly express the problem of the city growth as the central problem of modern urbanism. Namely the ideas introduced by Ildefonso Cerdà in 1887¹¹, Manuel de Solà-Morales¹² in 1971, and Antonio Font in 2004¹³.

Besides to those authors, which came from the architecture and urbanism disciplinary areas, we can also identify other authors that have addressed the problem of growth in their theories. Namely, Adam Smith¹⁴ through his 'Inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of the Nations' in 1776 and Thomas Malthus¹⁵ with his essay on the 'Principle of population' in 1796, which had already pointed out the economic and the demographic consequences of the Industrial Revolution, during the second half of the eighteenth century. The consequences of such Industrialization in terms of economy and demographic changes were huge, but in terms of the urban form of the cities it was also very expressive, as testified by the construction of new housing and the provision of new infrastructures. Therefore, since the Industrial revolution that society witnessed a new interaction with the built environment, throughout the demand for more housing and required space for the mobility of urban fluxes (such as water and circulation of people and goods).

Greatly influenced by the hygienist ideas of the time and by his capacities to perceive the social and economical changes that new industrial productive model would guarantee, Ildefonso Cerdà previewed in such transformations the opportunity to implement his new urban model¹⁶, that could respond to the emergent requirements of the industrial society. Thus, throughout a new city urban and social model, Cerdà proposed the 'unlimited city' concept which would respond to the need of more space, as requested by the exodus of the rural population to the urban centres, but also to the mobility needs in terms of local and territorial scales as requested by the new industrialized urban economy¹⁷.

The 'Teoria General de la urbanización' enunciated by Cerdà in 1867, would be in part realized in Cerdà's proposal for Barcelona's *Ensanche* and illustrates the urban and social solutions proposed by Cerdà. The new urban solution aimed to resolve an emergent problem, at that time, which was the continuous growth of the industrialized city. This new urban model, proposed by Cerdà, reveals the acknowledgement of a new productive model and its intrinsic emerging social and economic model, which resulted from such productive model. As claimed by Solà-Morales¹⁸, this understanding of the nineteenth century society expressed by Cerdà allowed a new historical interpretation of the city. But, it mainly represents an important moment of change in the history of urbanism, because it placed the main focus of modern urbanism on the problem of the growth of cities.

During 1970's the interest on the problem of city growth constituted an issue of research at the Laboratory of Urbanism of the Universitat Politècnica of Catalunya (UPC). The interest and the actuality of such research have also allowed a pedagogic practice at the University course of Architecture and Urbanism, with the foundation of the course 'Urbanística I- Las Formas de Crecimiento Urbano' in 1971-1972 which was later published as a book in 1997¹⁹.

It is here argued that the research conducted by Font, at the University of Barcelona, has allowed an actualization of the problem of city growth already placed by Cerdà's *Ensanche* theory, however taking into consideration new urban realities. Furthermore, Font²⁰ promoted also an international point of view, while investigating this urban phenomenon also in thirteen urban regions of South Europe. Namely, Lisbon, Porto, Marseille, Bologna, Genoa, Milan, Naples, Veneto-Central, Barcelona, Donostia-Bayonne, Madrid and Valencia.

It is therefore possible to verify that in this last century of modern urban activity, since Cerdà (1887) to Font (2004), the main concern of the urbanism has centred his focus on the problem of the city growth. This, through the (i) identification of the different levels of urban growth phenomenon, as compiled by Solà-Morales (1997) in a number of analysis of different urban morphologies; the (ii) international analysis of the phenomenon of the explosion of the city as conducted by Font (2004); and the (iii) understanding of the processes of social and physical transformation of the territory, and their inherent processes of transformation of the current urban model, as verified by Cerdà in 1887, Solà-Morales in 1997 and Font in 2004. Thus, it is possible to conclude that the city growth has been indeed for the past 120 years the main object of analysis of urbanism - the modern urbanism – as testified for Barcelona.

Which are the causes of the urban problems that we face today?

After the identification of the explosion of the city as the main problem, in the urban agenda for the past 200 years, the main question that should be now placed is: Which are the causes of the urban problems that we face today?

It is possible to situate the origin of the problem identified in the previous point in the moment that witnessed the implementation of the new industrial productive model – the industrialization. This new productive model worked as an important social transformation shift, from a traditional society into a new industrial society. The implementation and the continuation of this new productive industrial model was only possible because society believed in the idea of an unlimited economic growth, guaranteed by such new industrial productive model. An economic growth that needed however to be supported on a productive system based on the continuous extraction of mineral resources; which would allow maintaining and guaranteeing its growth.

The extraction of mineral resources enabled by this new productive model was experimented at a scale, which was never witnessed before. Thus, for the first time in the history of humanity man witnessed the availability of an unlimited base of resources that would allow a continuous production and therefore economic growth and development. An industrial model supported this economic growth, which was however built over a social consensus that economic efficacy was only possible through growth.

However, this economic growth depended on the capacity to increase the material fluxes generated from the production and consuming, which allowed the concentration of population in the urban centres. Thus, the city growth – the problem of modern urbanism – would also become the corollary of the economic growth, growth of production and consuming.

Moreover, the systematic extraction of mineral resources allowed by the industrialization opened a new chapter in the history of urban metabolism. Thus, from a previous circular metabolism, which agrarian societies depended on to survive, it was implemented a new linear metabolism, which was something new in the history of humanity. This transformed completely the previous relationship between man and nature and its intrinsic need to close the material cycles that operated within the urban environment. Furthermore, this new economic model, allowed a new metabolic model, enabled by the reorganization of the society needs and requirements for its own satisfaction, including heat, light, mobility, among others. Society would now depend on accessing in a continuous manner to different resources in order to guarantee its growth and maintain of its own needs.

Therefore, society, explored urban planning as a way to respond to the new requirements of the industrial model, generating new urban phenomenon. Thus, for the past 120 years, society implemented a new planning practice based on urban growth, which was granted by the opportunity of productive growth allowed by industrialization and its inherent economic model.

However, because we are not yet sure of what productive model will follow the current one, and what are the possibilities to transform the actual social and the economic productive model, that fortunately Cerdà had the opportunity to witness and take profit at his own time, we should however try to understand that we are living a necessary moment of social change against the environmental degradation imposed by the current industrial productive model.

After the analysis and confirmation of the causes of the environmental degradation, that do result from the continuous implementation of the industrial productive model, inherited already 200 years ago, it is urgent to understand that urbanism should be regarded as an instrument to counteract the urban models imposed by the industrial productive model. Thus, new urban visions should be able to respond to society demands, at the same time that protect the natural environment. It is precisely because of this believe that the following example of Lisbon urban proposal conducted by Étienne de Groër in Lisbon between 1938 and 1948 seems important to be here analysed, as it encapsulates some clues against the advancement of the expansionist theory.

LISBON URBAN PLANNING

At the 21st of December of 1934, through the implementation of the Law number 24802, the Portuguese Government would institutionalize the *Planos Gerais de Urbanização* – PGU (General Urbanization Plans), which would replace the previous *Planos Gerais de Melhoramentos* - PGM (General Improvement Plans) implemented in January 1865. With the PGU all localities with more than 2.500 inhabitants would need to pursue new topographic plans to better portrait their territorial realities and allow the development of future planning proposals. However, an updated survey of the territory was needed, specifically for those urban areas. Furthermore, water supply systems, sewage systems and lighting, as well as the location of parks and forests were important aspects to be considered in the needed survey as request by the legislation.

Lisbon, the Portuguese capital city, also needed to pursue such topographic survey and the preparation of the PGU. However there were no Portuguese urban professionals to support such work. It would be in 1934 that Guilherme Faria da Costa (1806-1971), a recent Portuguese graduated architect, would pursue his studies of Urbanism at the Institut de Urbanism de Paris, and become later the first Portuguese Urbanist. Indeed, Portugal had no urbanists to support the work planned by the Portuguese government (PGU and topographoca plans) and because of that the *Serviço de Urbanização da Secção de Melhoramentos Urbanos da Direcção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais* (Urbanization Service from the Section of Urban Improvement of the General Directorate of National Buildings and Monuments) had to hire a number of foreign professionals to work in its various municipalities²¹. It would be in 1933, that Duarte Pacheco, the Minister for Public works between 1932 and 1936 and again between 1938 and 1943, would contract the French urbanist Alfred Hubert Donat Agache (1875-1959) to study and prepare an urban plan for Lisbon²², comprehended between Lisbon's main square (Terreiro do Paço) to Cascais, a village located further west of Lisbon Region. Etienne de Groër (1882-1974), a collaborator of Agache office would also be called to support Lisbon City Council and peruse Agache work, as an urbanist-consultant between 1938 and 1948, as stated by Groër himself in his the introductory note of the *Plano Director de Lisboa* (Lisbon Urbanization Master Plan)²³, which he had prepared according to the contract signed between him and City Council of Lisbon (CML, 1947). This contract established a work plan for 12 months. Etienne, which aimed to: i) “Provide supplementary analysis of the current state of the city”; ii) “Expose the fundamental principles of the Master Plan”; and iii) “indicate the legislative elements to apply such principles” (Groër 1948, p. 2). Thus, by giving continuity to the geographic, geological, climatic, historical and economic studies conducted by engineer Antonio Emídio Abrantes, and that would be published in 1938 by the City Council²⁴, according to a detailed program elaborated by Groër himself²⁵, the report included in “Plano Director de Lisboa” (Lisbon Master Plan) indicated the principal principles that should be considered for the future urban planning of Lisbon. One of these principles was the obligation for the plan to include a rural area limiting the city and separating it from the surrounding areas and neighbouring agglomerations.

GREEN AREAS AS A LIMITING TOOL FOR LISBON EXPANSIONIST THEORY.

Greatly influenced by Ebenezer Howard (1850-1928), the author of the Garden Cities theory, whom claimed that the city depended on the rural space to promote fresh air, agricultural goods for food provision, and protection against the further development of urban clusters adjacent to the city²⁶, Étienne de Groër proposed for his Master Plan for Lisbon Urbanization, *Plano Director de Urbanização da Cidade de Lisboa*, the creation of a peripheral rural area of about 3km wide around Lisbon city. Its purpose was for agriculture uses but also to protect the future development or extension of the city of Lisbon, as it was already happening at that time. In addition to this rural area, Groër also previewed the establishment of new green spaces, to provide the 'City lungs', which would be classified according to four categories: *parques* (parks), *jardins* (gardens), 'squares' (or small decorative gardens) and *terrenos de desporto* (sports fields). According to this architect-urban planner, it was important to preserve not only the parks, public gardens and wooded land to provide permanent fresh air, but it was also important to protect the backyards located within the private residential areas, which were located inside the urban blocks, because these would provide the place for the growing of fruit trees and vegetables in the city. Furthermore, he claimed that it would be in the "backyard that a housewife could cultivate fruit trees and vegetables and spend happy hours to relax outdoor"²⁷ as well as a vegetable garden is a "piece of land to cultivate vegetables and fruits necessary for feeding their families"²⁸.

WATER INFRASTRUCTURES AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE EXPANSIONIST THEORY IN LISBON

The *Plano Director de Lisboa* (Lisbon Master Plan) prepared by Étienne de Groër was never approved by the Portuguese government although the City Council of Lisbon approved it, in 1948. Despite this political situation this plan was partially implemented, including the main street layout and the building of several neighbourhoods. Nevertheless, the planning principles advocated by Groër, which aimed to counteract the Expansionist theory seems to have been promptly interrupted, as most of the outskirts of Lisbon were rapidly developed and urbanized. For example, the rural area previewed for Lisbon outskirts was never implemented. However, the new street layout, delineated by Groër, would allow however the construction of the new residential areas and water infrastructures, contributing to the further expansion of new urban areas.

CONCLUSIONS

The Expansionist theory seems to have been an urban vision in practice for more than 200 years. This paper argues that to transform our cities into more resilient places it is important that Urban Form should be recognized as a strategic tool to transform the current metabolic functioning of our cities, wherein green spaces but also water seems to be important elements to be considered by urban planning. However that will only be possible when a better understanding of the integral role of urban form itself can be recognized by society itself.

This paper has confirmed that since Ildefonso Cerdà (1815-1876) *Ensanche* for Barcelona²⁹, to Sola-Morales 'Forms of Urban Growth'³⁰ that the discipline of urban planning has assisted to predominance of Cerdà's main idea based on how to persistently expand the city. Indeed, this has been the same concern that predominates urbanism even today, as testified by Solà-Morales³¹ and Font³².

This same argument can be found in a particular territory analysed in this paper, Lisbon and its region. This urban example was here identified because it is believed by the author that its urban proposal aimed to counteract the expansionist urban vision, in Lisbon and its territory between 1938 and 1948, through the work conducted by architect-urbanist Étienne de Groër. Such attempt included green spaces as one of the most crucial elements to limit the city growth, which integrated a social-economic and urban vision which was never implemented, due to Portuguese political reasons of the time.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest is to be reported by the author.

Notes on contributor

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Urban Cultural Landscapes

Chair: *Paul Meurs*

NATURE AND REGIONAL PLANNING: THE ADIRONDACK PARK STORY

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While much of the history of the American environment has focused on federal parks and regulations, governors and state legislatures in the 1960s and 1970s actually became the most powerful and successful originators of regional environmental planning in the United States. In New York State, in particular, environmental preservation, even for sites located far from cities, was part of a long-term strategy of careful urbanization. As Governor Nelson Rockefeller explained: “The Adirondacks are now within an easy day’s drive for millions of metropolitan area residents who need relief and change from their crowded, noisy, high-pressure environments. The public lands of the Adirondacks will increasingly serve this urgent need.”

Governor Rockefeller oversaw a major expansion both in the quantity of land protected by environmental regulations and the scope of environmental regulation as a whole during his long years in office (1959-1973). Among his major achievements were voter-approved bonds for expansions in state parks, the creation of the Department of Environmental Conservation (with broad powers over air and water pollution), and a powerful new plan for the preservation of the Adirondacks.

My focus in the paper will be on the transformation of the Adirondack Park from a “blue line” on a map, surrounding mostly private holdings, into a powerful state agency with the power to regulate all land uses (even those within existing towns) within the park’s boundaries. I will also show how the creation of the Agency aided the public acquisition and preservation of additional lands.

While the conventional wisdom holds that Americans have little tolerance of powerful planning, the story of the Adirondack Park (and other efforts by state legislatures of the time) illustrate the ways in which regional planning, focused on environmental regulation, has flourished in the United States.

Keywords

Regional Planning, Environmental Preservation, State Parks

TWENTIETH CENTURY AGRICULTURAL COLONIZATIONS IN ITALY, SPAIN AND ISRAEL AS (LARGE-SCALE) MODERNIST RURAL LANDSCAPES

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Throughout the 20th century, many countries witnessed the implementation of large-scale agricultural development and colonization policies (ADCP). Inspired by agrarian ideologies as well as by different forms of social and political utopias, these involved major land reforms aimed primarily at modernizing the agricultural sector. Their translation into practice was carried on by agricultural development and colonization schemes (ADCS). ADCS combined large-scale land reclamation with major (re)settlement of 'problematic' groups (hired labourers, ethnic minorities, war veterans, refugees, dissidents, etc.) often in un- or under-populated areas within or on the fringes of the concerned countries. ADCS were implemented in different political contexts and continued even after radical political changes. In addition to their sector-specific goals, ADCP aimed at fostering economic growth by supplying national markets, solving the critical socio-economic situation of their target groups, as well as fostering new identities through of spatial, artistic and cultural frameworks. Hence, ADCS strongly contributed to the construction of national identities and cultures – shaping behaviours, values, language, education, the fine and applied arts, etc. –, but were also central to state-building processes – establishing norms, institutions, and scientific agendas. Therefore, ADCS differ from both ancient and modern colonisations for being mostly endogenously directed towards sovereign areas (or eventually contested border zones) to consolidate cohesive national territories. ADCP were first theorized in the 19th century to serve emerging empires and nation-states (Roscher; 1856), or to remedy the effects of industrialization (Owen, 1841; Huber; 1848; Oppenheimer, 1896). Large scale ADCS were attempted in Europe from the late 19th century (Caballero, 1864; de Oliveira Martins, 1887), with major experiments conducted within the frame of post-WWI and WWII reconstructions. ADCP were then adopted in former colonies after independence (Déry, 2014), inspiring much development aid and land reform policies exported to the developing world (Lipton, 2009).

The modern concepts of planning and calculation were central to ADCP; they were a testing ground for experts in new scientific disciplines dealing with improved agriculture and the shaping of the built environment, where new ideas and techniques were confronted. Their implementation invoked different pasts by modernist landscape/architects, designers, planners, and artists, which invented new forms of rural life to compete with the modern industrial city's increasing attractiveness. As a result, the implementation of ADCS produced unprecedented modernist rural landscapes (MRL) in number of countries and regions, which today present tangible evidence of recent European history as well as an emerging cultural heritage.

This paper presents a recently started postdoctoral research project, focused on the case of the Fascist Pontine Marches, the Francoist Ebro Valley, and the Zionist Jezreel Valley. It poses some elements for a genealogy of the ADCP, the theoretical planning background for ADCS, the features of MRL, and questions the possibility and tools to compare such cases. It discusses their heritage value, both in physical and ideal terms. Finally, it questions their present-day challenges, asking whether or not they should be considered as generic rural landscapes?

Keywords

comprehensive and regional planning, rural and cultural landscape, agricultural colonization, ruralism/agrarianism, modern urban planning and design, modern village

PRESERVING THE HISTORIC CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF KARABAGLAR, TURKEY

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Historic cultural landscapes are formed with collective activities of the inhabitants; they are part of a collective identity, shared set of meanings and a local culture. With their unique natural and man-made qualities, they have been the cultural representation of the society in history. In this respect, they are natural and cultural heritage that must be preserved.

The case area of this paper, Karabaglar is a historic cultural landscape located at the periphery of Mugla town. There has been a seasonal cyclic movement (transhumance culture) between these two settlements for centuries that set up an interdependency and interaction. Karabaglar served to house economy as far as recreational needs of town residents.

The cultural landscape of Karabaglar is composed of one-five-acre regular horticultural flatlands on which scattered traditional cubic houses situated. Land use, social and cultural practices of the residents and their relations with the environment have given form to the landscape of Karabaglar throughout centuries; therefore, its spatial organization is an outcome of socio-cultural formation. Some landscape components and character defining features specific in Karabaglar have been invented by initial inhabitants, reproduced through daily uses, and transmitted through time as socio-cultural practices. They were structured with a great sensitivity to the environment. Therefore, spatial organization in Karabaglar asserts the existence of coherence between human activities and environment, wholly reveals the uniqueness of Karabaglar.

Karabaglar has made testimony to the practices of changing society throughout the history. Karabaglar landscape witnessed the past and present interaction of the community with the environment. In this respect, Karabaglar keeps the cultural history of initial inhabitants and presents cultural richness. The history of Karabaglar dates back to the 17th century when the first sedentary settlement movements started with Turcoman nomads. Until 20th century, Karabaglar provided a noticeable amount of agricultural contribution to the town economy. However, with modernization, especially after 1950s, socio economic and technological dynamics have altered the significance of Karabaglar for town economy and social life. After 1960s, the technological developments especially in transportation have been effective in the restructuring of Karabaglar pattern. The cultural landscape of Karabaglar started to transform into new residential area of the town as a result of urbanization. In the recent century, developments in the economy, technology, and transportation have changed the preferences of people that influence the lifestyle and the building practices in Karabaglar. Hence, the original character, natural and cultural qualities could not save their existence.

This paper aims to search preservation strategies against the deterioration of historic cultural landscape of Karabaglar. It first explains the natural and cultural values of Karabaglar in line with its historic existence, then determines the changing circumstances with modernization, later goes on to explain the transformation process of Karabaglar within urbanization. Finally, it discusses the preservation tools and techniques assessing the historic cultural landscape and its cultural heritage in integrity and providing the perpetuation of Karabaglar's being.

Keywords

cultural landscape, identity, heritage, preservation

URBAN ECOSYSTEMS, CULTURAL IDENTITY AND URBAN ENVIRONMENTAL PLANNING IN 1980S SYDNEY: THE MAKING OF BICENTENNIAL PARK

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In the 1980s in Sydney, as elsewhere, a new framing of the city emerged, in which global health and survival was considered to depend on the local intervention in and transformation of degraded urban environments. Underpinning this shift were distinct changes in meaning that Sydney-siders attached to their natural environment, which in turn shaped planning policy and legislation, directions in ecological research, and ultimately urban landscape projects. This paper charts this transition by examining ways in which ecologists, planners and designers constructed and communicated a new ecological understanding of Sydney in the 1980s and early 1990s, and explores Bicentennial Park as an urban landscape project which translated and expressed this new ecological framing of the city. The findings demonstrate that what we take for granted now—that ecology is urban, and that urban ecology offers a pathway to beneficial strategies for adaptation and resilience to environmental change—is a culturally and politically constructed framing of the city which emerged in the late 1970s through the 1980s. Bicentennial Park, now overshadowed by the surrounding Sydney Olympic Parkland is reconsidered for its contribution to ecological conservation as a basis of urban park design in Australia.

Keywords

Urban environmental planning; urban ecological conservation; Bicentennial Park, Australia

How to Cite

Evans, Catherine. "Urban ecosystems, cultural identity and urban environmental planning in 1980s Sydney: the making of Bicentennial Park". In Carola Hein (ed.) *International Planning History Society Proceedings, 17th IPHS Conference, History-Urbanism-Resilience, TU Delft 17-21 July 2016*, V.04 p.421, TU Delft Open, 2016.

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7480/iphs.2016.4.1307>

INTRODUCTION

The 1988 Australian Bicentenary celebrations coincided with and sparked heightened concern for environmental change resulting from European settlement; consequently, conservation and restoration of flora and fauna were priorities on the planning agenda in Sydney in the years preceding and immediately following 1988. Government agencies, at the local, state and commonwealth levels, sponsored public domain projects, many with a conservation focus. As vegetation and landform became increasingly linked to Australian cultural identity and sense of place,¹ protective and restorative measures for bushland, coastal wetlands and threatened species emerged as frameworks for revaluing and remaking degraded urban landscapes. The call to conserve vegetation communities became increasingly embedded in the planning discourse, and these same communities became both a political vehicle for the transformation of degraded sites, and an ideological basis for park design.

This paper examines the ways in which ecologists, planners and designers constructed and communicated ecological understandings of Sydney in the 1980s and early 1990s, and how these understandings shaped one of the city's large parks. After situating the research in the context of scholarship on Australian designed landscapes of 1980s/1990s, this paper outlines the relevant cultural and institutional context of the time. It considers institutions which promoted new ways of thinking about the city, specifically the role of ecological communities, and urban planning policy and legislation which activated these new understandings. It then examines Bicentennial Park at Homebush Bay as an urban landscape project which translated and expressed this new ecological framing of the city.²

BACKGROUND: HISTORIES OF URBAN ENVIRONMENTAL PLANNING AND URBAN PARKS IN AUSTRALIA

Commenting on Sydney's urban planning history, Rob Freestone noted "Sydney has been shaped not by singular master plans but by an episodic history of many plans (big and small, local and central, private and public, green and brown, physical and social) and evolving planning ideologies, interacting and competing to produce a complex set of consequences."³ The backdrop Freestone sketches applies just as aptly to the history of planning large urban parks in Sydney. Indeed, the history of the planning and design of urban parks in Sydney is characterised by the absence of a key, singular vision; instead Sydney's parks have resulted from many plans, many agencies, and many diverse ambitions. It is also a history incompletely explored in existing scholarship, particularly with regard to the influence of culture and politics on the planning and design of urban designed landscape.

In the last 15 years, a growing volume of scholarship has explored the Australian domestic garden as a locus of culture, nature and politics, a place where indigenous plants are a medium for forging and renegotiating cultural identity.⁴ There is less attention to this interplay in relation to Australian large urban parks and their cultural and political contexts. Jodi Frawley's work on Joseph Henry Maiden is an exception; Frawley demonstrates that Joseph Henry Maiden, Director of the Sydney Botanic Gardens between 1890 and 1924, established a distinct palette of tree species to inscribe spatial concepts of order and civility on urban space in NSW.⁵ Catherin Bull's *New Conversations with an Old Landscape* (2002) established a typology of projects to interpret the nuanced design responses of landscape architects, with particular attention to the influence of the inspirations and demands of Australia's unique environmental settings on design styles. *New Conversations* is significant in terms of charting the broad stylistic patterns and design achievements of the profession, and hints at the agency of institutions with regard to changing cultural values, project types, and design responses. Barbara Buchanan's doctoral dissertation, a critical biography of architect Harry Howard, traced the emergence of the Sydney Bush School in the 1970s and 1980s as an aesthetic response by designers to distinctive aspects of place.⁶ Andrew Saniga's (2012) sociological history of the profession identifies key achievements; places, projects and institutions highlighted by Saniga provide important reference points for this research.⁷ In *Garden of Ideas* (2012), Richard Aitken traced the

emergence of distinct garden styles in Australia; although he deftly acknowledges the interrelationships between botanic gardens, plant nurseries, societies and professional journals on garden styles, the focus is primarily residential gardens.

CONTEXT: ENVIRONMENTAL AGENDAS OF THE 1970S AND 1980S

The emergence of modern environmental planning in the 1970s and 1980s in the United States, Europe and Australia was marked by two distinct phases.⁸ Daniels describes the first as a “command and control” approach, characterised by the introduction of numerous government regulations to control environmental impacts and reduce pollution. The second phase, which emerged through the 1980s, refuted the strict regulatory approach and introduced incentives, to encourage compliance and in growing recognition of the link between economy and caps and trades.⁹ In his recent account of environmental planning in Australia, Freestone describes the 1970s as the breakthrough decade; with clear echoes of the command and control approach of the United States, this was a period in Australia when key legislation was enacted, environmental commissions formed, and numerous environmental planning reports produced.¹⁰ Environmental planning in the 1980s in Australia diverged slightly from international patterns as an emerging concern for sustainability expanded and was integrated into the existing regulatory framework.

The sheer volume of policies and legislative acts introduced across the 1970s and 1980s in NSW speaks for the breadth of issues at play, with a concern for urban ecology evident in targeted planning instruments. Broad scale concern for improved environmental management replaced the NSW State Planning Authority with the NSW Planning and Environment Commission in 1974; this was followed by the enactment of the NSW Heritage Act and Heritage Council (1977) and the Environmental Planning and Assessment Act (EP&A Act) in 1979. The EP&A Act introduced new types of planning instruments which have directed environmental planning and management in significant ways. For example, and of relevance to this research, State Environmental Planning Policies 14 and 19, gazetted in 1984 and 1986 respectively, were directed, again respectively, at the conservation of Coastal Wetlands and Bushland in Urban Areas. Both exemplify urban planning policies which brought the concerns of urban ecology, specifically, fragmentation and loss of biodiversity-- onto the policy agenda, thereby influenced shifts in practices of landscape planning, management and design. Regional Environmental Plans, on other hand, directed and coordinated redevelopment of discrete and state-deemed significant urban areas. Examples include SREP 24 Homebush Bay (1993) which informed the transformation of degraded land into Sydney Olympic Park.

The new directions in environmental planning also reflected the strength and influence of grassroots environmental efforts, which also became institutionalised in the 1970s and 1980s. The Total Environment Centre, a non-profit environmental lobbying group, was established in Sydney in 1972. Greening Australia, focused on restoring and conserving biodiversity, was established in 1982. The Bradley technique for regenerating the local bushland was adopted by local councils and disseminated in the 1989 book, *Bush Regeneration: Recovering Australian Landscape*. Landcare, rural in focus, and founded in 1986, was another important catalyst for community awareness and participation. Widening cultural interest in and concern for native vegetation in the 1980s is also evident in numerous field guides published in the 1980s.¹¹

These were also the decades when Australian universities established centres for environmental studies and related programs, for example both the University of Melbourne and Macquarie University established a Centre for Environmental Studies in the early 1970s. At Macquarie, directed by academic staff, postgraduate students produced a variety of reports, mainly environmental impact assessments between 1971 and 1989. Reflecting a shifting scope of concern, the Macquarie institute was renamed the Centre for Environmental and Urban Studies in 1981.¹² A few projects advocated for design initiatives –notably a report commissioned by Concord Council to consider a ‘bicentennial’ park at Homebush Bay. In 1974, the University of New South Wales established its undergraduate landscape architecture program, the first in Australia.

Institutional environmental initiatives from the late 1960s through to the early 1990s of note include the Australian Institute of Landscape Architects (AILA), founded in 1966.¹³ The Landscape Section of the NSW Public Works Department (NSW PWD), established in the 1970s, expanded to 40 staff in the mid-1980s, one of the largest landscape offices in the country.¹⁴ This group undertook several major reclamation projects, including Chipping Norton Lakes, a stabilisation and reconstruction of sand and gravel mining site on the George's River in Sydney's southwest. They also directed a suite of three new parks as Bicentennial projects: the Mt Tomah Botanic Gardens in the Blue Mountains; the Mt Annan Botanic Gardens, in Sydney's southwest, and Bicentennial Park at Homebush Bay.¹⁵

In 1981, The Sydney Royal Botanic Gardens (RBG) established in 1816, first published *Cunninghamia*, a journal focusing on plant ecology of eastern Australia. The primary focus of *Cunninghamia* has been dissemination and discussion of the vegetation surveys in NSW.¹⁶ For the Bicentenary, the RBG exhibited the surveys of the Sydney region; well-received, the display was expanded into a book, *Taken for Granted* in 1990.¹⁷ Complementing the botanical field guides of the 1980s and the RBG surveys, *Taken for Granted* catered to local interests and concerns; its focus on the local history of land-use changes in Sydney's suburbs conveys the story of landscape diversity and change overtime. By Benson's own account, this work is a simplification of complex vegetation patterns, but importantly, it provided an accessible account of suburban environmental history.¹⁸

BICENTENNIAL PARK: A CASE STUDY OF TRANSFORMATIVE URBAN ENVIRONMENTAL PLANNING

Bicentennial Park is located in Homebush Bay, a large estuary on the south edge of the Parramatta River, fed by Haslam's Creek and Powell's Creek. (See Fig 1) In the late 18th and 19th centuries Homebush Bay was settled by Europeans. From the late 19thc to the mid-20thc, several state industrial and defense operations occupied the area, including a naval armaments depot, the NSW Abattoir, and the NSW State Brick Works. From the mid-20thc, much of Homebush Bay was reclaimed to accommodate industrial and manufacturing businesses.¹⁹ By the 1970s, as Sydney expanded westward from the central business district towards Parramatta, Homebush Bay was highly degraded, with toxic soils and polluted water.

Bicentennial Park emerged from a series of NSW government initiatives focused on transforming Homebush Bay into an economic hub for Sydney's geographic centre, and an emergent demographic centre. A 1978 state government proposal to construct a sports stadium and recreational facility at Homebush Bay was revised in 1980 into two separate proposals: 80 hectares of wetlands and rubbish tip was excised, and an indoor sports centre and business centre were established separately. The NSW State Sport Centre was completed in 1984, followed by the adjacent Australian Business Centre. The 80 hectares of excised lands – 50 hectares of wetlands and 30 hectares of tip—was designated as Bicentennial Park in 1983; the NSW Public Works Department began design and construction the same year. The park opened on 26 January 1988, and in 2001 the three projects were integrated into the broader mosaic of Sydney Olympic Park, which today comprises 440 hectares, and includes the Olympic urban core and surrounding parklands. (See Fig.2)

In 1978 the Environmental Studies Centre at Macquarie University produced a study titled 'A Bicentennial Park for Sydney, Homebush Bay: a report.'²⁰ The study focused on remnant wetlands, bird habitat and visual degradation, and concluded that the potential of the site was its ecological significance, due to the extent and rarity of the mangrove wetland and its potential to provide habitat, to protect the food chain, the commercial fishing economy and to provide recreational facilities.²¹ The report opened with this:

... all of Homebush Bay would be ideal in all its facets--from ... stadium to wetlands- for development as a great park. In an urban area these attributes are rare and special qualities and an opportunity arises for Sydney to celebrate its first 200 years by dedicating this land as a Bicentennial Park. This would be consistent with current views of re-using and rejuvenating city areas and this area has excellent potential for this purpose ...²²



FIGURE 1 Location Map of Homebush Bay in relation to Sydney.



FIGURE 2 Illustrative Plan showing Olympic core and surrounding parklands.

The Macquarie report calls out the importance of wetlands specifically in relation to their urban context—and advocates the co-existence of wetlands within an urban area. This case was strengthened in 1988, when Peter Clarke and Doug Benson, ecologist at the Sydney Royal Botanic Gardens, published a survey of Homebush Bay which emphasised rarity and significance of vegetation. They lauded the conservation achievements within Bicentennial Park, and highlighted the presence of additional patches of rare, remnant vegetation communities throughout Homebush Bay, in effect advocating for additional planting and conservation strategies to protect these woodlands and marshes, alongside the mangroves.

The planning and preparation for the 1993 bid to host the 2000 Olympics in Sydney buoyed the significance of Bicentennial Park to global levels. Because the Park was proof that rejuvenation of Homebush Bay presented an opportunity to conserve ecologically significant habitats and species, in addition to serving as a platform for expanded conservation measures, the mangroves and marsh converted quickly into a strategic asset. They also became a cornerstone of the Homebush Bay Regional Environmental Plan (SREP 24), gazetted in September 1993 (in tandem with the preparation of the Sydney bid for the 2000 Olympics), which established a framework for coordinated development across the area, and integrating ecological, social and economic concerns.

The Bicentennial Park Trust’s first strategic plan, prepared in 1992, emphasised the park’s international significance, stating, “...the worldwide significance of estuarine and wetlands means the Trust’s responsibility goes beyond the park boundaries,” and focused on global outcomes of decisions, and the opportunity to contribute research to a global network.²³ The significance of ecological habitats dominated subsequent portrayals of the importance of the new park. A 1993 video produced by the Bicentennial Trust exclaimed that Bicentennial Park was more than a recreation area: 60% ‘natural’, it was hailed as an oasis, a sanctuary; the wetlands critical to the economy and global research.²⁴ In 2001, a second video produced by the Trust described the park as a locus of

dedication to and expertise in conservation, stating that “world survival depends” on this “natural wonderland.”²⁵ Bold and engaging woodcut images of the mangroves’ fauna were used on the website.²⁶ Repeated across print and digital media, the images assisted with the cultural construction of the mangroves—and by association, Bicentennial Park—as an icon of conservation in an urban context.

A series of master plans for Homebush Bay were produced beginning in 1990.²⁷ Along with configuring Olympic facilities, these plans expanded the urban conservation role of Bicentennial Park. Because the ecologically significant wetlands edging the Bay could not be developed, they were tagged, ironically, “environmental constraints” and converted into an extended Bicentennial Park, known as Millennium Parklands, to provide a ‘unique natural setting,’ for the core of Olympic activity.²⁸ As these plans evolved, the so-called natural environment was not such a constraint: it provided three different functions: conservation, buffer, and open space. The new urban centre at SOP was wrapped in a large, multifunctional park system, which is now an important benefit of the SOP, providing one of Sydney’s largest ‘green’ recreational resources.²⁹ (See Fig. 3)

A NEW TYPE OF PARK?

If a key legacy of the Sydney Olympic Games was reshaping Sydney’s spatial structure, then Bicentennial Park played a critical role as a testing ground for rethinking park typology/ies.³⁰ Scott Hawken recently described Sydney Olympic Park as ‘a city in a park,’ highlighting the extent and significance of parkland in one Sydney’s newest suburbs.³¹ The rooms/walls/corridors structure of Millennium Parklands—which wraps around the urban core of the Sydney Olympic Park, draws heavily on landscape ecological concepts, and embeds the closed ‘room’ of mangroves in Bicentennial Park as a key structural component.

Saniga describes Bicentennial Park as “perhaps the most significant project undertaken by the NSW PWD in the 1980s.”³² The site presented complex engineering and design challenges; subsidence, stability, and toxicity were difficult to predict across most of the site. The areas of fill had no record or monitoring of waste, and the adjacent wetlands were far from healthy. The construction process, started in 1983, involved myriad state agencies: led by the Landscape Section of the NSW Public Works Department with an Interim Management Committee, which included representatives from the NSW Premier’s Department; the Royal Botanic Gardens; Centennial Park; the NSW Department of Environment and Planning; a geographic ecologist from Macquarie University; and representatives from the three adjacent local councils.³³

During construction, the lead landscape architect, Lorna Harrison claimed that the park presented an opportunity “to create an exciting and unique contrast between man-made [sic] and natural landscape within the framework of an urban park.”³⁴ At the same time, critical reviews claimed that with extensive conservation areas integrated into the park, Bicentennial Park was a *new type of park*.³⁵ For Harrison, there was even higher ground than newness to claim. Ideological tensions underpinned and motivated her design aims, and the aspiration to emulate grand urban traditions was more than a design statement; Harrison was taking aim at what she referred to as “Bib and Bub and the Bad Banksia Man:”

- the Bicentennial Park does seek to re-establish the great landscape traditions established in history and in the early years of Australia. Traditions which have been rejected emphatically by the Sydney School of Landscape Design and which have resulted in poor representations of Australian bushland located inappropriately within the urban fabric; a lack of reference to an historical continuum which has led to design solutions which pay little heed to the articulation of external space and the planning and design of landscape for artistic effect.³⁶



FIGURE 3 Aerial photograph of Sydney Olympic Park showing parkland wrapping around the Olympic urban core. Bicentennial Park is mid-ground, just above Olympic core.

Harrison was not alone in this campaign: the day the Park opened, 1 January, 1988, the *Sydney Morning Herald* echoed this theme, noting the distinction between Bicentennial Park and recent parks, and emphasising Bicentennial Park references to the great traditions of park making.³⁷ But what did this mean? Both Harrison and Ron Powell, the project manager, identified design principles employed to link the park to the 'grand tradition,' namely, geometry, focal points and axes.³⁸ Unlike 19th and early 20th century *rus in urb* idiom, the main design device of Bicentennial Park was internal contrast, between the 50 ha of 'natural' wetlands and the park constructed over 30 hectares of waste; second in importance were two axes. An east/west axis features a canal of 200 jets of water, culminating at its high point in a treillage. Both the treillage and the fountains centred and connected the park to its surrounds, especially the Sports Centre to the southwest and Concord station to the southeast. A north/south axis, articulated by an avenue of trees created the 'mangrove vista,' and focused attention from afar on the wetlands.³⁹ (See Fig. 4) By the mid- 1990s, it seemed that Harrison may have exceeded –or missed–her expectations: the strength of the internal contrast was such that in 2001, Bicentennial Park was separated from the mangroves, which were renamed Badu Mangroves. Both now are distinct precincts, two of 17, within SOP, and the mangroves are one of 5 precincts devoted to ecological conservation.

CONCLUSION

Bicentennial Park has not won many accolades from the Australian Institute of Landscape Architects, and yet from the perspective mapped out in this paper, it clearly has contributed to the integration of ecological conservation into urban parks in Australia, an important legacy. As with Sydney's planning history, there is no single figure or institution which played a defining role in making Bicentennial Park, but rather a web of ecologists; botanists; environmentalists, planners and landscape architects. This complexity was all the more acute at the time, given that the 1980s in Australia was a time of re-articulating cultural identity. New values took shape, and varied institutional initiatives were implemented, and as we have seen, ideological battles ensued.



FIGURE 4 Aerial photograph of Bicentennial Park, looking north to Homebush Bay, 1987. This image shows the internal contrast of constructed and natural landscape, and the strong axes used to infuse the park with traditional design devices.

The manner in which ecological knowledge and expertise was interpreted and applied to reshaping of degraded sites was a key factor with the systematic documentation of regional ecology provided by the Sydney RBG vegetation surveys especially critical. The maps readily communicated extensive habitat fragmentation across the Sydney region; which in turn reflected urban degradation, and this implied narrative of civic declension

became a rallying call for change. Another key factor was the establishment of landscape architecture as a profession in Australia, which provided a distinctive skill base and formative ideologies. The Bicentennial Park Trust was a critical agent in terms of situating the Park as significant in regional and global terms. Mangroves and mudflats were transformed from urban dumping ground into a significant urban space of healthy retreat, helped along by “mangrove mania.” In the end, an urgent environmental fix evolved into a complex spatial fix, with Sydney Olympic Park as the headline legacy, but the process had wider and more nuanced outcomes as well, contributing to the about the aesthetics of park design, and demonstrating the capacity of landscape architecture to play a significant role in the mitigation of large scale urban environmental degradation.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Notes on Contributor

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Endnotes

- 1 Buchanan, "Modernism Meets the Bush," Buchanan discusses this at length in her PhD.
- 2 This perspective is informed by Jens Lachmund's essay, "Making an Urban Ecology." See his outline of aims, page 205: "...examine the underlying practices and discourses by which nature in the city of West Berlin was framed as a nexus of scientific and political activities. Rather than providing objective information about flora and fauna, ...cultural entrepreneurs who created and promoted new framings of, or ways of conceptualising, the city, its component parts, its environmental conditions, and the goals of an appropriate urban policy."
- 3 Freestone, "Planning Sydney," 141-142.
- 4 Dyson, "Rethinking Australian Gardens;" Holmes, "Growing Australian Landscapes."
- 5 Frawley, "Campaigning for Street Trees."
- 6 Buchanan, "Modernism Meet the Bush."
- 7 Saniga, *Making Landscape Architecture in Australia*.
- 8 Daniels, *A Trail Across Time*.184
- 9 *Ibid.*, 186.
- 10 Freestone, *Australian Environmental Planning*, 27.
- 11 These guides include: *Native Trees and Shrubs of South Eastern Australia* by Leon Costermans, 1981; *Native Plants of the Sydney region* by Mary Baker et al, 1986, and *Native Plants of the Sydney Region* by Alan Fairley and Philip Moore, 1989.
- 12 The information on the Macquarie University Centre is derived from a survey of the Macquarie University Library catalogue of the centre's work. Survey conducted by the author.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 176-183.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 206.
- 15 *Ibid.*, 207.
- 16 This fact gleaned from Royal Botanic Garden Sydney website and Benson, "Oral History." <https://www.rbgsyd.nsw.gov.au/Science-Conservation/Scientific-Publications/Cunninghamia> .
- 17 Howell and Benson, *Taken for Granted*; Benson, Doug, "Oral History: Doug Benson," 8.
- 18 Benson, "Oral History," 7.
- 19 Sydney Olympic Park Authority, "History and Heritage."
- 20 Eskell & Macquarie University Centre for Environmental Studies, "A bicentennial park for Sydney."
- 21 Croweller, "Bicentennial Park, Sydney, 173; Eskell, "A bicentennial park for Sydney."
- 22 Eskell, "A Bicentennial Park for Sydney," 2.
- 23 Bicentennial Park Trust, *Annual Report*, 2.
- 24 Pearman et al, *Bicentennial Park: making a difference*.
- 25 Bissett et al, *Bicentennial Park Homebush Bay*.
- 26 Bicentennial Park Trust website.
- 27 Young, "Homebush Bay Master Plan," 221.
- 28 *Ibid.*, 222-223
- 29 Young, "Homebush Bay Master Plan," 222-223; Searle, "Long-term Impacts". Also note that Western Sydney Parklands opened in 2006, and is now Sydney's largest parkland.
- 30 Searle, "Long-term impacts."
- 31 Hawken, "Sydney Olympic Park 2030."
- 32 Saniga, 207.
- 33 "Bicentennial Park Newsletter."
- 34 Harrison, "Bicentennial Park," 14.
- 35 O'Brien and Thorman, "Mangroves, People, and Factories," 291; McConville, "All this: and a treillage," 49.
- 36 Harrison, "Bicentennial Park," 14.
- 37 Haskell, "From Rubbish Dump to Parkland."
- 38 Harrison, "Bicentennial Park," 15; Croweller, "Bicentennial Park," 174.
- 39 Harrison, "Bicentennial Park."

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Figure 1. Vincent Caccavo, *The Changing Landscape of Homebush Bay*, unpublished diss. UNSW, 1990.

Figure 2. PWP Landscape Architecture, view online <http://www.pwpla.com/projects/millennium-parklands>

Figure 3. PWP Landscape Architecture, view online at <http://www.pwpla.com/projects/millennium-parklands>

Figure 4. NSW Public Works Department, republished in Crosweller, Rod et al. "Bicentennial Park, Sydney."

Heritage and Landscape

Chair: Paul Meurs

THE COLONIES OF BENEVOLENCE, LANDSCAPES MEANT TO ELIMINATE POVERTY IN THE NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

Paul Meurs

TU Delft and SteenhuisMeurs

After the fall of Napoleon in 1813, the Netherlands were very impoverished: 1/7 of the population subsisted on charity. The Society of Benevolence was established in 1818 aimed to solve the problem of massive urban poverty and its disruptive social consequences by means of large scale domestic colonization. Poor people were sent to the uncultivated parts of the Netherlands and employed in agriculture. Meanwhile they would be educated and disciplined, in order to be able to re-integrate in society. From 1818 to 1825 the Society founded seven colonies in the Northern and Southern Netherlands, cultivating over 100 km² of land. There were two types of colonies, free and unfree colonies – that together could handle all groups that depended on charity: poor families, orphans, baggers, tramps, disabled, fallen women, etc. The Colonies of Benevolence were neutral in relation to religion, and were supposed to make all other forms of poverty relief superfluous. The Colonies of Benevolence embodied a national project which was privately executed.

In the course of the years, all the landscapes were further developed and adapted to advancing insights in the field of poverty relief, psychiatry and punishment. At present, the ideas of the Society of Benevolence can still be recognized in the landscape of the colonies. The Dutch and Belgian governments prepare a nomination of the seven colonies for the world heritage. The combination of making new people, while making new landscapes – on a national scale is seen as an exceptional value.

The paper will reflect on the nomination of the colonies for the world heritage list, emphasizing three aspects. First, the planning history of: How could landscape engineering be combined with social engineering? What typologies did this produce and how could they evolve over time? The second aspect deals with the reading and mapping of these landscapes. How can the primarily intangible tradition of social engineering be read and understood in tangible terms – in traces of the cultivation of the natural landscape, the newly developed landscape structure, the buildings, uses up to the mentality and the landscape of memory? The third aspect will roughly address the planning approach towards conservation of these cultural landscapes: how can the dynamics of these enormous landscapes be respected, while also safeguarding the outstanding values and taking profit of the historic and cultural significance for new (economic) developments?

Keywords

cultural landscapes, world heritage, poverty alleviation, land cultivation, mapping intangible values

DOCK AREAS AND HIGH SPEED STATION DISTRICT: THE CONTEMPORARY TRANSFORMATION OF EUROPEAN HARBOUR CITY

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In the XIX century as well as in the first decades of the XX century, while railroads and metropolitan railways lines are entangled with the European cities, another interesting issue arises: the displacement of industries and harbour areas from the centre to the outskirts of cities. Gradually the public role of the docks in port cities of the XVIII century has been replaced by the (semi) public role of railway stations area, from the XIX century on. In answer to the modern and contemporary urban change phenomena, redevelopment projects along railways and harbour areas have been experimenting a great urban transformation.

The end of the XX century was a turning point in the history of railways in Europe, observing increased shares of high-speed trains and light rail together with metro lines in the modal split of passenger transport. Major terminals have become hubs of the network due to their strategic locations in cities, and the quasi-urban spaces of their interiors, which increasingly serve various non-transport related functions. These new urban nodes, under development in Europe with different speeds, cannot be defined outside their urban context and history.

For the last twenty years, many European cities have used the construction of high-speed lines (HSL) and the associated intermodal railway stations as a catalyst for urban renewal projects. This phenomenon started with the 'Euralille' project in France, at the end of the 80s.

At that time in the largest harbour European city of Rotterdam the transformation of the abandoned docklands closed to the city-centre took place. Today about almost thirty years after 1980 and following the urban transformations of the Kop van Zuid, Rotterdam has been transmuted into important urban centre of the 21st century with the arrival of the high speed train. The development of the City of 'fragments' driven by market forces is taking place on two sides of the river Maas: to the North with Rotterdam Central District (high speed station area) and to the South with the renewal of the harbour. The heart of the city of Rotterdam is shifting again towards to the river and gradually dock areas have been reconsidered as part of a new city centre.

Furthermore, in the contemporary urban change phenomena, large scale master planning has been replaced by bottom up development approaches and the future relationship between the city and its infrastructural layout will be probably based on that. The development process of Rotterdam Central District is an example of this change.

This paper aims to give a contribution to the 17th IPHS conference with the participation to the panel of "large-scale planned landscapes" with a focus on railways landscapes around the world. It opens some important questions: How to integrate large scale ambitions with current practices creating a new city centre in Rotterdam? Is there a proper meaning of public space when architecture enters infrastructural urban projects? How does the discipline of architecture use the interest in infrastructure as a way to redefine its role in large scale interventions?

Keywords

seaport, high-speed railways, public spaces, urban visions, urban renewal

CIRCULAR PLANNING AND ADAPTIVE DESIGN STRATEGIES TO RECYCLE WASTED LANDSCAPES – THE PERI-URBAN TERRITORIES OF CAMPANIA PLAIN AS A CASE STUDY

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The Campania Region, in the South of Italy, is a territory where numerous Wasted Landscapes (WL) are recognisable, as the result of serious social and governmental problems.

Through the last decades, many factors have been overlapping in this complex palimpsest: illegal developments and the measures to legitimize them can be paradoxically understood as real cornerstones for the local planning system; the traces of the post-Fordist abandoned landscapes are mixed with the historical remains, showing the deep sense of identity that still persists in the territory. On the other hand, the Campania Plain is a porous territory characterised by an adaptive resilience. This is interwoven with the presence of areas of outstanding natural beauty, with a resilient interstitial agriculture, and with a fragmented but resistant economy.

In this paper, two emblematic case-studies are discussed (Casaluce and Est-Naples), understanding WL as an additional category of waste with the urgent need to be recycled, in order to: reactivate urban metabolism; to improve the quality of life, the spatial quality of the territory, and the regional economy.

Keywords

Wasted Landscapes, Recycle, Peri-urban, Urban Metabolism, Resilience

How to Cite

Amenta, Libera; Formato, Enrico. "CIRCULAR PLANNING AND ADAPTIVE DESIGN STRATEGIES TO RECYCLE WASTED LANDSCAPES — The Peri-urban territories of Campania plain as a case study". In Carola Hein (ed.) *International Planning History Society Proceedings, 17th IPHS Conference, History-Urbanism-Resilience, TU Delft 17-21 July 2016, V.04 p.437, TU Delft Open, 2016.*

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7480/iphs.2016.4.1308>

INTRODUCTION

Through the last decades, many factors have been overlapping in the complex palimpsest of Campania plain, in the South of Italy. The lay of the land comes from a process based on an economy which uses the land, both public and private, as the main resource for parasitic urbanization. A typical condition of the Italian capitalism, centered, since the 1949 Piano Casa (Housing Plan), on the economic cycle of constructions. In the Piana Campana region, this condition is supported by a real technology by which the syndicate - composed of political system (national and local), legal and illegal shareholders, and productive forces (backward and essentially tied to construction) - ensures huge profits to each of the actors involved in the process of urbanization. The agreement is “insured” by the pervasive presence of criminal organizations, occultly participating in the cartel and ensuring compliance with the covenants and the role of each of the actors¹. On one hand, the illegal developments and the measures to legitimize them² can be paradoxically understood as elements that constituted the history of the planning system of this region. On the other hand, the traces of the post-Fordist abandoned landscapes are interwoven with the historical remains, the deep sense of identity and permanence that still persists in the territory of Naples and its surroundings. Today, this problematic condition is mixed with the presence of areas of outstanding natural beauty, with a resilient interstitial agriculture, and with a fragmented but resistant economy. Therefore, a large amount of Wasted Landscapes (WL)³ is emerging in this territory, as the result of serious social and governmental problems.

This paper aims to understand WL examining two exemplar cases in the Piana Campana. Through them, strategies for re-cycling WL are presented as a way to improve the urban metabolism of peri-urban areas⁴. Urban metabolism, similar to what happens to a living organism, produces waste that should be re-interpreted as material for urban projects. Re-cycling WL is a necessary strategy for the contemporary urban design that aims to turn waste, and WL, back into resources. Through more flexible approaches, it is possible to re-create new values and new directions for existing artefacts. To face these challenges, the paper, consistently with ecological-landscape urbanism, outlines an adaptive and systemic approach.

This work concerns the urbanisation of the province of Caserta, and the study of the Eastern part of Naples. It takes into account the state of both places, and strategies for the re-interpretation of WL. It creates the substrate that keeps them together and creates a link between the two, giving us the opportunity to make a comparison between them. The main purpose is to present new scenarios to re-use WL in the two areas, connecting them to broader and more comprehensive interpretive images, of landscapes, networks and impressions of the city⁵.

PIANA CAMPANA: THE CONDITION OF PLACES

The *Piana Campana* is a deeply compromised territory from an environmental point of view and because of the significant influence that criminal organisations have in the area⁶. This territory is suspended in a state in-between “beauty and threat”⁷. Today, this problematic condition is mixed with the presence of areas of outstanding natural beauty, with a resilient interstitial agriculture, and with a fragmented but resistant economy.

In the Campania Region, WL are not only polluted areas⁸, but also abandoned open spaces and vacant edifices at the end of their original planned life-cycle. WL are usually places forgotten by the authorities and they often become the object of illegal practices, compromising their environmental and spatial integrity. Therefore, innovative design approaches and re-cycling strategies are needed for WL in the Campania Region.

This conurbation is an extreme exemplification of the contemporary urban condition: in the background is the accumulation of elements iterated with monotonous and constant rhythm (the residential buildings and craft sheds: every time identical in structure but different in form); in the foreground, bursts of colour and matter (shopping malls, public buildings, major equipment), like a giant action painting, light up, from time to time, different points of the agglomeration; in the folds, appear lacerations and gashes, absences, empty of meaning and matter -- brownfields, *terrain vagues*, legal and illegal dumps of urban and industrial waste -- as “vertical cuts”.



FIGURE 1 Casaluce (CE), March 2013

PLANNING THE TRANSFORMATION OF CASALUCE: CHAOTIC AND DIFFUSE CITY

The City of Casaluce⁹ is a part of the diffuse conurbation in which the phenomena of the dismantling of urban fabrics or transformation of agricultural areas in urbanised territories are interwoven with the illegal spread of new urbanisations and with the loss in attractiveness of the historical centre, that is actually becoming increasingly empty. In addition, the spatial domain of large infrastructures generates spaces that have no intentional relationships and are not integrated with the city and the territory¹⁰.

In this kaleidoscopic territory, public spaces, historical and archaeological sites, fragments of landscapes, abandoned areas, disused buildings, WL and polluted sites, and peri-urban interstitial areas coexist. They create a sense of disorientation in the perception of spaces and they represent the evidence of changes in land-use¹¹. In addition, the interstitial areas in between the infrastructure axes, generated by a sectorial and/or engineering point of view, don't make sense in the landscape. They become elements out of context representing, sometimes, insuperable barriers¹².

These paradoxical spatial conditions can be found all over the world but in the *Piana Campana*, where the Neapolitan widespread conurbation extends, they assume extreme proportions.

WASTED LANDSCAPES IN CASALUCE

WASTED LANDSCAPES OF DWELLINGS

The urban expansion of Casaluce that has happened in the last 40 years is characterized by a succession of detached houses, always with the same design, and having no more than three floors above ground, erodes the open space that is becoming increasingly residual. The public spaces and the spaces for social interactions in general, in these areas, are replaced by shopping malls, that establish themselves as out-of-scale objects in the territory, accessible only by private car. Emblematic of these places is also private car-ownership and the almost total absence of public transport that generates separation between individuals and urban places that are for pedestrian of little interest, ugly and even unsafe. Here the public space consists of streets and squares bound by walls with surveillance cameras on top, as a symbol for the desire to close off the public urban spaces and with the aim to defend private parcels.

WASTED LANDSCAPES OF ILLEGAL PROCESSES

In the Southern area of Casaluce, outside of the ancient centre, a “latent city”¹³ developed made up of spontaneous and low-density settlements, characterised by low levels of physical quality. It developed in contrast with the prevision of the Town Land-Use Plan of 1986, that identified these areas as Agricultural Areas. These peri-urban fringes are lacking in public spaces and infrastructure networks and without a shared design vision. This common and low quality landscape affects the global image of the entire city.

WASTED LANDSCAPES OF WAITING CONDITIONS

Just outside of the centre of Casaluce it is possible to find some multi-family residential buildings, resulting from illegal authorisations (cancelled by the Municipal Administration, in the meantime put under temporary receivership for camorrist infiltrations, while the works were in progress). They remain unfinished and in a suspended condition because of having been seized by the Judiciary.

WASTED LANDSCAPES OF AGRICULTURE

The agricultural landscape of the Campania Plain is in a state of suspension between degraded areas of WL and valuable permanence of precious agriculture. Within the former agricultural areas, which today are defined as peri-urban hybrid spaces, it is possible to identify several degraded areas, defined in the Territorial Coordination Plan Provincial of the Province of Caserta as ‘denied areas’¹⁴, without a uniquely defined function.

RE-CYCLING WASTED LANDSCAPES IN CASALUCE AND PLANNING STRATEGIES

Re-considering, re-launching and re-integrating the network of WL in the urban metabolism, have a strategic value for the Municipality of Casaluce but also for the wider surrounding area.

Re-cycling of WL represents a new challenge for the new urban design proposing a network of open spaces and/or multifunctional areas for the contemporary city by relating them to consolidated urban settlements, reassembling the mosaic of rural and peri-urban areas and, more generally, with the structural components of the urban landscape. Plans and projects should always provide a functional mix to achieve new ideas for the city where there are inter-relationships at different scales.

The proposed strategies involve different scales, from the metropolitan large scale area, including several municipalities, to the renewal of individual urban parts. They will be implemented in a medium to long-term period but there are also actions that can be taken immediately in the territory¹⁵.

RE- CONCEPTUALISE EAST NAPLES: PERI-URBAN TERRITORY

East Naples¹⁶ is the emblem of the shrinking post-Fordism areas lying idle in a suspended post-industrial condition. In this territory, the areas of major interest are the ‘middle lands’¹⁷ between the various fanned out areas, which are spaces where major projects are being undertaken. Here many areas brownfields are currently in a phase of transformation, such as the Q8 area, which is a large former oil area slated for disposal, the Feltrinelli area, the Tobacco Factory, Vigliena and others. These projects, although showing a great potential for urban transformations, still remain closed within their own borders, giving rise to the formation of ‘intermediate areas’ for which there is no clear purpose or planned project. The ‘middle lands’ have strong potential; their transformation can re-create the missing links between the different logistical sectors overlapping in these places.

WASTED LANDSCAPES IN EAST NAPLES

In the entire territory of East Naples there are lots of Wasted Landscapes at an institutional but also private level. WL emerged throughout the years, at different moments during the dismissal of these areas. These spaces have a strong capacity for urban regeneration.

In East Naples WL are sections of discarded areas that the city refuses and expels from its urban dynamics; they are characterised by different degrees of contamination. The design approach for East Naples is to intervene in the fragmented landscape recomposing it to re-discover the lost relationship between different urban areas and the interdependence between humans and the environment. In this area, almost entirely urbanised and consumed, in which there are abandoned industrial enclaves, technological machines, urban inhabited settlements and peri-urban areas, in juxtaposed layers.

WASTED LANDSCAPES OF DWELLINGS

Dispersed houses are shaping the peri-urban core of East Naples. The quality of the architecture is always quite deficient. They are separated from public streets by high fences or gates. Public spaces are lacking in maintenance and quality.

After the Second World War, until the end of the 1970s, the ‘public city’ has been built through consecutive mono functional additions located in the urban periphery of Naples, on the border of the agricultural territory and at the edges of the irregular and illegal urban developments, often built next to big infrastructures that cross the area. Here public spaces are incomplete and there is a lack of public amenities. Here the sectorial way of understanding the territory is evident.

WASTED LANDSCAPES OF ILLEGAL PROCESSES

Illegal dumping is affecting a large proportion of the open spaces in the Eastern part of Naples. Waste is accumulating along the roads, and under bridges, making the area site impossible to cross on foot, thus isolated and unsafe.

WASTED LANDSCAPES OF WAITING CONDITIONS

The diffused city also usually generates abandoned and empty spaces, fences, uncertain spaces, parts of infrastructure, fragments of agricultural land that derive from unplanned, poorly designed and unmaintained open spaces. WL in the dispersed city are fragmented, degraded areas such as empty properties, strips, lots and a large amount of various in between spaces, that generate interruptions among different urban areas. WL are delimited by enclosed areas of specialised functions.



FIGURE 3 Wasted Landscapes of infrastructure in East Naples

WASTED LANDSCAPES OF INFRASTRUCTURE

The rigid infrastructural system is overlapped in East Naples with the macro-gated enclaves, until you come to the spread out settlements area. This organisation of the territory through multifunctional enclaves has given rise to a succession of enclosures that alternate with each other and characterizes the roads system, devoid of urban character.

WASTED LANDSCAPES OF OBSOLESCENCE AND CONTAMINATION

East Naples is characterised by a very high presence of WL that are mostly the result of the de-industrialisation. It is necessary today re-think the remains of the industrial era, that area characterised by physical and social decay, combining this approach with an accurate consideration of the critical analysis of these shrinking areas in the wider territory. In East Naples, what we can define as a 'petroleumscape'¹⁸, is a WL that is the result of the combination of contaminated sites and (former) industrial areas.

WASTED LANDSCAPES OF DERELICTION

In the industrial area of East Naples the presence of WL, particularly related to open spaces and determined by the crisis in the different productive sectors, is a potential for a contemporary urban project. Open spaces represent a starting tool for urban regeneration avoiding further soil consumption, creating ecological re-connections of ‘Third Landscapes’¹⁹ and giving new centrality to the ‘waste’ of territorial systems²⁰.

Openness relates to the ecological function of communities within their everyday territory, identifying their character as a basis for the commonalities of contemporary cities, building a sense of identity and belonging within the urban metabolism, as initially assumed by Jane Jacobs in 1961²¹.

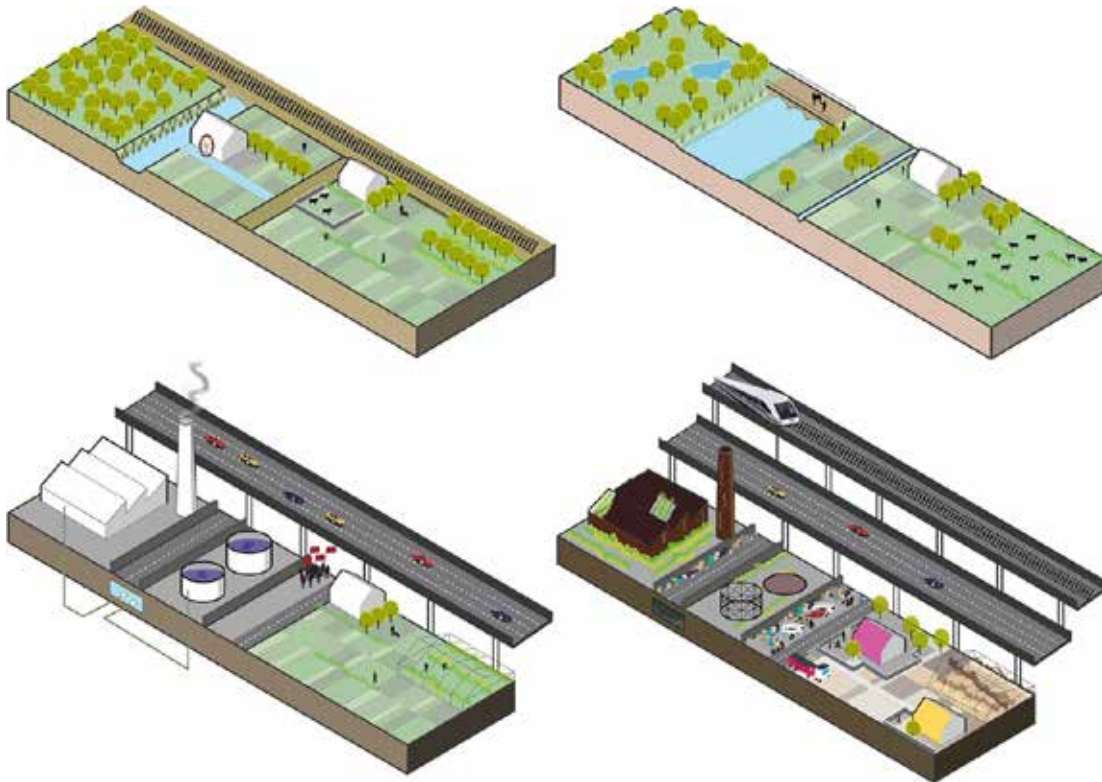


FIGURE 4 East Naples: a retro-active conceptualisation

WASTED LANDSCAPES OF AGRICULTURE

Among the different kinds of WL, we can recognise WL of agriculture are very often micro-areas, ignored by real estate investors, in between the ‘hard’ urban parts (former industrial areas and other enclaves of big projects). They are abandoned and not valorised that could be immediately re-used to create a network to connect the urban fabric through temporary uses, clean regenerate the “waterscape” and canals and creating green ways, also as a new possible form of latent economies.

RE-CYCLING WASTED LANDSCAPES IN EAST NAPLES

In East Naples the 40% of the whole territory is occupied by WL. Re-using under-used or no-longer used spaces is an alternative to the spatial isolation and abandonment that characterise WL. The future of East Naples can be re-imagined in a cyclical way, through a new paradigm that sees the re-cycling of WL as a strategic action to re-discover the previous fertility that characterised the Campania Felix, rediscovering the different life-cycles which have followed each other in the area, constructing an inverse palimpsest, focusing on the green core of the rural-scape located outside the Urban Implementation Plan Boundaries, but also on the WL of industrial processes developed in the area and in other discarded areas.

It is a retro-active conceptualisation²² to re-discover the residual tracks of past cycles, the remaining memories, cultures and local identities, looking for hidden project images, erasing the “ground noise” of hybrid landscapes (dispersed settlements, “in between spaces”, rural-urban fringe, etc.).

CONCLUSIONS

IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF CONTEMPORARY CITIES THROUGH HYBRID METABOLISMS

In the Campania Region the major causes of the formation of WL are mostly linked to urban dispersion and to the illegal urbanisation of the territory. In addition, the de-industrialisation process is leaving large industrial areas partially or totally empty or in a state of dismission, creating a petroleumscape.

WL are also due to the abandonment of agricultural fields and the contiguous built structure in the peri-urban areas where the lack of public spaces is related to the abandonment of open spaces. They are considered as marginal areas ignored by real estate investors and forgotten by public authorities.

The urban reality in the Campania Region is complex. Therefore a way of planning, that is not capable of answering the new question of public space and able to share its objectives with the various stakeholders in order to reach a common goal, is not realistic any longer²³.

The reuse of marginal areas brings new possibilities for ecological continuity and public networks. This continuity, primarily aimed at creating public space, uses the horizontal surface as a matrix and disconnects infrastructure from building use: the soil in this sense may be thought as the material fabric of this new urban realm. These surfaces “constitute the urban field when considered across a wide range of scales, from the sidewalk to the street to the entire infrastructural matrix of urban surfaces”²⁴.

The most relevant spatial consequence of this innovative planning is a massive return of nature in urban contexts: landscape and ecological infrastructures become civic instigators for new city structures.

Matter is also relevant in the vision of the city as an organism, assembling living and mechanic bodies intertwined in metabolic chains. Urban metabolisms are understood as processes generated by the device-city²⁵, binding, in codified chains the infinite possible reactions (as chemical reaction and, metaphorically, territorial metamorphosis) between heterogeneous things and actors.

The design process is defined by the interaction of different actors and things, human and nonhuman. It comes as a systemic framework structurally devoid of hierarchy, without differences between active and passive components. In this system, the world of “drosscapes”²⁶, and Wasted Landscapes, and oppressed humans, may drive the changes, breaking the obduracy of the status quo. This position reverses the perspective of traditional planning, charging his techniques of political values, discovering prospects and innovative semiotic chains.

This approach is particularly needed if the planning object is mostly spoiled and oriented to further decay. It may be crucial to plan for transformation, where the socio-economic deprivation, spatial injustice, environmental and ecological disaster, reach, as in the Campanian Plain, considerable levels, opposed to common goods and civil life.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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All the paragraphs have been written and approved by both the authors Libera Amenta and Enrico Formato.

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Endnotes

- 1 Formato, “Recombinant hybrid ecologies”.
- 2 Cfr: Italian laws: no. 47/1985; no. 724/1994; no. 326/2003.
- 3 Amenta, “Reverse Land | Wasted Landscapes”.
- 4 Wolman, “The metabolism of cities”; Kennedy et al., “The changing metabolism of Cities”; Kennedy et al. “The study of urban metabolism”; GeemeteRotterdam, et al. “URBAN METABOLISM, Rotterdam”; Tansley, *Use abuse vegetational concepts*; Timmeren, “Concept of Urban Metabolism”; Ferrão and Fernández, *Sustainable Urban Metabolism*.
- 5 Russo, “Urbanistica senza crescita?”.
- 6 Laino, “Post-metropoli senza metropoli”.
- 7 Kastani and Schmid, “Napoli. Beauty and threat”.
- 8 In Campania Region the number of potentially contaminated sites is 2551. It has emerged that the 15,8% of the entire region is polluted and there is a total of 2.157 km² of contaminated area in the Campania Region (ARPAC, 2008).
- 9 The topics presented here are part of on-going research in the Department of Architecture of Naples. for the preparation of studies in support of the New City Plan for Casaluze. The scientific director of the Convention is Professor Michelangelo Russo.
- 10 Choay 1992, cit. in Pavia R. *Babele. La città della dispersione*.
- 11 Russo, “Urbanistica senza crescita?”.
- 12 Amenta and Formato, “Diffusione, scarti e tracce di felicità”.
- 13 The original term in Italian was ‘città latenti’, in Zanfi, F. *Città latenti. Un progetto per l’Italia abusiva*, Milano: Mondadori, 2008.
- 14 In the definition of the plan ‘aree negate’ (cfr. Ptcp: De Lucia et al, 2012).
- 15 For further information, see the Preliminary City Plan for Casaluze developed in the year 2015; four design actions have been identified for Casaluze in order to improve the quality of life of citizens and to re-create the missing territorial and local relations.
- 16 The topics presented in this part are part of the research carried out within the Prin Program 2012 Recycle Italy. The academic research group Recycle Italy, in which both the authors of this paper are members of the Unity of Naples, is focusing on the issue of drosscapes in the Italian situation and in particular on new life-cycles for architecture and the infrastructure of cities and landscape. For further information see the website at the link: <http://www.recycleitaly.it/>.
- 17 Russo, M. “Terre di mezzo”.
- 18 Hein, “Between oil and water”.
- 19 Clément, *Manifesto del Terzo Paesaggio*.
- 20 Lynch, *Wasting away*.
- 21 Formato and Russo, “Re-Use/Re-Cycle Territories”.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Russo and Lucci, *Napoli verso Oriente*.
- 24 Corner, “Terra Fluxus”.
- 25 Deleuze G. *Che cos’è un dispositivo?*
- 26 Berger, *Drosscape: Wasting Land in Urban America*.

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Image sources

Figure 1: Photograph by Libera Amenta, March 2013.

Figure 2: Graphic representations elaborated by the authors, within the research group of the Department of Architecture of the University of Naples; Scientific director Professor Michelangelo Russo.

Figure 3: Photograph by Libera Amenta, January 2014.

Figure 4: Image elaboration by the authors, within the Research Group of the unit of Naples, PRIN Research Program 2012 'Re-cycle Italy. Nuovi cicli di vita per architetture e infrastrutture di città e paesaggio'.

RECALIBRATING HISTORICAL WATER INFRASTRUCTURE: THE ROLE OF TECHNICAL HERITAGE IN DESIGNING GREEN/BLUE CITIES

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The current development of comprehensive strategies and the actual implementation of measures contributing to sustainable urban development are still a big challenge, particularly in the dynamic and complex context of cities. Part of the complexity is due to the fact that in cities the natural system and the artificial or human systems have been intertwined in such a way that it has become a new hybrid system that characterises the subsurface under the city. There has been a neglect for this technical space in the past 50 years because technically everything could be made possible. Urban developers are not used to take this techno sphere in the subsurface as part of urban development. Nevertheless, as describes above it accommodates the hybrid system with numerous functions crucial to urban construction, such as infrastructure, carry capacity, heat and water. Moreover, it also carries the natural system crucial to urban quality and health. In the light of the current climate change, energy transition and the financial crisis these issues have become more important. To unify the subsurface and the surface and to be able to understand it as one system the system organization can offer great perspective.

This paper makes clear the relation between dealing with technical heritage in the subsurface and systems organization of large urban areas. In order to do so the paper first clarifies the connection between the technosphere and biosphere and describes the System Exploration Environment and Subsurface (SEES) that offers a systematic approach towards these as one spatial system. Co-operation between landscape design and technology is sought for renewal of biophysical processes and water resilience in three case study cities. Reciprocities and trade-offs between the existing technical heritage and the new green/blue structures are assessed, and their implications discussed in this paper

Keywords

artificial and natural water system, heritage, systems approach

ALL THE WORLD GOING AND COMING: THE GRAND TRUNK ROAD IN PUNJAB, INDIA

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The Grand Trunk Road (GTR) is one of the most significant transportation corridors in the history of the world, having remained a vital line of trade, communication, pilgrimage, pleasure and conquest for over 35 centuries. The route runs over 1,550 miles (2,500 km) from its western terminus in Kabul, Afghanistan, through the Khyber Pass, across the Indus Valley and the Great Gangetic Plains, and on to its eastern terminus in Sonargaon, near Dhaka, Bangladesh. It links South Asia to Central Asia and beyond via connections to the Silk Road. It connects four modern nations—Afghanistan, Pakistan, India and Bangladesh—and a host of major cities including Kabul, Peshawar, Lahore, Delhi, Kolkata (Calcutta), and Dhaka. In modern India, the road connects five states and the national capital territory of Delhi; it is designated as National Highways 1 (north of Delhi) and 2 (south of Delhi), and is colloquially known as the “GT Road, or just “GT” throughout. The Grand Trunk Road broadly follows its ancient course, and even today retains, to varying degrees along its length, the character that Rudyard Kipling described a century ago—“such a river of life as exists nowhere else in the world.” (Kipling 1922, p. 91)

This work focuses on the 150-mile stretch of the Grand Trunk Road in the Indian state of Punjab—the northwestern state that has historically served as a gateway to the subcontinent. I confine my study to the modern boundaries of the Indian state of Punjab to understand a stretch within a single jurisdiction and to keep the work contained. The selection is also based on familiarity with the state and language, previous work in the area, and the great variation in human geography present within a relatively short stretch. The goal is to understand the stretch of the GTR in Punjab in terms of its cultural resources, persistent threats, and historic preservation efforts and outcomes so far. The Punjab stretch is unique, but it is also representative of much of the GTR, which faces similar preservation challenges in the face of highway improvement projects and a general lack of appreciation or understanding of the road as a cultural resource. However, they also face similar opportunities in terms of the evolving scope of preservation practice in the region to be more inclusive of vernacular cultural resources. Given this, my main aim is to explore how the Grand Trunk Road is preserved and interpreted including the roles of various actors and their approaches to managing this cultural landscape.

Keywords

Cultural Landscape, Historic Road, Grand Trunk Road

