HISTORY URBANISM RESILIENCE

VOLUME 06

Scales and Systems

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

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.

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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

CONTENTS

Master Plans, Urban Projects and Multiple Scales 103

Reviewing the Works of Professor Yorihusa Ishida (1932-2015) 113

Planning History: Case Studies 133

Policy Making Systems of City, Culture and Society 151

Public Spaces and Public Policy   219

Playing in Traffic: The Driver versus Pedestrian in The Metropolis   229

Urbanism and Politics in the 1960s: Permanence, Rupture and Tensions in Brazilian Urbanism and Development   239

Scales and Systems

Keynotes

THE SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE NETHERLANDS 1988-2015

Ries van der Wouden

The Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency (PBL)

The release of the Fourth Policy Document on Spatial Planning in 1988 was the start of a new and highly dynamic age of spatial development in The Netherlands. The policy document itself embodied a major reorientation of the national spatial policy strategy. Development of the economy and infrastructure became the new goals of spatial policy, and thereby replaced the focus upon the public housing sector of the years before. The national airport Schiphol and the port of Rotterdam both expanded and became important focal points for the Dutch economy, new transport infrastructure including High Speed Railway was planned. In the cities, dilapidated districts were transformed into new urban residential areas and new suburban districts were built close to the cities. In the countryside many projects were started in order to transform agrarian land into 'new nature'. On top of this, the Dutch spatial planning system itself faced a partial 'regime shift'. Spatial development projects became more market-based instead of financed by public resources. But at the same time, the national government kept its central position in the planning system. Only fifteen years later, at the beginning of the new millennium, decentralization of spatial planning towards regional and local government became a major trend.

This paper will focus upon the spatial transformation of the Netherlands during the 25 years after the release of the Fourth Policy Document on spatial planning. In order to assess the influence of the national spatial policy, I will give a brief review of the Fourth Policy Document. But the changes in the spatial policy strategy of the Fourth Policy Document did not came out of the blue. They were both result of and response to political and economic trends. Therefore, I will start with two major and interrelated trends: the urban crisis and globalization.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMICAL CHANGES

URBAN CRISIS

During the 1970s and 1980s most countries of the western world faced a severe urban crisis. The industrial economy, concentrated in and around the cities, lost many jobs, leading to high urban unemployment figures. In addition, the decline of the manufacturing industry left considerable derelict 'brownfield locations', not only in seaport areas but also in or close to inner cities (cf. Couch, Sykes, & Börstinghaus, 2011: 3). On top of this, many middle class families had left the cities for suburban places, leading to a sharp decrease of the urban population. Especially the large cities in the Randstad area, the highly urbanized Western part of The Netherlands, were hit by the suburbanization (see figure 1).
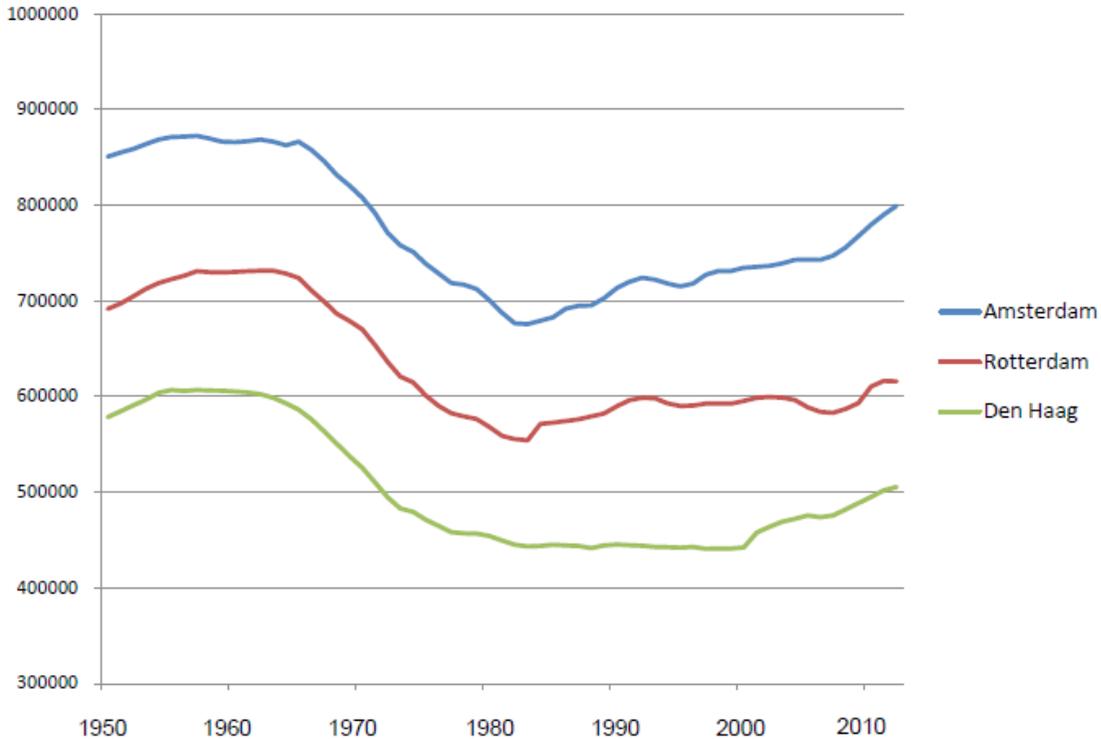
FIGURE 1 Population of the three largest cities, 1950-2012

The Netherlands as well as many other countries were confronted with this urban crisis, but unlike countries as the USA and the UK it did not cause an urban fiscal crisis. This is because of the highly centralized Dutch tax system, making the cities less dependent on local tax incomes. But as was the case in other countries, the urban crisis had weakened the urban economies in general. This was the first reason for the reorientation of the national spatial strategy.

GLOBALIZATION AND THE UNIFICATION OF THE EUROPEAN MARKET

The globalization of the service economy, especially in the financial sector, led to more international competition between urban regions (Sassen 1991). This was a major challenge for the urban economy in the Netherlands. On top of this, there were plans for the unification of the European market in the year 1992 (to be formalized in the Maastricht Treaty of 1992). This unification was expected to cause more competition between urban regions within Europe. During the second half of the 1980s the Dutch government realized that it was necessary to strengthen the economy in order to anticipate the rising competition between urban regions. This could be done by investments in the infrastructure and the urban economic structure. This was the second reason for the reorientation of the national spatial strategy.

A NEW NATIONAL SPATIAL STRATEGY: THE FOURTH POLICY DOCUMENT 1988

The Netherlands have a longstanding tradition of national involvement in urbanization and urban redevelopment. The Dutch national government has had a direct role in housing and spatial planning since the Second World War, with spatial planning closely related to housing production. A good example of the integration between the two was the new towns policy introduced in the 1970s, aiming at the concentration of new residential areas in a limited number of greenfield locations in or in the proximity of the Randstad area. National government invested heavily in these developments, mainly by means of subsidies for social housing. Apart from this, urban policy in the 1970s concentrated on the urban renewal of dilapidated 19th-century housing areas. National spatial policy, in turn, was mostly limited to regional policy and focused particularly on the transfer of economic activity to the north and south of the country.

The release of the Fourth Policy Document on Spatial Planning in 1988 marked a radical break with this policy. The main goal of national spatial strategy was to improve the competitiveness of the Dutch economy, not social housing. Instead of massive public investments, the national spatial policy should facilitate private investments. Private-public partnerships were to become a major instrument to realize this. But the direct involvement of national government in urban redevelopment and infrastructure was still considered justified, in order to increase the international competitive power of urban areas. In this regard, the Fourth Policy Document emphasized the strengths of the Randstad area in particular, its main seaport and airports, and paved the way for a resurgence of interest in 'the city', as economic competition and welfare-creation in Europe would increasingly take place in urban areas. The urban governments themselves shared this approach. National and local governments together made plans to create attractive inner-city locations for international companies, the so-called 'key-projects' (cf Spaans, Trip, Van der Wouden 2013).

But the new spatial strategy involved also a reorientation of the housing policy. The release of the Fourth Policy Document on Spatial Planning Extra in 1991 (in the Netherlands known by its Dutch abbreviation: VINEX) added a further reason for the involvement of the national government: the concentration of urban development in and close to urban regions would avoid urban sprawl and prevent additional mobility growth. From 1995 onward, a number of new large building sites close to the cities were developed. Local governments worked together with private development companies. By building mainly suburban houses for homeowners, middle class households were expected to live in the urban areas again.

The new spatial policy was not only directed at the urban areas, but also at the countryside. Here, the changes were more gradual than in urban policy. For decades, the spatial policy for the rural areas had been dominated by the interests of the agricultural sector. About 65% of the land in the Netherlands was in agricultural use, and the main goal of the policy for the rural areas was to modernize the agricultural sector. But the domination of agricultural interests in national spatial policy eroded, partly because of growing involvement of the EU, and also because of the overproduction of milk and butter. As a result of this, the spatial policy for the rural areas started to articulate other goals: preservation of landscapes, recreation for urban residents, and the creation of new natural areas. In order to facilitate the latter goal a new spatial concept was formulated: the Ecological Main Structure, in Dutch 'EHS'. This policy change was implemented into several projects, transforming agricultural land into 'new nature'. However, in this paper I will concentrate upon urban areas.

There are different ways to estimate the degree of success of the Fourth Policy Document. First and foremost, the effectiveness of the policy in relation to its implementation, policy outcomes and spatial developments. I will briefly return to this issue in the last section of this paper. But another dimension of the success became already visible within a few years. The new policy concepts, launched by the Fourth Policy Document, were adopted (and also partly adapted) in a number of other national policy documents: on housing, on environmental policy, on nature, on mobility, on the 'green spatial structure', on regional economic policy (van der Cammen en De

Klerk 2003; Van der Wouden et al. 2015: 18). This dimension of success, one might call it the 'discursive success', is mostly not covered by traditional policy evaluations, but can hardly be overestimated. The authority of its arguments has always been an important instrument of spatial policy.

SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION OF URBAN AREAS

URBAN BROWNFIELDS

Redevelopment of urban brownfields and turning them into attractive business districts or urban residential areas became a major goal for both national and local governments. The most important of these redevelopment projects were adopted in the national spatial strategy and labelled 'key projects'. The involvement of private investment companies was an important prerequisite for these projects. The projects differed in size, program, and success/failure. Most key projects had a mixed program: offices, retail and houses. To illustrate the spatial transformation in urban areas, I will highlight one of the largest key projects: the Eastern Harbor Area in Amsterdam. The urban area is located at the East side of the center, at the Y river. The Y river connects Amsterdam to the North Sea canal and the North Sea. Because of growing ship sizes, port activities in Amsterdam had moved to the West, closer to the sea. Many port related companies left the Eastern Harbor Area. Large parts of the area became dilapidated. This was the situation at the end of the 70s.During the 60s and 70s, the Amsterdam municipal government had spent much effort in renovating old urban neighborhoods, but this strategy did not cause substantial growth of the urban housing stock. New urban residential areas were needed, so from 1978 onwards the municipal government made plans to redevelop the Eastern Harbor Area. In order to do so, the municipality had bought large parts of the urban land in this area. The municipality started the redevelopment of the area in a rather traditional way, by building social housing blocks. However, at the beginning of the 90s the political mood changed. In order to attract more middle and higher income groups to the city, the urban redevelopment policy changed course. New plans were directed at building houses for homeowners instead of social rent, and at more variation in the building program: highrise as well as new urban mansions for families. At the same time, the area was assigned a national key project status, and became part of the national urban strategy. Within two decades, more than 8000 new houses were built. As the two pictures of the area show, a partly derelict urban brownfield was transformed into a new urban waterfront.

INFRASTRUCTURE AND URBAN REDEVELOPMENT

In order to enhance the competitiveness of the Dutch economy, the national government made plans for the improvement of the existing infrastructure and for new infrastructure. Focal points of the strategy were the national 'mainports' (Schiphol airport and the port of Rotterdam) and railways, including high speed railway. A new High Speed Line (HSL) was planned to connect the cities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam to Belgium and France, the HSL South. The implementation of the plan was not entirely successful, to put it mildly. There was a lot of debate on the route of the new railway line, the estimated costs rose from year to year, and the privatization of railway companies made exploitation more complex. Between 2000 and 2006 the new railway line was built, but the use of the line by high speed trains is still far behind the initial plans. But in this paper I will focus upon another aspect of the high speed lines: the upgrade of exiting urban railway stations to HSL stations, and the redevelopment of the urban area around the stations. The six future HSL stations became part of a national program. One of these railway stations is Rotterdam Central Station. The plans for the railway station included the environment of the station. First of all, the railways station had to be adapted in order to facilitate a rising number of daily travelers, from 110.000 at the beginning of the millennium up to an expected number of 350.000 in 2025. This could not be done within the existing building, so the station had to be rebuilt. The new station was opened in 2014, within planned time and within the planned budget. In this respect the project was a positive exception amongst other 'grand projets', in the national as well in the international field.

FIGURE 2 Eastern Harbor Area Amsterdam: 1960s. Source: West 8 (60s)

FIGURE 3 Eastern Harbor Area Amsterdam: 2003. Source: Jeroen Musch (2003)

The new railway station now accommodates international and national railway lines, light rail and subway lines. Also, the urban area close to the railway station was restructured. In front of the station a tunnel was built, so that the car traffic is now underground. This resulted in an enlargement and improvement of the public space, and in a better connection between the railway station and the city center. Furthermore, a number of buildings within the railway station area were renovated. Rotterdam Central Station was the first of the six HSL stations in the Netherlands to be finished.

FIGURE 4 Rotterdam Central Station. Source: Theo Baart, 2014

GREENFIELD RESIDENTIAL AREAS

The large new residential areas close to the cities are presumably the most iconic result of the spatial transformation of the Netherlands during the last 25 years. They were labeled 'Vinex' areas ('Vinex' is the Dutch abbreviation of the Fourth Policy Document on spatial planning Extra). They were consequence of a major change in the urban strategy of the Dutch governments, aimed at ending the negative effects of suburbanization upon the cities. During the 80s the national urbanization strategy was redirected from the 'new towns' to the cities. New residential areas should preferably be built in or close to the cities, in order to facilitate urban demographical and economical growth. And so it happened. The national Vinex program was launched, resulting in the construction of more than 650.000 new houses between 1995 and 2005. By choosing building sites in or close to the cities, the government wanted to minimize the invasion of greenfield land, and also to reduce the car use (RIGO 2007; Hall 2014: 145-146). The largest of these new suburban Vinex areas is Leidsche Rijn, close to the city of Utrecht. The size of Leidsche Rijn is huge. Its total area is as large as that of Leeuwarden, the capital of the Dutch province of Friesland. 30.000 houses were to be built in this area, of which 22.000 were built in 2013. The crisis of the financial and housing markets slowed down the building pace, but the municipal government of Utrecht still aims at the initial goal of 30.000 new houses. The Leidsche Rijn area was successful in attracting middle class families, as were many other Vinex areas. But although Leidsche Rijn is close to the city of Utrecht, it did not become an organic part of the city until now. This is partly because the old city of Utrecht and Leidsche Rijn are separated by infrastructure barriers (canal, motorway), partly because of the sheer size of Leidsche Rijn which makes it a city in itself, and partly because a lot of the new inhabitants are not exclusively oriented towards Utrecht but also towards other urban areas in the west of the Netherlands. They can be easily reached by car and train. So Leidsche Rijn is very suitable to house two income families whit their jobs in different cities. This is also valid for many other Vinex areas. Thus, despite their success as a building program, from a sociological point of view the Vinex areas are an 'archipelago of suburban residential areas' rather than organic parts of their cities.

FIGURE 5 Leidsche Rijn, Utrecht

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The last 25 years showed a profound transformation of urban areas in the Netherlands, that is for sure. A great number of new residential and business areas came into existence, both in the inner cities and the urban fringe. These physicals changes resulted in demographical and economical growth. But how important was spatial and urban policy for this transformation? There was an urban renaissance in most of the countries in the western world, also in countries with different or no urban policy. This was mainly caused by the transformation from an industrial to a service urban economy, not by urban policy. But spatial and urban policy played a role in the transformation, both in terms of speed and form of the developments. A few tentative conclusions.

1   First and foremost, the Fourth Policy Document on Spatial Planning had impact at the level of the policy discourse. The document convinced other policy sectors and municipal governments of the urgency to adapt the policy concepts to a post-industrial economy in a globalizing world. Within a few years after the release of the Fourth Policy Document, both urgency and new policy concepts were visible in policy documents on housing, on environmental policy, on nature, on mobility, on the 'green spatial structure', and on regional economic policy

2   The balance of inner city transformation is surely positive. New residential areas were created, middle class families stayed in the cities whereas they would otherwise have moved to suburban areas outside the city. Very often, municipal governments were the first movers in these areas, and they were supported by the national policy. Without urban policy, developments would at least have occurred slower.

3   The results of infrastructure projects defy general conclusions. Some projects were successful both in terms of effectiveness and efficiency, others were not. High speed Lines belong to the latter category, up till now. But the railway stations are a different story. Many of them had to be restructured anyway because of the rising number of travelers, even without High Speed Lines. Not doing so would have harmed the public transport in the Netherlands in the long run.

4   The judgement about greenfield development is also ambivalent. The new suburban residential areas ('Vinex')
were planned closer to the cities than they were the decades before. This was the result of a policy change, and it
surely contributed to the economic growth of urban areas. But from a spatial point of view, the overall result were
not the 'compact cities' the policy makers had hoped for, but rather a 'archipelago of suburban areas'. In the end,
urban policy did not prevent sprawl.

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THE CHANGING FACE OF DUTCH NATIONAL SPATIAL PLANNING[1]

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Unnoticed by the wider public and the majority of professional planners, a symbolic event took place on 12 November 2010. Directly following a reorganization of the public sector by the new government taking office that year, the letters of the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment — VROM according to its Dutch acronym — were scraped off the façade of the main building in The Hague. Compared to the United Kingdom, where the name, scope, aim and composition of ministries are changed virtually every election period, ministries in the Netherlands are relatively protected from the caprices and vacillations of party politics and prime ministers. VROM was an institution in more than one sense of the word, and "spatial planning" (the RO in VROM) had been part of its name since 1965 (Siraa et al., 1995: 64). In the title of the new ministry — Infrastructure and the Environment — spatial planning is conspicuously absent.

The removal of the letters represents more than a symbolic act: it reflects the stated intent of the new government to "leave spatial planning more up to provinces and municipalities" (Coalition Agreement, 2010: 38). Within a year of assuming office, the new ministry published its new spatial planning strategy which minimizes planning at the national level (Ministerie van IenM, 2011; final version: Ministerie van IenM, 2012). With this, the tradition of national urbanization policies such as growth centers, new towns, buffer zones, the Green Heart and VINEX had come to a close (Faludi & Van der Valk, 1994; Zonneveld, 2007). To foreign eyes, these changes may seem drastic and sudden, but they are actually part of a gradual systemic change.

Since the early 1990s, the external institutional environment of national spatial planning has transformed fundamentally. National housing policy, once a key partner in helping spatial planning steer urban development, has largely been privatized (Salet, 1999). Agricultural policy, once instrumental in protecting rural areas from urban encroachment, has weakened under increased EU influence and reform. On the other hand, the powerful national transport and infrastructure department, whose relationship to planning was as much one of rivalry as partnership (Siraa et al., 1995; Priemus, 1999) has now merged with planning. The same is true for regional economic policy: this has become the main spatial policy thrust.

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1   Taken and adapted from: Zonneveld, W. & Evers, D. (2014) Dutch national spatial planning at the end of an era. In: Reimer, M., Getimis, P. & Blotevogel, H. (Eds.) Spatial Planning Systems and Practices in Europe; A Comparative Perspective on Continuity and Changes, New York/Oxon: Routledge, pp. 61-82.

In the same period, national planning has undergone significant changes from within. At the beginning of the decade the research arm of the National Planning Agency (RPD) was transferred to an independent organization (Roodbol-Mekkes et al., 2012). At the same time, the practice of passive or regulatory planning was criticized for being too reactive. Since then, planning has attempted to become more "hands-on" and development-oriented (Gerrits et al., 2012). A major reform to the Spatial Planning Act in 2008 reshuffled powers, responsibilities and expectations between governmental layers, with the intent to simplify governance, speed up planning procedures and stimulate proactive planning. This was accompanied by a succession of administrations that, on balance, favored decentralization to centralization and deregulation to regulation, and new legislative proposals attempting to further streamline the planning process.

Finally, the role of planning in Dutch society seems to have changed in this period as well. A general trust in government and faith in expert opinion — conducive to technocratic planning — has diminished, not unlike developments in many other countries (Albrechts, 2006). Citizens have become more vocal, and civil society more polarized. For the first time in its post-war history, national spatial planning no longer seems immune to this. Consensus on the necessity of national planning has eroded even within the ranks of planners and scholars. Urban growth (and therefore the need to manage it) is no longer self-explanatory and governance rescaling (rise of the regional and EU levels) has made the national level of scale increasingly suspect as a locus for spatial planning.

The fact that Dutch planning use to cut across so many governmental layers and departments and tries to arrive at a coordinated, comprehensive and integrated solution has earned it the epitaph of "comprehensive integrated approach" in the international literature. In fact, according to the synthesizing report of the 1990s EU Compendium project, the Dutch system epitomizes this approach because it is characterized by, "...a very systematic and formal hierarchy of plans from national to local level, which coordinate public sector activity across different sectors..." (CEC, 1997: 36).

This description no longer fits as national government has retreated from spatial planning. Most national urbanization policies have been abandoned and spatial quality – for decades the cornerstone of national spatial planning – is no longer considered a national interest. Even more than before, economic development is the main priority of spatial planning. At least at national level, the comprehensive integrated approach is being substituted by a kind of regional economic approach. Interestingly, national planning has not taken on one of the key characteristics of the regional economic approach found in other countries: balanced development. Instead, funding is focused on what are seen as the most competitive areas of the country. So there is convergence with respect to Europe as well as divergence: convergence because economic goals are dominating, divergence because fair distribution of economic development across the country (one dimension of what is often called territorial cohesion) is not what the present policy seeks to achieve.

The fact that the Dutch national planning system no longer nicely fits into the category of the comprehensive integrated approach is related to much wider developments. One can safely say that the system of Dutch spatial planning expanded as part of the construction of the welfare state. Basic principles like affordable housing for all, balanced spatial-economic development of the country, a balanced urban system (the famous planning concept "concentrated deconcentration" as an expression of this) and open, rural areas as public spaces — including the Green Heart — are the expressions of spatial planning as a particular offshoot of the Dutch welfare state. A clear indication that the recent changes are unprecedented, is the disappearance of the Green Heart as a national policy concept. As the Green Heart was the core of what has been called a planning doctrine (Faludi & Van der Valk, 1994) its disappearance marks the end of this doctrine (Faludi & Van der Valk, 1997; Faludi, 1999; Roodbol-Mekkes et al, 2012). The present objectives, concepts and instruments towards stimulating economic development could become a new doctrine, given a certain durability over time. But it would be difficult to call it a spatial planning doctrine if comprehensiveness is taken as a condition.

Dutch national spatial planning has therefore changed course in more than one sense: 1) content: it is no longer comprehensive, 2) influence over lower levels of government: what was binding in the past has been handed over to provinces and municipalities; 3) geographical scope: much narrower. These changes may be abrupt and unprecedented in their intensity, but should not come as a surprise. Although spatial planning had been a fairly de-politicized policy domain it would be naïve to assume that the system could be shielded from the restructuring of the welfare state in which it was historically rooted, and from the profound changes occurring in Dutch society. Since the 1990s the deliberative polder model has eroded as society has become more politically polarized, and with it support for a technocratic activity oriented towards consensus and compromise has eroded as well. The changes were foreshadowed in statements during the second half of the 1990s that planning should become more "selective" — in terms of issues and geographical scope — and more oriented to stimulating development instead of controlling it. But the recent changes are far more radical than the reforms advocated by the National Scientific Council for Government Policy at the end of the 1990s (NSCGP, 1999). The change in course is also the result of a political decision to curtail national planning in terms of objectives, concepts and instruments, and to transform what remains of it into a policy sector aimed at improving the competitive position of the most competitive regions of the country. Unlike the NSCGP's report to reform planning, the present policy course has generally been met with suspicion by the planning community (Warbroek, 2011).

Currently the Dutch administration is working hard on a new policy report based on a new definition of spatial planning. In fact the notion of 'spatial' has been replaced by 'environment'. The more critical issue to be decided is whether the new environment strategy will just contain the priorities of national government only or main environment challenges to be addressed by all administrative players plus civil society at large. In different words: again a list of national projects like the present strategy or a genuine comprehensive vision what the Dutch physical environment should look like in the future. As next national elections will take place in the Spring of 2017 at the latest we will probably not see a clear answer on the short term.

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Scales and Systems

Plans, Planners and Planning Tools

Urbanisation and Demographics

Chair: Arabela Vaz

A RESEARCH REPORT ON COMMUNITY INTEGRATION OF CHINESE MIGRANT CHILDREN IN GONGSHU DISTRICT, HANGZHOU IN URBANIZATION

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With the proceeding of Chinese Urbanization, the form of the migration transforms from individual migration to family migration. According to the Sixth Census of Population of China in 2010, the growth of migrant children was quite fast. But on the other hand, it was just half of the growth of the "left-behind" children (The children who are left in the rural area without the care from their parents who make a life in city). It might be supposed that it is the city's unfriendliness that drives the migrant children back to rural areas. But without the care from their parents, the "left-behind" children tend to be in threat of crime, bad education and living pressure. Consequently, migration is a better choice for these children. This report concentrates on the migrant children who distribute widely in different ordinary communities in Hangzhou with their parents. Although the extent of the integration with the community has been improved a lot in comparison to those children who live in the agglomerations of migrants, the real condition still needs researching.

On the background of the Urbanization, the migrant children's feedback on the community indicates the resilience of the city when facing the huge migration. The interviewees include the students from two schools (migrant children school and general public school) to get the real condition of the migrants children. The research hopes to make a little contribution to better facing the challenges during the huge migration.

URBANISM, IMMIGRATION AND HOUSING – PUBLIC POLICY IN THE CITY OF BOLOGNA

Arabela Maria Vaz

Independent

Faced with the recent phenomenon of immigration, city management tools aim to meet the needs of the social services sector, introducing aspects of an anthropological and sociological nature that up until now have been of secondary importance to town planning. The main objective of Bologna's housing policy is to guarantee its availability to both Italians and foreign immigrants, considering the phenomenon of immigration a new multiethnic population scenario whose social and cultural aspects can be developed, whilst at the same time combating illegality and likewise any manifestations of discrimination or xenophobia shown by Italian citizens, promoting the principles of integration and civil coexistence. The challenge is to create a housing policy based on integration, avoiding previous town planning errors and thus preventing spatial segregation and social exclusion. The Council Structural Plan, Council Operational Plan and Urban Building Regulations, Social Housing Scheme, Rent Assistance Scheme and Metropolitan Rent Agency are some of the important tools designed to achieve these objectives. The principles of urban equity and equality continue to be the pillars of housing policy and, as in the past, citizens are encouraged to take part in the urban transformation process.

INTRODUCTION

The influence of various peoples has always been a feature of Bologna's history. Etruscans, Gauls, Romans and Lombards were responsible for its development right up until the period of decline that affected all Italian cities of ancient times1. During the 10th century, the population of the city began to rise again and there was a new period of economic growth followed by urban development and redevelopment. In the 11th century, Bologna was one of the first cities with "communal" vocations, establishing open institutes including the "Studium", considered Europe's oldest university2. Helped by the presence of the university, foreign communities began to flourish, leading to a process of integration with the native population. The 13th century was an era of important social changes, the main one being produced by the so-called Heaven's Law of 1256 with which Bologna became the first city in Europe to abolish serfdom, redeeming the serfs using public money3. Over the centuries, important urban changes altered the appearance of the city. Between the 16th and 18th centuries numerous colonnades were built at the sides of the city's main streets, these being designed to assist pedestrian movement in all weathers. To this day, the unmistakable effect they produce are the city's distinguishing feature4. In 1859 Bologna became part of unified Italy and established itself as an important hub for the country, mainly due to the railway junction that still plays an essential national role. At that time, the city began to extend outside its medieval boundary walls that were knocked down between the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century in order to facilitate traffic flow. Towards the end of the 19th century, industrial and commercial premises were built in the suburbs and new streets appeared in the old town centre, however this did not affect the city's urban coherence; this aspect proved important in the restoration and conservation process adopted by the reformist town planning that was to follow in the 1960s. In the second part of the 20th century, Bologna had to deal with a notable population shift from rural areas into the city following the new process of industrial development. Between 1952 and 1957 the city witnessed considerable population growth and new districts had to be built in order to meet the demand for housing. It was a period of intense "overbuilding" and since there were no efficient social services as yet, public housing was built with the focus on quantity rather than quality. Housing estates for the working classes were built in the extreme suburbs, exploiting the possibility of acquiring farmland by way of compulsory purchase in order to contain costs. This planning policy of building on compulsorily-purchased farmland was the cornerstone of the 1955 Development Plan that aimed to be able to deal with the expected population increase of one million people, something that did not happen; nevertheless, this property development had a positive effect on urban income5.

REFORMIST TOWN PLANNING AS COLLECTIVE APPROPRIATION OF THE CITY

In contrast to the policies of the Fifties, at the beginning of the Sixties, Bologna witnessed the birth of reformist town planning, a term coined by the architect Giuseppe Campos Venuti to indicate the desire to gradually resolve every single planning contingency6. The first important piece of legislation was Act No. 765/1967)7 and subsequently Ministerial Decree No.1444/1968)8. This legislation provided for the construction of housing estates in undeveloped areas closer to the city centre9. The plan's most important innovation was that for the first time, people living in the suburbs would have the same social services as those in the city centre. Over the years, the 1955 General Development Plan was gradually modified up until approval of the 1970 Development Plan. Introduced in 1963, Affordable Housing Programmes (PEEP) perceive this influence. Compulsory purchase orders acquired land closer to the centre where new estates were built complete with social services that were appreciated by the residents. In addition, each district was allocated its share of public green space10. Some of the largest developments built as part of this plan are: Borgo Panigale, Barca, Fossolo, Corticella and Pilastro. Of these, the Fossolo development is probably the one that has given the most functional and aesthetically-pleasing results. On the other hand, the Pilastro district has had the most serious problems, both in the past and at present.

FIGURE 1 The Barca district (INA Village)

FIGURE 2 The Barca district (INA Village)

FIGURE 3 Borgo Panigale district (Casteldebole area)

FIGURE 4 Borgo Panigale district (Casteldebole area)

FIGURE 5 Pilastro Village

FIGURE 6 Pilastro Village

Arabela Maria Vaz

URBANISM, IMMIGRATION AND HOUSING − PUBLIC POLICY IN THE CITY OF BOLOGNA

SEGREGATION AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION ▪ THE CASE OF PILASTRO VILLAGE

The complex was built in the Sixties as a public housing scheme commissioned by the former Council Housing Board (IACP) that is now known as the Emilia Romagna Housing Agency (ACER). It was intended to meet the demand for housing to be allocated to migrants from Southern Italy who were attracted by the possibility of new job opportunities. The much-discussed equilibrium in the relationship between the area's inhabitants deteriorated with the arrival of new immigrants belonging to different ethnic groups and speaking different languages. Many of the original residents, who in the past have succeeded with the somewhat difficult integration process, now display intolerance towards the newly arrived foreigners. The high density of foreign residents in this area due to the high concentration of council housing has created tension and mistrust, all too common phenomena in multiethnic metropolitan areas. Public policies need to quickly pursue the primary objective of social interaction and integration in order to guarantee social harmony and security, as well as the basic rights of each and every Italian or foreign citizen.

THE 1985 GENERAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN - A DIFFICULT CONTINUATION

The General Development Plan is considered the transformation plan because it excluded the scheduled purchase and change of use of farmland far from the built-up area; however, some areas in the outskirts were chosen for strategic changes as an alternative to the areas of expansion provided for by previous plans. These areas were the result of the interpretations of the new town plan, justifying the reformist innovations, without ignoring the successes of the Sixties and Seventies. The method's innovation involved identifying three major directions to be followed: the first aimed to develop new buildings in the suburbs, connecting housing with the service sector, and decentralising social services, integrating all this with urban green space; the second concerned innovation in the matter of transport; the third aimed to implement the structural plan with town planning forecasts designed to interpret new phenomena and emerging trends, e.g. construction of a light railway. The Plan was expanded to cover protection of architectural heritage as far as the inner suburbs (developed on the basis of the 1889 plan), extending such protection to the historical layouts and centres in the outer suburbs and those scattered over agricultural areas and the hills. In the Eighties, the General Development Plan sought to repair the suburban fabric and point development towards urban zones, taking previously built-on areas and putting them to new use. "Organic districts" was the name given to the residential areas of the consolidated fabric whose urban structure was the result of a unified design. This category includes the areas set aside for council housing from the Fifties onwards and those of the Affordable Housing Programmes. In 2004, the Provincial Land-Use Coordination Plan was introduced with the purpose of coordinating the development of provincial territory over larger areas, this being aimed at the city's neighbouring municipalities with a view to reducing the phenomenon of scatter-site housing and at the same time limiting the concentration of tertiary businesses. The 1985 General Development Plan still has unsolved problems such as derelict industrial areas awaiting redevelopment and new use and the question of the compulsory purchase of private land to create public areas. Throughout the second half of the 20th century, historiography regarding Italian town planning was based on the models of the three generations of plans that the country had tested. In the Eighties, Prof. Campos Venuti[11] observed that these followed back-to-back beginning right after the Second World War and were: reconstruction plans, urban expansion plans and urban transformation plans. These town plans have been analysed as a whole in order to appraise town planning history following the country's reconstruction (1945-1954) that was required at the end of the Second World War, a large-scale implementation of Act No. 1150 dated 1942. First generation measures were generic instruments that often encouraged property speculation. Most war destruction was concentrated in the centre of large cities close to stations or ports. In these prestigious or strategically-important areas that attracted the interest of private investors, reconstruction work often led to very large buildings with an increase in building coverage and infrastructure requirements. The first generation instruments managed neither to control nor regulate development of the cities, let alone avoid speculation, but focused on modernising the road network

and increasing the number of built-up areas without planning their type of use. The second generation adopted a new policy: reformist town planning, the process involving small, medium and large cities without distinction. These plans tackled the question of urban expansion as necessary growth, seeking to understand urban rent mechanisms and their effect on the city. The unintentional result was that these measures benefited private landlords who were up against the Affordable Housing Programme and, despite being an important innovation, town planning standards were sometimes used improperly. Since the Affordable Housing Programme intended to use low cost areas in the suburbs for low-profit operations (council housing and public services), central areas with better facilities and services were earmarked for more profitable construction projects such as headquarters or high-tech service centres. Third-generation planning dealt with the changes caused by the need to adapt the city to new technology. This took into account new requirements such as increased demand for public transport and the need to regenerate poorly-utilised built-up or derelict areas in order to curtail the takeover of farmland. Urban morphology once again assumed key importance.

THE COUNCIL STRUCTURAL PLAN

The 1985 General Development Plan's lack of amendments and urban transformation processes were the subject of discussion during the last two decades of the 20th century. In 1995, the National Town Planning Institute submitted a proposal for legislative reform with a view to separating strategic aspects from regulatory and operational ones. This innovation took effect in Emilia-Romagna following implementation of Regional Act No. 20/2000. Many objectives were transferred to the Council Local Plan with its new constituent instruments: the Council Structural Plan, Council Operational Plan and Urban Building Regulations. The Council Structural Plan contains the strategic and structural aspects regarding the municipal area and remains in force indefinitely; the Council Operational Plan lasts for five years and contains the operational aspects and regulations governing use of parts of the municipality specified by the Council Structural Plan and liable to undergo substantial changes (such as development and redevelopment); Urban Building Regulations cover aspects of urban and rural areas that are not scheduled to undergo significant change under the terms of the Council Structural Plan and also specify building and town planning parameters as well as infrastructure costs. The changes contemplated by the Council Operational Plan are carried out using instruments called Development Implementation Plans that are provided for and regulated by Regional Act No. 20/2000. By adopting these new instruments, the city is required to follow a specific planning process that will alter its appearance in the coming years, since structural requirements, policies and implementation rules have already been decided. Democratic culture is a part of the plan's urban philosophy since it provides for greater and more widespread democratic powers for citizens.

HOUSING POLICIES SPECIFIED BY THE COUNCIL STRUCTURAL PLAN

The innovation introduced by Social Housing represents one of reformist town planning's greatest negotiating feats, since it creates a service of general interest whose purpose is to set targets with regard to integration and social coherence, as well as those relating to the functional quality of the urban fabric. Social Housing offers various types of letting agreements: publicly- or privately-owned housing with lifetime or temporary tenancy, social or subsidised rents and a waiting list system. Social Housing can be considered a means of balancing the "city system" because it specifies three components: transport, public city and environment, all of vital importance in a housing scheme. Available housing stock in the Province of Bologna consists of 20,654 homes, whilst the City of Bologna has 13,426 homes and the aim of the Council Structural Plan is to allocate 20% to Social Housing[12]. Unfortunately, the current housing crisis is different to that of the Seventies and reflects the greater vulnerability of families in the grip of an unstable property market to which many are unable to gain access. The fall in living standards of the middle classes has increased the percentage of people needing council housing, this previously consisting of poor people alone. Unlike those for the Affordable Housing Programme, all sites earmarked for Social Housing are publicly owned and were compulsorily purchased at acceptable prices using the public funds available at that time,

Arabela Maria Vaz
URBANISM, IMMIGRATION AND HOUSING – PUBLIC POLICY IN THE CITY OF BOLOGNA

choosing areas of farmland far away from the city; although this choice appeared advantageous, unfortunately it led to the marginalisation of some of these areas in the remotest outskirts. The Metropolitan Rent Agency (MRA) has been set up in order to mediate between housing supply and demand. Its task is to find private homes that can be assigned with a subsidised rent, guaranteeing owners the certainty of payment, legal protection and redress for any damage, whilst at the same time seeking to restrict rent to 30% of family income. Besides the MRA, the Rent Assistance Scheme has also been established. This offers a small sum to the families in greatest financial difficulty.

IMMIGRATION AND SOCIAL HOUSING

Whilst the demographic phenomenon caused by immigration increases, at the same time, there are a greater number of problems caused by the lack of affordable housing for Italian and foreign citizens belonging to the less affluent classes. The association council housing /foreigner is often the subject of controversy. About 15,000 applications have been admitted to the Social Housing waiting lists in Bologna's Communes. Of these, 80% are concentrated in the Communes with serious housing difficulties, e.g. the City of Bologna that represents 63% of all cases. About 45% of accepted applications were submitted by foreign families[13]. Most immigrants choose to rent their homes with all of the obvious difficulties that entails. This situation has a decisive effect on their relationship with society and aspects of civil and multiethnic harmony. The Pilastro district is just one example. Despite the difficulties, with the assistance of a number of associations, the City Council continues the district regeneration project and sponsors cultural events as means of improving social conditions with the aim of mitigating and tackling the exclusion and segregation that has been created over the years. An increase in the availability of social housing is essential since economic and social marginalisation is already an emergency. The 2012 City Plan dealing with the redevelopment of areas of urban decay and that of 2015 for social and cultural regeneration of these areas are instruments offered by the Communes regardless of type or size, but they are somewhat generic and are still unable to achieve the targets set in full.

CONCLUSIONS

Reformist town planning of the Sixties and Seventies had positive and negative effects. Some districts became marginal areas, whilst many areas intended for public use were not redeveloped or reused. The 1985 General Development Plan failed to resolve several of its problems, including that of the derelict industrial areas and their compulsory purchase and the new uses for redeveloped public areas. We also need to consider that the urban reform took place during the Italian economic boom so funds were available for first-rate projects and programmes. It should not be forgotten that the difficulties caused by the economic crisis affect the property market and contribute to its instability, thus causing public confidence to fall. The high cost of private housing rental and shortage of council homes put the brake on public housing policies, whilst the failure to raise public rents hinders construction of a sufficient supply of new homes and renovation of existing ones. Although designed to be sustainable, fair and supportive, in view of the rapid succession of events, reformist town planning will probably require several more decades of consistent, but flexible, policies. The speed of social, economic and cultural changes requires that we take a more multidisciplinary outlook, highlighting the need to introduce to the modern science of urban planning a new perspective with greater emphasis on sociocultural and social security aspects. The effect of the new phenomenon of migration has altered the arrangement of the city and placed a severe burden on the Welfare State that is unable to cover the shortage of homes for Italian and foreign citizens on its own. Besides having to physically house these new citizens, there is also the need to provide facilities capable of assisting integration such as: sports facilities, cultural centres and places of worship where they can practise their beliefs legally. All this can help to forge a sense of belonging to the city, propriety and public spirit. These factors are essential in promoting every form of integration process and avoiding any sort of banlieue, Chinatown or Little Italy that have already proved to be hotbeds of decay and social insecurity. Cultural diversity represents the positive side of immigration and like all multiculturalism processes this may be the subject of controversy, therefore the concepts of interaction and integration need to be reinforced.

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6   *L'urbanistica riformista: antologia di scritti, lezioni e piani* edited by Giuseppe Campos Venuti & Federico Oliva. Milan: ETAS Libri, 1991.

7   Known as the "Transitional Act", it introduced some important amendments to the 1942 Town Planning Act No.1150 including: specification of a deadline by which the Local Council is required to draw up the General Development Plan, restrictions on building where no planning instruments exist and private contributions towards primary and secondary infrastructure costs.

8   Known as the "Town planning standards decree", it specifies mandatory limits of density, height and minimum areas for educational, recreational, playground and car park facilities.

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13 Idem, p.7.

Image Sources

Pictures 1,2,3,4,5,6: photos by Arabela Vaz

URBANISATION AND URBAN DISPERSION AT WEST ZONE OF RIO DE JANEIRO (BRAZIL) IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INVESTMENTS

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The study has its context based on the phenomenon of urbanization in the neighborhood of Campo Grande, located in the west zone of the city of Rio de Janeiro, with emphasis on urban dispersion process in post 1990. The research contributes to the history of planning for translating the (re) structuring of the territory, changes in urban dynamics and bring experience that was intended to innovative, regarding the location of several sets of collective housing. The areas had land occupation for agricultural activities until the 1960s then welcomed industrial development and, at present, has the real estate market a predominant role. It is in Campo Grande that occurred recently the largest number of real estate projects for the middle class in the country. This core has an important commercial center that grows in attendance at regional level and is situated close to promising port complex. Account also with a number of shopping centers increasing, which attracts residents and extra-local consumers. Another growth factor is for housing spaces reserved for the Olympics, international nature and, among others, the massive deployment of housing units, investment result of the federal government in social housing area, with the "Minha Casa Minha Vida - MCMV " program. The research aims to identify and characterize the forms of occupation, mostly residential, but also others, such as industrial and services - and results in the most recent manifestation of urbanization - urban dispersion, with the participation of public officials and private initiative. The methodology was guided by the selection of the area, which is one of the most significant examples of the processes involved. Allows the exchange of data, the interaction of information that revealed the evolution of urbanization and the spatial distribution of the phenomenon, cartographic readings with satellite images and mapping the occupation of new and consolidated areas. Included field visits, documentary research, iconographic, analysis and interpretation that combined theory and practice, as well as interviews. As a result, updated knowledge on the subject at this juncture and scales. Had theoretical framework supported by theories of urbanization and restructuring of the territory, of all the concept developed, which defines the process of urban dispersion while fraying of urban occupation in relation to the consolidated fabric, which form a system of constellations, from the case study of São Paulo, revealing, among other things, new ways of metropolitan life. This concept is adjusted to the reality of Rio de Janeiro, based on research conducted by the first author, showing the emergence of new poles, due to the internalization of political economy in the state. The results assume importance: the structural changes of space and urban dynamics, changes in socio-economic and cultural relations, due to the implementation of major investments in the area, in addition to the attempt to bring the housing closer to the main core neighborhood, though without having been able to include the low-income population.

Keywords
Urbanization, Urban dispersion, Structuring of the territory, Rio de Janeiro (Brazil)

V.06 P.039   **Maria de Lourdes Pinto Machado Costa | Thaise Raquel Barros dos Santos | Marlice Nazareth Soares Azevedo**
URBANISATION AND URBAN DISPERSION AT WEST ZONE OF RIO DE JANEIRO (BRAZIL) IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INVESTMENTS

TOC

SETTLEMENT PATTERN CORRUPTION PROBLEMS IN RURAL AREAS AND ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES: EXPERIENCES IN BEYSEHIR - EMEN, TURKEY

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In Turkey, different approaches and models have been developed for rural areas since the earliest years of the republic. These policies have contributed to the social and economic development of rural areas. However, spatial corruption of rural areas could not be prevented even though economic development was created with difference policies and strategies. In this context, the main objective of this study is to examine factors causing the spatial corruption of rural areas. In light of the findings obtained, approaches towards conservation and sustainability of rural areas were discussed.

The most important subject that should be emphasized within the findings obtained as a result of the study is that rural settlements are different from urban areas in terms of their road width and tissues, parcel sizes, floor area ratios and building heights. Another result is that "rural-specific" approaches, which would direct spatial development and construction in rural areas, have not been developed in Turkey. Supervision of spatial development and construction in rural areas with regulations and laws on the development of urban areas has caused corruption in the settlement character/fabric of rural areas. Thus, "rural-specific" approaches should be developed to conserve the settlement fabric/pattern in rural areas to increase resilience against construction pressure.

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TOC

INTRODUCTION

Population growth, economic activities, economic growth, and the increase and diversification of consumption cause an increase of pressure on the environment and natural resources. Environmental pollution and increasing demand/pressure on cultivated areas, water resources and the deterioration of forests make conservation and planning of rural areas important. Today, the conservation of rural areas either in respect of natural resources or cultural landscape values is more important than in the past. Within this framework new policies and approaches are needed for rural areas regarding sustainable development at the territorial, regional and local level.

Turkey is a county that has had significant experience in the improvement of rural areas. In spite of that, the lack of approaches specific to rural areas and directing spatial development and settlement is an important deficiency. To discuss the different aspects of this problem within the scope of the project, which was commenced in 2010, we aimed to construct alternative approaches and planning tools in spite of current planning aspects that cause the alteration of the characteristics of rural areas. The project was jointly supported by The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey and conducted by Karadeniz Technical University (Trabzon-Turkey) and Selcuk University (Konya-Turkey).

In this article we aimed to share the findings obtained from case studies conducted by Selcuk University. The Emen structural plan, which is one of the important parts of the project completed in 2015, constitutes the main theme of the article. In this context, the main purpose of article was researching the factors that cause the spatial corruption of rural areas, discussing the approaches directed at conserving rural characteristics and suggesting a sustainable situation in the light of the obtained findings.

DEFINITION OF RURAL AREAS AND POLICIES CONCERNING RURAL AREAS

The rural concept means the areas where the dominant economic mainstay is agriculture and there is a lower population density[1]. Rural areas are evaluated as extensions of urban areas with these characteristics and potential and considered as regions that provide resources to urban areas. Rural areas are diversified according to accessibility to urban areas, closeness to natural resources, economic tendencies of settlement and density of settlement areas[2].

Some developments that affect the definition of rural areas have occurred in recent years. Counter urbanization, which actualized different levels in different countries, and developments at the edges of cities and the spatial and social reflections of these developments have blurred the discrimination between urban and rural. Hence, it is expressed in the United Nations population statistics that a standard urban-rural definition was not practical and that a definition of rural areas valid for all countries is not possible due to national differences[3,4,5].

The development and planning of rural areas was consubstantiated with agricultural improvement policies in the past. In other words, it was considered that the development of rural areas was only possible using agricultural based approaches. However, that inadequate approach has changed over time. The main reason behind the change of that approach for rural areas that arose early in the 19th century was technological development and other developments that occurred due to socio-economic factors[6,7]. This change in rural development paradigms became more pronounced after the Second World War. Ellis and Biggs[8] argued that changes in development paradigms affected rural development methods too. Rural development, which was identified with modernization in agriculture in the 1950s and 1960s, was focused on the "productive and small farmer" as the engine of development in the 1970s and later. Basic concepts that came to the fore after the 1980s were participation, local democracy and sustainability.

Another issue that should be emphasized within the framework of approaches directed at the development of rural areas is common agricultural policies. With the common agricultural policies that were developed by the European Union, agricultural production that considered natural and environmental factors and targets of rural area development is mentioned under three titles. These are, constituting a competitive agricultural structure, diversifying sources of income in rural areas and improving living standards and conserving environment/natural values, respectively[9].

In brief, it was understood with these developments that rural areas are not simply fields that should be handled only through agricultural policies as in the past. In addition to economic tools for the development of rural areas, approaches that also consider natural, cultural and social values together are needed. While development is being accomplished, rural areas should be conserved in respect of cultural values and landscape existence.

DEVELOPMENT OF RURAL AREA POLICIES IN TURKEY AND PROBLEMS

Different approaches and models have been developed for rural areas in different periods since the first years of the republic in Turkey. These policies under the names of society development, model village, multiple rural area planning, central village, urban village, and agriculture urban played an important role in the development of rural areas in respect of social and economic aspects. The common point of policies about rural area is remaining differences between rural-urban areas, setting the economic and social balance between rural-urban area in long term. It was also aimed to enable rural-urban communities to complete each other and bring them a balanced social structure. It is seen that solutions such as increasing social equipment and forming industrial and service sector related with agricultural production are employed in order to set this balance[10,11]. Problems which sustain in spite of various policies and strategies formed about rural areas since the establishment of republic result from approaches which do not regard structure and characteristics of different rural areas, disregard participation of public and evaluate rural development only as the increase of agricultural production.

Another problem which forms hindrance in front of rural development in Turkey is ignoring the factor of public in rural area planning and defining villages as a place where people who have nothing to do live/shelter[12]. Defining services carried out for villages as minor service naming village road, village school, village community health center is evaluated as the reflection of this misdescription mentioned above[13]. Similarly, in the discrimination of rural-urban area which emerges in the process of modernity, while urban areas which are the output of modernity are regarded as the symbol of development and progression; regarding village and rural life as the symbol of backwardness is another mistake[14].

It should be emphasized that, in the solution of problems mentioned, the process of alteration/transformation which was experienced with the effect of preparation to European Union membership process and other international obligations had an important effect. In this context, recent years, the most important documents that have changed the agenda for rural areas in Turkey are in the National Rural Development strategy. Evaluating local potential and resources, conserving natural and cultural existence, developing rural society's work and living conditions compatible with urban areas and bringing them to a sustainable situation are the aims of this strategy, which came into force in 2006. Concepts on which the National Rural Development strategy are based are spatial susceptibility, collaboration and participation, sustainability, consistency in rural policies and effective monitoring[15].

In spite of strategies and obtained experiences developed for rural areas, the most important problem in Turkey today is the lack of a "specific for rural" approach that will direct spatial development and settlement in rural areas. Rural areas are exposed to different types of pressures due to geographical location, place in the county economy, closeness to urban areas, and their natural and cultural characteristics. Managing that

pressure effectively is important in respect of conserving settlement patterns and the sustainability of the spatial characteristics of rural areas. However, auditing spatial development and settlement in rural areas in Turkey by law and directing the development of urban areas cause the corruption of settlement patterns specific to rural areas. Accordingly, policies and approaches for conserving cultural values, settlement patterns and landscapes in rural areas are required.

PROJECT FOR CONSERVING THE PATTERN OF RURAL AREAS: EMEN STRUCTURAL PLAN STUDY EXPERIENCES

Planning rural areas within the measures for urban area settlement and corruption of rural settlement pattern is one of the important problems facing Turkey. A protocol was signed in 2010 between the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, Karadeniz Technical University (Trabzon-Turkey) and Selcuk University (Konya-Turkey) aiming to discuss that problem and to develop policies for solutions. A project named "Rural Planning Focusing on Conservation: A Proposal Model" that was targeted to develop the collaboration of the three institution was supported by The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey and the project was completed in 2015. The purpose of project was the recommendation of alternative approaches and planning tools in spite of the current planning approach that causes the corruption of rural settlement patterns. The authors of this study played a role in the project team at Selcuk University.

The institution that requested the project was the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization. The insufficiency of regulation provisions was emphasized in the process of determining, auditing, conserving and planning the development tendency of rural settlements in justification of the project. In addition, it was mentioned that use of the current planning principals and standards generated for urban areas for rural areas as well caused the corruption of settlement patterns/characteristics of rural areas. The expectation of the institution is the development of planning approaches specific to rural areas with legal and administrative modification recommendations.

With the project "Rural Planning Focusing on Conservation: A Proposal Model" rural areas were handled in three basic planning principle frameworks by considering the differences all around the country; these are:

— Conserving and usage of natural resources / values, cultural landscape (sustainability principle),
— Generating equal living conditions with regards to public service and providing equality of opportunity (equality and democracy principle) and,
— Actualizing planning studies with the persons and groups affected by the planning. (Planning with local-establishing common future principle).

Within the scope of the project, two case studies in different regions of Turkey were carried out by Karadeniz Technical University and Selcuk University. The patterns of rural settlements were determined by case studies; these findings were used as inputs for planning work carried out in the two model settlements that were selected (see figure 1).

The sample field research for this project was carried out in Emen within the Beyşehir Lake basin, as this area is the most important fresh-water resource. The reason for selecting Emen within the scope of the project is Emen's recognized importance with regard to the cultural or natural landscape. In this sense, the principal emphasis of the structural plan is conserving the traditional stone houses that remain today without corruption as a cultural landscape value and ensuring the sustainability of Yazı brook, which maintains Lake Beyşehir as the largest fresh-water basin, and the agricultural areas around the brook.
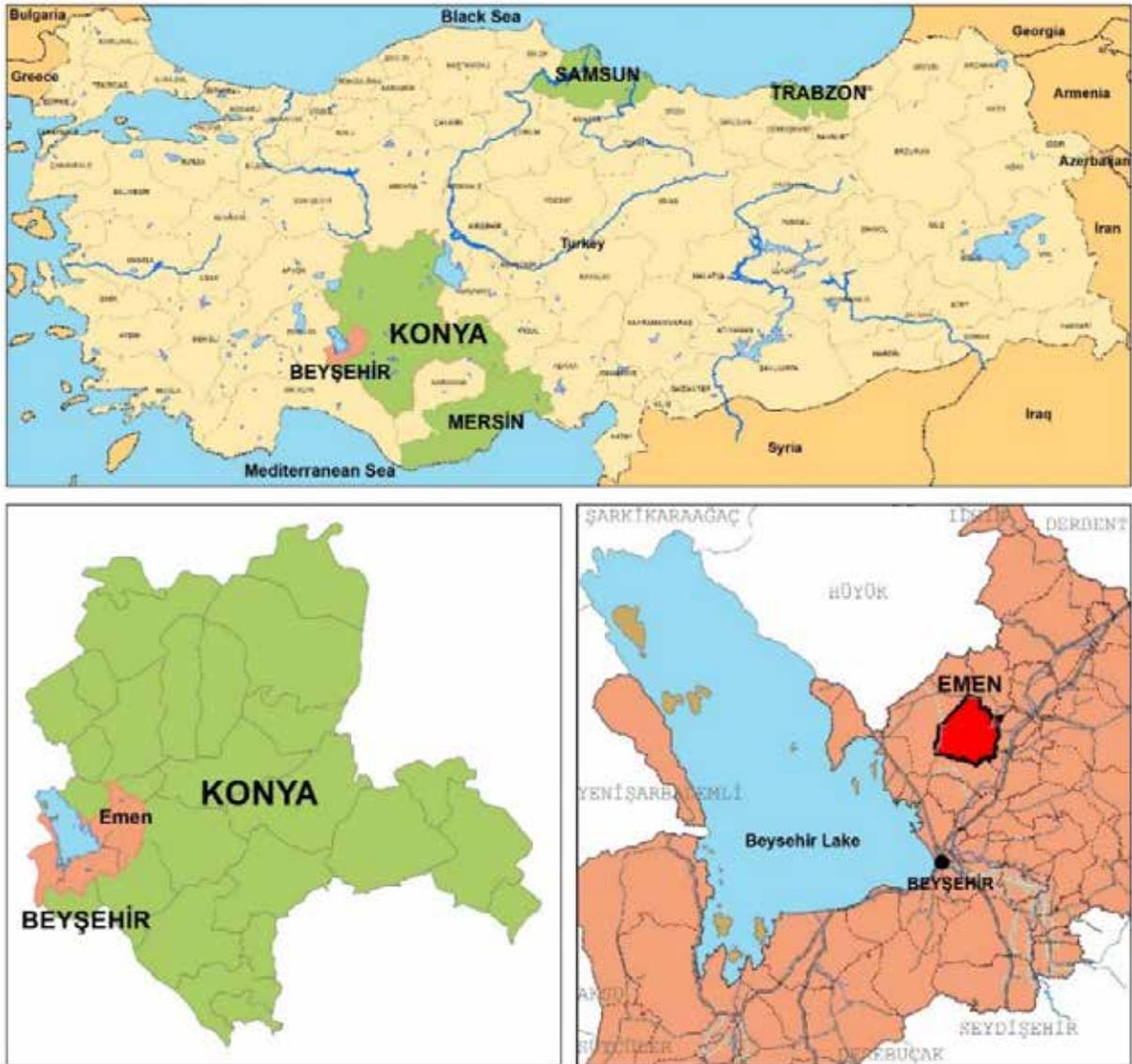
FIGURE 1 Case study carried out by Karadeniz Technical University in Trabzon and Samsun Provinces; Case studies carried out by Selcuk University in rural areas of Konya and Mersin provinces. Konya, which is a province in the middle section of Turkey, is an important agricultural basin. Beyşehir is one of the districts of Konya with a population of 35,000. Beyşehir Lake is the most important fresh-water resource of Turkey. Emen is a rural settlement 20 km away.

Conserving the stone buildings that constitute the most important values of Emen and sustaining the morphological structure of the settlement are necessary with regards to building material and architecture.

Yazı Brook, which is the most important landscape value of the region where Emen is located, is another important issue in structural planning decisions. The brook, which is home to specific flora and fauna of the region, also vitalizes the agricultural activities that are conducted in the immediate environment. In addition to ecological agricultural activities, the region has significant potential for agricultural tourism. However, discharging drains from some towns and villages in addition to Emen constitutes the most important environmental threat today. This problem, which affects the Lake Beyşehir basin radically, should be solved in the shortest possible period (see figure 2).

FIGURE 2 Stone buildings constitute the most important values of Emen and Yazı Brook

COMPARISON OF STRUCTURAL PLANNING WITH THE EXISTING DEVELOPMENT PLAN

The Emen structural plan that was generated within the scope of the project and the existing development plan are compared in this section of article. The development plan of Emen that was confirmed in 2001 is important in the sense of emphasizing the problems within the scope of the study. The plan includes decisions that disregard traditional settlement patterns and will cause corruption of the whole settlement pattern of Emen. In addition, pastures and cultivated areas where the most important natural resources of the region exist are not considered.

The Emen settlement was divided into four sub-regional groups within the scope of comparative analysis. In these sub-regional groups are shown the existing development plan and the Emen structural plan.

The existing development was based on urban area criteria. 10-12 meter width roads constructed within the plan are typical examples of that approach despite the rural pattern of the settlement. Substantial parts of buildings that were recommended for conservation due to their concordance with traditional and specific patterns in the structural plan are included within the 10-12 meter road tracks of the application development plan. This situation means destroying the buildings seen in figure 3 and figure 4 in the event that the aforementioned planning decision is applied.

Sinan Levend | Mehmet Çağlar Meşhur | Neslihan Serdaroğlu Sağ
SETTLEMENT PATTERN CORRUPTION PROBLEMS IN RURAL AREAS AND ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES: EXPERIENCES IN BEYSEHIR - EMEN, TURKEY

FIGURE 3 Pedestrian paths should be at least 10 meters in width and carriageways should be at least 12 meters according to legal regulations in Turkey. This arrangement/rule concerning road widths is one of the most important reasons behind the corruption of settlement patterns in rural areas.

Sinan Levend | Mehmet Çağlar Meşhur | Neslihan Serdaroğlu Sağ
SETTLEMENT PATTERN CORRUPTION PROBLEMS IN RURAL AREAS AND ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES: EXPERIENCES IN BEYSEHIR - EMEN, TURKEY

FIGURE 4 Typical example of stone buildings and settlement pattern.

FIGURE 5 Emen is a settlement where the population has decreased. The population, which was 1498 in 1990, decreased to 679 in 2010. In spite of that, several development areas were proposed in the existing plan. In addition, its natural and topographical structures were not considered. These areas are pastures and productive cultivated fields. Conserving these areas, which are important either for husbandry or agricultural production, was targeted.

FIGURE 6 Settlement morphology was developed as enabling sustained agricultural production. An approach for conserving cadastral roads and ownership patterns was adopted in the structural plan, unlike the development plan.

Sinan Levend | Mehmet Çağlar Meşhur | Neslihan Serdaroğlu Sağ

SETTLEMENT PATTERN CORRUPTION PROBLEMS IN RURAL AREAS AND ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES: EXPERIENCES IN BEYSEHIR - EMEN, TURKEY

FIGURE 7 Open areas in the settlement function as gathering places. These areas are used for weddings, entertainment and activities, especially in summer months. They are important parts of the settlement pattern from either spatial or social aspects.

The second accentuated issue within the comparative analysis is the decreasing population of Emen in recent years. Decreasing populations in rural areas is a situation observed in Turkey generally. However, there is a contradictory situation such as constituting new development areas in the settlements of rural areas where the population has decreased. This situation, which causes remaining inhabitants to expect income from sources other than agricultural production or the loss of productive cultivated areas are the other reasons for corruption of rural areas in respect of natural sources (see figure 5).

Sinan Levend | Mehmet Çağlar Meşhur | Neslihan Serdaroğlu Sağ
SETTLEMENT PATTERN CORRUPTION PROBLEMS IN RURAL AREAS AND ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES: EXPERIENCES IN BEYSEHIR - EMEN, TURKEY

The third particular that should be scrutinized within the framework of comparative analysis of the existing development plan and the structural plan is the open-mass ratio in rural areas. One of the important factors that reflect the morphological characteristics of settlement is the built-up area/open-air space ratio. This is mentioned by floor area ratio in the planning regulations of Turkey. While this ratio is higher in urban areas, it is lower in rural areas. This situation is necessary to meet the demands that occur in a rural area life style (storage of materials and products, small size agricultural activities etc.). The floor area ratio concerning the cultivated areas of Emen is 8-10% but the determined ratio in the existing development plan is 20%. The recommended roads and building lands in the existing development plan are mostly designed for urban areas instead of rural areas. Conserving the shape of cadastral parcels and morphological elements is recommended in the structural plan generated by project (see figure 6).

The last areas scrutinized in respect of the development plan in force were decisions concerning gathering places/squares that reflect the specific character of the settlement. These squares and other such semi-public places are the points used for strengthening social relations and for different activities. These places, which are a significant part of the settlement pattern, were included in land designated for building in the existing development plan. Conserving these places that were not considered in the existing development plan is one of the targets of structural planning (see figure 7).

CONCLUSION

Residents of rural areas earn their livelihood from economic activities that depend on soil and nature such as agriculture, husbandry and woodcraft. Added value of urban areas generates differences in respect of relatively higher non-agricultural income, distribution of income and standards of living. Accordingly, providing either social justice or the sustainability of rural life where lives depend on the natural structure is important for development of the country.

While the development of rural areas was being evaluated only with agricultural improvement policies in the past, this approach has changed over time. Today, policies and approaches that consider natural, cultural and social characteristics of rural areas integrally are dominant. In our day, there is consensus regarding the necessity of conserving rural areas as cultural heritage.

The fallacy that agricultural development means rural development was dominant in Turkey for many years. Considering the differences of rural areas, supporting economic base policies with social and spatial tools took some time. In this transition period, the National Rural Development Strategy was an important milestone. In particular, emphasis on spatial sensitivity for rural areas could spark discussions today.

Today awareness has developed in respect of evaluating rural areas differently from urban areas in Turkey. But tools that will direct spatial development specifically for rural areas are insufficient. Usage of standards that were generated for urban areas for rural areas as well caused corruption of the settlement patterns of rural areas.

The first finding that should be emphasized within the results obtained from the research is the development plan prepared for urban areas and currently in force. In the event of application of these plans, there is danger of the corruption of rural areas and even the possibility that they will disappear completely. Hence, these development plans should be halted until preparation of spatial structural plans specific to rural areas. The second important issue of research in respect of the findings of study is the difference in road widths and patterns, parcel sizes, floor area ratios and building heights from urban areas. Conserving the settlement patterns of rural areas and increasing resilience against settlement pressure is only possible with sustainability of the aforementioned differences. In this context, design guides for determining settlement conditions in rural areas and rural area norms and legal aspects should be created.

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V.06 P.052   **Sinan Levend | Mehmet Çağlar Meşhur | Neslihan Serdaroğlu Sağ**

SETTLEMENT PATTERN CORRUPTION PROBLEMS IN RURAL AREAS AND ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES: EXPERIENCES IN BEYSEHIR – EMEN, TURKEY

Entangled Planning Histories: A View from Israel/ Palestine

Chair: Haim Yacobi

THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF ISRAELI PLANNING EXPORT TO AFRICA

Haim Yacobi

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As a so-called 'playground of the Cold War', postcolonial sub-Saharan Africa was contested territory in the ideological power game that dominated the second half of the twentieth century. Within new African nations the international competition for economic and political allegiance was particularly hard fought. Amongst those nations vying for influence was the newly founded state of Israel that was viewed as attractive development partner by African governments. In this paper, I will analyze the political, economic and social implications of the planning projects of Israeli development cooperation the local African context. Central for this paper is a critical discussion of the institutional frameworks in Israel, documenting the key actors involved in policy design and implementation, analyzing the reception and results of the projects in Africa and conceptualizing the role of planning cooperation as both means and goals of foreign policy.

(RE)PRODUCING AN URBAN/ RURAL DIVIDE: THE ENTANGLED PLANNING HISTORY OF URBAN INFORMALITY IN EAST JERUSALEM

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Urban Planning has played a major role in the production of the national space of "Greater Jerusalem", within which Arab Jerusalem is (re) produced as a space of informality – an urbanity which is permanently liminal both to the planning of the Israeli state and to Palestinian Occupied Territories. This paper will explore current practices of formal urban planning and informal housing construction in East Jerusalem vis-à-vis wider geo-political changes in the city on one hand, and the neo-liberalization of the Israeli planning system on the other. I aim to show how the distinction between the urban and the rural also plays a significant part in delineating the differences between first-class citizens and second-class residents of the city, knitting together spatial liminality and liminal citizenships. Thus, the urban and the rural rather than providing the coordinates on the basis of which planning decisions can be taken, are constructed as a set of political categories through which planning operates. However, a close examination of the contestations over the stability of such categories reveals that urban informality should be understood as part of "ordinary" urban reality, not an exception to it.

Keywords
urban informality, liminality, citizenship, urban/rural divide, East Jerusalem

SECTIONSCAPING – A METHODOLOGICAL AND CONCEPTUAL PROPOSAL FOR FOLDING IN SPACE

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The use of the representation of the map in the hands of the western forces of imperialism, liberalism and capitalism, was questioned critically - in general and particularly in Israel/Palestine. It is considered as a tool for conquering and controlling space, while integrating into it the modern order and concept of separation. Over these theoretical foundations, this paper will focus in a methodological proposal, using the representation technique of the section to study and critically analyze the geo-political space. My argument is that the section reveals new comprehensions over space and its concepts of order, suggesting a different point of view than the map. Furthermore, I argue that the representation of the section question concepts of continuity, folding and texture in space structure, challenging the modern dividing concept of space.

RECOGNITION AND THE EMPTYING OF SPACE: GIV'AT-AMAL\ AL-JAMMASIN

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"In 1947 we were sent here to defend Tel Aviv. Today we face a disgraceful evacuation so that Tshuva can build six towers" . This statement, taken from "Giv'at Amal - Fighting for Our Home" Facebook page, encapsulates the archeology of national and economical narratives manifested in Giv'at Amal, a neighborhood in the north of Tel Aviv. The neighborhood was established in the "emptied Arab village" (to use Noga Kadman's terminology) Al-Jammasin, populated after the 48' war by lower- income Mizrachi families, now facing evacuations since the state-owned land was sold to a real estate entrepreneur. In my paper I wish to delineate the story of Giv'at Amal - trough the reading of legal and planning committees' documents - while trying to draw some insights regarding the spatial manifestation and materialization of hegemonic narratives.

THE INVISIBLE BOULEVARD

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The town of Jaffa, and the Jerusalem Boulevard ,its main modern boulevard, built 100 years ago, went through a dramatic change of destruction in the 1948 war. While the whole Urban Fabric of the boulevard was left, its original Palestinian community was uprooted and spread all over the world. Jerusalem boulevard and its history are invisible in their cultural significance to the majority of the Jewish population in Israel and its co-town of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. Though the boulevard was the cultural center of Palestine in the 40th, now it mainly a busy transportation axis, in the focus of Jewish gentrification process. The memory of the ebullient Palestinian city that once existed there is a contested site of memory entangled with development. I will address several issues; Who is the client for preservation initiatives on such sites. Is it the diasporic Palestinian community, the existing small Palestinian community of Jaffa, or the majority of the Jewish Public in Tel Aviv-Jaffa? and how and if ,this conflicting narrative can be presented in such a contested site.

Keywords

Conservation, contested memory, Palestinian cultural heritage

The Expanding Urban Fabric

Chair: Stephen Hamnett

FACING RAPID URBANIZATION: A CENTURY OF EAST AFRICAN URBANISM

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East-Africa is one of the least urbanized regions in the world, but living one of the fastest urbanization. Its urban history has roots in the cosmopolitan Swahili culture and common experiences related to British and German colonialism and the East African Community. During the 20th century it has been a great laboratory regarding the effort of ordering growth according to very different political visions and social projects. Almost everything has been tested in planning and urban design, with a relevant gradient of determinism in the designing efforts, from total to minimal. The East-Africans are excellent samples of contemporary metropolises facing the unstoppable proliferation of informal growth, due to uncontrolled migrations and unsustainable development. Dar-es-Salaam, Nairobi, Mombasa, Kampala, Kigali, Zanzibar are rapidly urbanising with more than half of this growth occurring informally. From the beginning of their urban history all these cities have faced the issue of hosting different communities with different lifestyles, symbols, rituals, fears and public spaces. Their urban history reveals the relevance of urban architecture in determining their future. The paper proposes an overview on urban design and planning attempts over the last century, investigating their influence in driving city growth and discussing their teachings for contemporary openings.

RAPID URBANIZATION: THE UN-DESIGNED AFRICAN METROPOLIS

For the first time in human history, since the beginning of 21st century, half the global population is living in urban areas. Moreover, according to UNHABITAT out of the thirty cities with the highest rate of growth in the next decade, twenty-four will be African[1]. Even if some recurrent issues were already faced by the first euro-urban colonizers, unprecedented are now the scale and the speed of the urbanization phenomenon, together with an unfortunately proportioned scarcity in terms of economical and knowledge resources. Most of the urban growth happens out of traditional planning terms, with the result of combining inadequate infrastructure, polarized development, unsafety, inequality and environmental fragility[2]. How is it possible to shape rapid growth, driving it sustainable, in this context of informality, scarcity and misgovernment? The current scenario is forcing the development of original conceptual frameworks, questioning the political meaning of urban form. Through an historical exploration and an overview on the contemporary situation, this paper aims at investigating the attempts to re-centre the problem on the city as public framework. In search of the determinants of metropolitan form, it's possible to discuss the persisting relevance of urban and architectural design in dealing with the present challenges.

URBAN NARRATIVES AND SPATIAL ORDERING FRAMEWORKS: THE PROJECT OF THE CITY

Along history different urban models were set up through ordering urban frameworks as physical materialization of a collective agreement on certain priorities. Priorities are determined by concurrent powers (public, private, commons) according to the economical-political scenario linked to a valuable narration, was it political or religious. It's possible to redefine the concept of order as a project rather than an accomplished state[3]; a project produced by an aware modelling effort. Spatial order and social order are tightly linked and the project of the city from Romans, to Renaissance, to the Modern Era has been a political and economical project[4]. According to this, each urban culture developed its own conceptual urban ordering framework and a recognizable experience of space based on durable semiotic schemes of relations among buildings, public spaces and uses/rituals[5]. During the 20th century, the design of new cities for Italian reclamations, the evolutionary clockwork of Chandigarh by Le Corbusier or the sensible project for Casablanca by Ecochard provided powerful examples of an architectural approach to the urban project able to express at a new scale the role of collective spaces engaging with change and evolution[6]. But in the last decades more and more difficult has become translating a clear political vision in a recognizable project for the city, hence in a meaningful experience of its public-spaces, or public-realm. An urban relativism connected to social inequalities, migrations, climate-change and a new cosmopolitism has determined a progressive fragmentation and segregation of space, with a consequent desperate search for new ordering principles[7]. Where a general order collapsed, multiple particular orders popped-up claiming their spaces, rights and walls. Individualism and the capsularization of eschatological narratives deconstructed the urban form in an apparent lack of sense, a disordered generic agglomeration. The failure of the welfare state to address the emerging metropolitan scale, with its new cosmopolitan citizenship, translated in the crisis of the established order, with all his tools, and in the start of what has been called the informal age. The concept of informality began to be discussed when urban phenomena which were impossible to be classified and ordered according to established frameworks spread. Most of the rapid urbanization represented by the data released by the United Nations in the last decade is informal: informality is the way contemporary city are growing, spatially and socio-economically. A first attempt to define urban informality was presented in 1972 by the International Labor Organization, in a report regarding the informal sector in Nairobi. But since then "the informal and formal systems are increasingly connected and interdependent", more then separated[8]. In some cases informal economies became a relevant and essential part of the urban economic structure, with inevitable spatial consequences. Urban informality is the physical evidence of invisible patterns standing out-of-the-law, out-of-the-model. It's a condition spreading all over the world, with different forms according to the geographical and economical context, but everywhere witnessing creative attempts to fill the gaps left by the domain of public and the egotism of capitalism.
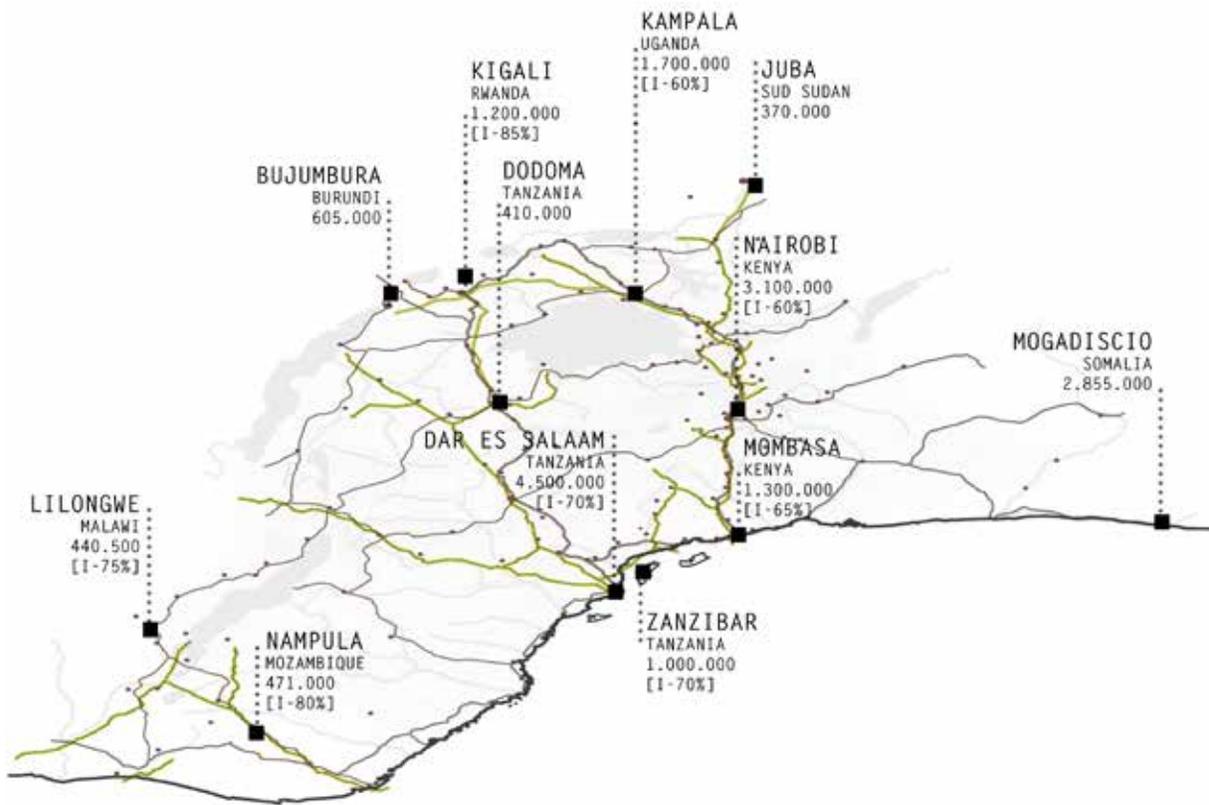
FIGURE 1 East African Metropolises: estimated population and informal urbanization rate (UNHABITAT and World Bank data, 2015).

The crisis of the public/private binary is happening all over the world, both in developed and developing countries, giving space to the rise of 'commons'[9]. The interlacing of public, private and commons introduces new orders with differentiated publicness: porous patterns of negotiation for new metropolitan lifestyles beyond both the models of welfare state and late-capitalism (with their global standardization attitude). For this reason, contemporary cities with highest informality rates are the most prominent laboratories to experiment alternative forms of socio-ecological organization through alternative re-combinations of public/common space patterns informing the city[10]. In this perspective East-African metropolises in their historical evolution can be seen as extraordinary laboratories for the urban future.

Alessandro Frigerio

FACING RAPID URBANIZATION: A CENTURY OF EAST AFRICAN URBANISM

FIGURE 2 Evolving geopolitical scenario and urban settlements: Kilwa Sultanate Settlements, XV Century (upper left); Portuguese Trade-posts 1497-1502 (upper right); Colonial powers before (lower left) and after (lower right) the first World War.

EAST AFRICAN METROPOLISES AS URBAN LABORATORIES FOR THE FUTURE

In this complex scenario East-Africa is one of the less urbanized regions in the world, but living one of the fastest urbanization. Its urban history has roots in the cosmopolitan Swahili culture and common experiences related to British colonialism and the East African Community. During the 20th century it has been a great laboratory regarding the effort of ordering growth according to very different political visions and social projects: almost everything has been tested in planning and urban design, with a relevant gradient of determinism in the designing efforts, from total to minimal. The East-Africans are excellent samples of contemporary metropolises facing the unstoppable proliferation of informal growth due to uncontrolled migrations and unsustainable development. Dar es Salaam, Nairobi, Mombasa, Kampala, Kigali and the metropolitan archipelago of Zanzibar have already passed the quota of a million inhabitants and the biggest cities are running million after million, with more than half of this growth occurring informally[11]. From the beginning of their urban history all these cities have faced the issue of hosting different communities with different lifestyles, symbols, rituals, fears and public spaces. Their urban history is a telling overview on the relevance of urban architecture in determining their future. Which narrative for the contemporary East-African metropolis? The conflict emerging in the cradle of globalized splintered urbanism[12] is pushing slum urbanism to experiment a new kind of inclusive urbanism with low-carbon features responding to the present need for a strong socio-ecological resilience. This hybridizing potential stays in the DNA of East-African cities since the beginning of their history.

A/EUROPEAN ZONE   B/ASIAN ZONE   C/AFRICAN ZONE
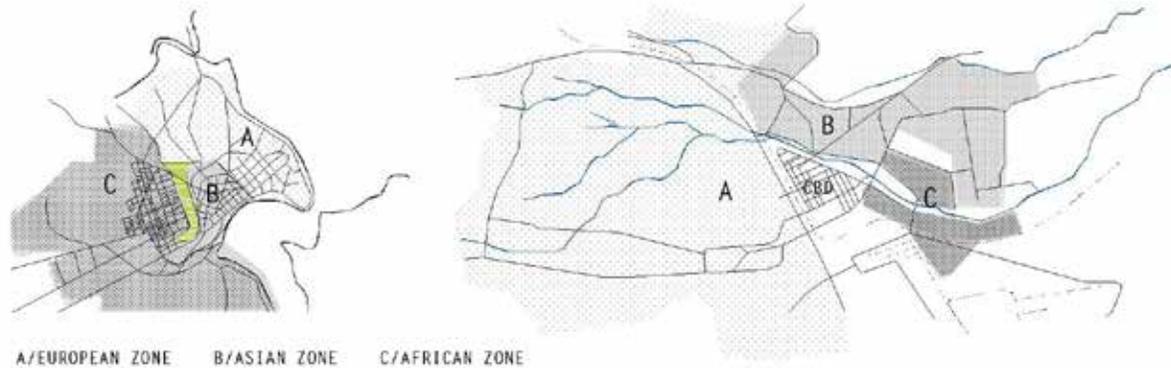
FIGURE 3 Segregative urbanism and geography. On the left, Dar es Salaam settling plan, 1918: three neighbourhoods for three lifestyles.15 On the right, Nairobi settling plan, W.Jamson and E.Dutton, 1927: African people could only settle informally in squatter settlements.16

THE ORIGINS: SWAHILI MULTICULTURAL URBANISM

The origins of the metropolitan character of East-African urbanism date back in 15th century. Swahili urbanism, merging Persian, Bantu, Arab, Indian cultures and European interferences, flourished on the African coast facing the Indian Ocean thanks to fertile commercial exchanges. Swahili culture has its first roots in the establishment of the Kilwa Sultanate, that developed a distinctive metropolitan maritime network on the African coastline facing the Indian Ocean, from Mogadiscio to Mozambique. Portuguese trade-posts overlapped to this system and the rich commercial relations at the end of the 17th century moved the interests of the Omani Sultanate, lately transformed in the powerful Zanzibar Sultanate. Specific urban characters connoted these port-cities, built on hybrid spatial frameworks mixing the Bantu value of void space as collective and symbolic space and the Arab structure of commercial armatures as backbone for incremental urbanization. As Stephanie Wynne-Jones points out, Swahili towns were both planned and unplanned; cities as processes, not products.[13] They were dual cities built in stone or wood/mud on a system of porous relational spaces: civic armatures organizing housing as a pure element of consumption.

SPLINTERED SETTLING COLONIAL URBANISM

Only at the end of 19th century, after the scramble for Africa at the Berlin Conference, the European colonizers started to settle permanently on the territories they were exploiting in this area. Perceiving them as a tabula rasa, the colonial powers began to build infrastructures to allow their planned extractive economies: railways were the penetration armatures that led to the settlement of new cities far form the ocean (i.e. Nairobi) and connected with the existing powerful harbours. Europeans, with their desire to live in the most similar way to their homeland, as well as for the fear of a hostile environment, started to design their new life in euro-fashioned neighbourhoods, separated from the existing settlements. Nobody cared about the progressive growth of what we would call now informal settlements, but that in fact was the real city, growing faster and faster due to migrations from the countryside driven by new economic opportunities. The settling plan for Dar es Salaam is a clear example of this splintered urbanism, allowing (before than forcing) everyone to live the way they were used to, without any infrastructural democracy[14]. The only designed open-space to order the urban form at the metropolitan scale was the sanitary green-belt separating the different communities, while each neighbourhood continued to develop its own relational patterns. This treble plan for Dar is among the first problematic evidences of the future African contemporary metropolises, multicultural archipelagos hosting different conflicting communities claiming for their rights.

POST-WAR COLONIAL URBANISM

Something changed after the Second World War when most of the region fell under the British control. The political will regarding East African British colonies moved from exploitation to inclusion. This clearly emerges from the "Commonwealth Development and Welfare program for the colonies" (1944) and the optimistic "Colonial Development and Welfare Scheme 1947-57". Colonial planning embraced the modern Universalist belief in the possibility of blending development and changelessness, western universal models and anthropologically oriented interpretations of the African communities[17]. Importing British town planning, based on garden city models, matched perfectly with the idea of managing growth through the multiplication and scaling of local models, at the same time building effective systems of surveillance and dominance. Village-hubs were designed as neighbourhood units, linked by mobility armatures with the aim of intermediating between tradition and new locally modern lifestyles. One of the main tools to foster this transition was the introduction of gathering spaces at different scales. Various strategies were applied regarding basic service provision, often left to self-organization, in strikingly opposition with the sites-and-services strategy that will become popular soon after. Maxwell Fry started this experimental approach in the 40s in Western Africa, with results spreading through the continent and persisting after the Independencies[18]. In East Africa Ernst May's plan for Kampala (1947) designed settlements for low and middle income Africans and Asians, part of a complex geographical system of morpho-typological segregation[19]. Infrastructures were asked to organize functional and racial zoning. In the same period, even Dar es Salaam and Nairobi were endowed with modernist masterplans; they were less sophisticated, but exactly as all the others of this period without any proper financial coverage. The colonial modernist experiments ended up in the marginalization of local population and continuous spread of informal settlements. The native inhabitants of these cities were intended as "en route towards modern urban living"[20], whilst, left at the periphery of the dreamt development, they simply carried on to build their own alternative informal cities in a meanwhile that started to last for decades.

INDEPENDENCY URBANISM: THE FAITH IN MODERNISM

The Western promises of Modernism, granting for an identitarian, inclusive and multicultural urbanism, deeply conditioned national building processes, even if in different ways from nation to nation. Western Africa and Ghana, in particular, served again as a model. Following Fry's studies, Doxiadis applied in Tema his Ekistics theory as comprehensive methodology to plan and master all scales: everything was designed and engineered, comprehensively and hierarchically, universally applicable and site-specific. Super-grid multi-scalar patterns bound landscape and transport flows interconnecting village-like units in an ever-expandable archipelago. The units were characterized by a pedestrian network of pathways incorporating squares of different sizes forming a system of open, car-free spaces that, in some cases, vibrantly survive today[21]. In East-Africa, with the same approach, all the new governments, trying to affirm their new identities and to take advantage of their different cold-war international influences, started to produce new plans for their main cities at the end of the 60s.

Among the most interesting experiments the Nyerere socialist vision produced a comprehensive plan for Dar es Salaam, but more significantly inspired the foundation plan and project for the new capital of Dodoma[22], coming in 1974 and closing this age. The 'ujamaa' (familihood) vision for a rural communitarian economic development is the base for the masterplanning effort that Canadian PPA (Project Planning Associates) underwent to design the new Tanzanian capital. Social and physical guidelines aimed to control the realization and management of an Africanised garden city: archipelago of villages with a limited cooperative population blended with landscape and organized by an efficient public transportation and slow mobility network around the very public core of the nation, the National Capital Center. Dodoma is a political manifesto before trying to be a real city: a socialist experiment of glocal modernism, in explicit opposition to the capitalist/colonialist modernism. It's also the story of a failure.
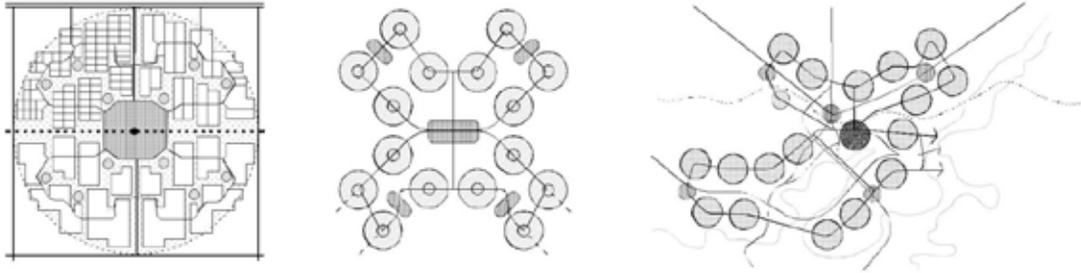
FIGURE 4 Dodoma Masterplan by Project Planning Associates Limited, Toronto, Canada, 1974. From left to right: prototype community, diagrammatic urban system and urban concept.23

FIGURE 5 The evolution of neighbourhood-units in Zanzibar planning history reveals the progressive disappearing of public spaces in designing the city. From left to right: German Plan, Sholz/GDR 1968 (unrealized); Chinese Plan, Chang Keguang, 1982; Tunguu Neighborhood Unit, 1996.26

Everything about these plans seemed perfect, but most of them served only as a façade. The newly urbanized and poor citizens couldn't afford a car or public transportation to cover the unprecedented metropolitan distances and in reality even the government couldn't afford the forecasted public investments, with the results of an increased polarization and strengthening of segregative urbanism. There was no real understanding of the new scale of the growing and growing informal metropolis, impossible to be completely designed due to unsustainable costs and governance complexity. It was still considered an exception, out of the order, whilst it was clearly the real matter of the city, with its rich relational environment.

FROM URBANISM TO URBANIZATION

The 1973 oil crisis and its following consequences stopped any dream of easy growth, fostering the rise of new stakeholders in the economical power of urban development in the form of multilateral programs by the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. From great visions to basic urgencies, the focus moved to the need of rapidly settling the urbanising population and improving its living conditions. The roadmap started to be allocating the available resources to build essential infrastructures, letting people providing for their houses. It's the sites-and-services approach, coming from Turner's sensible studies[24], but in facts generating an age of urbanization without urbanity[25]. The failure of the public project of the city caused the disappearance in the political toolbox of public-space design as device to build citizenship and to foster feeling of belonging. In a continuous run after the city reproducing itself, the conceptual model is still the neighbourhood unit as megablock composing the city. But no attention in those projects is generally given to the nodes and interfaces connecting infrastructures, landscape and city fabric, producing conflicts and wasting important occasions to positively redistribute the effects of the connected investments.
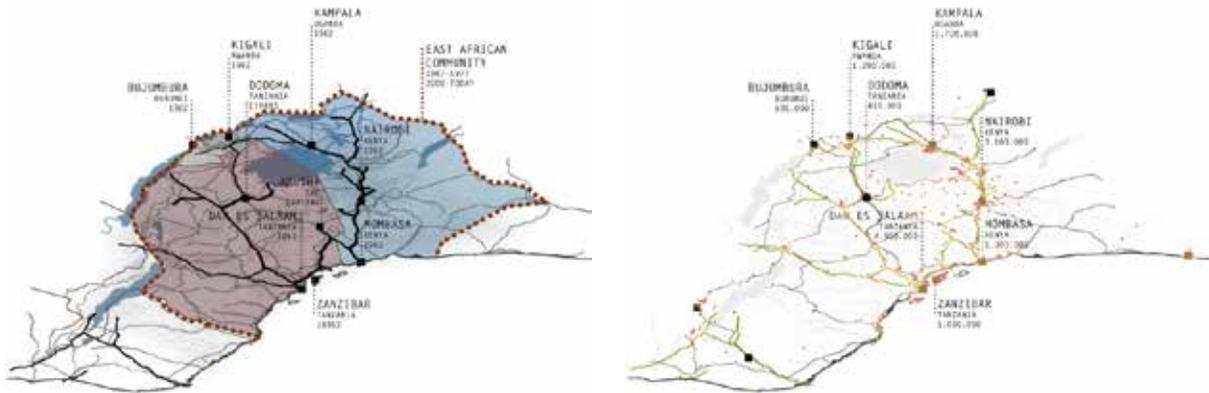
FIGURE 6 New national states and East African Community (left) and the Swahili meta-city revealed through Twitter data in 2015 (elaboration by the author using Mosquito for Grasshopper) (right).

From this moment the actions to face urban growth take two parallel directions with different models and scales of interventions. One consisted in local initiatives at the neighbourhood scale with episodic experimental programs. Starting in the 70s and covering the following decades with alternate success, various projects at the local level promoted the upgrading of selected informal settlement and the provision of new serviced plot of lands, but with important problems in terms of scale, administration and cost recovery[27]. Started as governmental programs with the help of multilaterals (World Bank) these projects evolved finding the interest of philanthropic organizations, NGOs, academic institutions and directly involving the local communities. Despite in some case the efforts produced relevant results, the effects remained local without effective impacts on the systemic urban relations and unable to become a reproducible model. The other direction took shape as the realization of great infrastructural projects financed by multilaterals - mostly public transportation - and rarely integrated in a comprehensive vision for the city. The recent project for the BRT (Bus Rapid Transit Infrastructure) in Dar es Salaam could be recalled as example[28]. Both the lines of action, at different scales, relies on infrastructures more then on spatial quality, they urbanize without enhancing urbanity, stating a complete lack of political urban vision and leaving again to exogenous stakeholders the initiative to decide on priorities, without any synergy.

MASTERPLANS REVIVAL, SYNERGIC UPGRADING AND OPENINGS TO A NEW AWARENESS

Neo-colonial globalization is occurring in this situation in which modern utopias lost reliability and local spatial habits are often lost or conflicting. On this cultural tabula rasa, since the beginning of 21st century the political sphere is fostering a revival of total masterplanning. In three years, from 2012 to 2014, Nairobi, Mombasa, Dar es Salaam, Dodoma, Zanzibar and Kigali have announced the drafting of a new plan. Most of them promote western-style new-foundations and re-placements according to old-models, unconcerned of the real character of the urban phenomenon. Parallel attempts, blending top-down and bottom-up initiatives, cope with a formalizing effort based on densification according to existing open-space patterns; a potential way to trigger economies of scale capable to make service provisions sustainable. This seems a much more promising approach, even if in need of an appropriate synergic vision at a bigger scale.

	NAIROBI	MOMBASA	DAR	DODOMA	ZANZIBAR	KAMPALA	KIGALI
SETTLING COLONIAL URBANISM	1927		1918		1923		
POST-WAR COLONIAL URBANISM	1948		1948		1958	1947	
INDIPENDENCY URBANISM	1973	1963	1968	1974	1968	1963	
URBANISM TO URBANIZATION		1976	1979		1982		
NEW PLANS	2014	2014	2012	2013	2014		2013

FIGURE 7   East African Urban History: a proposed periodization of planning tools (compiled by author from multiple sources).

These sensible initiatives can rely on a wider awareness of the informal phenomenon thanks to ICT tools. The digital revolution is producing a relevant shift in understanding and coping with African cities. Participatory GIS based mapping experiments, together with social-networks data elaborations, are offering knowledge on the real consistency of East-African rapid urbanization and its informal urbanity, revealing qualitative, together with the usual quantitative, information.[29] Experiments in Nairobi (Kibera) and Dar es Salaam (Tandale), among others, revealed ICT mapping potentials, as powerful tool to reinforce the awareness of local cultures and to set synergies between formal and informal socio-metabolic flows. Mapping and interacting with localized cultural patterns and their space-rooting could set the conditions for governance and design processes to consciously deal with territorial intelligence.[30]

LEARNING FROM HISTORY: SCALE, TIME, CONTEXT

East-African urban history in the last century is a peculiar mirroring of Western models in a different context. Over-designed as well as under-designed urban projects in East-Africa, seen through the lens of cultural distance, reveals some universal as well as specific critical issues. Everything seems to have been tested to deal with rapid urbanization: expansion or new foundations; densification or upgrading. In each of the attempts, various complementary criticalities in terms of timing, financing and management emerged. Re-producing exogenous models without caring about the ecology of a territory in its environmental, social, cultural complexity in many cases risked to destroy places. These experiences clearly reveal some unavoidable conflicts connected to the spread of global technological standards, layering these globalized models on the existent physical and cultural topographies. Conflicts don't happen only in space, but more problematically in time. Models cannot be intended as ready made projects, they should serve to orient and order progressive specifications and evolutions of the city fabric moved by deeply contextualized rules. As demonstrated by the experiments of urbanization at the end of the 20th century, the switch of the governmental role from housing provider to housing enabler[31] set an important milestone in recognizing the relevance of infrastructures as public good. The matter is which kind of public good infrastructure can embody and how to design the process that infrastructure can trigger. Some of the failures of the past stress the need of designing time together with space, which is not about phasing by parts, but designing and budding processes in space, through robust civic patterns. All this is about the need of a project for the city. Going back to Alberti, and embracing some of the recent theories related to the concept of resilience, we should investigate an idea of order based on vivid relational rules more than on utopian modeling[32]. But the unprecedented scale of the urbanization phenomenon requires looking for new paradigms: the scale is metropolitan, the speed implies metabolic adaptive strategies, the scarcity of resources imposes to hybridize economical/ecological patterns with in/formality gradient.

CONCLUSION. ORDERING THE METROPOLITAN SCALE: TOWARDS A NEW PARADIGM

The contemporary transcultural narrations regarding the city have to do mainly with the concepts of hyper-accessibility to spaces, goods and information and, on the other hand, to environmental sustainability and food security. Both the accessibility and the environmentalist concepts suggest the development of inter-scalar, multi-formal, multi-temporal patterns matching continuous globalized and discontinuous and porous contextualized systems: a new dimension of the idea of public ordering the metropolitan scale and able to cope with uncertainty, change, informality. In this perspective Ortiz[33] proposes a modelling methodology acting through a metropolitan matrix, geographically determined, that interlaces and prioritizes a regular grid of grey-armatures for the best accessibility and a geographical network of green armatures working as eco-infrastructures. It's a mental map able to order growth priorities in relation to specific local geographies and economies. The metropolitan paradigm introduces a different geography of centralities marking the nodes of intersection among grey and green infrastructures, interfaces between continuous regional systems and the city fabric, rather formal or informal. Metropolitan architecture[34] is a concept currently investigated by the Measure and Scale of the Contemporary City Research Lab at Politecnico di Milano. It explores the morphological and typological consistency of the hinge-points pointed out by Ortiz's metropolitan paradigm as robust founding or acupuncturing urban device to trigger controlled formalization processes and in/formality gradient patterns, facilitating public processes of occupation, appropriation and care.

Recent East-African experiences reveals emerging in/formality gradient patterns, especially in service provision. It's a relevant trend to investigate the future of urban socio-ecological patterns. If we go back to Alberti, as interpreted by Choay[35], part of the composition effort in dealing with the project of the city relies in the free introduction of citizens' demands in the fixed urban matrix to deliberately produce disorder: a positive disorder able to generate order. The deliberate triggering of chaotic dynamics could be dangerous for the system stability and urban architecture has the role of fostering and directing processes in time, stabilizing them in space. It has the duty to set robust and durable stages to include and domesticate informal dynamics in the city discourse through recombinant strategies; formal structures for informal patterns[36]. Following the Ecochard approach: urbanism (public spaces and nodes) in first place, as permanent ordering device representing civic robustness; fabric construction afterwards.[37] The interscalar pattern of public goods built by ecological and economical infrastructure could work for social and environmental resilience. Learning from history, Swahili cosmopolitan rizhomatic patterns of civic robustness, in the contemporary metropolitan interlace of scale, appear as a promising spatial device to investigate for contributing to the discussion on the future of the East-African Metropolises.

Notes on contributor

Alessandro Frigerio, architect and urban designer, has a double degree in architecture at Politecnico di Milano and Politecnico di Torino and a diploma in management of innovation by Alta Scuola Politecnica. He is currently a PhD student at Politecnico di Milano, Department of Architecture and Urban Studies, with a research on East-African urbanism. He is part of the Measure and Scale of Contemporary City Research Lab in the same department, participating to teaching and research activities on sustainable urban development. In 2013 he co-founded UP! Design and research Lab in Milano.

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COLUMBIA AND RESTON: TWO NEW TOWNS, TWO INNOVATIVE PROJECTS, A COMMON VISION OF SOCIETY

Loup Calosci

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Reston (begun 1964) in Northern Virginia and Columbia (begun 1967) in Maryland were the first new towns erected in the United States since World War II, and have become important models for subsequent communities. They stemmed from the utopian vision of their two idealistic, innovative and ambitious founders, James Rouse (1914 - 1996) and Robert E. Simon (1914 - 2015), who shared bold social and urban objectives. In the late 1960s, in both the United States and Europe, the concept of a new community aimed at responding to the unease and isolation of suburban housing and prescribed a new kind of urban life. Reston and Columbia broke with the traditional model of the metropolis by suggesting a less imposing, more humane and green city. They also encompassed employment opportunities and favored racial and socio-economic diversity instead of segregation, suggesting new agenda and methods for housing modernization. Reston and Columbia became laboratories seeking to retrieve previous experiences while avoiding past pitfalls. More broadly, every new community developed in the 1960s and 1970s was devised with some contributions from older European and American urban experiences. As stated by Mark Clapson (2013), "American new towns of the 1960s were in some ways the culmination in the United States of America of an Anglo-American history of town planning whose origins can be traced back not only to Ebenezer Howard's Garden City movement but also to the Anglo-American suburb tradition in town living pioneered during the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries." One of the key initiatives in new town development and especially at Columbia was to set up multidisciplinary teams of leading authorities in fields as varied as psychology, sociology and architecture. Those teams provided a new way to conceive the city with the help of specialists focusing on the idea of community. This was intended to ensure the success and sustainability of the new town. This new practice in urban design, which I have identified and analyzed by consulting a variety of documents: Columbia and Reston archives, reports and periodicals, will be subsequently disseminated throughout the United States and the world.

Keywords
New Community, Planned Communit, New Urbanism, Suburb, Urban models

GRUEN AND HALPRIN IN FORT WORTH, TEXAS: CHANGES AND CONTINUITY IN DOWNTOWN PLANNING AFTER WORLD WAR II

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Fort Worth followed the pattern of many American cities and experienced a declining downtown in the 1950s, a problem that would continue into the 1970s. The city responded to the challenge of downtown by turning to several prominent planners and architects, Victor Gruen and Lawrence Halprin. Gruen, brought in by a downtown businessman in the 1950s proposed the well-known Gruen Plan for Fort Worth to develop a downtown void of automobiles by encircling the city's core with highways that led to periphery garages and developing a mall like setting in the city's center. Although it gained international praise for its innovation, Fort Worth never implemented the plan. In many ways the plan was revolutionary, but Gruen's approach to planning was not, as he followed common practice of the 1950s and completed the plan with little consultation with civic leaders or the public. Efforts to promote acceptance of the plan seemed successful at first with enthusiastic support by many, but the plan's expense, its singular focus on downtown, controversy over city ownership of parking garages required by the plan, failure of the state to finance key elements of the plan and a growing disinterest in the fate of downtown by a population in a rapidly decentralizing city, spelled its doom.
By the 1970s, the city officials, unwilling to give up, turned to another architect/planner, Lawrence Halprin, to revive an increasingly depressed and deteriorating downtown. Halprin like Gruen had been engaged planning suburban shopping malls but now turned his attention to downtowns. Although Halprin, a landscape architect, made recommendations for downtown that were not as revolutionary as Gruens, focusing on improvements in areas such as automobile circulation, ample parking, downtown housing, more green space and separating vehicle and pedestrian traffic, his approach to planning differed markedly from Gruen and reflected the changing nature of the profession which gave the client more say in the plan. Indeed, Halprin instituted a community workshop approach to "maximize the involvement of those Fort Worth citizens and organizations which [were] most directly concerned with the growth of downtown." Unlike Gruen, Halprin emphasized early and continuing citizen participation in his planning approach.
Although in many ways these approaches to planning proved quite different not only in the relationship to the client but also in the scope and originality of the plans, they both shared common challenges of implementation in an increasingly fragmented urban setting in which the public interest seemed subordinated by a growing emphasis on individual desires that took precedent over the needs of the whole, whether neighborhoods versus the urban core or various downtown business factions pursing their own agendas. This paper, then, by focusing on downtown planning efforts in one Southwestern city after World War II, explores not only the changing nature of planning but suggests how changing notions of the city created new impediments to the successful implementation of downtown plans.

V.06 P.081   **Robert Fairbanks**
GRUEN AND HALPRIN IN FORT WORTH, TEXAS: CHANGES AND CONTINUITY IN DOWNTOWN PLANNING AFTER WORLD WAR II

TOC

THE AUSTRALIAN METROPOLIS 2000-2015

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Planning at the metropolitan scale has been a constant in strategic visioning since the early 1900s and an ongoing focus in planning history studies. The aspirations driving broader integrated planning efforts have evolved and shifted in concert with changing economic, demographic, cultural, environmental, and technological circumstances. In the 21st century metropolitan strategies are generally recognized widely as vital coordinative, forward-looking instruments in helping to secure a range of planning goals. These include economic development, competitiveness, aligning land use and transport infrastructure, environmental sustainability, growth management, and a range of housing, health and other amenity targets consistent with the wider political consensus of neo-liberalism. This paper reviews the 21st century Australian experience against the backdrop of challenges posed for metropolitan planning authorities including employment structure and distribution, housing affordability, changing urban form, pressures for renewal, financing infrastructure, social inequality, and best-fit governance. Drawing from planning strategies prepared for the five mainland state capital cities since 2000, the paper identifies major planning trends, similarities and differences between the major cities and the differing roles of government in Australia's tripartite political system. The paper reflects on both achievements and problems in the pursuit of an increasingly complex and often competing set of near-universal aspirations for productive, sustainable, liveable and well-governed cities in the Australian context.

INTRODUCTION

In 2000 the authors published *The Australian Metropolis: A Planning History*, an account of the evolution of Australian metropolitan planning from the early years of colonial settlement to the 1990s.[1] By the end of the 20th century, most state governments, which had assumed the primary responsibility for instituting planning systems generally and planning the major state capital cities specifically, were pursuing strategies to make their capital city-regions more sustainable, particularly through encouraging more compact urban forms and reduction in car dependency. However a major tension was identified between the environmental concerns seen as underpinning renewed popular and political support for public planning on the one hand, and, on the other, the rise of 'market triumphalism', acknowledging the turn to light-handed neo-liberal policies preoccupied with global competitiveness. Disjunctures of growing social inequality, infrastructure deficits, and flawed governance arrangements were becoming apparent.

These issues have not disappeared and other challenges have intensified. This paper looks at what has happened to Australian metropolitan planning in the decade and a half since the book was published. Other commentators have already ventured into this territory and we draw from their theoretical, thematic and comparative research into various aspects including the infrastructure turn, neo-liberal hegemony, evolving governance arrangements and needs, and the distinctiveness of Australian approaches on the global stage.[2] The paper has several main parts. First we briefly sketch recent trends in the growth and change of Australia's cities. Secondly, we identify the metropolitan plans produced for Australia's five largest cities since 2000. The content of these plans is described and this demonstrates the substantial convergence which has occurred between objectives and urban structures sought. Third, the paper examines how successful these plans have been and, to the extent that there appears to be a gap between the aims of metropolitan plans and their achievements, considers some explanations for this, drawing in part on the substantial body of scholarship which now exists on Australian cities. Fourth, this discussion leads to reflections on the current state of metropolitan planning in the context of wider reforms to planning systems and calls for more effective metropolitan governance within Australia's multi-level federal system of government.

AUSTRALIA'S CAPITAL CITIES IN THE EARLY 21ST CENTURY

Australia's distinctive pattern of urban settlement evolving at the interface of colonial economic development and environmental constraints favouring the eastern and southern seaboards was etched early to drive the path-dependent geography still evident today (see, for example, McCarty, 1974; Maher, 1985), with a small number of coastal-based state capital cities, and with more than half of the population in the three major metropolitan areas of Greater Sydney, Greater Melbourne and the evolving conurbation of South-East Queensland (SEQ). But this scale of 'metropolitan dominance' is only the beginning of the story with policy discourse increasingly fixated more on intra-urban issues of efficiency, equity and environmental quality. The opening decade of this century saw sustained economic growth, largely as a consequence of a resource boom triggered by rising levels of industrial activity and consumption amongst Australia's largest trading partners, albeit slowed for several years by the Global Financial Crisis. Australia's population continues to expand and the current total of around 24 million is likely to double in the present century. Growth is concentrated in the larger capital cities with some recurring trends and challenges including the decline of suburban manufacturing employment and growth of new 'knowledge economy' jobs mainly in the inner cities; housing unaffordability, especially in the two largest cities of Sydney and Melbourne; the continued shift to higher density and high rise urban forms through urban renewal; growing infrastructure deficits, particularly in public transport; protecting natural environments and addressing climate change; a widening gulf in access to services and quality of life; and dysfunctionalities in metropolitan governance.
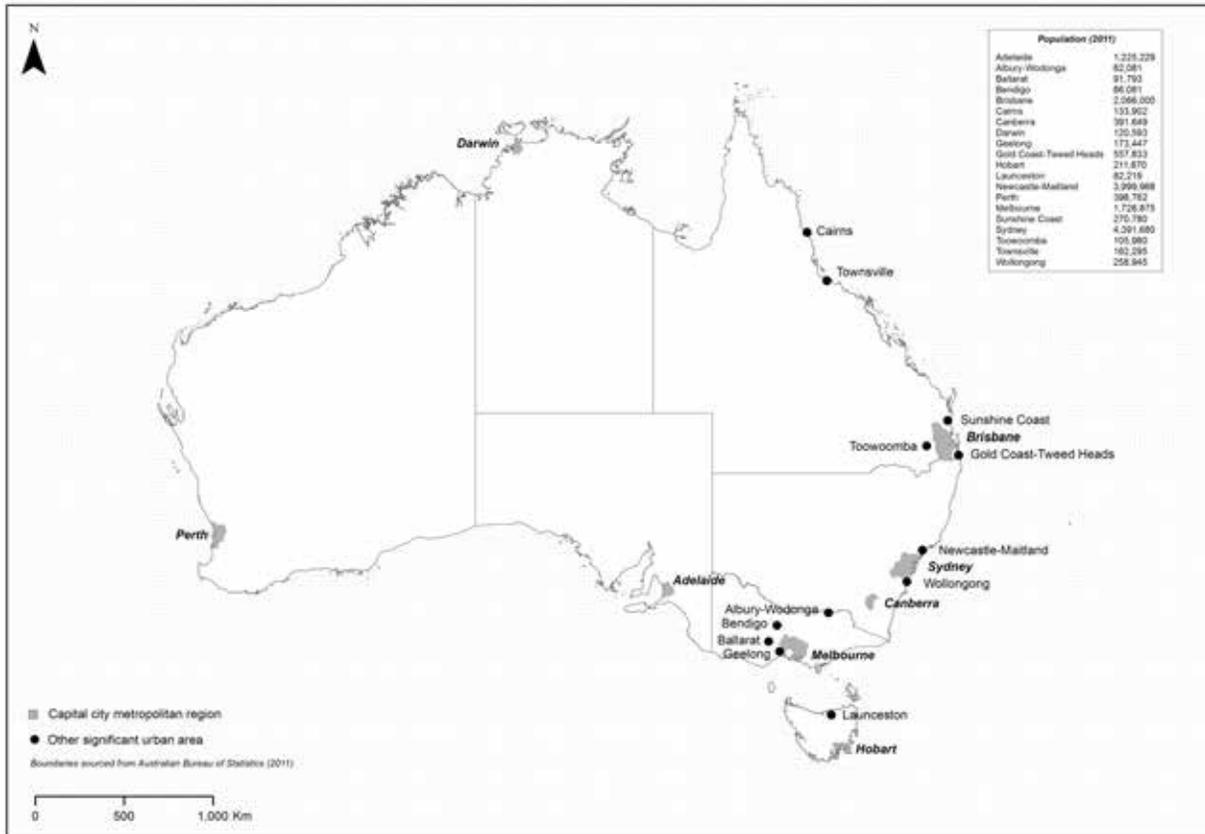
FIGURE 1 Australia's 'top 20' largest urban centres, 2011

At the time of the last national census in 2011, over 85 per cent of Australians lived in urban areas and nearly 70 per cent in the capital cities (see Figure1). The rate of population growth was high relative to most other Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)countries. The fastest growing capital since 2009 has been Perth, capital of the resource rich state of Western Australia which grew by more than 3 per cent per annum over the period 2009-2014.

Despite the growth of smaller settlements in some parts of the country through migration to rural towns ('tree change') and to the coast ('sea change')(Osbaldiston, 2012) plus the influence of the resource boom on some remote mining towns), capital cities still accounted for almost 80 per cent of national population growth in 2013-2014. Immigration remains a major component of population growth - the proportion of Australia's population born overseas reached 28 per cent or 6.6 million in 2015. Multiculturalism and diversity are important characteristics of Australian society, with marked recent increases in the proportion of migrants from China and India.

Household composition and tenures have changed over the last decade and a half. Between 1994 and 2014 the proportion of Australia's population aged sixty-five years and older increased from 11.8 per cent to 14.7 per cent, while the proportion of people aged eighty-five years and older almost doubled from 1 per cent to 1.9 per cent. Nearly 70 percent of Australian households own or are purchasing their homes but houses in the major cities have become increasingly unaffordable for younger people in recent years, as demand outstrips supply, leading to continuing pressure to release more land, to increase housing densities and to reform planning systems which are held to be constraints on housing supply and on economic development more generally.

Employment composition and distribution has continued to evolve, with continuing decline of manufacturing (including the car industry), the volatility of resource-based employment in regional areas and their multiplier impacts on the major cities, and the growth of new jobs in the emergent 'knowledge economy', highly concentrated within or close to central business districts. Metropolitan areas have assumed more polycentric forms with secondary suburban activity centres and employment zones complementing rather than challenging traditional Central Business Districts (CBDs), but only Parramatta in Sydney approaches the scale of a genuine second CBD. There is growing recognition of the complexity of labour and housing sub-markets often glossed over in broad-brush housing and employment policies. And there is still plentiful evidence of poor access to employment opportunities in outer suburban areas, with out-commuting rates and journey to work distances increasing, linked to limited public transport options.

Meanwhile concerns about sustainability remain. Climate change was defined by former Prime Minister Kevin Rudd in 2007 as 'the great moral challenge of our generation'[3]. But it slipped down the agenda of national political priorities thereafter, especially between 2013 and 2015, along with policies to encourage a shift from fossil fuels to renewable energy. Evidence continues to grow, nevertheless, of the vulnerability of Australian cities to climate-related events and other 'natural' disasters.

RECENT METROPOLITAN PLANS

In response to the changes summarised above, and to some extent complicit in their direction and expression, metropolitan planning authorities continued apace their plan-making processes into the 2000s and 2010s. Every mainland state capital city has been through several iterations of metropolitan plan-making (Table 1). A total of fifteen has been produced and this would be magnified if all major urban areas were factored in, namely Canberra as the national capital, Darwin as a territory capital, and Hobart as the capital of the island state of Tasmania.

What general characteristics can be identified in these Australian metropolitan plans of the early 21st century? Several observers have picked up on certain traits, including Forster who identified a 'consensus' around three main objectives in the earliest part of the period under review, namely: 'containment', 'consolidation', and 'centres'.[4] Perth's *Network City* strategy (2004) was unusual in its serious but short-lived attempt at a more communicative style of metropolitan planning discourse.[5] Searle and Bunker have characterised the dominant form of plan as a traditional, detailed spatial blueprint that they contrast to the more relational, flexible and negotiable style of plan evident in Europe, linking this to the dominance of state governments in planning, their monopoly of most physical infrastructure, their orientation towards greenfield growth and the predominantly physical means of implementation available to them.[6] These themes persist, but our initial synopsis identifies several different major traits.

The plans grow ever-ambitiously. There has been a move towards plans for extended metropolitan regions – 'Greater Adelaide', 'Greater Sydney', Perth and Peel etc. In most states the area covered by metropolitan plans has expanded to encompass the peri-urban fringe in consideration of the future expansion of the major cities and some cities[7] have experimented with the concept of setting urban growth boundaries to set limits to spread and protect environmental and agricultural zones, with mixed outcomes.[8] Commonly projected futures look ahead 10-15 years; 2031 is a common target date. By then Australia's population is projected to increase by a further 8 million people, with about three-quarters of this growth occurring in the four largest cities of Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane and Perth. Adelaide is growing much more slowly and may cede its position as Australia's 5th largest city to the Gold Coast by mid-century. Plans also continue to aspire to an ambitious and seamless reconciliation of the 'triple bottom line' of economic, social and environmental goals, but with an increased emphasis on facilitating sustainable economic growth through new growth sectors such as finance and property, communications, producer services and tourism.

CITY	MAJOR PLANS	COMMENTS
Adelaide (South Australia)	Planning Strategy for Metropolitan Adelaide (2003)	
	Planning Strategy for Metropolitan Adelaide (2006)	
	30 Year Plan for Greater Adelaide (2010)	Review of 30 Year Plan under way (2015-2016); an independent State Planning Commission proposed in current draft legislation.
Brisbane/SEQ (Queensland)	SEQ Regional Plan 2005-2026 (2005)	SEQ (South East Queensland) includes the Gold Coast and Sunshine Coast urban complexes
	SEQ Regional Plan 2009-2031 (2009)	Review of SEQ Regional Plan under way (2015-2016)
Melbourne (Victoria)	Melbourne 2030 (2002)	Metropolitan Planning Authority 2006.
	Melbourne 2030 – A Planning Update (2008)	
	Plan Melbourne (2014)	'Plan Melbourne Refresh' under way (2015-2016).
Perth (Western Australia)	Network City (2004)	West Australian Planning Commission an early example of a 'quango' with statewide planning oversight.
	Directions 2031 and Beyond (2010)	Formation of Metropolitan Redevelopment Authority (2011)
	Draft Perth and Peel @ 3.5 million (2015)	Released for comment in May 2015, and later, separate, 'Perth and Peel Green Growth Plan', December 2015.
Sydney (New South Wales)	Sydney - City of Cities (2005)	
	Metropolitan Plan for Sydney 2036 (2010)	
	A Plan for Growing Sydney (2014)	Greater Sydney Commission instituted to supervise implementation through sub-regional strategies.

TABLE 1 Summary of the principal metropolitan plans 2000-2015

Another major theme has been the importation of notions of smart growth, new urbanism, polycentricity and transit-oriented development to flavour the ideas and the language of recent metropolitan plans. Several observers have noted the convergence of recent metropolitan plans around policies based on compact mixed-use (re)development in activity centres along transport corridors. Evidence in most states points to the powerful influence of the property industry in shaping land use policy and especially in encouraging state governments to release additional land at the urban fringe, justified on the basis that a shortage of greenfield land availability is the key factor in making housing more affordable. Lobbying from the property industry has also been influential in increasing or removing height limits in some central cities.

There has been a substantial amount of investment in infrastructure projects generally, leading to the suggestion that metropolitan spatial plans have become less significant in shaping the growth of major cities than a new set of infrastructure plans and major projects.[9] While state governments have been the traditional providers of metropolitan transport and pipes-and-wires infrastructure, and retain that oversight, delivery is increasingly sourced through privatised agencies and private-public partnerships.

There is some evidence in the most recent plans of awareness, based on a growing body of urban research, of differential trends and patterns of growth within cities. More attention has been paid generally to the unequal opportunities and experiences of life in inner suburbs (more affluent, focus of jobs in the 'knowledge economy' and more likely to see substantial urban design interventions) compared to outer suburbs (affected by the decline in manufacturing employment, poor public transport and high levels of car dependency etc). The actual impact of this research on more finely-grained policies is more problematical.

Awareness of vulnerability to climate change is reflected in a greater emphasis on 'resilience' and more detailed strategies on water management, protection of native vegetation and also agricultural land. However, most responses to climate change in metropolitan plans remain based primarily on more compact cities and reduced car use.

Stephen Hamnett | Robert Freestone
THE AUSTRALIAN METROPOLIS 2000-2015

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF METROPOLITAN PLANS

In reviewing the metropolitan plans to have appeared since 2000, there is an obvious paradox between their aspiration to be 'thirty year plans', containing detailed long term housing and population targets, and the frequency with which they have been revised. Shorter-term intermediate, more indicative and flexible targets would seem more appropriate. The regular appearance of revised plans also points to the (increasingly explicit) political nature of metropolitan plans and the tendency to revise (or 'refresh') them when state governments change or come under intense political pressures from the development industry, in particular. Nevertheless, several major observations derive from a broad scan of the outcomes of metropolitan plans over the period studied[10].

First, a much wider variety of dwellings is now being constructed in a wider range of locations. Building of medium-density development has increased everywhere and high-rise apartment living is now increasingly evident, not only in the largest cities but also in Adelaide, Perth and Brisbane.

Second, ambitious targets for infill development have not been met, largely thanks to the continuing release of land for development at the urban fringe within generous and regularly revised urban growth boundaries.

Third, and despite a major focus on housing supply and the release of developable land, metropolitan plans have been relatively ineffective in relation to housing affordability. To quote the late Hugh Stretton on this failure of planning (and housing) policies: 'Whether for market demand or for human need, we have a serious failure of supply and no current program, public or private, to correct it'.[11]

Fourth, investment in public transport has been generally inadequate to support the aspirations for transit-oriented development. Where increases in public transport ridership have been noted, these tend to be primarily in journeys to the CBD and to/within the better served inner suburbs (the areas also where most increases in walking and cycling are observed). The failure to provide a sufficient amount of accessible and well-managed public transport has been a conspicuous obstacle to date in most major cities.

Fifth, the strategy of concentrating mixed uses and activities in a hierarchy of activity centres has been effective in a few major locations, but employment in middle and outer suburbs remains widely dispersed.[12]

Finally, there is considerable investment, particularly inner city brownfield locations, which is guided by state government economic development directives through special planning arrangements sitting outside, only lightly connected to, or otherwise needing to be retrofitted to metropolitan strategies.

Overall, despite the gains that all plans could point to across targets such as increased job-creating development, densification, open space, promotion of active transport, conservation and urban design standards, there remains a demonstrable gap between metropolitan planning proposals and reality. Forster observed in 2006 that current metropolitan planning strategies suggest 'an inflexible, over-neat vision for the future that is at odds with the picture of increasing geographical complexity that emerges from recent research on the changing internal structure of our major cities'.[13] Randolph has commented more recently that metropolitan planning remains 'bedevilled by a lack of understanding of how the cities planned actually work'.[14] There is a growing body of academic urban research which provides rich and nuanced understanding of this complexity.[15] Most evidence of plan performance derives from academic research. Yet new documents are generally released without explicit reporting of any monitoring or evaluation conducted by state planning agencies of previous plans. The disconnect between academic research and plan-making, despite the professed practitioner enthusiasm for an evidence base, relates to its inaccessibility to practitioners, lack of detailed immediacy for applied interventions, theoretical drift, lack of alignment between research need and result delivery timelines, and a competitive marketplace for policy ideas increasingly dominated by management consultants.[16]

METROPOLITAN PLANS, METROPOLITAN GOVERNANCE AND PLANNING REFORM

More successful implementation of metropolitan planning objectives requires more than goodwill between stakeholders. Since the 1990s there has been support for 'whole of government' approaches to metropolitan planning and traditional state government 'silos' have been overcome to varying degrees by committees/regular meetings of senior government officers. The last few years have seen growing support for the idea that effective metropolitan planning in Australia requires more far-reaching changes to the governance arrangements for cities and for collaborative policy relationships between all levels of government: local, state and federal. There is a view that no one level of government is capable of guaranteeing delivery of various urban policy objectives but rather it is the combination of government policies acting together that best ensures successful outcomes[17] although aligning myriad objectives can be problematic.[18] There has been a call for new accountable institutions at the metropolitan scale in dialogue with local communities but capable of co-ordinating the various sectoral strategies required for implementation of urban renewal, development of sub-centres across metropolitan areas, making improvements to accessibility, and pursuing economic and labour force strategies.[19] The institution of the Metropolitan Planning Authority (2006) in Melbourne and the Greater Sydney Commission (2015) substantiate this move toward an integrative overlay of policy coordination at the state government level. Advocates of metropolitan authorities or commissions also see potential for them to draw together research on metropolitan development and to undertake the necessary finer-grained monitoring of short-term progress towards the long-term aspirations of metropolitan plans.

The Federal Government has largely steered clear of involvement in city issues for constitutional as much as ideological and financial reasons, despite adventurous engagements in the 1940s (post-war reconstruction), 1970s (the Whitlam era and the Department of Urban and Regional Development) and 1990s (Building Better Cities program). A renaissance of interest thorough the Rudd-Gillard governments (2007-2013) saw the development of a national urban policy, a new urban design protocol, and a national data monitoring focus on Australia's 'major cities'.[20] A major driving force at federal level, evident also in moves toward reforming state and local planning systems, has been the simplification and standardisation of planning regulations to remove breaks of productivity.[21] This fed into a major initiative in 2009 driven by the Council of Australian Governments (COAG) Reform Council towards establishing criteria for assessing the efficacy of capital city planning systems to deliver on its objective of 'globally competitive, productive, sustainable, liveable and socially inclusive cities' and thus be deserving of Commonwealth financial support. A detailed assessment of eight capital cities revealed very few instances where planning systems were fully compliant; Adelaide was the best performing metropolitan area.[22] There was a major recommendation for a better evidence base for monitoring the performance and outcomes of metropolitan plans.

The renewed interest of federal agencies in thinking about cities reflects recognition of their national role in generating Gross Domestic Product. The actual achievements to 2013 were ultimately patchy but there is renewed optimism that the Liberal-National Coalition Government under new Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull (2015) will be more pro-active in supporting and promoting best-practice systemic governance, more collaborative policy between different levels of government and new mechanisms for funding urban infrastructure without major demands on the public purse while balancing development-friendly initiatives with safeguards on environmental quality.

CONCLUSIONS

Major metropolitan planning themes since 2000 have included further promotion of anti-sprawl policies of infill and redevelopment; transit-oriented development; privatisation of public infrastructure; dealing with the spatial mismatch between homes and residences; a resurgence of urban design; and addressing administrative fragmentation. State governments have deployed their executive power to drive through major redevelopment projects, with a corresponding reduction in public participation, and they are under continuing pressure to reform planning systems in order to facilitate economic growth with mixed success. The national government has latterly become re-engaged in urban development primarily as the crucial links between urban investment, infrastructure, GDP and planning systems become more evident.

All of this is being played out under the growing ascendancy of neo-liberal urban policies, favoured by Australian governments since the 1980s but thoroughly institutionalised in complex ways since the start of the new millennium.[23] This has meant largely irresistible forces to cut red tape, reduce the costs of public administration, privatize and outsource regulatory services, encourage competition, and increasingly work with market forces to achieve desired planning outcomes. This is a global phenomenon[24] and has flowed into involvement of the national government in urban questions on the understanding that 'the efficient and effective planning of our cities and towns is vital to productivity and interest'.[25]

The opening decade of the 21st century duly saw a new crop of metropolitan plans which placed a good deal of weight on the desire to facilitate economic development in an era increasingly understood as one of global competition. There was also a growing awareness of the lack of fit between the aspirations of metropolitan strategies and the means available to implement them.

In addition to an increased concern with globalisation, metropolitan plans of the early 21st century also began to engage with the task of reducing the rate of growth of greenhouse gas emissions and of adapting cities to the risks posed by climate change. Climate change became a major focus of sustainability policies and of a concern to make cities more 'resilient'. Policies to reduce car use, already linked to higher urban densities, became synonymous in most metropolitan plans with a new enthusiasm for 'transit oriented development' and resurgence of the need to structure urban growth around a hierarchy of centres.

Inevitably, tensions evident at the turn of the century between developmentalism and environmentalism have persisted, but there have also been calls for more attention to suburban residents and places outside the global cores of the major cities adversely affected by changing employment markets, more expensive housing and poor public transport.[26]

While the new metropolitan plans typically included economic, environmental and social aspirations, it has become clear to many that effective integrated planning requires more than the inclusion of what can be contradictory environmental and economic goals within the covers of a single metropolitan plan. Here is yet another iteration of the politics of planning set to influence the theory, practice and implementation of metropolitan planning in the years to come.[27]

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Image Sources

Figure 1: Map prepared by Alistair Sisson based on 2011 census data – see Hamnett and Maginn, "Australian Cities in the 21st Century: Suburbia and Beyond", p.6.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflicts of interest were reported by the authors.

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Endnotes

1   Hamnett and Freestone, *The Australian Metropolis.*

2   See for example Bunker, Metropolitan Strategies in Australia; Dodson, "The 'Infrastructure Turn' in Australian Metropolitan Spatial Planning"; Forster, "The Challenge of Change"; Gleeson and Low, *Australian Urban Planning*; Gleeson et al, "Governance, Sustainability and Recent Australian Metropolitan Strategies"; Searle and Bunker, "Metropolitan strategic planning"; Gleeson et al, "Governance, metropolitan planning and city-building"; Bunker and Searle, "Theory and Practice in Metropolitan Strategy."

3   Quoted in Hamnett and Maginn, "Australian Cities in the 21st Century," 13.

4   Forster, "The Challenge of Change."

5   Maccallum and Hopkins, "The Changing Discourse of City Plans."

6   Searle and Bunker, "Metropolitan Strategic Planning."

7   Melbourne and Adelaide in particular

8   Buxton and Taylor, "Urban land supply, governance and the pricing of land".

9   Dodson, "The 'Infrastructure Turn' in Australian Metropolitan Spatial Planning."

10 For a fuller discussion of the achievements of recent metropolitan plans, see Hamnett and Maginn, "Australian Cities in the 21st Century: Suburbia and Beyond"; and Bunker, "How is the Compact City Faring in Australia?".

11 Stretton, *Australia Fair*, 123.

12 See for example Fagan and O'Neill, *Work, places and people in Western Sydney*, and Goodman and Moloney, "Melbourne's Activity Centre Policy".

13 Forster, "The Challenge of Change", 173.

14 Randolph, "Wither Urban Research?"

15 See the transactions of the biennial State of Australian Cities Conferences which commenced in 2003 that have been archived by Australian Policy Online. http://apo.org.au/collections/soac-conferences

16 Bunker, "Linking Urban Research with Planning Practice,"; Taylor and Hurley, "Not a Lot of People Read the Stuff,"; and Troy, "Australian Urban Research and Planning".

17 Fagan and O'Neill, *Work, places and people in Western Sydney*, 71-72.

18 Bunker, "Can We Plan Too Much?"

19 Gleeson et al, "Governance, metropolitan planning and city-building."

20 See Australian Government, *Our Cities, Our Future.*

21 See for example, Productivity Commission, *Performance Benchmarking of Australian Business Regulation.*

22 COAG Reform Council, *Review of capital city strategic planning systems.*

23 Gleeson and Low, *Australian Urban Planning*; McGuirk, "Neoliberalist Planning?"

24 Sager, "Neo-liberal urban planning policies."

25 COAG Reform Council, 1.

26 Gleeson, *Australian Heartlands;* Dodson, "Suburbia in Australian Urban Policy";

27 Low, *Planning, Politics and the State.*

Planning History and Planning Practice

Chair: Shin Nakajima

PLANNING HISTORY AND LOCAL PRACTICE FOR THE CONSERVATION OF THE RESIDENTIAL ENVIRONMENT: LOCAL COMMUNITY IN TOKYO SUBURBS

Shin Nakajima

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When considering residents' proactive residential environment conservation activities, can we gain any sense of the activities' history? In this paper, the writer highlights the achievements of the Jonan Housing Union, in the Tokyo suburbs, since 1924. This housing union began managing jointly leased land 90 years ago. It devised a local rule to preserve the residential environment, and this rule changed according to the circumstances of the times. This paper investigates the following two research questions. First, how was Jonan Housing Union able to maintain its own community organization and a desirable living environment for more than 90 years under high development pressure? Second, how did the group's own history over 90 years contribute to the conservation of the residential environment?

In the beginning, this study clarified that the turning point for the group's management of its own environment was the implementation of payment in kind of the lease to the landowner since 1955. Therefore, the Jonan Housing Union has gradually weakened its joint tenancy. On the other hand, it has continued as an organization to aim for the conservation of residential environments through community activity. The Housing Union revised its rules to implement a new union members-type system that differed from joint tenancy management. This union could be maintained without losing members who had changed from joint tenancy to individual land ownership. Through a discussion of the revised rules, the group recognized that residential environment conservation and management by the local community are integral. After the war, various community activities were started within the union; these were all conducted to protect the ideal rural life and environment, according to the original philosophy. The land prices had risen during the high economic growth period, and the union faced the destruction of the living environment because of increasing development. However, the union could face this challenge together because it was supported in its own community activities.

Next, this study clarified that historiography can act as a trigger to reaffirm the value of living sustainably in the community and the concept of the future of environmental conservation activities. The opportunity to conduct this study was provided by a request for us to archive historical materials. Furthermore, the group was seeking the opportunity to re-evaluate the value of its activities and residential areas through an understanding of its own history. Therefore, this survey involved not only reading materials but also several workshops residents shared their memories and activity records. Dialogue with local residents has revealed the relationship between the living environment conservation activities and the community, which is as yet unrecorded in historical documents. Currently, in parallel with the archives project, the union conducted a meeting to discuss the nature of its activities, and it has entered a new phase based on the results of this research.

V.06 P.095 Shin Nakajima

PLANNING HISTORY AND LOCAL PRACTICE FOR THE CONSERVATION OF THE RESIDENTIAL ENVIRONMENT: LOCAL COMMUNITY IN TOKYO SUBURBS

TOC

CONSTRUCTING IDEAL NEIGHBORHOOD IN SOCIALIST CITY: 'LYRICAL' RESIDENTIAL ENVIRONMENT AND IT'S DECLINE IN CONTEMPORARY KYIV

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Soviet architects and urban planners were familiar with the ability of architecture and the built environment to produce collective affects, mass mobilization, and enjoyment, which were required in totalitarian state. Vladimir Paperny and Mikhail Ryklin noted the initial Communist Party's demand for more 'joyful' and 'bright' architecture, which, along with other changes in cultural policy, marked the transition from soviet avant-garde to Stalinist culture.

In the 1960-1970s, in the age of large scale state housing projects all over the USSR, standardised housing industry, and rapid reshaping of the soviet cities with new residential districts of high density housing ('microrayons'), the idea of 'emotional' urban landscape was utilized in other way by Kyiv architect Eduard Bilskiy. He tried to humanise homogeneous soviet built environment and create resilient neighborhood.

Our paper presents case study of an attempt to create socialist residential district in Kyiv as a complex work of art ('Gesamtkunstwerk') in the conditions of late soviet state housing. We studied Vynogradar district (1970-1987) from historical, spatial and social perspective, and try to develop a complex framework for studying the soviet built environment in Ukrainian cities and produce ideas for regaining resilience for them.

Main intention of Bilskiy was to neutralize the effect of monotonous landscape of standard mass housing using public art, landscape design and large open spaces, and creating neighborhood of human scale, with 'lyrical mood' (how he called it). Like several other big modernist planning projects in USSR, this one was not finished due to the budget cuts and bureaucracy in urban planning. The specificity of Vynogradar therefore is its incompleteness: its main public and recreational spaces, including cultural complex with adjoining pedestrian thoroughfares were not built. Now, in the conditions of uneven development, soviet residential districts on the urban periphery either experience spatial decline, or became targets for vast new commercial developments. In our case, not used for decades (vainly waiting for governmental funding to come), now some of the voids in the district fabric became chaotic parking lots, dumps, street markets, while others were built up with new, unplanned previously housing.

This means not only that Vynogradar could not be finished according to its initial plan and architect's intention (residential neighborhood of human scale). New housing exceeded the capacity of the district social infrastructure, causing further decline of public space and overcrowding.

By studying plans, principles of soviet urban development, and architect's intentions, we analyse how cultural and recreational infrastructure was carefully planned and then sacrificed in favor of new housing. What social and spatial outcomes did it call now, long after the collapse of USSR. We study the perception and image of the district among various social groups of its residents, both old tenants and newcomers (in-depth interviews), in order to conceptualise spatial transition and describe the change in social practices of production of space in post-soviet residential district.

V.06 P.097 **Igor Tyshchenko**

CONSTRUCTING IDEAL NEIGHBORHOOD IN SOCIALIST CITY: 'LYRICAL' RESIDENTIAL ENVIRONMENT AND IT'S DECLINE IN CONTEMPORARY KYIV

TOC

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND PLANNING IN THE PRESERVATION PROJECTS AFTER THE GREAT EAST JAPAN EARTHQUAKE RECONSTRUCTION

Izumi Kuroishi

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Preservation projects of historical buildings and landscape often cause contradictory problems in urban/local developments. In the context of disaster recovery, however, the difficulties caused by the loss and destruction of heritages rather emphasis the importance of the spiritual meaning of history and suggest to interpret history not only as the past event but also as the practice connecting the past to the present and to the future. The preservation in disaster area demands to study its history with more social and practical viewpoints. By referring to the path-dependency theory used in the area of economics and sociology, this study is going to examine the preservation and town reconstruction projects conducted in Kesennuma city of Miyagi prefecture in Japan from 2011 to 2015, and to discuss how the preservation projects have functioned to integrate multiple people's voices to the reconstruction plans, to oppose to the top-down functional decisions with diverse social logics, and how they present alternative idea and theory of planning and history.

In Kesennuma, along with its reconstruction, there have been many projects based on the ideas of preservation, and presented diverse ideas of heritage; professional historians have conducted preservations of historical buildings and objects, citizens' machizukuri (town reconstruction) groups have discussed the preservation of a huge fishing boat landed by the tsunami and of the daily landscape of fishing port, and volunteers and individuals worked to preserve memories, lifestyles and social relationship of people by saving damaged photographs, domestic space, and local rituals. Many of them, particularly the citizens' and individuals' projects, were primality recognized as opposing to the institutional projects of reconstruction, but were gradually recognized as important reflections of people's voices. They have many different characteristics from the other preservation issues raised in the world heritage and urban/local development projects. For example, in those Kesennuma projects, many anonymous and new leaders appeared as initiators of discussions and projects, various social factors were emphasized than economic and functional factors, and historical values were inquired for whom they have meanings. The reconstruction planning has transformed by unexpected economic and social factors and situations. However, the current updated recovery plans presented by the local government show how the objectives of planning have shifted from the welfare to the independence support in the last four years. They have come to evaluate the historical contexts and local everyday values as the common ground to discuss with people, to process reconstructions and to encourage people's subjective effort.

Thus, this study will discuss how diverse ideas of history/heritage and planning have appeared and shifted, and how they were realized in the recovery projects in the last four years, and, by referring to the idea of path-dependency, will show how this process has created another sense of history. It will not only show how preservation of heritages contributes to disaster recovery but also prove how the reconstruction of history integrates with the idea of planning.

ON EMERGENT DIFFICULTIES AND SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS FOR A REFORM OF THE JAPANESE URBAN PLANNING SYSTEM IN THE POST-URBANIZATION PERIOD – A RETHINKING OF THE MASTER PLAN

Keiichi Kobayashi

Tohoku University of Art and Design

Many local cities in Japan are confronting difficulties in formulating master plans because of population decline. The overall Japanese population began to decrease in 2008, and is projected to undergo a sharp reduction from a high point of 128.1 million in 2010 to around 86.7 million by 2060, as estimated by the National Institute of Population and Social Security Research (January, 2012).

As a case study, this paper reports on and points out deficiencies in the newest version of the master plan for Yamagata City, just finalized in 2015 and already under revision. The notable deficiencies, which detract from its rationality and reliability, could be categorized under four headings: i) the setting of appropriate planning goals, ii) effective arrangement of implementations, iii) coherence of plan document, and iv) participants' rigor in seeking the "right" plan during the planning process.

These deficiencies can be recognized as incompatibilities of the Japanese urban planning system with the post-urbanization period. The system was formulated in 1968 during the urbanization period, and it has functioned well enough for the reconstruction of areas devastated in recent disasters. The master plan system was subsequently revised in 1992 by an amendment to the Town Planning Act. However, a review of the short history of urban planning since 1992 reveals a steep aggravation in planning difficulties. It is apparent that a reform of the urban planning system is urgently needed to adapt to conditions in the post-urbanization period.

It is widely accepted in decision theory that such a situation, with low clarity of both ends and means, requires a shift from rationalism to incrementalism. This leads naturally to further questioning of the master plan as the basis for sustaining the rationality of town planning. The efficacy of the master plan in the post-urbanization period should be debated, as well as the merits of both approaches to resolving emerging urban issues.

Consequent to some of my planning experiences, I conclude this discussion with observations about the urgency of a reformed master plan for the post-urbanization period at this critical juncture in order to provide an adequate platform for combining the advantages of incrementalism and rationalism. The master plan should be amended to require; i) rationality in investment, ii) coherence with other projects, iii) integration of policies, iv) communication between municipalities and citizens, and v) knowledge management, including research and experimentation.

Keywords

master plan, Japanese town planning system, post-urbanization period, rationalism, incrementalism, a period of populatiom decrease

V.06 P.101 Keiichi Kobayashi

ONEMERGENTDIFFICULTIESANDSUGGESTEDSOLUTIONSFORAREFORMOFTHEJAPANESEURBANPLANNINGSYSTEMINTHEPOST-URBANIZATIONPERIOD–ARETHINKINGOFTHEMASTERPLAN

TOC

Master Plans, Urban Projects and Multiple Scales

Chair: Thereza Cristina Carvalho

MASTER PLANS, URBAN PROJECTS AND MULTIPLE SCALES IN URBAN CONFIGURATION

Thereza Cristina Carvalho

PPGAU-UFF

The planning system that existed in the decade of 1970, extremely centralizing, concentrating the resources of the entire order in the Union by submitting, thus, the other government instances to its precepts, had the territorial organization of the country as a development condition in view of the model of the nation that wanted to substantiate. The developmental approach that permeated the various impact policies on the territory, emanating from the federal government of that time, allied to the centralism of the public management then practiced, used to lend some type of proportionality, even though numeric, between the categories identified in the relevant legislation to the management, the definition of parameters and the dispute by the allocation of financial resources. It is with the extinction of the territory planning system, in the '90's, and the consequent deregulation which started to be practiced in the country, in terms of the use and occupation of the land, that the production of laws, decrees and alike multiplies exponentially, especially as regards the creation, recasting and reallocation of financial resources to the various policies of territorial impact, with fragile management tools. Privatization of former state companies, taken over by global networks, followed and enhanced control over multiple markets, and inequalities in the XXIst century.

URBANISTIC INSTRUMENTS – CONSORTIUM URBAN OPERATION (CUO) AND URBAN INTERVENTION PLAN (UIP) IN THE AREA OF THE DISTRICTS OF VILA LEOPOLDINA-JAGUARÉ (SP): UNBALANCES AND POTENTIALS

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The regulation of urban planning instruments aimed at socio-territorial equity, such as Consortium Urban Operations (CUO) in São Paulo, goes back to the 1988 Federal Constitution, to the City Statute (Federal Law 10.257/2001), and to what was then the Master Plan of the city: SMP 2002 (Law 13.430, of September 13th, 2002). Nowadays, the city has a new Master Plan (SMP 2014, Law 16.050/14). In spite of this regulation, we identify discontinuities between the approval of the legal goalposts, urbanism instruments and their application. The Consortium Urban Operations (CUO), which are mechanisms for the induced development of areas, theoretically assured by this regulatory framework, suggest the mediation of Urban Projects that take place in their target perimeter, associated with the municipal government and real estate entrepreneurs. The definition of urban project is instrumental in order to understand its application, which is the basis for the critical analysis of similar urbanism plans and practices. The article discusses the Vila Leopoldina-Jaguaré not implemented CUO proposal, but implied an urban project, as defined in references by Mario Lungo, François Ascher, Juan Busquets, Nuno Portas and other authors. We discusse the conflicts between elaborations of this Plan-Project, based on technical studies made by the São Paulo City Urban Planning Secretary – SEMPLA (2003-4), for the aforementioned Consortium Urban Operation. We propose to compare SMP 2014 possibilities for the area, which, although including it in a possible Urban Operation, prioritizes specific projects and the real estate development with CEAGESP (São Paulo General Depository and Storehouse Company). We reinforce the coexistence of different instruments and possibilities for transforming the area, but we present the gains that the CUO might bring to the region, unlike the real estate development guided by the recently approved Law for Subdivision, Use and Occupation of the Land (LPUOS, 2016). Which is the basis for the most recent planned interventions for its target area.

Keywords
Vila Leopoldina Jaguaré Urban Operation, Urban Intervention Plan UIP, use transformations in historically industrial urban areas

V.06 P.107 **Eunice Helena S. Abascal | Angélica A. T. Benatti Alvim**
URBANISTIC INSTRUMENTS − CONSORTIUM URBAN OPERATION (CUO) AND URBAN INTERVENTION PLAN (UIP) IN THE AREA
OF THE DISTRICTS OF VILA LEOPOLDINA-JAGUARÉ (SP): UNBALANCES AND POTENTIALS

TOC

URBAN RIVERS

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Historically, it has been found in Brazilian cities a natural complacency that allowed a close contact, although undesirable, between the natural and the human waste, which, as a result, a consumption of energy sources increasingly impure, about to become, in an extremity, inadequate to life. Among the natural resources essential to life, water is that today presents greater vulnerability and low power of resilience to anthropogenic pressures and climate change. While their consumption grows, their availability decreases, since it is also used for the disposal of various types of waste.

Most Brazilian cities away from the coast developed in the valleys of the rivers, enjoying among other benefits, rivers that enabled the waste produced, being washed away. In an attempt to ensure the well-being of the people and protect the soil, the legislation formalized the marginal tracks, initially through the areas of Permanent Protection, but also allowed its use (for the purpose of urban planning or legitimizing consolidated areas) since the ends are justified as to social interest. Thus was created a legal situation of intangibility of marginal urban rivers tracks, a paradoxical situation of lawful impediment to the enjoyment of urban man's relationship with water. It can be said that we have a legal situation which practically prevents the human contact with the courses d water ´ should have its forested shores with minimum range 30 meters. The actual situation, however, is polluted urban streams and rivers, channeled bordered with streets, buildings and slums, often with its fuzzy and sanitary exhaustion made directly in the waters. Water quality of urban watercourses that drain the rainwater of the cities, is mainly the function of soil occupation type, especially in large cities, where your proofing rate is high. The chaotic urbanization and improper use of soil cause the reduction of the natural storage capacity of water courses.This paper presents the results of these surveys. The work was carried out at the Valão dos Bois, a river of the city of Seropédica, situated in the metropolitan region of Rio de Janeiro. It was selected 27 points of interest in the river, associated with different types of land use and river drainage tributaries, where depth and flow were measured and samples of the water to be analyzed chemically was collected. The evaluation of the impact was observed by means of water quality indices, according to Brazilian standards, and the verification of the effect of the dilution of the polluting load in terms of BOD, COD, dissolved oxygen, pH, total solids, in relation to the estimated flow rate of the river. From the results, it was possible to accomplish a space monitoring indicating the impact produced by each type of land use where the river passes. This work allows to observe, on a reduced scale, the impact on the contamination of rivers caused by different types of land use from an average City, where direct drainage of sewage into the waters of the rivers is a serious problem.

Keywords
Contamination of water bodies, Diffuse pollution, Urban environmental Management, Urban environmental Vulnerability, Environmental resilience

URBAN FORM, URBAN VISION AND URBAN MYOPIA: MIXED SCALES, URBAN TRANSFORMATIONS AND FRUSTRATIONS IN RIO DE JANEIRO

Thereza C. Carvalho Santos | Wandilson G. de Almeida Júnior

PPPGAU-UFF

This article seeks to address the issue of cumulative temporal aggregation in contemporary urban interventions – how to incorporate pre-existing elements into urban projects that connect multiple spatial scales, based on urban genetics. A network of connected centralities, or polycentrism, is an inherited spatial model with future potential. It is considered here as an attribute of urban form, characterising the fabric formed of different hierarchies of centralities, created in different dynamics of formation or transformation, connected together in a network. Centrality cannot be defined by design. It may be planned but not designed - the urban form is not sufficient to make it happen. It is associated with vitality, with singular attributes that attract an accumulation of multiple individual initiatives, which in some circumstances have collective repercussions – transforming that section of the urban space into a central area. Analysis of the genetic morphology of central areas reveals the accumulated time scales and variety of social processes involved in spatial patterns that are still visible. Different rhythms of change, noticeable through looking at space on different scales, permeate the urban form and point towards different futures of expansion, consolidation, enhancement or contraction. This paper discusses and illustrates the idea of the spatial aggregation of time in the city of Rio de Janeiro in the light of the large-scale urban transformations that are now taking place. One site in particular is singled out - the so called renewal of one area in particular, the old port situated in the oldest historic central district of Rio, originally, in preparation for the Olympic games, which is no longer the case. It focusses on some of the multiple meaningful relations of belonging the area has accumulated over time. On-going research supports the preliminary results presented here.

Keywords
urban morphology, organic urban configuration, territorial organisation, temporal spatial scales

Reviewing the Works of Professor Yorihusa Ishida (1932-2015)

Chair: Shun-Ichi J. Watanabel

"CHOKA-SHUYO (EXCESS CONDEMNATION)" REVISITED: DID TOKYO SHIKU-KAISEI MODEL AFTER PARIS REBUILDING?

Fukuo Akimoto

Kyushu University

"Choka-Shuyo" is a Japanese term meaning condemnation of property on the edge of public improvements in Paris rebuilding, but is not a translation of a French term but of an American term "excess condemnation". "The European…, while he may be familiar with the policy itself, may not recognize it by its American name", wrote Robert Cushman. Soon after Hajime Seki translated it as "choka shuyo" in 1917, not a few people, who believed that the Meiji government had took Paris rebuilding as an ideal model for Tokyo Shiku-Kaisei, conjectured that the Tokyo Shiku-Kaisei Land and Building Disposition Codes of January 29, 1889 had already introduced the idea.

In recent years Yorifusa Ishida and Eiki Suzuki presented a similar hypothesis, by arguing that the Meiji government assumed that the Decree on Paris streets of March 26, 1852, was the most effective measure for Paris rebuilding and the policy of excess condemnation enacted by the Decree was successful as a means of recoupment, and introduced the idea into the Codes, but the government rarely used the power.

However, the Ishida-Suzuki hypothesis lacks adequate evidence: the argument that Paris rebuilding was an ideal model for Tokyo Shiku-Kaisei does not show any cause, except the talk of Naotane Yamazaki in 1885; the statement that the Decree was the most effective measure for Paris rebuilding and the policy of excess condemnation was financially successful does not present any evidential research; regarding the theory that the Codes modeled after the Decree, Suzuki himself throw doubt in his original paper, while Ishida and Suzuki did not show the reason why they read the term "kai-age (purchase)" in the Code as the term "shu-yo (condemnation)".

This paper examines the Ishida-Suzuki hypothesis on the basis of existing research and primary materials, and reaches the following conclusions:
1. The Decree on Paris streets established a stringent limitation on the power of eminent domain, but Baron Haussmann, with backing from the resolutions of the Senate and the Conseil d'État, used the power "extralegally" and created "the baroque axial network" in Paris as Kevin Lynch described.
2. Existing research denies that the policy of excess condemnation was financially successful in Paris rebuilding.
3. The hypothesis that the government took Paris rebuilding as an ideal model for Tokyo Shiku-Kaisei lacks factual evidence.
4. Primary materials deny that the Codes introduced the idea of excess condemnation. The minutes of the Genrouin, which reviewed the first draft of the Codes, shows that the Genroin members, representing property owners, imposed the duty on Tokyo Prefectural Governor to purchase remnants and their adjoining parcels to remove disadvantages for the landowners associated with road widening projects. If it was the Decree what Masataka Kusumoto cited at the Genrouin meeting, he mistook the idea of "excess condemnation for public purposes" as that of "excess purchase for property owners." The Codes used the term "kai-age (purchase)" instead of "shu-yo (condemnation)" and had no articles defining the procedures for compulsory acquisition of rights and for forcible eviction of property owners.

V.06 P.115 **Fukuo Akimoto**

"CHOKA-SHUYO (EXCESS CONDEMNATION)" REVISITED: DID TOKYO SHIKU-KAISEI MODEL AFTER PARIS REBUILDING?

TOC

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF PROFESSOR YORIFUSA ISHIDA (1932-2015): A PIONEER OF PLANNING HISTORY IN JAPAN

Shun-ichi J. Watanabe

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Professor Yorifusa Ishida (1932-2015) was a planning professor at Tokyo Metropolitan University, who was an active researcher for over 40 years from the early 1960s to the early 2000s. His research interests originated in rural communities and then expanded to land-use controls and planning in metropolitan peripheries, to historical studies of land-use control tools, to planning history in general, to international activities and comparative studies, and to his own planning theory and philosophy. Ishida was a leading planning scholar, active in post-war Japan, who deeply and widely analysed, and actively presented his views about, current planning administration and systems, as well as their historical development. He has left many high-quality writings which will serve as rich research records of the Japanese planning system and its history, and also as a stimulating repository for further research by future generations.

FIGURE 1 Professor Yorifusa Ishida (© 2000)

INTRODUCTION

On November 4, 2015, Dr. Yorifusa Ishida, Professor Emeritus of Tokyo Metropolitan University, died from pneumonia in Tokyo at the age of 83. He was a long-time IPHS member as a pioneer in Japanese planning history, and served as a council member of the Planning History Group (present IPHS) from 1989 to 1991 and on the Planning Perspectives editorial board.

Ishida was a leading scholar in postwar Japan, in the fields of land-use controls and planning, city and rural planning, and planning history. He was active in international contacts and in domestic government services. He has left many high-quality writings which may become the subject of further research by future researchers.

The purpose of this paper is to present a comprehensive picture of the life and works of Professor Ishida, and to identify the change and range of his research interests and attainments. Such a picture will guide the readers to rich, challenging and unrevealed treasures of Japan's planning history research.

FAMILY

Yorifusa Ishida was born on February 7, 1932, as the first son, with both an elder and a younger sister, of Shinpachiro Ishida and his wife, Kunie. Their home was a wooden rented house located in Tokyo's western periphery of Kokubunji Village (present Kokubunji City), located about 30 km west of Tokyo Central Station.

The next year, the family moved to their own wooden detached house in Musashino Town (present Musashino City), located about 10 km nearer to Tokyo Station. The new house was designed by his father, who was an architectural engineer. Ishida's interest in architecture seems to have come from his father's profession.

Their house was in a newly developing suburb, and retained much of the natural environment. Ishida grew up there as a boy, interested in insects and watching the environment changing as a result of urbanization. All these experiences seem to be the roots of his later professional interests in urban and rural planning, and in his personal hobby of bird-watching. Ishida lived in that house all through his student days, until he moved out when he got married in 1960.

Shun-ichi J. Watanabe
THE LIFE AND WORKS OF PROFESSOR YORIFUSA ISHIDA (1932-2015): A PIONEER OF PLANNING HISTORY IN JAPAN

EDUCATION

In 1950, Ishida graduated from the Architecture Department of the University of Tokyo. His graduation thesis was entitled: "Land Acquisition Problem in Public Housing" and his graduation design: "Residential Unit Planning." He then pursued graduate studies under Professor Eika Takayama, a leading figure in city planning in the academic community, such as the City Planning Institute of Japan (CPIJ), and in various committees of the Ministry of Construction, which was responsible for city planning administration.

Professor Takayama's Lab was one of the top groups of scholars in the emerging field of city planning at that time. The graduate students included Hidemitsu Kawakami, one year senior, and Shigeru Ito, two years junior to Ishida. Both of them later became city planning professors at the University of Tokyo as leading planning scholars.

Like other Japanese universities, the graduate education of the Takayama Lab was a training system similar to an apprenticeship with fewer class-room lectures and more free personal activities. Ishida joined a group of young scholars who were studying the problem of rural villages and agriculture. It is interesting to note that they were inclined toward Marxism and had advanced research methods in social science. The later academic Ishida owed them both Marxist and methodological influences.

In 1957, Ishida finished his master's course with a thesis entitled: "Study on the Provincial Cities and Their Peripheries," in which he empirically analysed the urban-rural relationship in provincial towns and villages in Nagano Prefecture, and developed some abstract and philosophical arguments about the urban-rural relationship in the process of urbanization.

In 1960, Ishida started work as a Research Fellow in the Architecture Department of Tokyo Metropolitan University and, the next year, obtained a doctorate degree from the University of Tokyo. His dissertation was entitled: "Study on the Land Use Control System for Urban Sprawl Areas in the Metropolitan Peripheries." He investigated the actual reality of the disorderly development, or urban sprawl, in the metropolitan peripheries, which was a very serious urban problem in Japan at that time, from both urban and rural viewpoints. After examining the existing land-use control techniques against sprawl, Ishida proposed a new land-use system, as explained later (1961).

The same year, Ishida married Miss Yuko Kogikuya and moved into a small wooden rented apartment room in Kamakura City, about 42 km south of Tokyo Station. The severe housing shortage caused difficulty for the newlywed couple, who had to commute to their working place for 50 to 70 minutes in overcrowded trains. This urban, rather metropolitan, problem gave Ishida new energy to study city planning for a practical solution.

RESEARCH STARTS

Ishida fully started his research activity in the 1960s, and continued to work in the field of urban planning for over 40 years until around mid-2000.

Post-war Japan, after recovering from the war damaged economy, entered the stage of rapid economic growth around the 1960s. As a result, population and industries began to concentrate into major metropolitan areas, especially Tokyo. There, a whole variety of serious urban problems occurred, such as land inflation, housing shortages, traffic congestion, long-distance commuting, air pollution and, above all, urban sprawl in the metropolitan peripheries.

It was strongly felt necessary to amend the half-century old City Planning Act of 1919 by providing a stronger land-use control system against urban sprawl. Ishida's doctorate dissertation (1961) provided empirical data about the actual sprawl problem and presented a proposal for a stronger land-use control system, which seemed to have some influence in the law-making process through Professor Takayama.

In 1968, a drastic amendment was made to create the new City Planning Act, which is still the current planning law, through many minor later amendments. The Act institutionalized a new system of controlling "development," which is defined as altering the lot shape or quality of land to make it available mainly for the purpose of the construction of buildings or special structures. This development control is implemented differently according to Areas, where development is basically allowed in Urbanization Promotion Areas, and not allowed in Urbanization Controlled Areas.

Ishida's proposal, however, had been more sophisticated in that, not only development, but also various land-related activities were to be controlled, and the Area classifications were not two but four, namely: Existing Urban Area, Urbanization Area, Urbanization Restraint Area and Conservation Area.

Ishida was not extremely happy about the new system (1981). It would be fair to say, however, that he began his academic career with a rather happy start in that his own research result contributed to some degree to the new City Planning Act. Since then, he believed that he owed Professor Takayama a great deal during his entire academic career (2000).

In 1967, Ishida was promoted to tenured Associate Professor at the age of 35. In 1984, he moved from the Architecture Department to the University's Centre for Urban Studies, as Professor, and served as Director from 1991 till his retirement in 1995.

PLANNING HISTORY

Ishida did not start his academic career as a planning historian. As seen above, his starting point was land-use controls in the urban peripheries. His basic interest lay in the planning tools for land-use controls like building lines, zoning and land readjustment. As he searched for the more fundamental nature of these tools, he realized the importance of their historical development in Japan and their relationship with the western countries, from where many of them had come.

According to his own statement, Ishida started to study planning history in the latter 1970s (1993b: 20), although he had written a paper on the brief history of post-war reconstruction planning in 1960 (Kawakami and Ishida 1960). He admits that the 1979 paper on the historical analysis of Tokyo's central area planning in 1880 was the first genuine paper on the history of Japan's modern city planning (1993b: 23).

Ishida's historical works covered a wide range of topics. They center on land-use controls and planning like: zoning (1978), building lines (1983), land readjustment (1986), development benefit, or English "betterment" (1990b) and intensive land utilization (1992). Tokyo was his main research field and he wrote the histories of: Capital Region Planning (1968), Tokyo's urban structure (1991) and Tokyo's unbuilt projects (Ishida ed. 1992). His early historical works include individual case studies of the Meiji Era like: a slum clearance project (1980abc), a Japanese industrial village (1990a) and Ogai Mori, a famous great writer (1999). In his later days, he wrote histories on more general topics like: historical periodization (1987c), urban design (Ishida and Dunin-Woyseth 1993), urban land policy (1994b), contemporary planning issues (2000a) and decentralization of planning powers (2001).

Ishida was, probably, the first professor in Japan who taught "planning history" as an independent classroom subject. Based upon his lectures, he published a book on the first general history of Japan's modern planning in 1987. The book was entitled: The Hundred Years of Japanese Modern City Planning (1987; 2004a), which is still the only book by a Japanese author on this topic, and is widely referred to in the Japanese planning community.

In the following years, his historical interest expanded to the more general topic of the Japanese planning system as a whole, with a strong sense that historical research should have practical implications for future planning practice. One of the highlights in this line is "A Planning History towards 2019" (1996), which he presented as his retirement lecture in 1995. Ishida was not satisfied with a historical study that presents past history only, but believed that it should provide something useful for our future actions. His target was the year 2019, which is the 100th year of the first City Planning Act of 1919. In this paper, by identifying feasible and desirable future planning goals, he tried to examine how we can attain them in the course of our future actions. Although it is rather doubtful if this kind of "future history" approach is methodologically possible or not, this paper clearly illustrates Ishida's passion towards, and basic philosophy of, planning history study.

In short, his historical study is characterized by width and depth. His interest is wide enough to cover the entire period of Japan's modern city planning, from even before the first legislation of the Tokyo Urban Improvement Ordinance of 1888 to the current planning practice. His analysis is deep in terms of digging and examining the historical data and in terms of elaborate arguments. Also it should be noted that he believed historical study should be able to produce practical guides for current and future planning systems and practice. In this sense, Ishida was a pragmatist.

INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITY

Ishida made his international debut rather late in his professional career. In 1979, at the age of 47, he made his first overseas trip to Europe, visiting Stockholm, Hamburg, Lübeck, Amsterdam, the Hague, Delft and Paris. Subsequently, he made about 23 overseas trips, often for international conferences. He visited western Europe 15 times, but the USA only twice, which may show that his concern was directed more toward European than American modern planning. He made 6 trips to China, South Korea, India and Australia-New Zealand, but showed little research interest in planning in those countries and regions, as his "modern" city planning seemingly meant "western" or "European" city planning.

In 1982, Ishida attended for the first time an international conference held at the United Nations Centre for Regional Development in Nagoya, where he presented his first paper in a foreign language (1982). The paper was on the District Planning system, which is the detailed land-use planning system at the district level, institutionalized two years ago. Ishida had contributed to its law-making process, although he was not completely satisfied with the District Planning system as institutionalized because its land-use controls were weaker than Ishida had expected.

With the 3rd International Conference of the Planning History Group (present IPHS) in Tokyo in 1988 as a turning point, he began his international activities, energetically writing and attending conferences. He participated in the PHG-IPHS conference six times, always with interesting papers. They are: Tokyo (1988a), Birmingham (1990a), Hong Kong (1994a), Thessaloniki (Ishida and Shoji 1996), Sydney (1998a) and Helsinki (2000b). In the 2006 New Delhi conference, he could not attend but presented a paper on the preservation of urban farmland (2006b). Ishida also attended EAJS (European Association for Japanese Studies), presenting papers five times from 1991 to 2003.

Ishida was a very generous mentor to many young researchers, including several foreigners whom he personally coached during their research times in Japan, and with whom he co-published (2003; 2006a) and became a personal friend. Ishida was proud of collaborating with them when he named them as Gordon Cherry, Francoise Durand, Marc Bourdier, Vincent Rounard, Natacha Aveline, Augustin Berque, Winfried Flüchter, Carola Hein, Uta Hohn, Jeffry Diefendorf, André Sorensen, Jeffery Hanes and Son Jeong-Mok (2004b: 34-35).

When Ishida wrote papers in a foreign language. He tried to make them easy for western readers to understand by analysing and explaining the current situation and historical development of land-use problems and their control system in Tokyo and Japan at large (1988a; 1991; 1993a; 1994a; 1994b; 1998a; 2003; 2006a; Ishida and Dunin-Woyseth 1993; Ishida and Shoji 1996; Hein and Ishida 1998). Therefore, these writings are good guides for foreign scholars to the history and current system of Japanese city planning.

For Japanese scholars, Ishida also wrote papers on: an overview of the past contacts between Japanese and overseas planning (1984), and the western influences upon Japanese modern city planning (2002), which is an elaborated version of the 1984 paper and was the record of his presentation at a study meeting of the Architectural Institute of Japan. It is interesting to note that Ishida often elaborated his former preliminary individual works later in a wider context. As a result, many of his writings are interconnected to each other and make it possible for us to trace the progress of his research thinking.

PLANNING THEORY

As mentioned before, Ishida started his professional career in a happy way because his research direction headed toward needs of the time, and his research results played a comfortable role in the law-making process of the new City Planning Act of 1968.

Ishida believed that a good planning system is a detailed and strict land-use control system (1988b: 81). Society was headed certainly in that direction. The Area system of the 1968 Act and the District Planning system of 1980 followed this line, though not fully satisfactorily, according to his theoretical framework.

From the late 1960s to the mid1970s, many local governments where actual city planning was being carried out were administered by progressive heads, often based upon the collaboration of Socialist and Communist parties. Ishida, sympathetic toward the Marxist camp, considered this situation a favorable development towards "democratic city planning administration" (1987b: 317).

In the early 1980s, however, the political atmosphere changed to a more conservative mood. In 1982, the Nakasone administration started a deregulation policy and applied it also to land-use controls that were the core tools of city planning. It was a favorable situation for urban land owners and developers, who wanted to use urban space more intensively for more profits. Ishida saw the policy as "breaking the cage of 'the detailed and strict land-use control system' which the 1968 Act had started and the 1980 District Planning system had reinforced, and letting loose a tiger of land price in the field" (1988b: 81). Thus, the deregulation policies paved the way towards land price inflation and then the "bubble economy" that started in 1986 and ended in 1991.

Now, the gap between Ishida's research paradigm and society's paradigm became decisive. To him, the Nakasone deregulations meant "anti-planning." Although it was not a well-established term in the planning community, he instituted "anti-planning" as the crucial keyword for the decade from the early 1980s in his planning history (1987b: 325-332; 2004a: 271-286).

Shun-ichi J. Watanabe

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF PROFESSOR YORIFUSA ISHIDA (1932-2015): A PIONEER OF PLANNING HISTORY IN JAPAN

The Nakasone deregulations were, in a sense, a fundamental challenge to the total research attainments that Ishida had built up over the years. In order to meet the challenge theoretically, he took the following approach. He raised such abstract questions as: "What is the plan?" and "How should planning be?" Then he tried to answer these questions concretely by analyzing the concept and function of "plan" and planning" in the context of land-use controls in particular, and Japanese planning history in general (1987a; 1988b; 1993b; 1998b).

As a result, Ishida argued that planning should "have the collective will and goal of urban people and to provide the method and means rationally to materialize these most effectively." The deregulation policy, which lacked in the concept of such a collective goal, was against his image of planning, as described above, and so, Ishida concluded, was "anti-planning" (1987a: 804).

Thus, Ishida's research stance changed dramatically in the late 1980s. Previously, he had empirically examined individual aspects of land-use controls and planning in order to discover ways to improve them. Then, he tried to understand theoretically the basic nature of the Japanese planning system as a whole by means of historical analysis and international comparison.

This theoretical and holistic approach was in fact another way to search for practical solutions for the future of city planning on a wider scale, looking towards the 21 century (2000a; 2004a; 2004b), typified by the above-mentioned "A Planning History toward 2019" (1996). In this sense, Ishida was a pragmatist who sought for practical implications from the historical and international research of planning systems.

ACADEMIC INSTITUTES

Ishida's academic activities in Japan were concentrated in three academic organizations.

In 1956, he joined the City Planning Institute of Japan (CPIJ). Six years later, he was awarded the Ishikawa Encouragement Prize for his doctorate dissertation, and, in 1965, was awarded the Ishikawa Prize jointly with Ryoichi Ura and Hisato Ide for their plan of the new rural settlement in Hachirogata Polder in Akita Prefecture. In 1982, Ishida was awarded the Academic Prize for his long-time series of research activities into the urbanization process and its controlling tools (1983), and was again awarded the Distinguished Service Prize in 2001. Ishida served as Academic Committee Chair from 1985 to 1989 and Vice-President from 1989 to 1991, and was recommended as an honourable member in 2001.

In 1957, Ishida joined the Architectural Institute of Japan (AIJ). In 1991, he was awarded the Academic Prize for his series of historical studies of Japan's modern city planning and, in 2004, the Grand Prix, which is given to only two persons every year, for his achievement in research into the history of Japanese modern city planning. He was recommended as an honourable member in 2006.

In 1982, the Association for Rural Planning (ARP) was established by a group of academics and practitioners who were working for a better rural environment and community. Ishida joined ARP at that time and later served as Vice President from 1992 to 1993 and as President from 1994 to 1996. He was recommended as an honourable member in 2002.

Shun-ichi J. Watanabe
THE LIFE AND WORKS OF PROFESSOR YORIFUSA ISHIDA (1932-2015): A PIONEER OF PLANNING HISTORY IN JAPAN

GOVERNMENT ACTIVITY

Like other leading university professors, Ishida served as a member of various planning-related committees of both central and local governments.

At the central government level, Ishida served twice as a professional member of the Central City Planning Council of the Ministry of Construction. The first term was from 1978 to 1980, when the members discussed the designing of the basic structure of the District Planning system. As mentioned earlier, the legalized system was not very satisfactory to him, but he was not too unhappy. The second term was from 1982 to 1989, when the members encountered the unfavourable political mood of deregulation policies and, finally, could not submit their recommendation reports, with which Ishida, in particular, was much frustrated.

Ishida was also invited to the Diet as an expert witness four times in 1990, 1999, 2000 and 2002. On each occasion, he insisted that the core of city planning should be detailed and strict land-use controls and planning. His testimonies became increasingly critical of government policies over time.

At the local government level, Ishida served on various committees, often as chairperson. He worked for such Prefectures as Tokyo, Kanagawa, Saitama and Toyama, and for such municipal governments as Tokyo wards like Meguro, etc., and cities like Yokohama, Tachikawa, Fujimi, Hachioji, Kamakura and Ageo. Most of them are within the Tokyo metropolitan area. Generally speaking, he was rather happy with his services there.

RETIREMENT AND AFTER

In 1995, Ishida retired from Tokyo Metropolitan University and became Professor Emeritus. The same year, he became Special Professor of the private Kogakuin University in Tokyo and served until 1999, when he became 67 years of age. Then came a complete retirement, which gave him more time for enjoying research and his hobbies of community activities and bird-watching.

In 2004, when Ishida was awarded the AIJ Grand Prix, he published a little booklet written in Japanese and entitled: *Historical Research of City and Rural Planning for Future Perspectives and Planning* (2004b), which became more or less the last message that Ishida presented to the Japanese planning community. On the last page, he wrote, "I do not know how much time is left to me, I will still continue my research activity" (2004b: 55). That time, as revealed later, was only five years.

On May 10, 2009, we were preparing a party with Professors Akimoto and Nakajima at my home, honouring Ishida for his 77th birthday. However, he did not appear. After several telephone calls, we sadly learned he had had stroke and had been hospitalized. Since then, he was mostly confined to bed and never regained complete consciousness for nearly six years until his death in 2015.

Ishida was survived by two sons, a daughter and two grandchildren; his wife Yuko had passed way 14 years before. Now, Professor Yorifusa Ishida is laid to rest together with Yuko in the family tomb in Kodaira Cemetery, located 5 km north of the place where he was born.

RESEARCH RECORDS

Ishida has left rich records about his life and works, which he seemingly updated regularly during his active professional days. He provided a curriculum vitae (last updated in May 2006) and a detailed chronological record of the main events (last updated on September 28, 2003).

He made a list of his writings twice. As they record almost all of his writings, we can identify any of his writings by the following system, similar to the Köchel catalogue number in the case of Mozart. In this "Ishida List Number" system, <1-25> means No. 25 item of Classification 1.

The first list was made around January 2003 (c.2003), although he had seemingly made earlier lists many times before. This is a detailed comprehensive list of about 820 writings from December 1954 to January 2003, and is classified as:

1   Books (<1A> Authored or co-authored books; <1B> Authored or co-authored articles in books)
2   Academic papers
3   Academic conferences (<3A> International conferences; <3B> Domestic conferences)
4   General articles and planning critiques
5   Lectures and round-table talks (<5A> Lecture records; <5B> Round-table talks, interviews and comments)
6   Book reviews and comments
7   Essays, addresses and brief reports
8   Reports

The second list was made around January 2008 (c. 2008) and has 41 items from February 2005 to January 2008, classified differently from the above as:

9   a / Books
    b / Research article
    c / Essays (city, planning and Machizukuri)
    d / Essays (nature etc.)
    d / Book reviews

As a result, there are two blank periods. The first is about a roughly two-year period from February 2003 to January 2005. Although the classification is different between the first and second lists, there are clearly many missing numbers in between, which suggests there is another list missing in the first blank period. Ishida's last booklet (2004b) has a list of about 100 works, although limited to planning history, from 1960 to May 2004, which fills up some of the missing works in the first blank period. The second blank period is from February 2008 to May 2009, when he was hospitalized.

A group of Japanese scholars is currently preparing to establish the "Ishida Archives" in order to complete the lists and preserve his works in digital form, so that researchers can have easy access to them.

Another noteworthy point about Ishida's research style is that he has publicly left personal commentaries about his own research works. When studying or writing, he was always conscious of where he stood within the total system of his planning research. In another words, he was always positioning himself against the preceding works of other people as well as against his own works. Some of the early examples were the 1993 paper dealing with planning theory (1993b) and the "Planning History toward 2019" paper (1996).

The highlight in this respect is the paper in which Ishida selected the best 30 works out of the huge number of his writings and put a short comment against each of them (c.1998). The paper starts with his oldest article, which he wrote in his graduate days (Kawade, Asatani and Ishida 1957), and ends with the 1998 paper (Hein and Ishida 1998). These papers as a whole clearly show the entire research body that he built up for over 40 years.

Another work of similar nature is the 2004 booklet: *Planning Research of City and Rural Planning for Future Perspectives and Planning* (2004b) as discussed above. There, Ishida presented a personal history of his past research activities and attainments, and stimulated younger researchers towards planning history. As the title of the booklet shows, he identified his field of study as "city and rural planning," which was the result of a synthesis of his entire research activities. With all these commentaries, he has provided us with good guides to understand his entire research world.

CONCLUSION

Professor Yorifusa Ishida (1932-2015) was a planning professor at Tokyo Metropolitan University, who was an active researcher for over 40 years, from the 1960s to the mid-2000s. His research interests originated in rural communities and then expanded to land-use controls and planning in metropolitan peripheries, to historical studies of land-use control tools, to planning history in general, to international activities and comparative studies, and to his own planning theory and philosophy.

Ishida was a leading planning scholar, active in post-war Japan, who deeply and widely analysed, and actively presented his views about, current planning administration and systems as well as their historical development. He has left many high-quality writings, which will serve as rich research records of the Japanese planning system and its history, and also as a stimulating repository for further research by future generations.

Notes on contributor
Shun-ichi J. Watanabe was born in Tokyo (1938); graduated from the Architecture Department of the University of Tokyo (1961); was awarded MCP from Harvard University (1964) and DS in Engineering from the University of Tokyo (1974); was Research Fellow there (1965-78); worked for the Building Research Institute of Ministry of Construction (1978-1990); was Planning Professor of Tokyo University of Science (1990-2014); and is now Professor Emeritus (2015-). He has been a PHG-IPHS member since 1977, serving as council member for many years, and is Chair of its East Asia Planning History Prize Committee.

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V.06 P.127   Shun-ichi J. Watanabe

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF PROFESSOR YORIFUSA ISHIDA (1932-2015): A PIONEER OF PLANNING HISTORY IN JAPAN

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Figure 1: Shuichi Ishida, the son of Yorifusa Ishida

JAPANESE URBAN HISTORY IN GLOBAL CONTEXT: PROFESSOR ISHIDA'S RESEARCH AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Carola Hein

TU Delft

Ishida Yorifusa has been a major actor in the diffusion of knowledge about Japanese urban history and urban planning around the world. A long-time professor at Tokyo Metropolitan University, Ishida developed an extensive academic network within and beyond Japan over the decades. He entered the international stage rather late in his career, but became one of the key nodes in the exchange with European scholars nonetheless. Through articles written for publication in several foreign languages, notably English, French and German, Ishida helped connect Japanese planning history to global debates. As a participant in international conferences, he built connections to colleagues and young scholars. As an educator, Ishida demonstrated some of the same unique qualities that were inherent in his scholarship: a deep understanding of Japanese planning history and culture and a genuine desire to share his knowledge with colleagues and students. Whether by choice or by coincidence, Ishida also provided extensive support to young female scholars, for many of whom Japanese studies have become an import part in their academic career. Exploring the diverse ways of Ishida's engagement with international scholarship and scholars, this contribution highlights the importance of Ishida's role as an educator in the advancement of cross-cultural exchange in planning history.

V.06 P.129   Carola Hein
JAPANESE URBAN HISTORY IN GLOBAL CONTEXT: PROFESSOR ISHIDA'S RESEARCH AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

TOC

FUTURE VISIONS OF TOKYO THAT MATTERED: HOW UTOPIAN CONCEPTS CAN SHAPE URBAN OUTCOMES

Andre Sorensen

University of Toronto

Tokyo has been the subject of a wide range of radical and utopian future visions in the post-war period. The question posed here is, have these played any significant role in shaping Japanese architecture, planning, and governance practices and outcomes through this period of rapid change? Can radical urban visions sometimes shape the city by mobilizing imagination and inspiring action? Definitive evidence is hard to find, as it is impossible to know what might have happened anyway, and the dynamics of such impacts are more complex than simple collisions of ideas with policy processes. Actually implementing such visions requires massive flows of capital, sustained political support, and strategic action in multiple political and economic arenas. The Tokyo case suggests that radical future imaginaries can have significant impacts, but that the specific technology or design advocated in the vision is sometimes not as important or as lasting as the opportunity identified. This essay outlines the reasons for Tokyo's centrality in Japanese future visions, and traces the evolution of a wildly utopian idea proposed by the Metabolists in 1960, building a new city in Tokyo Bay that has been significantly implemented, although not in a way that would have pleased its creators.

Keywords
Utopian plans, Metabolism architecture, Tokyo, megastructures, Japanese planning

Planning History: Case Studies

Chair: Peter Batey

EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY NEIGHBORHOOD ENTRYWAYS IN BUFFALO, NEW YORK: AN OVERVIEW OF FORM AND FUNCTION

Daniel Hess | Evan Iacobucci

State University of New York

During the prime of streetcar transportation in the United States, which took place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, neighborhood development took on a new form and distinct character. Expanded development opportunities related to streetcar network growth—combined with residents' desires for removal from noise, pollution, and dirt of industrial-era cities—encouraged growth of "streetcar suburbs" and other exclusive neighborhoods designed to offer refuge from urban ills.

The ideology of contemporaneous neighborhood development manifests itself in the physical features of the design of neighborhoods. One such feature that appeared in early 20th-century streetcar neighborhoods is a neighborhood entryway marker or gateway. These markers typically, but not always, took the form of a set of stone or brick towers, placed at the entrance to a residential street from an arterial roadway.

In this study, we explore the nature, form, and placement of these markers, and the role they play in neighborhood identity. Using a combination of primary and secondary literature, field data, and spatial analysis, we investigate the history, context, and purpose of these structures in Buffalo, New York in residential enclaves adjacent to public transit corridors.

To achieve our aim, we first describe the emergence of streetcar suburbs, define common building and development practices, and identify potential pitfalls and difficulties associated with development at the time. Subsequently, we thoroughly contextualize, describe, and ground the objects of analysis in their proper setting. Finally, we carefully consider the role of neighborhood entryway markers in their neighborhoods, their purposes, and their significance to those who would choose to live in the areas that they delineate. Our method takes care to emphasize the connected and reciprocal nature of factors and influences in neighborhood development, demonstrating that elements such as these gateways function not in a vacuum, but in concert with a multitude of structural and ideological elements.

The streetcar provided city residents with mobility to a degree that they had never seen before. While this mobility allowed people and development to deconcentrate, to fulfill their desires for fresh air, light, and serenity, it also allowed aspects of the city that people were trying to escape to spread out with them. Findings from our analysis suggest that in order to protect their neighborhoods, developers in this era devised ways to insulate their projects from such infringement. Neighborhood entry gateways proved to be one effective tool toward this end. In conjunction with both design and practical tools, these structures protected and insulated their neighborhoods from the nuisances of industrial cities, offering those who could afford it a peaceful refuge and a controlled natural setting. We conclude that, in concert with other neighborhood components, these structures produce significant effects on the streets and neighborhoods whose boundaries they delineate: they serve to isolate neighborhoods from undesirable urban influences, insulate and create a sense of privacy, and help to maintain the integrity of the neighborhood's intended design.

Keywords
access, neighborhoods, privacy, streetcars, streetcars, suburbs

V.06 P.135 **Daniel Hess | Evan Iacobucci**
EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY NEIGHBORHOOD ENTRYWAYS IN BUFFALO, NEW YORK: AN OVERVIEW OF FORM AND FUNCTION

TOC

PLANNING THE "NEW WEST": URBAN PLANNING IN WESTERN CANADA, 1800-1914

Catherine Ulmer

McGill University

Writing in 1910, Western Canadian businessman D.G. Revell extolled the possibilities for planning within "the new west"[1]. Whereas planners within older urban centres in Eastern Canada and Europe faced an uphill battle, confronting issues resulting from decades of untamed urbanization, those in the West, Revell enthused, were instead, "starting with a clean slate" [2]. If its municipalities were "intelligently guided" from the start, he concluded, they could stand as global "ideal[s]"[3]. Revell's sentiments were echoed in a publication sent out by the Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Board of Trade in the same year. Praising the city's urban development, the Board boasted that with "no old inhabitants to hinder progress", "no city in the entire British Empire" could match Saskatoon's potential [4].

All city building in Canada emerged out of a legacy of migration and demographic transformation as colonizers displaced the nation's Aboriginal inhabitants and built settlements that "manipulate[ed] the social and natural landscape" to reflect European norms [5]. The slower pace of colonization in Western Canada, though, meant that discussions surrounding urban development coincided with the emergence of modern urban planning in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Joining their Eastern Canadian colleagues, Western actors looked outwards in their search for a new urban vision, joining the growing transnational urban planning cohort. However, their belief that the region was an empty land on the brink of a glorious destiny distinguished Western planning thought throughout the early twentieth century, uniting its planning advocates. Surveying land recently and purposefully "cleared" of its Indigenous peoples, these reformers saw in modern urban planning a way to continue the process of colonization by physically ordering and civilizing their built environment [6].

This paper considers the unique nature of planning in Western Canada from the 1880s to 1914 through a case study of urban development in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. Established in 1883, by 1906 Saskatoon was incorporated as a city with a population of over 4,000. In a bid to establish the city as the centre of the province's future development, dispel perceptions of the region as wild and uncivilized, and attract settlement, the city's boosters looked to urban planning, connecting to the international movement. My paper first briefly considers the province's pre-colonial history and early European efforts to shape the landscape before turning to a study of Saskatoon actors' interest in foreign planning advances. Through an examination of correspondence, articles, reports, and proposed plans, I illustrate that early twentieth century planning in the West was grounded in attempts to further "civilize" the region; such aims directed Western interactions with the transnational planning cohort and influenced the innovations they imported.

Keywords

urban vision, urban planning, transnational, migration, demographic transformation, colonization, Canada

TRANSFORMATION OF EXPOSITION SPACE AT AN URBAN SCALE

Gonca Z. Tuncbilek

International expositions began to gain popularity in late 19th century, particularly in Europe, and in time came to influence both architecture and urban planning, affecting their historical development. Expositions serve as a means of displaying architecture, particularly since industrialization, and have an influence that can transform their surrounding metropolitan areas in different ways. These influenced areas extend way beyond their own scales, and even if they no longer exist today, and have the potential to transform the urban space in which they are located. This study analyses the case of the Great Exhibition of 1851, in London, United Kingdom, which can be considered as the world's first international event, and which played a significant role in the transformation of the Kensington site. Although the exhibition space itself was temporary, it transformed the Kensington site on which it was located at an urban scale. This part of the London has changed following the reorganization and redesign after the exhibition was over, and the exposition space has developed into an integrated part of the city by taking on a set of additional functions, with the additional influence also of such neighbouring institutions as museums and later exhibition spaces.

INTRODUCTION

Since the inception of world fairs in the 19th century, expositions have spurred many opinions, debates, and discussions of their many roles and cultural meanings, as well as analyses of their impact on the historical development of architecture, urban planning and urban form. Expositions have come to serve as a means of displaying architecture, particularly since the industrialization, after emerging first in the mid-19th with the 1851 Great Exhibition in London, and then spreading to Europe and North America. Expositions have the ability to influence, transform and change their surrounding metropolitan areas in different ways. Eric Hobsbawm, a British historian who charted the rise of industrial capitalism, socialism, and nationalism, defines these organizations as 'great new rituals of self-congratulation' and he points out that these 'new' celebratory events are related mainly to the development/transformation of the economic order.

During the first half of the 19th century, industrialization developed more rapidly than the market for industrial products. With the advances in modern communication systems, however, the capitalist economy grew to encompass the globe.[1] Zeynep Celik mentioned in her book that universal exposition contributed greatly to the export of the industrial revolution to the rest of the world based on their promotion of the products of industry and technological progress, and their ability to display the entire human experience in a microcosm.[2] These architectural programs serve not only for the representation of architecture, but also the economy, industry, and technology. This study focuses in particular on the effects of the Great Exhibition, the first such international event, and its role in the urban transformation of the Kensington site. The aim of this research is to investigate and discuss the roles/potentials/influences of the Great Exhibition at an urban scale based on an analysis of the relationship between the expositions and the urban space, and to analyse the results of this relationship.

The expositions held particularly in the 19th century and brought with them the powerful potential to change and transform their surrounding metropolitan areas in various ways. Although inherently transitory, ephemeral, and temporary, their effects have been long lasting, becoming an expression of the nations both architecturally and mentally within the urban context. They play a role in the interaction of their surroundings with urban development, while representing also their symbolic character. Expositions affect the cities through their need for infrastructure in such fields as transportation, accommodation, and catering, and this brings about a transformation/reorganization of the context of expositions at an urban scale. They are not only part of the urban environment, having influences also on the re-formation of the urban in which they are located in the transformation process.

These kinds of mega events have a significant impact not only on the development of the city, but also on the revitalization of the economy around the world. In recent years, urban theorists have debated this impact and have underlined the results on the urban reality. Expositions have a great international significance, driving investments in infrastructure development, urban planning, and revitalization strategies that aim to bring 'new' images to the urban, while also spurring the transformations of contemporary urban society in the fields of urban research, socio-historical study, and economic development research.

Neil Smith claims that the rise of the international exposition can be the key to the urban revolution, identifying a long historical shift from agricultural to industrial, and lastly, to the urban world.[3] Expositions have also played a crucial role in the paradigm shift in the internal territorial form of the city, from the political city into the mercantile and then industrial, and also representing a 'critical phase' of the city. In such shifts, the form/the organization of the city and its internal relationship transform, as does the concept of the urban.
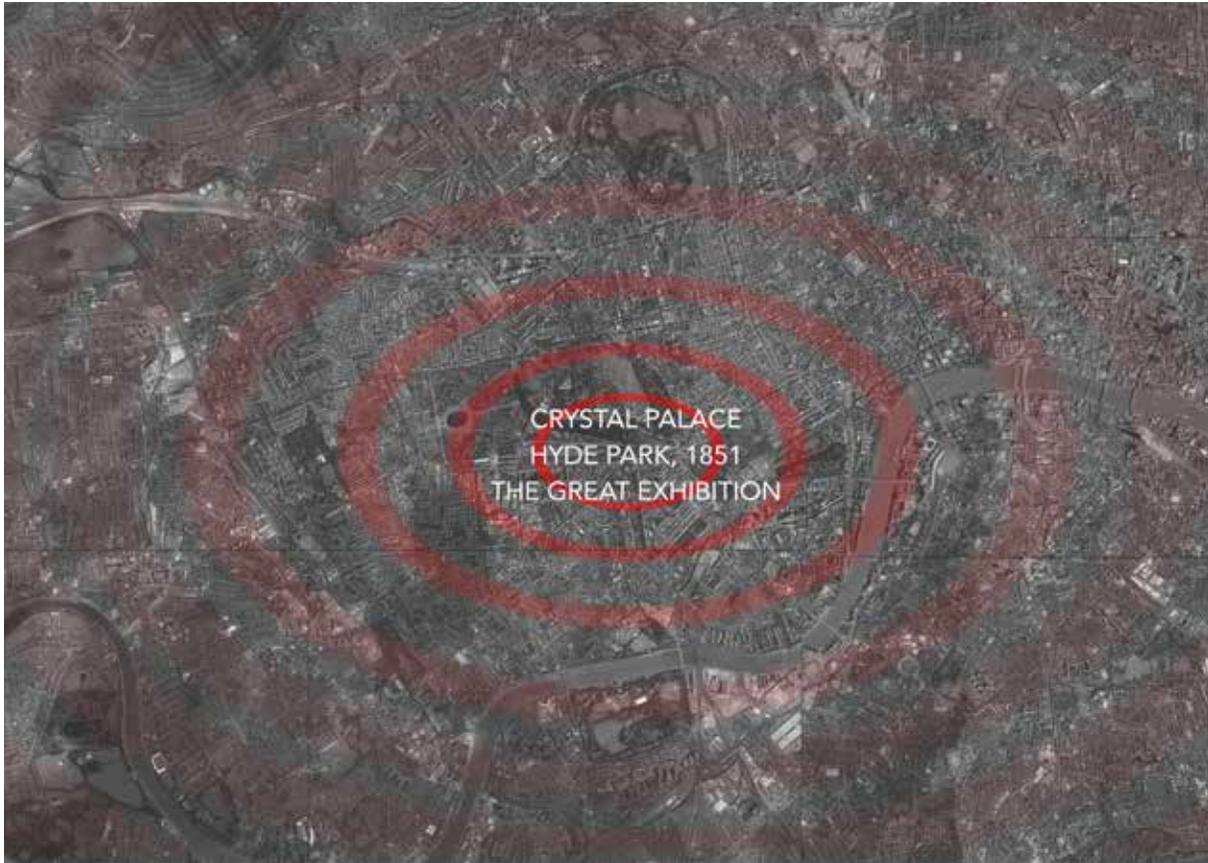
FIGURE 1 Raindrop Analogy on the Great Exhibition, London and its effects on the urban

As Smith points out in the foreword of the 'The Urban Revolution', space may be more often synonymous with rigidity; immobility and stasis, and space became a blind field in the early-20th century. At this point, exposition space could be considered the key to a radical break from the transitory, temporal and ephemeral nature of architecture. Even though these structures are time-limited, they have a potential to transform the urban space in which they are located. After they have gone, the space cannot take on the same identity it had before the exposition. In this regard, they have a crucial effect on the transformation of the urban and are ruled this effect out by architects/designers/urban planners (technocrats), although the state may use this potential as a representation of their power.

RAINDROP ANALOGIES

Henri Lefebvre suggests that classical cities have several functions, being political, administrative, commercial and productive. Characterizing these functions, he claims that they have two-folded character, one of which is related to the territory and the other to the city itself. The character of a territory, he claims, is based on the fact that 'urban centres administer, dominate, and cover with networks'[4] and the city is the part of 'administered, dominated, and integrated with networks of production and distribution'.[5] The urban is formed by these dual functions and the relationship between these functions, although this may be changed/transformed over time. The character of the urban can be redefined based on the relationships between the city and territory and that may vary according to different modes of representations, such as overlapped, juxtaposed, superimposed or dominated.

FIGURE 2 The Great Exhibition and the location of museums.

Lefebvre questions the centrality of the urban phenomenon, which can be defined as the conjunction with the dialectical movement that can result in either creation or destruction. Lefebvre also questions the relationship between the periphery and the centre, the character of which can be changed over the years, and also defines the nature of the centrality and poly-centrality. He defines centrality as 'distinct modes of production, different productive relations'[6] and the poly-centrality as a 'rupture of the centre dispersion'.[7]

The relationship between the periphery and centre can be associated with the raindrop analogy. Each raindrop will create its own circle when it reaches to an accumulation of water, although the nature of the circle can be changed based on the size of the raindrop and other factors (e.g. wind, the falling off the other raindrops etc.). The centre of the raindrop indicates the power and the circles show the affected area of the raindrop associated with the periphery. This polycentric analogy makes apparent also different relationships, in that raindrops can juxtapose, overlap or draw apart from each other, and these kinds of relationships can change, transform and redefine over the time. If such an analogy is to be drawn, it will refer only to be a section of the Lefebvre's timeline. In each section of the timeline, the diagram of the raindrop analogy is redrawn, the relations of the periphery and the centre are redefined and the domination of the centres changes.

The relationship between the urban and the exposition can be explained using the same analogy. Technocrats decide upon the location of an exposition while analysing the transformation network, accommodation, and infrastructure. The process begins with the construction of the exposition as a raindrop and the creation of its first circle. This circle effect gives it energy to the urban, and larger circles occur. The nature of the circle can be changed based on the accessibility and internationality of the organization, in that if it attracts more and more

Gonca Z. Tuncbilek
TRANSFORMATION OF EXPOSITION SPACE AT AN URBAN SCALE

guests, the rain circles reach further distance at an urban scale. This analogy gives us an idea of how the urban form develops, even after the exposition has gone. In the timeline of Lefebvre(from political city to critical zone), this relationship can change/become enriched, and causes different time sections over time. For each section of the timeline, the diagram of the raindrop analogy is redrawn, the relationship between the urban and the temporal exhibition space is redefined and the character of the centres also changes.

THE GREAT EXHIBITION, LONDON

The urban transformation of the Kensington Site of the Great Exhibition can be analysed and explained in terms of this analogy. There were two great exhibitions in London, in 1851 and 1862 that led the Kensington site to become the exhibition centre of the city. Several institutions were established in the area after the 1851 Great Exhibition, including the South Kensington Museum, the Natural History Museum, and the Royal Albert Hall. The exposition then moved to the northwest, and the following fairs were located further towards periphery to the southeast (Sydenham, today in the borough of Bromley), and then to the west and northwest (Earl's Court, Olympia, White City, Wembley). The closing of the Great Exhibition had both a direct and indirect effect on London, including the removal and reconstruction of the exhibition structure on Sydenham Hill and use of the surplus funds to create cultural infrastructure in South Kensington. Following the Great Exhibition in London, the international exhibitions had an impact on where they were located. The precinct of the South Kensington is to be related 'to the furtherance of the industrial pursuits of all nations' and to include a library, lecture and meeting rooms, and an exhibition space.[8] As was the case with the Great Exhibition, other international exhibitions had a lasting impact on their locations, with an area of influence that went beyond their own scale when they were gone that was evidence of their potential to transform the urban space on which they were located.

At the level of projects and plans, there is always some distance between the elaboration and execution. Expositions are designed with a limited lifespan for a specific organization, and technocrats (architects and urban planners) take their decisions based on this fact. However, while they may plan for the dismantling of the structure, it may be erected in a different location, and it is at this point that the technocrats lose their decision-making power, which passes into the hands to the state. The state may decide to keep the structure to gain profit from it, by which it becomes a Meta with potential as a surplus value. In this way, the state uses the structure for the transformation of their power to meet the needs of industrial production through modified nationality, planning and programming. This kind of urban transformation is the simple superstructure of the mode of production. There is always interaction between urban phenomena, the relations of production and productive forces that occurs with the start of industrialization, and is a twofold process of industrialization and urbanization. The second period becomes dominant following the first period, and this approach constitutes the base of the urban ideology.

The diagram indicates the effects of the Great Exposition on its location in London, where there are now several museums and exhibition spaces. The Kensington site became known as the exhibition centre of the city after the exposition transformed the urban, changing, reorganizing and re-designing the character of the site as an exhibition space. Following the Great Exhibition, The South Kensington Museum was opened to house exhibitions to the Royal Commission in 1857 and joined by the Royal Albert Hall in 1871, the Natural History Museum in 1880, and the Royal College of Music in 1882. Moreover, the Royal College of Art in 1896, the Imperial College of Science in 1907, the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Science Museum in 1909, the Royal Geographical Society in 1912 and the Geological Museum were opened in 1935.[9] Although the exposition was a temporary and small-scaled architectural design, its influence became permanent and effective. This part of the urban marks a significant historical paradigm shift, with the international exposition negotiating between regional and international networks of production, consumption and exchange. Reformed urban centres of universal expositions give birth to a restructuring of time into a continuous story of positive development, and stretch into a human-constructed future.[10]
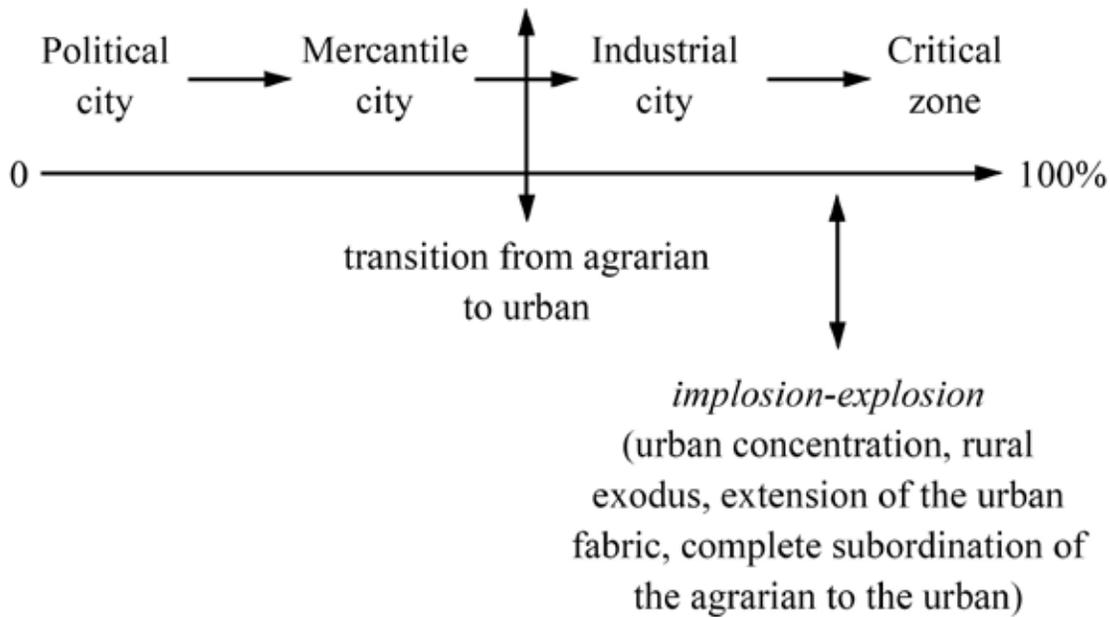
FIGURE 3 The Timeline of the City to Urban Society

Universal expositions play a crucial role in the significant break with the traditional understanding of society, which is interrelated with agriculture, and bring about the construction of an entirely new reality related to the industrial age. The exposition can be sited at the point of transition from agrarian to urban in the timeline of Lefebvre.

Exposition space subsequently becomes the integrated part of the city by taking on a set of additional functions, as well as such neighbouring institutions such as museums and other exhibiting spaces. The exposition has developed into a key site on the symbolic landscape of London, while South Kensington has become a model of how international expositions can have a role in the contributing to change, and the redefinition and design of urban sites with a specific meaning: representation and exhibition.

In order to understand this urban transformation, one can refer to Henri Lefebvre's timeline graphic, which begins with the political city at the '0 point' and goes on to the critical zone that is the 'point of 100%'. Lefebvre examined three fields/domains/continents (agrarian, industrial and urban) for discovery, emergence, constitution and historic creation in terms of his time-space axis, and interrelated these periods with several keywords. The agrarian period corresponds to the *need,* and subjected to nature and interspersed with catastrophe and famine, as a domain of scarcity. The second one is the *work,* and it corresponds to the industrial period that is related to fetishized productivity, and refers to the destruction of nature that lives and survives in a human being. He finally asks as if the urban society corresponds to the *enjoyment.*[11] Urban society may be interrelated with enjoyment, and its main issue may be the representation of this society at an urban scale. In his time-space axis, Lefebvre questions on the transitions from industrial city to critical zone and indicates that this gap is the implosion-explosion of the urban. Expositions emerge from this transition and somehow serve as a key to the urban form, which is designed, based more on the exhibition infrastructure of the urban.

In 'Urban Revolution' Lefebvre complains about the definition and borders of the urban. The urban cannot be defined by a single space that is a place of passage and exchange, just as the reality of urban cannot be associated only with the consumption, the tertiary activities, and the distribution network. The urban reality covers all the production and its relations.[12] How can these productions be exhibited? Answering this question is crucial to the understanding of production activities and their relations, and at this point, the exhibition of these productions becomes an important part of these exchange relationships. International expositions are the place of these activities, and these time-limited activities become the part of a global production network. They change the identity of the location whether constructed at a local scale or a global scale.

Lefebvre claims that space cannot be separated from its physical, social and mental context in his book 'The Production of Space', in which he focuses directly on the representation of spaces/the spaces of representations. He questions the shifts from the lived to the blueprinted spaces and claims that 'things, acts, and situations are forever being replaced by representation'.[13] He goes on the claim that these temporary structures are replaced by their representations, even if the nature of their existence is not long lasting. Exposition space changes and affects its host city in both physical and mental ways and this cause-effect relationship is mutual. The Great Exhibition can be put forward as an example of blueprinted space as an exposition space. It transforms as a lived space in the story of both South Kensington and the Exhibition Road Cultural Quarter in a mutual way. In 2000, the Millennium Dome of Richard Rodger with its specially built Jubilee Line extension was an attempted integration with the Great Exhibition tradition that was invented in 1851.

According to Michel Foucault, the exposition can be easily added to a list of similar spaces, in which 'history unfolds' such as cemeteries, theatres, cinemas, gardens, zoos, museums, libraries, brothels, barracks, and also the prisons. These places differ from all the other institutions in a single factor, being the greater importance of their ephemeral nature. An attempt is made to overcome the inherently transitional character of the expositions by arguing, interpreting and issuing the existing situation. The main issue for these structures is the 'day after', while their primary obligation is to overcome, and eventually transcend, the definite boundaries. In many cases, these structures are re-erected in a different location, and doing so a new transformation at an urban scale is inevitably. For instance, the Crystal Palace was relocated in an enlarged form on Penge Common next to Sydenham Hill, and came to transform this location as well as at an urban scale. This structure eventually succumbed to the fire in 1936, however the name of this temporary structure was later adopted to refer this area of south London and the park that surrounds the site, which is not the home of the Crystal Palace National Sports Centre. Even when these structures are not kept alive again, they have potential as a history unfolds in a Foucauldian manner.

How can these ephemeral structures be positioned in the timeline of Lefebvre? As he mentions in his book 'Urban Revolution', there are two critical phases in his time-space axis that intersect the urban in historical time: the first phase and the second critical phase. He explains that the first critical phase is related to the long-dominant agrarian (agricultural production, rural life, peasant society), although this trilogy becomes subordinate to an urban reality that is initially propelled and soon ravaged by commerce and industry.[14] In the time-space axis, this period refers to the transformation from political city to a mercantile city, although there is also a paradigm shift between the mercantile city and industrial city that is a transition from agrarian to urban. The first critical phase can be explained as the subordination of the agriculture to industrialization and refers to the 16th century of Europe and the effects of Renaissance and Reformation. The second critical phase is when a dominant industry that becomes subordinate to the urban reality. Lefebvre questions the knowledge of the urban phenomenon, with his first claim is related to its scientific position. He states that it can be considered as a science if it involves the conscious formation of an urban praxis (becoming an industrial praxis) in terms of its rationality. Generally, industrialization results in urbanization, with the relationship between the urban and the process of urbanization are resulting in the mode of production.

Level G (global logic and
political strategy of space)

0 ———————————————————→ 100%

Level M (mixed, middle, mediator)
Level P (private: habiting)

First critical phase
(agriculture is subordinated
to industrialization)
Sixteenth century in Europe
(Renaissance and Reformation)

Second critical phase
(a) subordination of industry
   to urbanization
(b) subordination of the global
   to the urban and the urban
   to habiting

FIGURE 4 The phases of the City to Urban

Lefebvre concludes with an objective definition of urbanism, claiming it to be the 'physical trace on the land of human dwellings of stone, cement, or metal' and continues his argument by making a radical critique of the activity that claims the control the process of urbanization, and urban practice, and subjects it to its order. Lefebvre claims that there are several urbanisms, being those of humanists, developers, and the state and its technocrats. The first of these is related to abstract utopias, while the second sells urbanism and the last one dissociates into will and representation, institutions and ideologies. How can this be interrelated with the urbanization and the exposition? This architectural process begins with the urbanism of the technocrats and developers, but turns into the urbanism of the state. The fact that the state provides several benefits within this structure can be proof of the power that the state demonstrates through these international organizations uses as a formation of surplus value within its economic power.

Planners and developers are unable to control the productive activities, and Lefebvre criticizes this bureaucratic capitalism. While technicians and technocrats may be asked for the advice, they cannot take decisions and they are not decision makers, and lack the ability to decide upon the lifetime of the temporary structures. The state may decide to extend the lifetime of these projects, and technocrats will have no say in the matter. Urban planners take on the role of administrators and organizers, even though they may (not) recognize the fact. They have no role in the control of space, and the medium of space itself also changes, no longer being perceived only as an earth or soil, but also the space of society. Space becomes the product of social labour, production object and the formation of surplus value. In the recent past, production could be conceived only as an object; today, however, space is an output of production that can be bought, sold, and exchanged. Although the production of space is not a new thing, what is new is the global and production of 'social space'.

Urban ideology exaggerates the role of planners and their activities, creating the illusion that they can manage others and things by using these representations in an innovative and positive way. Many planners think they have the ability to define, design and create social life and its relations, although Lefebvre says, 'Here the urban illusions awakens the somewhat somnolent mythology of the Architect'.[15] Urban ideology becomes a passive and reductive practice, and follows a kind of medical ideology in which urban planners diagnose spatial diseases, and space becomes the subject of this diagnosis that suffers, becomes ill, is taken care of and is returned to health.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, the international expositions and world's fair as worldwide events crossing over centuries have been re-examined and researched from different perspectives such as architecture, urban planning, architectural history, art history and urban history. This paper is focused on the relationship between the exposition and the historical urban developments. Moreover, it leads to document and expose the impact and the role of the expositions in the history of planning. These exhibition spaces are a significant visionary statement for rethinking, understanding, and planning the future urban developments. The international expositions have played a great role in the transformation of the urban.

The design of the urban form is based on the infrastructure necessities of the exposition such as transportation, accommodation, and also catering. The transformation of the urban can be reorganized and overhauled in these fields, given their ability to change the identity of the particular site. Expositions form part of the urban environment, but also influence the formation of the urban in the transformation of space. This study examines the relationship between the Great Exposition and the subsequent transformation of the Kensington site into the exhibition district of the city of London. The Great Exhibition is a particularly significant event from a planning and architectural perspective that transformed the urban context. The urban operation was developed on the Kensington Site and has been a great model as an exhibition space. Although the exposition has long gone, its area of influence extends far beyond its own scale even today. South Kensington has become a prime example of how international expositions can contribute to the design and transformation of urban sites with a specific meaning: Exhibition.

Endnotes

1   Eric Hobsbawm, The Age of Capital (second edition New York, 1979). pp. 32-33.
2   Zeynep Celik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fair* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992) p. 1.
3   Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution* (The University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis and London, 2003) p. xi.
4   Ibid., p. 115.
5   Ibid.
6   Ibid. p. 119.
7   Ibid.
8   Jeffrey A, Auerbach,. *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display* (London: Yale University Press, 1999) p.197.
9   Kirsten Orr. 'Designing Sydney, 1879-1891: Visions of an Antipodean South Kensington' (*Journal of Australian Colonial History*, Vol. 11, 2009) pp. 147-166.
10 Miriam L. Levin, "Dynamic Triad: City, Exposition, and Museum in Industrial Society," *Urban Modernity: Cultural Innovation in the Second Industrial Revolution* (MIT Press, United States of America, 2010) p. 3.
11 Lefebvre. op. cit., p. 32.
12 Ibid. p. 47.
13 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Blackwell Publishing, Oxford UK, 1991) p. 311.
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15 Ibid. p. 156.

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Image Sources

Figure 1: The diagram is produced by the author.
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Figure 3: Henri Lefebvre, The Urban Revolution.
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THE PRE-HISTORY OF REGIONAL SCIENCE METHODS IN PLANNING: THE EXPERIENCE OF BRITISH PLANNING IN THE 1940S

Peter Batey

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Regional science, as a field of research activity, has its roots in the 1950s, when economists, geographers and planners began to realise the potential of inter-disciplinary approaches to the rigorous analysis of cities and regions. Major advances were made in the development of regional science theory and method and its application to public policy. Especially in the 1960s and 1970s, the use of regional science methods to support strategic spatial planning became widespread, strongly linked to the adoption of a rational model of the plan-making process, with explicit objectives and the generation and testing of alternative planning strategies.

The adoption of such approaches was seen at the time by many planners as an important step towards creating a more modern planning process that took advantage of the latest developments in computing and data handling. However, it would be misleading to assume that this 'scientific' activity was completely without precedent. In the 1940s, on both sides of the Atlantic, there is ample evidence of the application of social science methods and theory in planning. Hebbert, for example, provides a fascinating account of what he calls the 'daring experiments' of the 1940s when, for the first time, geographers, economists and sociologists became involved in land-use planning in Britain.

In this paper, this 'pre-history' of regional science methods is explored. The focus is upon systematic planning methods used to support the plan-making process. These methods, which may be quantitative or qualitative, are capable of being applied at various stages of making a plan and keeping it up to date. As formal methods, they are documented, may be applied consistently and can be replicated.

The paper looks at British experience of plan-making during and immediately after the Second World War, a remarkably productive period in the development of planning methodology. Many of the ideas of Patrick Geddes, a planning pioneer long forgotten by planning practitioners, including particularly survey-before-plan and the city region as the geographical basis for plan-making, were re-discovered; plan-making was increasingly seen as teamwork involving a range of disciplines and professions; some planners were able to engage in Hebbert's daring experiments; and planning was beginning to rely upon the results of applied social science research. As the country looked forward to a period of post-war reconstruction, the public and political profile of planning was at an all-time high. However, the 1947 Planning Act, which brought with it the requirement for all local authorities to prepare a development plan, would place heavy demands upon the planning profession.

The paper looks at the influences upon plan-making at the time: the experimental planning studies that foreshadowed the new planning system; the official guidance provided by government to usher in the new system; the role played by social scientists; the professional training provided for planners; and the international inter-change of ideas and practice concerned with plan-making. It examines the reasons why the statutory plans produced under the new Planning Act were so disappointing in terms of their methodology.

V.06 P.149 **Peter Batey**
THE PRE-HISTORY OF REGIONAL SCIENCE METHODS IN PLANNING: THE EXPERIENCE OF BRITISH PLANNING IN THE 1940S

TOC

Scales and Systems

Policy Making Systems of City, Culture and Society

Instrumentalising Culture

Chair: Karl Kupka

POST-CBD REDEVELOPMENT IN DUTCH AND ITALIAN UNESCO-CITIES

Karl Kupka[1] | **Sabrina Vermeer**[2]

1   *Amsterdam University*

2   *Architect*

Hypothesis

[Is there a fundamental contradiction between Cultural Heritage and Urban Renewal or] can Urban Planning lead to a piece-by-piece redevelopment process by which historic characteristics in physical properties and social composition of neighbourhoods are preserved?

Methodology

In World Heritage cities over 30 projects have been analysed, following this enquiry format:

1. Outline of the major redevelopment interventions in the respective city centres over the 20th Century;

2. Operative planning instruments and policies

3. History of the single locations: previous situation, design competitions, specific regulations, influence of institutions and citizens;

4. Design principles: reference to Genius Loci and/or to particular periods in History, evaluation of costs and benefits.

Results

This research presents a dichotomy between Italian and Dutch urban renewal planning systems after CBD-policies. Italian policies were driven by restoration, whereas in Holland substitution by new construction prevails. The Italian planning approach towards Heritage Cities is also applied in Dalmatia. Dutch social housing and redevelopment of former docklands is also practiced in World Heritage cities like Liverpool. Italian restauro conservativo: is a framework of physical planning to control interventions by private property owners. Italian urban planning generally resulted in renovation instead of demolition. As social housing is an exception in historic centres, gentrification has been facilitated (e.g. Venezia). In Holland district renewal -after strong citizen's protests against CBD-policies- followed the primacy of social housing. This Building for the neighbourhood consisted of a gradual replacement of private properties by new social housing. This created a consensus with the residents and preserved the social mix in the districts. In the 1990s the accent of Dutch urban renewal was laid on a mix of free market and social housing on brownfields and docklands.

Relevance for Planning History The urban planning systems in the two countries reveal fundamental differences:

a. The Italian instrument (strumento urbanistico, formerly PRG) controls formal aspects – the Dutch destination plan (omgevingsplan formerly bestemmingsplan) functions and use.

b. This distinction has historic roots. Already in the 12th Century the Dutch had a utilitarian attitude towards land use. This "Form follows Function" is the central issue in Dutch planning and not the buildings or their technical state.

c. The formal restrictions in Italian planning, "Function follows form", derive from the more solid structure of buildings, the stronger position of private property and the pride to conserve local and regional traditions.

On one hand, the research reveals a creative practice of re-use of historic buildings in Italy, also for existing functions that elsewhere are considered only to be accommodated in new constructions in peripheral locations, like hospitals (e.g. Firenze and Venezia).

On the other hand, the impressive social housing programmes in Holland have resulted in a lesser degree of gentrification with respect to other historic cities.

Both strategies can contribute to a resilient city after periods of degradation or destruction. The followed methods can be analysed and applied in adapted form in situations of new challenges on (damaged) heritage cities.

Keywords

(municipal) Urban Planning, (UNESCO) Historic Urban Landscapes, (War) destructions, Clearance, Building for the Neighbourhood, Conservative Restoration

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN URBAN PLANNING AND CULTURAL POLICY

Carlos Galceran

Architect

One of the greatest challenges for the cities in the XXI century is how to find social integration in the diversity and the greatest goal is to avoid that the diversity of the population doesn´t cause segmentation and exclusion. We have to understand cities as an open system to develop ideas and projects that come from the citizens themselves. The Network of Civic Centers in the city of Girona in Catalunya, Spain, shows us how to achieve that task and the way to integrate cultural policies together with urban planning and social policies. The city of Girona is a middle age city that has a modern area and it is very interesting to study how the two parts of the city can be planned together and contribute to the social integration. My goal is to make a research about the story of this public policy, how the Girona City Hall could develop a public policy that survive over the changes of different politic parties in the government of the city and manage this policy of integration using the tool of a network that integrates seven civic centers that offers different activities to the citizens in different areas. A good social policy begins with a good cultural policy. I think that cultural policy, social policy and urban planning are part of the same system and they have to work together with the goal to obtain better cities to live on The city of Girona is a paradigmatic example, as it presents a middle age part of it, from the early XIth. Century, and a modern part. Each of the different civic centers is located in different parts of the city, each of them with different and special issues as poverty, immigration, etc. Some of these civic centers are located in old buildings of the XVth. Century that have being recycled for modern uses and some of them is part of new urban planning that is projected to develop a hole area. I think that is very interesting to study this planning and city managing experience to take conclusions about their success and the problems that they had to resolve. I plan to make my research with interviews to the different political and social actors in this management, and to interview the academic staff of the Cultual University of Girona that I have the pleasure to meet personally in my last trip to Girona like Alfons Martinells and Gema Carbo. The conclusions of this study will give us tools to reproduce this policy in other cities around the world, and I am very interested to use this experience in the management of my city, Montevideo in Uruguay. We can find in Montevideo some public spaces that have been planned to help social and cultural integration in different areas of the city and I plan to bring the results of my research to help this process

FROM NATIONAL DISGRACE TO EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE 2019 MATERA'S DNA: THE NATURE-CITY REGENERATING STRATEGY

Ina Macaione | Enrico Anello | Armando Sichenze

Nature City LAB, Dicem Università della Basilicata

During the course of its candidacy and successful bid to be nominated as European Capital of Culture 2019 , Matera has become a sort of big magnifying glass over the idea of a city's capability to attain achievements in a time of extreme reduction in public spending. In Matera one can observe the phenomenon of a city anchored to its architectural history while living within a disorganised society, pervaded by a "liquid culture" similar to Bauman's definition of european culture as: fluid, unstable, variable, with little consistency. The recognition of Matera as Capital of Culture in 2019, is mainly based on the appreciation by the European Commissioners for that complete paradigm for a city that Matera is: an active and thriving city articulated through five kinds of settlement forms, sedimented in time throughout nine thousand years of history, and now lived in different ways, yet are still closely knitted due to the small size of the urban area. The latest studies show that the best known urban regeneration has taken place in the suburbs called Sassi. A far cry from their being denounced in the 1950's by De Gasperi as the "shame of humanity", they have become the most famous Italian recovery of a historical city, a process culminating in their joining the list of Unesco's World Heritage Sites. For various reasons today Matera is therefore one of those rare Italian places where it is still possible to think, discuss and design with a policentric way of comparison, without getting lost in an absolute nothing. This is now the biggest asset allowing Matera to drive forward a pivotal cultural role even in its transition from historical city to pioneering innovations related to the digitisation of services. In a context in which the city through its candidacy has become of Culture Capital 2019, the goal of this research will be to understand how citizenship is responding to its tendency to become a cultural city. The research over Matera, allows to define the city as something that exists between the natural and the artificial, which is subject to culture and therefore of permanence and memory.

As a resilient city, Matera represents a phenomenon of architecture at different scales and where the architecture of the city is the limiting part, that however, contains other variables, such as the nature that encompasses the "whole" of the city, to which all architecture is physically part of the initial charge.

The research will also focus its attention on participation/planning processes that we are studying ,with results already published in the city's DNA, as part of a program of City Workshops that take place in the part of the city once called periphery, particularly defined in the thirteen historic districts called "modern", situated beyond the "Sassi" and the city center. Therefore in a context where the city produces a faster evolution of itself, can Matera be in line with the development plan that will make it the future Culture Capital?

V.06 P.159 **Ina Macaione | Enrico Anello | Armando Sichenze**
FROM NATIONAL DISGRACE TO EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE 2019 MATERA'S DNA: THE NATURE-CITY REGENERATING STRATEGY

TOC

MOSQUE USE DENSITY AND PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENTAL CHARACTERISTICS AROUND THE MOSQUES IN HISTORICAL AND NEW DEVELOPMENT AREAS OF IZMIR, TURKEY

Emine Duygu Kahraman | Ebru Çubukçu | Beyza Karasu | Mustafa Taşçı

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Mosques are important buildings that people tend to go for five times a day and on special events in Muslim settlements. Although, mosques are built by the authority or wealthy Muslims for charity purposes, various factors may influence the location choice of mosques, such as: (1) population size, (2) accessibility and (3) land use. Muslim men tend to worship in mosques as a daily activity. Even those who do not worship daily tend to worship in mosques on Fridays, Sacrifice Feast, and Ramadan feast. Thus, mosques reached their highest density on those special events (as majority visit mosques on those special events). Considering, mosques are used daily by many Muslims, people choose to go to the mosques that are in a walking distance to their house or work. According to spatial planning and construction regulations of Turkey 2014, approximate walking distance of mosques varies between 250- 400 meter based on their size. In historical city centres, such regulations are met. However, in contemporary environments mosques could be located further from such distances. This paper discusses the mosque use density in relation to physical environmental characteristics around them. In addition, the physical environmental characteristics around the mosques in historical city centres and in contemporary areas in the periphery are compared. A total of ten mosques were analyzed; seven were located in the city center (Kemeraltı district), three were located in new development areas (Mavişehir district). Kemeraltı district has been occupied since the Byzantine period. Ottoman Turks setteled in the area in 1425. In other words, Kemeraltı district represents the historical character and has been serving as the city centre for a long time. Mavişehir districts represents the contemporary environment and located on the periphery in İzmir. To compare the use density and physical environmental characteristics in two areas (contemporary and historical) various data was collected. For the use density, surveys were held with imam of each mosque and peak hour use density were derived. For physical environmental characteristics, accessibility, land use differentiation and building density were measured. Land use differentiation and building density were measured via geographic information systems. Accessibility was calculated for each mosque via Space Syntax. Results showed differences in physical environmental characteristics in two areas. In parallel, use density was higher in historical city centres than that in contemporary areas. Despite the methodological limitations (small sample size etc.), this study is important in highlighting the relation between physical environment and people's behaviour in the case of mosque use. The applied value for urban design is discussed.

Keywords
Urban Design, Accessibility, Mosques, Space Syntax, Izmir

V.06 P.161   Emine Duygu Kahraman | Ebru Çubukçu | Beyza Karasu | Mustafa Taşçı

MOSQUE USE DENSITY AND PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENTAL CHARACTERISTICS AROUND THE MOSQUES IN HISTORICAL AND NEW DEVELOPMENT AREAS OF IZMIR, TURKEY

Planning Policies and Culture

Chair: Ana Pereira Roders

THE HISTORY OF AESTHETIC CONTROL AND MANAGEMENT IN THE PLANNING SYSTEM, THE CASE OF TURKEY

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Urban aesthetics is a complex subject that needs to be evaluated in a city beyond its physical characteristics. As the built environment is the central part of human existence, and collectively coordinating individual decisions is the best management practice to add or change the environment, aesthetic control is necessary. Aesthetic control and management have been affected from the practice of urban planning in time. The aim of the paper is to discuss the approaches related to aesthetic control management depending on the change of the Turkish planning system within the historical process. In the study, aesthetic control and management depending on the practise of the Turkish planning system are analysed in four planning periods. The lessons to be taken from the Turkey case may be useful for countries facing the same dynamic development process.

V.06 P.165   **Azadeh Rezafar | Sevkiye Sence Turk**
THE HISTORY OF AESTHETIC CONTROL AND MANAGEMENT IN THE PLANNING SYSTEM, THE CASE OF TURKEY

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TOC

INTRODUCTION

Aesthetics is often considered in usual sense of taste or art[1]. According to the dictionaries, 'aesthetics' refers to the appreciation or criticism of the beautiful, the philosophy or science of taste or the perception of the beautiful[2]. Traditional definitions of aesthetics refer to the perception of beauty in the arts and may imply extreme and intense feelings such as the sublime. Such definitions overlook smaller changes that people experience every day in their surroundings. It refers to favourable evaluative effects that are experienced in relation with the environment[3].

As the built environment is the central part of human existence, and collectively coordinating individual decisions is the best management practice to add or change the environment, aesthetic control is necessary. Aesthetic control seeks to protect or enhance the quality of urban life by regulating the appearance of additions or alterations to the built environment[4]. Aesthetic control and management have been affected from the practice of urban planning in time.

The aim of the paper is to discuss the approaches related to aesthetic control management depending on the change of the Turkish planning system within the historical process. The lessons to be taken from the Turkey case may be useful for countries facing the same dynamic development process.

In the second section of the paper, literature background of aesthetic control and management in urban planning practices around the world is given. The third section is divided into three parts. In this section, aesthetic control and management depending on the practise of the Turkish planning system are analysed in four planning periods. The last section is devoted to general evaluation and conclusion.

LITERATURE BACKGROUND: THE HISTORY OF AESTHETIC CONTROL

Aesthetic control history has been closely related to the planning history of the countries. As Freestone[5] explains the rapid urbanization that had been seen in some parts of the world during the 1800s caused many persons to become interested in the aesthetic development and regulation of cities, alongside other environmental issues. Perhaps the most well known manifestation of this concern was the 'City Beautiful' movement that arose in the United States, and which was premised on the belief that cities could indeed be made beautiful by public action[6].

The early 19th century was the period of the rejecting of traditional design themes from largescale city plans. In this application the goal was the grid plans that required minimum governmental expenditure. Great industrial cities emerged during the Industrial Revolution around the same time. Deteriorating housing and living conditions as well as the decline of the open space caused attention of the public to the lack of state-centred political systems. These problems in the 19the century tried to be solved through zoning ordinances. Zoning was the primary tool to control the aesthetic character of development[7]. In time communities saw dull generic buildings with vast parking lots as the character of their cities and they started to look for ways for recreating more attractive and livable communities. In this regard various forms of aesthetic control were introduced.

From the 1920s to 1960s, urban governance whereas not entirely disregarding aesthetics issues but generally subordinated scientific-functionalist issues[8]. But urban design movement that the origins was North American urbanism within 1960s brought back a focus on the 'look and feel' of places in order to governance of the built environment[9]. The visual attractiveness of new urban objects like buildings, public spaces and so on been a central issue for urban designers while aesthetic and appearances issues were not the solely concern of them[10].

The first wave of appearance codes and historic preservation codes emerged in 1970[11]. These codes emerged in order to react to the destruction of older buildings, and their replacement with new ones[12]. In the case of aesthetic control management, these codes just focused mainly on materials and colours of building facades that were restructive and caused adverse effects of limiting creativity[8]. Billboard restrictions and landscape ordinances became communal by the 1980s, however the 1990s brought other interest areas in planning such as neighbourhood or "small-area" planning and special design districts as well as in codes that protect existing trees on land that was subject to private development[13].

In recent years, public officials have enacted and courts generally have upheld a variety of forms of aesthetic regulation such as screening fences, the parking of recreational vehicles, the size, type and location of signs and billboards, and the architectural style of structures on the land that all have been held to be within the legitimate scope of police power regulation[14].

AESTHETIC CONTROL WITHIN THE HISTORY OF TURKISH URBAN PLANNING

From the 19th century, with the effect of Westernalisation, there have been some changes in Turkish cities. In this part, aesthetic control and management depending on the practice of urban planning during the late Ottoman Empire until the 21st century has been described.

URBAN PLANNING AND AESTHETIC CONTROL MANAGEMENT IN THE LATE 19TH CENTURY UNTIL 1950

In the 19th century, the effect of Westernalisation with the starting of modern projects emerged from the economical and institutional changes in the Ottoman Empire by the 1840s. Trade relationships were formed with the British Empire, France, Austria, and Russia[15]. The diffusion process of planning dependent upon these exchanges was defined and codified by the Tanzimat reform or Ottoman reforms of 1839. Meaning literally 'arrangements', Tanzimat declaration was aimed at renovating, reorganizing, becoming more corporate and up to date in all facets of the public sector in order to turn the capital city into a modern city. The supporters and drivers of the Tanzimat were of the view that to live like Europeans, one had to behave like Europeans[16]. Actually that was the period of Westernisation. The economical successes and military and scientific advancements of European nations intrigued Ottoman leaders[17]. According to Tekeli[18], the urbanisation began just after the 1850s. The urbanisation process began once the modernisation period that Tekeli[19] named as "shy modernisation" in the Ottoman society. Turkey first went through urban transformation in this period and the main transformative factor was fire. Cities constructed out of wood caught on fire in large proportions, and making plans for renewing them was necessary.

The first plans that had been made in the 1850s were in the form of local plans for fire areas. The main priority of the time-in-town planning was solving the issue of large areas laid waste by fires and earthquakes that frequently ravaged the city[20]. Regulations (*nizamname*) that were the first written text on urban spatial arrangements[21] or planning and design guidelines of the time, shared some planning and construction principles about buildings and roads. Material and height structure, expropriation of property rights, prevention of the exposed fire and use of tramway as a new transport system were among these principles. Accordingly, to reduce to a minimum fire risk, these principles reflected health principles rather than aesthetic concerns in general.

The most appreciate example of planning was the development of Istanbul, the capital of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century. For this aim, foreign planners who had never seen Istanbul were invited from Europe. These planners experiences were solving the problems of European cities that had emerged by industrialisation, such as haphazard growth, pollution, ill housing and transportation. So, Turkish planning practice started with the same

   Azadeh Rezafar | Sevkiye Sence Turk
THE HISTORY OF AESTHETIC CONTROL AND MANAGEMENT IN THE PLANNING SYSTEM, THE CASE OF TURKEY

concerns as the industrialised cities which was 'aesthetic concern'[22]. As a result the 'Beautiful Istanbul' plan was designed by the chief architect of Paris, Joseph Antoine Bouvard, in 1902. Criticism was about the plans focused on fragmented nature and the lack of a holistic concern for the entire city[23]. The largescale applications of European capitalism entered the city through the public transport system in the adoption of new technologies and materials at this time[24]. In this term, the legal sources related to urban planning such as the Building Regulations of 1848, the Road and Building Regulations of 1864 and the Building Law of 1882 came into force. In these legal sources, there were no provisions directly related to aesthetic control management. However, there were rules related to the façade, height and form of buildings, the materials to be used and the width of the roads. These rules were brought for the beauty of the cities (especially for Istanbul) and the public health.

With the pronouncement of the Republic in 1923, urban planning and development got importance in the presence of the government. Turkey went into social, economic and spatial regenerations. The period was called the Modernisation of the country. There were two main aims of the Turkish Republic in the 1920s: to constitute / form a nation state space in the country and to organise the cities as places of modernity[25].

In the 1930s planning practices concentrated on street layout, building blocks and public open spaces. In the same period the foreign planers were dealing with zoning, transportation hierarchy and variety in legend[26]. The major affects of modernity in Turkey's planning was happened in Istanbul's plan that designed by Henri Prost French Planner at 1936. The most constant phrase in these plans was 'beautiful and contemporary city.' Although not defined specifically, town silhouette and natural assets of the city had been taken into account in the plans too. Moreover, some of the planning ecoles were be preferred by the Republican cadre. Because of the works on European municipal management models and urban planning, there were ideological formations that supported Camillo Sitte's view[27]. The main reason for this was Sitte's respective attitude toward nature, historical urban fabric and the morphology of a city. The respect towards nature and history was the general perception of the world in the Early Republican State[28].

Some important laws were enacted in this term. Municipal Law No. 1580 and the Municipalities Buildings and Roads Law No. 2290 were among them. In the Law No. 1580, main duties of the municipalities were to take care of public health and welfare. Municipalities Buildings and Roads Law No. 2290 would bring the obligation of an urban plan for all municipalities. The municipalities had to make or have a firm prepare the urban plan for five years. In this period, city planning was based on the creation and development of the public spaces in the cities. In the term of aesthetic control and management there were no direct issues inside the laws. The importance and vitality of urban planning in the formation of the Republic was conceived. With all, the Republican cadre's perception of both urban planning and governance was totally about health, and the main concern was health rather than aesthetics.

URBAN PLANNING AND AESTHETIC CONTROL MANAGEMENT BETWEEN 1950 AND 1980

Between 1950 and 1980, the emerging of industrial cities by economical development and industrialisation policies caused internal migration from rural to urban areas. After the post-Second World War until 1980 following economical growth in the context of political development, the urban population increased rapidly. Economical growth brought spatial expansion, industrialisation, foreign aid and debts within the Marshall Plan[29]of the United States, a liberal economical model increased with investment in the economy and agricultural modernisation and mechanisation the move to multiparty democracy[30]. Adnan Menderes, prime minister, explained his vision of a contemporary city: "*Essential to the needs of the residents, the roads and avenues are vitally important*"[31] that explained the need for the reconstructing of major junctions and squares. According to Menderes,[32] the plans should contain large, handsome squares and wide avenues. The prominent interventions in this term included the complete demolition of inner-city neighbourhoods to build transport arteries such as the opening of Vatan,

Azadeh Rezafar | Sevkiye Sence Turk
THE HISTORY OF AESTHETIC CONTROL AND MANAGEMENT IN THE PLANNING SYSTEM, THE CASE OF TURKEY

Millet and Atatürk Boulevards in Istanbul's Historical Peninsula and to open up views of the silhouette of major monuments such as Suleymaniye and Eminönü Mosques[33]. In accordance to aesthetic control management in planning practices there was an important objective inside Menderes's opinion, beautifying the city as well as solving the traffic problems. Also, the projects in this term caused major concern about the conservation of the historic environment[34] by putting forward the city's monuments.

By increasing internal migration, housing stocks were inadequate and technical and social infrastructure problems emerged. So the main issue of the time was the increasing housing demand. Most of the cities' newcomers had found the solution by making 'gecekondu' - illegal housing or squatting.

In order to prevent illegal housing development in the cities, the Urban Planning Law No. 6785 was enacted in 1956. According to this law, for all buildings to be constructed inside the municipality's boundary, the municipality's permission is required. Also Article 25 of the law described the guidelines and construction regulations including building height, total floors, depth and overhang, using compatible materials with the environment, parcel façade, parcel size and the maximum construction zone inside the parcel.

In this term, informal development processes became fully commercialised as both *gecekondu* (squatter housing) and the illegal subdivisions spread in urban areas rapidly in a more favourable political and institutional framework[35]. The first attempts at the area- based housing renewal focused on the rehabilitation of squatter housing areas. The upgrading policy included selective demolition in squatter housing areas, infrastructure programmes, and preventive measures and rehabilitation plans based on the 1966 Law on Squatters (Law. No.775)[36]. This law served as a definition of prevention zones that were in areas reserved in development plans in order to prevent squatters, opened a new channel for the maintenance and improvement of buildings and provision of infrastructure. The renewal of existing housing areas helped to improve the quality of life for residents without necessarily having to build new housing[37]. However, the law remained insufficient on the prevention of the pressure on the built environment of squatter housing areas that affects the aesthetic value of cities.

URBAN PLANNING AND AESTHETIC CONTROL MANAGEMENT BETWEEN 1980 AND 2000

The main feature of this period was the emergence of neoliberal policies. This caused transformation from state centred economic development to market based economic development[38]. After 1980, planning and control practice in the international and global relations level began to lose its 'top-down' centralised nature in Turkey. Neoliberalism reconstitutes relationships between public institutions and key actors of the market, reducing the activity of government and encouraging non-government agencies and individuals and motivating civil society to take on more activities previously done by government. In this term the Metropolitan Municipality Law No. 3030 was enacted in 1984[39]. In this law the main duties, responsibilities and authorities of metropolitan municipalities were defined. However, this law did not bring any provisions related to aesthetic control management.

The 1980s created a second wave of internal migration. The rapid and uneven spatial growth within cities and between cities was largely a result of migration from rural areas where population declined in absolute numbers during the 1980s. Large cities such as Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir received the lion's share of migrants[40]. The new population established themselves either in vacant historic housing in central locations or periphery areas of the cities. This change led to both an increase in the density of the cities and an expansion in size of the cities. The growth of central business districts related with the transportation facilities, high-rise headquarters of companies, luxury housing, and increasing car ownership were the outcomes of this globalisation process of the 1990s[41].

Azadeh Rezafar | Sevkiye Sence Turk
THE HISTORY OF AESTHETIC CONTROL AND MANAGEMENT IN THE PLANNING SYSTEM, THE CASE OF TURKEY

A general building amnesty was issued in 1983, followed by a number of amendments until 1989 to upgrade existing settlements and to prevent new informal processes. These policies do not prevent new illegal settlement formation[42] [43]. The policies have also tended to encourage haphazard urban sprawl on public and private land, without any provision for social or infrastructure services[44]. The legalisation affects the social, economic and politic structures of cities[45].

There was another important law that determined the macro form of the city. It was the Reconstruction Law No. 3194 that was enacted in 1985. This law changed the planning system in two aspects. The first one relates to the delegation of the planning authority. The Reconstruction Law has ensured the delegation of the planning authority from the central government to the local government on the one hand and empowered central government units to use their planning authority by leaving an open door to special-purpose laws on the other. The effects of the latter have increased more over time[46] [47]. The second one involves the adoption of a deregulation policy. Deregulation is ensured by a delegation of the planning authority to local governments to a certain extent due to an increase in the efficiency of the local policy on approval processes of plans[48].

URBAN PLANNING AND AESTHETIC CONTROL MANAGEMENT FROM 2000 AND UNTIL NOW

The main feature of the current era is the attempt to reduce public spending and support of private investment. There are some legal sources that deal with the aesthetic and control management of the cities especially in the recent years. These can be divided into three main groups.

First of them is the 'Reconstruction Law' No. 3194 and its regulations. This law regulates the development of an urban built environment. In the case of aesthetic control management there are some items in the Reconstruction Law: Regulation upon Planned Fields and Regulation on Making Spatial Plans. In 2013, a rule was added to Title 8 of the Reconstruction Law No. 3194 with Law No. 6495. According to the rule, the emphasis is on the establishing of an '*architectural aesthetics commission*'. The commission is responsible for deciding as to whether urban projects are expressing original ideas. The commission has the right to make changes on the buildings that do not express the original ideas without asking to the project owners.

Also, in Article 10 of the Regulation upon Planned Fields, which was prepared based on the provisions of Reconstruction Law no.3194, municipal councils must be authorised to bring the rules for aesthetic, colour, roofing and insulating covering of the buildings and the use of local materials for construction of buildings and for consideration of the regional architecture. Legislation, which gives greater powers to the municipalities, was reserved. Relevant authorities with the participation of related public institutions may set up aesthetics committees of expert architecture[49]. Another regulation that was prepared based on the articles of the Reconstruction Law No. 3194 is the Regulation on Making Spatial Plans, prepared in 2014. According to this regulation, urban design guidelines must be prepared in line with the urban design projects. These urban design guidelines must be prepared in practical guidance and advice in the nature of the spatial planning system with the aim of gaining the meaning and identification and image of the space, to increase the aesthetic and artistic value and to fit the integrity of the structures.

Second of them is the special purpose laws. The 'Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property, No. 2863' as one of the special purpose laws came into force in 1983 and brought the rules related to aesthetic control management for conservation areas. In this law, 'Boards of Conservation' have been established to register the assets which are to be preserved as well as urban sites, archeological sites and natural sites, to define the temporary conditions of development untill the approval of the plan and to approve the 'Conservation-Aimed Development Plan'. Also, 'Boards of Conservation' evaluates the suitability of the building projects in urban sites.

 Azadeh Rezafar | Sevkiye Sence Turk
THE HISTORY OF AESTHETIC CONTROL AND MANAGEMENT IN THE PLANNING SYSTEM, THE CASE OF TURKEY

Another special purpose plan that deals with aesthetic control and management is Bosphorus Law No. 2960 that was enacted in 1983. The purpose of the law is to protect and develop the cultural and historical values and natural beauty of the Istanbul Bosporus Area by considering public welfare and to specify and regulate planning legislation to be applied in order to limit structuring that would increase the population in this area. The main issue of aesthetic control management in the law is to protect the natural aesthetic and architectural features of the Bosphorus in its general appearance.

Law No. 6306 on the Restructuring of Areas under Risk of Natural Disasters[50] is another important special purpose law that was enacted in 2012. Although there are no direct provisions about aesthetic control management of the areas under the law, when the Ministry of Environment and Urbanism approves the plan, the Ministry must take into consideration the congruity with the whole of the cities and the effect on close surroundings, provision of social and technical infrastructure, urban patterns and liveability.

Third of them is the administrative laws. Aesthetic control and management under the administrative laws can be evaluated by three laws: the Metropolitan Municipality Law No. 5216, the Municipality Law No. 5393 and the Special Provincial Administrations Law No. 5302.

The Metropolitan Municipality Law[51] No. 3030, which was in effect in 1984, was abolished and the new Metropolitan Municipality Law No. 5216[52] was issued in 2004. A two-tier metropolitan model was implemented in the administration of metropolitan areas. When Law No. 6360 came into force in 2012, the number of metropolitan municipalities was increased to 30 and the borders of the metropolitan municipality and the borders of the province overlapped each other. The law gives some rules on the duties of the metropolitan municipality related to aesthetic control management. In this title, the duties related to making the boulevards, streets and main roads, their maintenance and repair were given to the metropolitan municipality. Also, the metropolitan municipality put provisions related to the buildings that have façades in the determined areas in accordance with the urban design projects. Also, the metropolitan municipality determines where the announcements and advertisements will be placed in the cities and their size and shape.

The Municipal Law No. 5393[53] was enacted in 2005. According to the 15th title of the Municipality Law, the municipality has the right to determine a standard related to the announcement and advertisement billboards. Also, according to the 73th title of the Municipality Law, the municipalities have the right to make façade renovation of the buildings, and to createspecial lighting and landscaping in suitable parts of the city. The Special Provincial Administrations Law No. 5302[54] was enacted in 2005. There are no direct provisions about aesthetic control management of the areas under the law.

CONCLUSION

The planning history of Turkey in the last century proves that changing political and economic circumstances on both national and international levels causes the change in the formation of the planning process. As discussed in the article, the urban planning approach and planning practices have strongly been under the influence of economic, political and social circumstances as well as the international movements of the period. By pronouncement of the Republic in 1923 until now, modernisation, industrialisation, globalisation and neoliberal policies started with alternations in the social and spatial structures of Turkey.

When aesthetic control management is evaluated depending on Turkish planning history, an important change is seen to have started during the term between 1980 and 2000. At with previous terms, the aesthetic control management were quite limited. For example, during the period between the late 19th century until 1950, the aesthetic control management had focused much more on the issues related to 'public health' and 'urban

beautification'. At the time between 1950 and 1980, aesthetic control and management were to be considered to provide 'zoning regulations' and 'construction regulations'. For aesthetic control and management, different ways were used together at the same time after 1980.

After the 2000s, due to the effects of globalization and neoliberal policies, aesthetic control and management have become much more important. At this time, the legal arrangements for aesthetic control and management were made in three main areas. The first of them is the legal arrangements that were made in the Reconstruction Law and Regulations. The second is the legal arrangements that were made with the Special Purpose Laws. The third includes the legal arrangements in the Administrative Laws. Despite such a wide framework after the 2000s, it can be seen that there is no integrity for aesthetic control management, and there is a fragmented structure in Turkey. It is clear that the current aesthetic control and its management need a holistic approach.

POLICY TRENDS	LATE 19TH CENTURY UNTIL 1950	1950-1980	1980-2000	2000 UNTIL NOW (CURRENT TERM)
Political context	Westernisation/ Modernisation	Rural-urban wave, Industrialisation, Multi Political Democracy	Globalisation, Neoliberal movement	Globalisation, Neoliberal movement
Planning system	Dividing the city into sub regions, Beautification of Istanbul	Provide accessibility and connection between the cities	Mega projects	Mega projects, Urban renewal at the parcel scale and at the area scale
Aesthetic control management system	Solving the issue of fire and earthquake of the cities. Public health	Construction regulations Zoning regulations	Construction regulations Statutory Plan Notes depend on local physical plans Case by case evaluation by Conservative Boards within the scope of Law No. 2863 and Law No. 2960	Construction regulations Statutory Plan Notes depend on local physical plans Case by case evaluation by Conservative Boards within the scope of Law No. 2863 and Law No. 2960 Suggestion of the architectural aesthetics commissions Using of design guidelines
Influential legal sources	The Municipal Law (1580), The Municipalities Buildings and Roads Law (2290)	Urban Planning Law (6785)	Metropolitan Municipality Law (3030) Special-purpose Laws	Reconstruction Law (3194) Regulation upon Planned Fields, Regulation on Making Spatial Plans Law No. 6306

TABLE 1 Policy trends that influence the evaluation of aesthetic control management

Azadeh Rezafar | Sevkiye Sence Turk
THE HISTORY OF AESTHETIC CONTROL AND MANAGEMENT IN THE PLANNING SYSTEM, THE CASE OF TURKEY

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Tables and Figures

Table 1. The table is arranged by the authors

THE HISTORY OF AESTHETIC CONTROL AND MANAGEMENT IN THE PLANNING SYSTEM, THE CASE OF TURKEY

NARRATIVES OF RESILIENCE IN THE RECONSTRUCTION OF ROTTERDAM AND LIVERPOOL (1940-1975)

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During the Second World War, the port cities of Rotterdam and Liverpool were severely damaged in multiple air raids. Already during the war, plans were made to face the challenges of social, economic and physical recovery. An important part of these plans were narratives of positivity, resilience, and progress. This paper aims to analyse these narratives of resilience and reconstruction, examine who were responsible for these narratives, and to what extent these narratives influenced the politics and results of the reconstruction of Rotterdam and Liverpool after the Second World War. The positive narratives of resilience in Rotterdam and Liverpool were largely prompted by the pessimism and lethargy among the citizens during the war. The British Mass-Observation project recounts that after the air raids of May 1941, in Liverpool "There was practically nothing anywhere apparently being done with energy and imagination, to put a people back on its feet after perhaps the worst continuous battering any people have yet had in this country in this war." While in both cities plans were already being made, local coalitions of public and private actors realised that the story of the reconstruction had to be a hopeful one, and involve the creation of jobs, the building of houses, and the sanitisation of the pre-war city. Ultimately, the plans for the city centre represented a new élan and the construction of a new city identity. The reconstruction of Rotterdam went relatively swift. While the reconstruction of the port was given priority, in 1953 the iconic Lijnbaan shopping district was opened and in 1966, the reconstruction of the city centre was considered finished with the Doelen concert hall. However, even though the first plans for the reconstruction of Liverpool were already published in 1944, it was not until 1959 when private developers commissioned plans for the rebuilding of four areas in the inner city. Of these four areas, only the shopping area around St John's Precinct was finished remotely according to plan; the priority of housing is generally regarded to be the main reason for this. The aim of this paper is to examine why, despite similar narratives of resilience and reconstruction, the outcomes of the reconstruction of both cities were so different. In order to analyse the narratives of resilience, we have the following objectives. First, we relate the cases of Liverpool and Rotterdam to literature on disasters and the resilience of cities. Secondly, we will map the coalitions of public and private actors that were involved in the reconstruction of the city centres and relate these coalitions to the narratives of resilience. Furthermore, we try to analyse the different planning stages and priorities of reconstruction. In conclusion, we aim to explain why, despite similar damages, the centre of Rotterdam was rebuilt according to a uniform plan, while plans for the centre of Liverpool were only partly (if at all) were executed.

Keywords
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PLANNING AND POSTPONING THE URBAN REFORM OF COIMBRA'S DOWNTOWN

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In this paper I aim to analyse the process of transformation and modernization of Coimbra's downtown during the 19th century and the beginnings of the 20th century, firstly carried out to deal with the recurrent flooding of the Mondego River but moreover as a beautification plan carried out according to European models. Coimbra, like all Portuguese cities in this period, faced several sanitary problems due to the absence of water and sewage networks, lighting infrastructures and public transport; in addition in Coimbra these problems were exacerbated by the recurrent floods. The solution was the construction of a new riverbank, planned and executed by state engineers but partially paid for by the municipality. This work endorsed the reform of the main city entrance, the construction of a new bridge and a square, the enlargement of the Coruche Street and the construction of a boulevard by the river. Just a few years later, the riverfront and the image of Coimbra were reconfigured once more to implant a new train line and station. With this project began a new phase of planning that has lasted until today. It started with the opening of a boulevard connecting the station and the town hall. Then, at the beginning of the 20th century and, within the principles in vogue in Europe, the plan was extended to propose a set of wide avenues to sanitize the unhealthy downtown. The financial difficulties and the lack of government support postponed this ambitious plan. But, it was not overlooked, and was followed by a succession of plans and became a part of the collective imaginary. We analyse this set of plans, its motivations and its relation with international models. Furthermore we aim to explore its processes, emphasizing the role of the population yearning for the reform of the old core and the municipal council's efforts to execute these plans. In conclusion we stress the consequences of these unrealized plans for the transformation and growth of the rest of the city.

Keywords
sanitation, urban improvements, municipal policies.

INTRODUCTION

In the mid-nineteenth century all over Europe, cities were being radically transformed to solve the sanitation and circulation problem. Wide avenues were opened up, new modern neighbourhoods were built, and new public infrastructures such as power and lighting networks, water supply and sewer networks were constructed. The largest urban centres such as London and Paris, faced an unprecedented urban population growth which led to serious public health problems.[1] According to the prevailing theory of miasma emanations[2], the solution for the overcrowded neighbourhoods with poor sanitation and with an environment conducive to the spread of cholera and typhus epidemics was thought to be urban reform, improving ventilation of houses and streets. Furthermore, the wide streets also allowed the circulation of the new means of transportation. Beside the well-known examples of London, Paris, Vienna or Barcelona, these processes were extended to all cities, although on a different scale[3]. In Portugal, a small country with little industrial development, these urban reforms were delayed and for many almost imperceptible. However, this was a fundamental period not only for the modernization of Portuguese cities but also for the emergence of urban planning as an autonomous field which would be consolidated at the beginning of the 20th century.

Coimbra, a middle-sized city besides being, since 1537, the site of the only Portuguese university, is a good example of the process of modernisation of Portuguese cities. This paper analyses several attempts to apply the new hygienic principles and sanitize the downtown neighbourhood as well as creating a new modernized city emulating European models. It is based on the study of a set of plans drawn up by the municipality or the central government alongside citizens' reaction to these proposals unveiled in the periodical press.

COIMBRA: THE PECULIAR SITE OF THE TOWN

Coimbra has a strategic site by the side of the Mondego's River and at the most favourable point for crossing the Mondego. However, the city's commercial and artisanal area downtown was recurrently invaded by river water, creating serious damage and health problems. Moreover, after the installation of the University in the 16th century, a belt of religious colleges to the north, east and south prevented the city to expand elsewhere than along the river. Since then, several attempts have been made to create a new riverbank at a higher level to prevent flooding. The most consistent plan, drawn up by Estevão Cabral at the end of the 19th century, included the construction of a new bank from Coimbra to the sea. The French Invasions at the beginning of the 19th century stopped these works.

After this, the Liberal Revolution (1820) and the civil war (1828-1834) prevented the continuation of any work and dragged the country into a troublesome period. The liberal regime, established definitively in 1834, was responsible for vast and crucial legal, economic, social and cultural reforms. The extinction of the male religious orders and the nationalization of their assets had a double propose, enriching the public treasury and eliminating one of the supports of the opposing faction. This nationalization had an enormous impact on the transformation of all Portuguese cities, since the older buildings were converted into a set of new state premises re-functionalizing and transforming urban references. Beside this, their plots were urbanized and integrated into the urban fabric. In Coimbra, 22 colleges and three convents were incorporated into the National Property, allowing not only a break in the fence that prevented expansion of the city, but the appropriation of these monumental buildings endorsed the reorganization of the city and its change of image.[4] Therefore, the old Santa Cruz Monastery would give rise to the new civic centre.
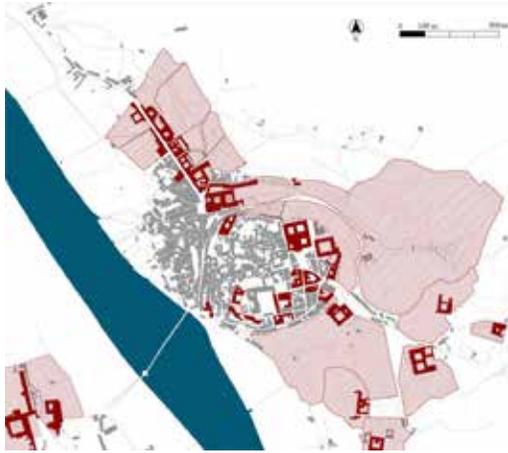
FIGURE 1 Coimbra at the beginning of the 19th century. Belt of colleges and its plots.

FIGURE 2 Places where food produce was sold

DRAWING UP A REFORM PLAN FOR COIMBRA

In 1835, concerning these nationalizations, the first liberal municipal government draw up an extensive reform plan for Coimbra.[5] This plan proposed the conversion of a set of former convents and colleges into new facilities: the municipal slaughterhouse, the administrative and judicial public office, the market, the military barracks, the hospice, the cemetery and the public garden. It also included the improvement of urban infrastructures like the water network supply, installation of public lighting, and the construction of a network of drains for the lower part of the city. However, the construction of a new bank along the river and the widening of the main street, the old and tortuous Coruche Street, which was part of the old royal road connecting Lisbon to Porto, were the most urgent projects. Like other cities, the most urgent improvements concerned the creation of public facilities to increase public health.[6]

The widening of Coruche Street had a double purpose: increasing the ventilation and insolation of the street and houses; improving the circulation between Lisbon and Porto. In spite of the urgency of this intervention, only after the establishment of the first public transport service connecting the two main Portuguese cities in 1857, did the government instruct the Public Works District Director to plan this project.[7] This intervention also raised the level of Sansão Square almost two metres preventing water from the Mondego from entering Santa Cruz Church.

Despite the importance of the pragmatic plan outlined by the municipal council in 1835, some of its options were criticized by the population who foresaw in the construction of the new facilities an opportunity to reform the old and unhealthy downtown area. The construction of the public market building is the best example of the clash between the City Council's pragmatic strategy and the population's desires for progress.[8] At that time the sale of food products was mainly made at St. Bartolomeu Square, Sansão Square and Sota Square. In 1839, after the transfer of Santa Cruz Monastery to the municipal property, the municipal administration decreed the transfer of sales for the Santa Cruz patio. However, this space was far from the usual circuits of the population and saleswomen argued for a more central spot, preferably near the city entrance and the main pier of the city, the Ameias Pier. The struggle increased when the municipality decided to construct a new building for the market on the Santa Cruz estate according to modern hygienic principles.
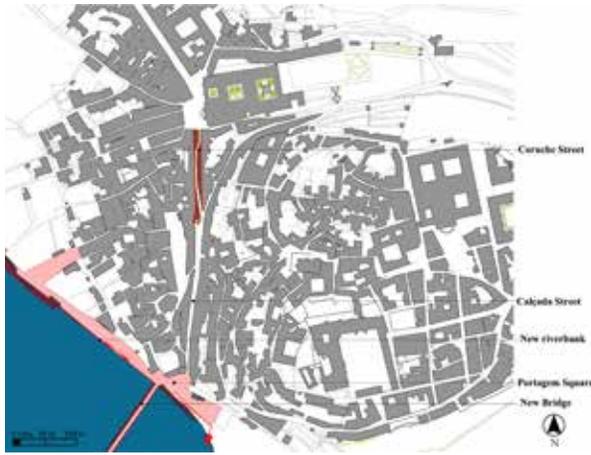
FIGURE 3 City entrance reformed and Coruche Street, 1875. Visible the new D. Carlos Square.

FIGURE 4 Hypothetic reconstruction of the Downtown Improvements Plan

Traders and the press demanded the location of the new building in the downtown, next to Sota Square, to be near traditional local trade, Ameias pier and Portagem Square. This solution demanded expropriations and expensive landfills,[9] however, on the other hand this implantation would endorse the reform of the downtown, raising the level of the area and opening a set of new wide streets, improving communication, insolation and ventilation. Despite the accuracy of these arguments, the financial weaknesses of the municipality meant that it could not carry out these expensive works and the new market was built in the ancient monastery estate, and inaugurated on the 17th of November 1867.

However, not even after the opening did the controversy cease, and a few years later in 1893, João Evangelista da Silva Santurnino presented a new proposal for the construction of a new public market near Ameias Pier. As a consequence, three years later, a commission was nominated to study not only the new market but a reform plan for the whole area.[10]

THE NEW RIVER BANK AND THE DESIRE FOR A RAILWAY STATION AVENUE

The idea of this urban reform had started to be argued more pointedly after the increase of the level of the riverbank in 1875 and after the construction of the new train station along the Ameias Pier in 1885. After the intervention in Coruche Street, the municipal council started to desire a larger beautification project for the city entrance, according to the new ideals of hygiene and movement of the bourgeois city.[11] This included the construction of the new riverbank at a higher level, the construction of a new bridge, the beautification of Portagem Square and the construction of a public park along the river bank.

This plan would become reality thanks to the determination of Mayor Lourenço de Almeida Azevedo,[12] who requested from the government a new bridge and for a new bank between Pedra Pier and the bridge at a higher level. While these works were being designed, the municipal authorities hired an engineer to draw up the desired city entrance at a higher level. This project redesigned the new city image, formed by a regular square and a marginal boulevard connecting the Ameias Pier and the Cerieiro Pier, enabling a green leisure area along the river within the spirit of the time. In 1875 the level of the river bank had been raised 1.5 meters, the new metal bridge had replaced the old stone bridge and the new D. Carlo Square was being built over the old irregular and sloping Portagem Square.
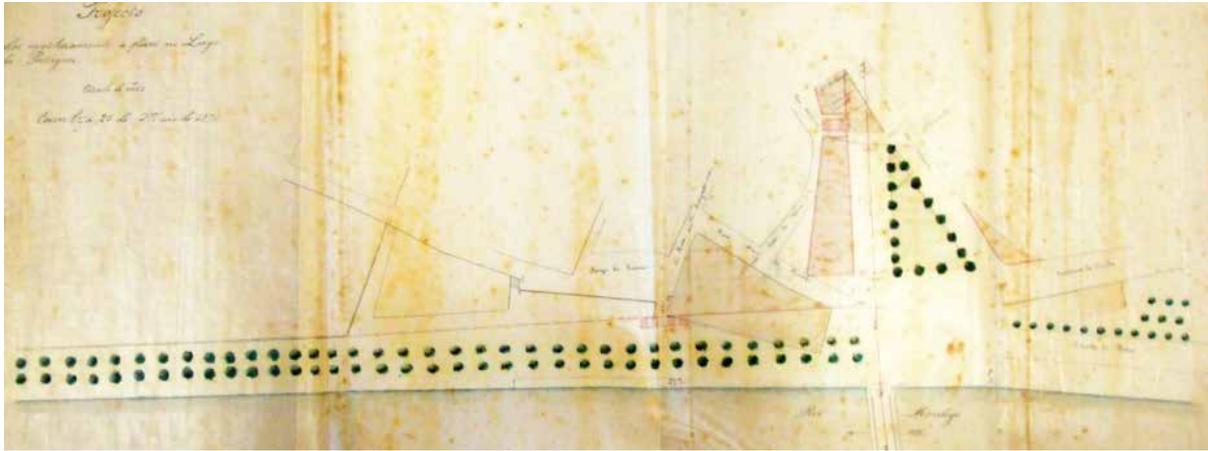
FIGURE 5 New D. Carlos Square and the boulevard by the River, 1874.

However, the unhealthy downtown of narrow streets with old buildings of several floors continued almost unchanged, with only occasional interventions raising the level of some streets. In 1885, after the central railway station was implanted in Ameias Square, the municipal authorities started to plan the opening of a new avenue between this square and the Comércio Square, replacing the old Solas Street.

Meanwhile, the municipality had initiated the expansion of the city with the construction of Santa Cruz neighbourhood, whose works mobilized most of the municipal resources. Moreover, in May 1888, the Mondego's River Public Works administration launched a great intervention that redrew the riverbank, moving it into the river about 35 meters, in order to implant a new railway which would connect Coimbra to Covilhã, the major industrial city of the central region of Portugal.[13] This intervention enabled a number of new reforms, the enlargement of the marginal public park, the construction of a new park upstream from the bridge and the reform of the beginning of the Beira Street into a wide green avenue. In addition, in 1888, the municipal administration, started the construction of the water supply network from the Mondego. These three interventions consumed all the technical and financial resources of the municipality. Nonetheless, these improvements stimulated the desire for renovation of the unhealthy downtown.

As a consequence, in 1891 the municipal administration requested João Teófilo Goes to make a reform project for the downtown. He proposed the opening of three avenues, one connecting the railway station and Visconde da Luz Street, another connecting May 8th Square, where the town hall had recently been built, and the Oleiros Pier, where the new railway commodity station was being built and finally another one connecting this last avenue to D. Carlos Square. In spite of recognizing the importance of this project, the municipal administration was committed to other key works, particularly sanitation infrastructures, and had to postpone the downtown reform.

However, the population and, more strongly, the Dealers Association, evoked the need to create a new station and a new connection between the railway station and the Visconde da Luz Street.[14] In fact, visitors who arrived at Coimbra station faced an old, small building and were then led through a narrow winding street to St. Bartolomeu Square which was connected to the Visconde da Luz Street by some roundabout and ugly stairs (St. Tiago stairs). In November 1899 the municipal administration responded to these calls, nominating Leonardo de Castro Freire to chair a commission to draw up a reform plan for the downtown. The Downtown Improvements Plan laid out a set of wide streets, very committed to the existing ones (to minimize the expropriations the commission predicted the widening only on one side of the street) resulting in a twisted pattern without geometry. The plan was approved but did not match the municipal council's desires and ended up not being applied.

FIGURE 6 St. Tiago stairs connecting St. Bartolomeu Square to Visconde da Luz Street
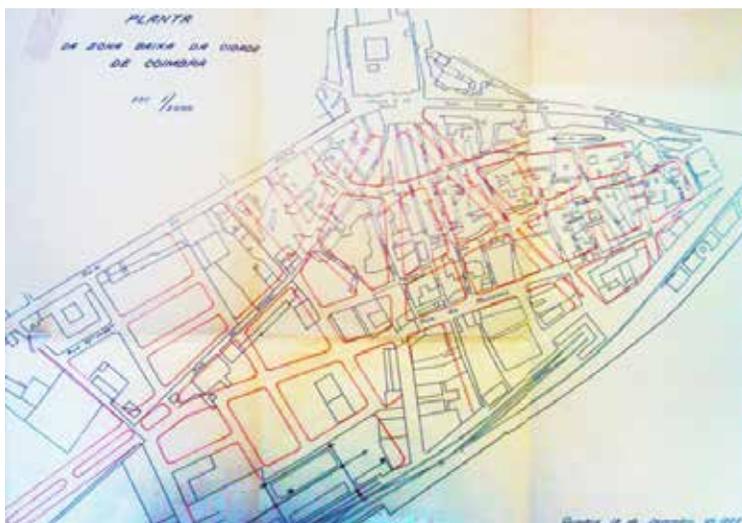
FIGURE 7 Plan proposing a set of new streets starting in May 8th Square, Abel Dias Urbano, 1924.

FIGURE 8 Hypothetical reconstruction of Luis Benavente's Plan, 1936

TOWN EXPANSION VERSUS URBAN REFORM

The beginning of the 20th century was, for Coimbra and for the major Portuguese cities, the time of the emergence of urban planning as a municipal activity. In spite of the early attempt of 1864, which created by law the Urban Improvements General Plans, and despite the enthusiasm of many municipal administrations who wished to reform their cities, the truth was that only the two major Portuguese cities, Lisbon and Oporto, had the required technicians (architects or engineers) to plan and execute those plans.[15] Even those cities which hired technicians and designed an Improvement General Plan faced several difficulties in executing them because of the lack of technical and financial resources.[16] At the turn of the century this situation started to change. On one hand the country's infrastructural works, such as the roads and railways were almost completed and started to release engineers to other works; on the other hand the epidemic that plagued the city of Oporto in 1898/1899 drew attention to the urgent need to undertake urban reform.[17]

Coimbra was one of the cities which, in 1865, celebrated the law that established the Urban Improvements General Plan and immediately nominated a commission to draw up this plan. However, this commission faced several problems, firstly because of the inexistence of a topographic plan of the city and secondly because of the lack of technicians. The first municipal engineer hired to design the city entrance left the job one year later to join the ministry of public works. Therefore, every time the municipal administration required a plan, they invited an engineer from the Mondego River Public Works Office, mainly its director, Adolfo Loureiro.[18] Despite the absence of technicians, Coimbra's municipal administration managed to redesign the city entrance, expand the city through the Santa Cruz valley and construct the water supply network and the sewer network, everything integrally controlled by the municipal administration. In addition, in 1904, Coimbra municipalized the gas manufacturing and the tram companies to install electrical power and a few years later, in 1911 the electric trams and electric lighting were inaugurated. Thanks to audacious mayors, Coimbra was becoming a modern city, with the most modern infrastructures in use in European cities. However, the downtown remained unchanged; urban reform required expropriations and great municipal investment while urban growth was less expensive, simpler to execute, and it created more consumers for the urban municipal services, paying for its own enlargement (water supply, electric power supply and urban transports).

Nevertheless, the idea of reforming the downtown prevailed, especially among the population. Just a few years later the chief of the municipal urbanizations services, Abel Dias Urbano, proposed a new plan, approved by the municipal council on February 2, 1924. This ambitious plan redesigned May 8th Square, stressing its centrality, and laid out a set of avenues sanitizing the downtown and ensuring easy connections to the bridge, the railway station, the railway commodity station and Arnado, the north area where the industrial district was starting to develop. The redesigned area would host some new facilities like the Court, Commercial Schools, Primary School and Female High School. To improve rain drainage and prevent the flooding of the river, it proposed raising the level of the whole area.

Beyond the street layout, Dias Urbano designed an implementation strategy founded on the application of Lisbon's expropriation law[19] and on the creation of an expropriation fund, sponsored by stakeholders in exchange for plots for the new residential buildings.

Although implying the radical transformation of the lower city, this plan proposed a new modernized and healthy downtown, meeting the population's expectations. Despite wide acceptance and even the compliments received in the periodical press, Coimbra had little industry and it was not easy to mobilize investors. In consequence, only the new constructions had to follow the approved plan, resulting today in some incoherent alignments.[20]

FIGURE 9 Detail of Etienne de Gröer's plan, 1940. Preserving the ancient urban fabric, opening two avenues starting in May 8th Square. In red the new railway station.


FIGURE 10 Downtown reform Plan, Alberto Pessoa, 1956. Preserving the ancient urban fabric on the right but a new model for the industrial/commercial area.

FIGURE 11 Downtown reform plan. Manuel Costa Lobo, 1971

FIGURE 12 Fernando Távora's proposal, 1992. Restoring the square to its original level and proposing the opening of the central avenue.

The period after this was marked by an accelerated growth of the city area endorsed by the urban transport network.[21] However, and despite several attempts, Coimbra remained without a plan to regulate urban growth, only guided by a fragile Urban Code.[22] In 1933 the municipal administration hired Luis Benavente to draw up an Urbanization Plan for Coimbra. According to the aspiration of the municipal administration, this plan, analogous to Dias Urbano's plan, laid out a completely new downtown proposing the demolition of the majority of the existing buildings. Nonetheless in December 1934, while this plan was being designed, a new national decree changed the Portuguese urban planning system, introducing a compulsory General Urbanization Plan for every city of 2500 inhabitants or more. Coimbra's municipality hired an urban planner of international repute to design the General Urbanization Plan, Etienne de Gröer[23].

FROM DOWNTOWN REFORM TO THE SANTA CRUZ AVENUE

Etienne de Gröer proposed a more realistic plan for the downtown, claiming that it would be economically impossible to demolish and construct everything to achieve the street level proposed in the previous plans.[24] Moreover, de Gröer defended the maintenance of most of the ancient district as a memory of the city's past and emphasized the visual and picturesque value of this historic area, proposing only occasional demolitions of the blocks' interior to improve ventilation and insolation. However, the plan proposed the opening of two structural avenues connecting May 8th Square to the river. Santa Cruz Avenue opened through the demolition of an entire block between Moeda Street and Bordallo Pinheiro Street, allowing the conservation of one side of each street, and connected Santa Cruz Church to the Ameias Pier. The other avenue connected to the new railway station, proposed to Oleiros Pier area. For this area the plan proposed the construction of a bus station and a new municipal market. The plan included the widening of Madalena Street , Direita Street and the riverfront road.

De Goer's plan was approved in 1944, although the public and the local authority contested the garden city model, the lower density and the costs required for this type of urbanization. Therefore the municipal administration hired Antão de Almeida Garrett to revise this plan. Despite increasing density in the new extension areas, Almeida Garrett's Plan sustained most of previous ideas for the downtown, and as de Gröer had already stated, he defended a detailed project for this area. This project was designed by Alberto Pessoa and, similarly to de Gröer's plan, he proposed the preservation of the ancient district but for the north area projected an entire modern neighbourhood with a wide marginal avenue and a set of high towers. This colossal plan, following modernist principles and the Athens Charter, was enthusiastically applauded by the local press. However, it was never approved.

With the public health problems of the19th century discarded, the will to open an avenue continued. Evoking the need to improve circulation, new studies were made. Therefore, the intervention was reduced to the opening of a wide avenue, the Central Avenue, a compromise solution that reduced the number of expropriations. According to these plans some demolitions were undertaken but were left incomplete, transforming the demolished area into a car park.

A few years later, the downtown area started to face new problems such as desertification due to the difficulties of accessibility and strong urban growth. Determined to solve this last problem, the municipal administration required a new plan and in 1992 approved Fernando Távora's project. This project redesigned 8th May Square restoring its original quota[25], proposed the construction of some buildings and a new square in the demolished area and proposed the opening of a new avenue aligned with Olímpio Nicolau Fernandes Street, connecting Fernão de Magalhães Avenue. Nevertheless this project proposed only the demolitions required to open the new street, reducing them to a minimum.

Afterwards in 1994, the municipal administration requested from the Central Government the installation of a light railway system in Coimbra. This request was granted, Távora's project was adapted and the street was replaced by the new light railway line. Several studies were carried out and in 2003 the new buildings occupying the demolished area were built. At the same time the proposal to demolish the old urban fabric to implant the new light-railway line caused vast discussion among citizens, technicians and politicians. Despite the controversy the study continued and in 2006 the final solution for the avenue was approved. The aim of this project was to reduce demolitions to a minimum, proposing the opening of a channel through two quarters and demolishing only their cores. To reduce the impact of this intervention in Sofia Street, the project designed a portico building creating the necessary channel for the light railway passageway only on the ground floor. In 2011, the financial crisis postponed the construction of the light railway; nevertheless, the demolitions of the quartier core were almost complete.

Nowadays, the problem persists and almost all the demolitions have been carried out but the light railway construction is still suspended. Moreover, the uncertainty and the indecision of the last decades led to desertification and migration to other city areas or to the suburbs. Last February, the current municipal administration announced the demolition of the three remaining buildings to open a street replacing the light railway line. Many raised their voices against this solution but many others stated the urgency to do something.

CONCLUSION

In the middle of the 19th century, Coimbra's main concern was public heath, circulation and beautification. The modern country desired by the Liberal Regime would emerge from modern and heathy cities, connected by train and reformed by the installation of urban infrastructures (water distribution, sewers, light and transport) and by the opening of some streets and squares. In a country, facing huge economic and political problems this was not easy to achieve. Even though, Coimbra, following the beautification principles defined by Marc Augé, redesigned the city entrance with a new embankment, a new square and the enlargement of the main street.[26] A few years later and after several unsuccessful attempts to captivate the interest of a private company to install the water and sewer networks, as had happened in most cities[27], the municipality took over the enterprise in an innovative way. At the turn of the century, while these networks were being installed and the city was sprawling, the municipal administration emulated the example of Paris, Brussels, Turin or Napoli, although on a much smaller scale planned the Coimbra's improvement plan, which laid out a set of wide avenues sanitizing the unhealthy downtown.[28] The lack of municipal technicians, financial and political support postponed this project. A few years later this plan was redesigned by Abel Dias Urbano and later by Luiz Benavente enlarging the proposal to the entire downtown to raise the level of the area. The growing north area followed this plan and some rebuilt buildings were erected according to the planned alignments; nevertheless, the ancient downtown was almost unchanged. De Gröer, a supporter of Howard and the Garden City theories, and certainly influenced by the ongoing discussions in Europe, abolished the idea of rebuilding the whole area and proposed the conservation of the south area.[29] However, evoking the need to improve traffic and emphasising Santa Cruz Church, de Gröer projected the demolition of an entire quartier to open a symbolic avenue connecting 8th May Square to the riverside.[30] Afterwards, with the need for sanitation discarded, from 1955 onwards, circulation improvement became the main concern. Since that time many projects proposing the extension of Olímpio Nicolau Fernandes Street to Fernão de Magalhães Street have been and are still being designed. Nevertheless beyond its apparent results, all these processes, uncertainties and unrealized projects have been decisive for the urban sprawl and transformation and for the contemporary city. Only the knowledge of this process and these difficulties can help us plan the future with awareness.

Endnotes

1 R.A Buchanan, "Public utilities", in *An encyclopaedia of the history of technology*, ed. Ian McNeil (London: Routledge,1990), 949-966 and Richard Lawton (ed.), *The rise and fall of great cities. Aspects of urbanization in the Western World*, Londres, Belhaven Press, 1989, 96-124.

2 Before the bacteriology revolution of the 1870s, the dominant view of contagious illness was the miasma theory of disease, which argued that a variety odd illnesses were the result of poisonous, malevolent vapour or "miasmas".

3 Anthony Sutcliffe, ed. *The Rise of Modern Urban Planning, 1800–1914* (London:Mansell, 1980) e *Towards the Planned City: Germany, Britain, the United States and France, 1780–1914*(Oxford:Basil Blackwell, 1981)

4 A more detailed description of this process in: Margarida Calmeiro, "Urbanismo antes dos Planos: Coimbra 1834-1934" (PhD diss., University of Coimbra, 2014), 175-241.

5 About this issue see Margarida Calmeiro, "Apropriação e conversão do Mosteiro de Santa Cruz. Ensejo e pragmatismo na construção da cidade de Coimbra" *Cescontexto: Debates nº 6, Monastic architecture and the city* (2014):229.

6 Mário Gonçalves Fernandes, *Urbanismo e Morfologia Urbana no Norte de Portugal. Viana do Castelo, Povoa de Varzim, Guimarães, Vila Real, Chaves e Bragança entre 1852 e 1926* (Porto: FAUP Publicações, 2005), 140-141; Miguel Sopas Bandeira, "O Espaço Urbano de Braga Obras Públicas, urbanismo e planeamento (1790-1974) (PhD diss, University of Minho, 2001), 394; Isabel Fontão Pereira, *A evolução da morfologia urbana de Vila Nova de Gaia entre 1864 e 1926* (Msc diss, University of Porto, 2007), 80; Sandra Nunes, *A evolução urbana de Matosinhos (1890-1909)* (Msc diss., University of Porto,1998),152

7 The reform of this street required vast expropriations and rehousing only possible with the central government's contribution. To mark this support, the main street was named Visconde da Luz Street after the General Director of Public Works responsible for this funding.

8 As related in the daily newspaper *O Conimbricense*. E.g. see March 10; March 31 and April 14, 1866.

9 A study presented by Hardy Hislop in 1858 concluded that the implantation at Largo da Sota corresponded to an increase of about 30% of the costs in the Santa Cruz Farm, because of the expropriation and expensive landfills. "Documentos (oito) que acompanham a petição para contrahir o empréstimo de treze contos de réis para a construção de um mercado no lugar da Horta de Santa Cruz", Maço III. Pasta XVII (AHMC, B15/3)

10 "Rellatorio da Comissão encarregada de estudar os melhoramentos do mercado datado de 24 de Dezembro de 1896" (AHMC. Repartição de Obras Municipais, Pasta 36, Doc. 4, p. 2)

11 More details about this intervention in: Margarida Calmeiro. "A Paisagem Urbana oitocentista. Embelezamento e política urbana na renovação da imagem de Coimbra" *CEM/ Cultura,Espaço & Memória, «Paisagem»*, 4 (2013): 77-87.

12 Lourenço de Almeida Azevedo was a doctor but as mayor had an huge importance in the modernization of Coimbra. He was responsible for the new riverbank, the first topographic survey, the construction of the new city hall building and the expansion of Coimbra through the Santa Cruz valey.

13 This enormous and complex work had a sluggish execution especially because of the political and economic instability that characterized the end of the 19th century in Portugal. In consequence, the refilling of the banks with land was only complete at the beginning of the 20th century, the new train line started to work in December 1906 and the new public park was initially planned in 1912 but the final design dates from 1926.

14 Exposed in some newpaper articles, like in *O Conimbricense* :"A cidade Baixa VIII", March 20, 1907, 1 and "Os melhoramentos de Coimbra", February 23, 1907, 2.

15 Lisbon's General Improvement Plan was drawn up by Frederico Ressano Garcia in 1903. Porto's General Improvement Plan was presented in 1881 by Correa Bastos but was only composed of a descriptive document and a budget.

16 Guimarães and Viana do Castelo are two examples of the few cities who were able to draw up and approve Improvement Plans, the first from 1867 and the second from 1882. Mário Gonçalves Fernandes, *Urbanismo e Morfologia Urbana no Norte de Portugal, Viana do Castelo, Povoa de Varzim, Guimarães, Vila Real, Chaves e Bragança entre 1852 e 1926* (Porto: Publicações FAUP,2005), 111-125.

17 In 1889 there was a great bubonic plague epidemic in Porto. This epidemic crisis led to the creation in 1903 of the first national legislation to ensure the health of the housing and working places. About this epidemic: Ricardo Jorge, *A peste Bubonica no Porto, seu descobrimento. Primeiros trabalho*s. Porto: Repartição Municpal de Saúde e Higiene, 1899, X.

18 Adolfo Loureiro was responsible for the regularization of the Mondego River and the new embankment, for the Santa Cruz neighbourhood plan, the water supply network project, the sewer network project, the district penitentiary and many other projects in the city. He was an expert in hydraulic works, and worked in most Portuguese Harbours but he also worked abroad designing the Port of Macau. I. Mota Oliveira, "Adolpho Ferreira de Loureiro. Nota Biográfica", *Recursos Hídricos*,Vol. 24, N.º 2, Maio de 2003.

19 The decree of August 9, 1888 was published to permit the opening of a new neighbourhood and Liberdade Avenue then was exclusive to Lisbon; it allowed the expropriation of land to open a street and additionally 50 metres of land that could be sold by the municipality. The national law only allowed the expropriation of land required for the street.

20 This became a problem since some buildings were demolished and constructed according to this approved plan, though most of them prevailed without intervention. As a consequence, some streets have buildings not aligned, creating in the same street wide areas and narrow areas.

21 John McKay,"Comparative Perspectives on Transit in Europe and the United States, 1850-1914." In Joel A. Tarr and Gabriel Dupuy (eds.), *Technology and the Rise of the Networked City in Europe and America.* (Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press (1988), 3-21.

22 Urban Code was a law defined by each municipality. In a nacional level, existed the 1964 decree that created the General Improvement Plans, compulsory only for the two main Portuguese cities, Lisbon and Oporto. Moreover in 1903 was pubblished the General Regulation of Urban Health which effectively applied to building construction, this law was the main reference for these Urban Codes.

23 This urbanist had huge experience in urban planning. Professor at Urbanism Institute of Paris where he taught the course Garden City Theory. After designing the Coimbra Urbanization Plan, de Gröer was responsible for the Urbanization Plans of many Portuguese cities. Margarida Souza Lobo, *Planos de Urbanização. A época de Duarte Pacheco* (Porto: Publicações FAUP, 1995), 74-75.

24 Etienne de Gröer, *Ante-projecto de urbanização de Embelezamento e de Extensão da Cidade de Coimbra.*

– Coimbra: Câmara Municipal de Coimbra, 1948), 2; José Santiago Faria, "Étienne de Gröer urbaniste à la Ville de Coimbra" (PhD diss., University of Sorbonne, 2000).

25 The level of this Square was increased as a consequence of the widening of Coruche Street in 1866.

26 In 1753, the abbot Laugier defined the key for city beautification: the entrance, the streets and the buildings. Marc-Antoine Laugier, *Ensayo sobre la Arquitectura* (Madrid: Ediciones Akal, 1999), 128.

27 Joel Tarr e Gabriel Dupuy eds.,*Technology and the Rise of the Networked City in Europe and America.*(Philadephia: Temple University Press,1988) and Álvaro Ferreira da Silva e Ana Cardoso de Matos. "The Networked City: Managing Power and Water Utilities in Portugal, 1850s-1920s", *Business and Economic History on-Line*, 2 (2004):21-23.

28 There are various examples of reform plans carried out according to the Paris model. For example the reform programme for Brussels (1864) by Anspach, the interventions in Turin (1872-1886), and the plan of Napoli (1839).Thomas Hall, *Planning Europe's Capital Cities. Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Urban Development* (Londres: E & FN Spon, 1997), 249-258, Benedetto Gravagnuolo, *Historia del urbanismo en Europa: 1750-1960* (Madrid: Akal, 1998), 46-53.

29 For this area de Gröer proposed the conservation of buildings, only replacing the most deteriorated ones, to improve sanitation he also proposed the demolishing of the interior cores of quartiers. It is of interest to note his proposal since in 1931, the First International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments took place in Athens, where the preservation of city areas was recommended but only when they were surrounding Monuments. However, we should emphasise the participation of Gustavo Giovannoni and his theory for the respectful modernization of historic areas, the "thinning-out" of urban fabric (*diradamento*) proposed by Giovannoni since1913. About the evolution of the heritage concept see: Françoise Choay , *L'allégorie du patrimoine.* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1992)

30 The conservation of Monumentsdemolition its surronding had a huge difusion in the begging of the century. Rome is a well known example of this tipe of solution.

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Image Sources

Figure 01: Margarida Calmeiro
Figure 02: Margarida Calmeiro
Figure 03: Margarida Calmeiro
Figure 04: Imagoteca Câmara Municipal de Coimbra [AG-0227]
Figure 05: Margarida Calmeiro
Figure 06: Arquivo Histórico do Município de Coimbra [Repartição de Obras Municipais, nº 31,C/50, doc. 1]
Figure 07: Abel Dias Urbano. Projeto para os novos arruamentos da cidade baixa (Coimbra: Tipografia de M. Reis Gomes, 1928).
Figure 08: Margarida Calmeiro
Figure 09: Professor Santiago Faria Collection
Figure 10: Arquivo da Câmara Municipal de Coimbra
Figure 11: Arquivo da Câmara Municipal de Coimbra
Figure 12: Câmara Municipal de Coimbra, Urbanismo Coimbra anos 90 (Coimbra: Câmara Municipal de Coimbra, 1993), 29.

THE BO-KAAP AND CURRENT COMMUNITY RESISTANCE TO MONSTROUS DEVELOPMENT PROPOSALS: LESSONS ABOUT APPROPRIATE RESILIENT SETTLEMENT PLANNING AND DESIGN

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Foucault once suggested that the study of social phenomena in pathological societies sometimes reveals clearly what is elsewhere less obvious. The paper is about an instance of such raw instrumentality from the African southern tip and global edge, reflecting on the main features of the historical evolution of physical settlement planning thought and practice at the Cape of Good Hope, also known as the Cape of Storms. The paper is offered because, perhaps, the enquiry and the findings may be of broader utility. Analysis of the historical development of Cape Town has suggested that a number of settlement-making paradigms were operative during the respective periods: the pre-colonial; the earlier (1600s-1840s) and later colonial (1840s-1920s); and the 'modern town planning' (±1930s-to the present). In recent times there have been numerous calls for a shift away from the mechanistic, reductionist and functionalist 'modern town planning' paradigm, which continues to be based on a programmatic land-use planning approach and which was appropriated by the operative apartheid ideology in South Africa for very many decades, leading to universally acknowledged pathological societal and settlement actualities that have endured. However and paradoxically, as illustrated by the case of the Bo-Kaap and current development proposals on its fringes, ill-founded city planning practice continues to be propagated, leading to community resistance. The paper rests on the premise that closer examination of some of the attributes of earlier colonial models of settlement-making is of relevance to the quest for some valid principles for more equitable and resilient physical structuring of settlements at the current time. Selective evidence is marshaled in this regard from the 1800's at the Cape, as well as current debates about proposed development. On the evidence, the paper suggests that the physical order of structure of the Bo-Kaap town extension dating from the late 1700's and early 1800's, as well as the dynamic nature of the sporadic unfolding, development infill and redevelopment that have occurred as part of the development processes exhibited, do appear to hold lessons for resilient town building in our time. Current debates about what is appropriate development on its fringes feature and attention is also drawn to parallels between features of the historic practices of settlement-making briefly examined in the paper and ideas about the making of the city expressed in the 1950's-60s and more recently by urban design pioneers, critics and planners, such as David Crane, Romaldo Giurgola, Jane Jacobs, Christopher Alexander, John Habraken, Jan Ghel and Ananya Roy.

V.06 P.191   **Fabio Todeschini**

THE BO-KAAP AND CURRENT COMMUNITY RESISTANCE TO MONSTROUS DEVELOPMENT PROPOSALS:
LESSONS ABOUT APPROPRIATE RESILIENT SETTLEMENT PLANNING AND DESIGN

TOC

Bottom Up and De-Centralised Processes

Chair: Cédric Feriel

BETTER (URBAN) POLICIES FOR BETTER LIFES – THE ROLE OF OECD IN TRANSNATIONAL EXCHANGES OF PLANNING IDEAS IN THE 1970S

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In the second half of the twentieth century, urban planning was perceived as the government responsibility, at least in centralised countries as France and the UK. Nevertheless, during this period, international organisations came also to play a growing role. This paper examines the influence of the OECD in the exchange of planning ideas during the 1970s, a field the organisation added to its program in the late 1960s. It is based on the assumption that the working methods developed by the OECD contributed to modify the perception of urban mutations in a transnational way and to highlight local experiments as the expression of on-the-ground contemporary trends that needed governments' attention. The organisation played a facilitating role to open a dialogue between scales of decision-making, defending that urban problems had no borders and needed close co-operation of all authorities.

INTRODUCTION

Transnational history in the field of urban planning largely focused on the first half of the twentieth century[1], although recent works deal with post-war period or after[2]. The growing role of centralised policies after 1945 explains this trend, particularly in the case of France or United Kingdom. However, post-war period is also the moment when international organisations really began to extend their influence. At first glance, this has nothing to do with transnational exchanges, as these organisations gather national delegates and aim to coordinate national policies. Nevertheless, created in order to advise States, international organisations reveal, through their works, a strong interest for transnational phenomena that do exist out of any centralised policies. By documenting these phenomena, they contribute to the exchange of ideas.

We offer here to hightlight the work and influence of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) on urban planning matters during the 1970s, using the archives of the Organisation, located in its headquarter in Paris[3]. Originally, the institution has nothing to do with planning. When it was created in 1961, the OECD had no interest on this regard. But in 1969, driven by its new Secretay-General , Emile van Lennep, it launched a fundemental environmental turn. Within a new Directorate, a Sector Group on the Urban Environment (SGUE) was created in 1971 whose purpose was to exchange national experiences that could help to improve life in urban areas. Its first assessment was provocatively entitled « exclusion of automobile traffic in downtown areas ».

This paper will first contextualise the environmental turn of the Organisation that explains its concern about the 'urban environment' and give an overview of the activity of the Sector Group. Then, through the exemple of its first assessment (traffic free areas), it will show the working methods of the group, its contacts at local, national and international levels. Then, the paper will point the way the Organisation dissiminate its conclusions and recommendations so as, even in such a centralised country as France, the State administration borrowed ideas from OECD's works as a basis for offical acts, suggesting that urban matters had no borders.

OECD AND URBAN PLANNING

THE GRADUAL EMERGENCE OF URBAN PLANNING ISSUES IN OECD'S WORKS (1961-1969)

When founded in 1961 through the transformation of the OEEC, the OECD aimed to promote "the economic and social well-being"[4] of people in Members countries. It had initially no program in itself dealing with urban planning, but, over the decade, this field was gradually approached through various aspects. The most significative one was the question of transportation. Between 1963 and 1965, seven expert groups were created attempting to improve traffic as an essential component of economic growth. The approach was originally purely quantitative (how to increase traffic speed and road safety) and there was no specific topic about urban areas. Groups worked on "piority rules", "speed limits", "crash injury" or "pedestrian behaviour"[5] (pedestrians being perceived as a problem for traffic flow). In this regard, OECD handled the subject in the same way as other international institutions in this period, as shown in a synthesis commissioned by the Organisation in 1966[6].

Under the influence of US delegates[7], the OECD convened a "Panel Discussion on Urban Transportation"[8], emphasizing the growing interest for urban planning matters. The meeting was to define future issues for the Organisation. Eleven international experts exchanged their views, among whom British Professor Colin Buchanan, US engineer Wilbur Smith or French engineer Pierre Merlin. The meeting was dominated by functionalist ideas and most of the experts supported the development of urban highways. MIT professor Willliam S. Seifert wrote: "In view of the degree to which the public has accepted the automobile, the manner in which our urban areas

are evolving and the shortcomings of alternative forms of urban transport, it appears that the evolution of auto-highway transportation into a more efficient form offers the greatest long-term opportunity". In a more futuristic view, Pierre Merlin suggested the forthcoming rise of individual helicopters. Only four experts challenged the role of the automobile in urban areas, among whom Colin Buchanan and C. Kenneth Orski, a US senior official.

As a result of the outcomes of the Panel Discussion and other meetings[9], OECD created the "Consultative Group on Transport Research" (CGTR) in 1968, gathering delegates from Transport Departments of Member countries. Despite its broad denomination, the Group concentrated its program on transportation issues in urban areas during its three-year long activity. Four assessments were completed by the CGTR: "Improvements and innovations in urban bus systems", "Transportation systems for major activity centers", "Urban movement of goods", "Air transport access to urban areas"[10]. It also led a policy analysis on "Urban traffic noise". At the end of the 1960s, OECD showed a greater interest for urban planning through the prism of transportation matters. Even if the approach was partial, it gave the Organisation its first contact with this field of planning.

THE ENVIRONMENTAL TURN OF THE OECD (1969) AND THE FOCUS ON THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT

In September 1969, Dutch politician Emile van Lennep became Secretary-General of the OECD, succeeding to Thorkill Kristensen. As soon as he arrived, Lennep opened the way to an essential turn in the priorities of the Organisation, asked by a Ministerial Council meeting in February. In a first memorandum entitled *Problem of Modern Society*[11], the new Secretary-General pointed out the importance of the environment as part of economic growth. He circulated another document in December 1969, entitled *Problems of Modern Society: Economic Growth, Environment and Welfare*[12], in which he developed further the arguments for a in-depth reorientation of OECD works:

"[…] the Organisation should interpret the challenge facing Modern Society in such a way that in defining the growth for the next decade emphasis is placed on the qualitative as opposed to the quantitative aspects of growth. That is, for the 1970s, we should put more emphasis on welfare, and less on growth for its own sake."

One of the major concepts was the "external diseconomies" caused by growth that should be taken into account. The document was welcomed by national delegates and the reorientation formaly endorsed in May 1970[13]. With this turn, the Organisation appeared to be closely in line with contemporary concerns. The same year, British Government created a Ministry of Environment by mergering the Ministry of Housing and Local Government and the Ministry of Transport. In France, a first *Ministère de l'Environnement* was created in 1971.

It was then that OECD paid proeminent attention to urban planning. Within a new Environment Committee, created to coordinate the new research program, one of the five specialised sector groups was devoted to the "Urban Environment"[14].
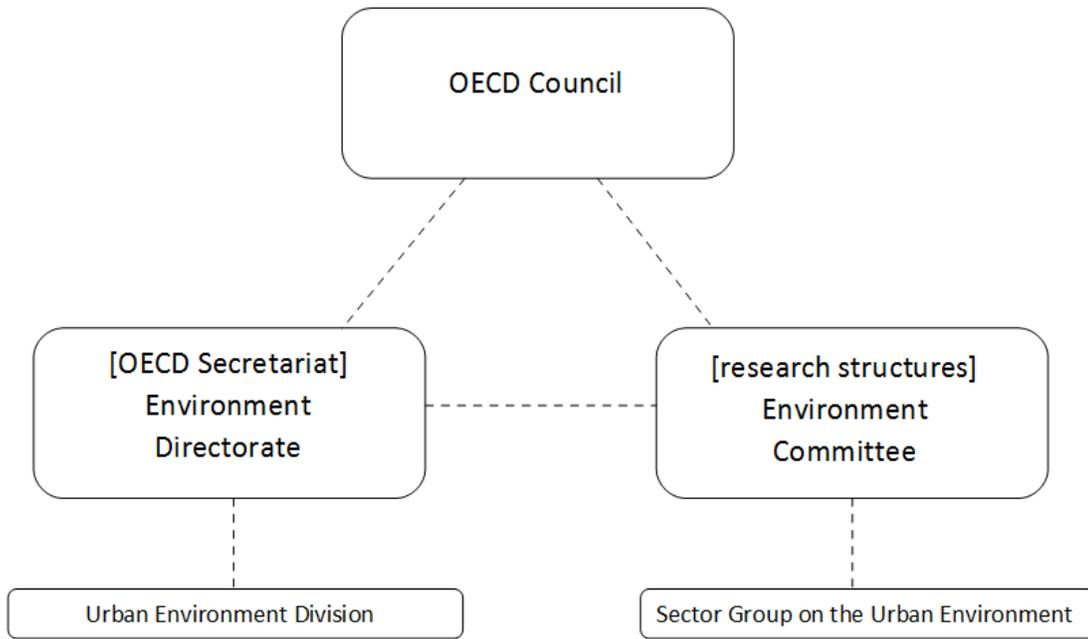
FIGURE 1 Urban Environment as part of OECD's working program. Simplified organigram showing structures dedicated to urban research after OECD reform in 1970.

At its first meeting, the Sector Group on the Urban Environment (SGUE) gave a broad understanding to the concept, close to the then actual notion of "quality of life":

"The Group may, therefore, prefer to take such a creative approach and extend its interest to include all elements that together make up urban quality : housing, transportation, public services, clean air, freedom from noise, privacy, the rational use of land, the safety and amenity of urban living and the appearance of the city."[15]

This assertion extended considerably the areas of interest of the OECD regarding urban planning. In fact, the SGUE only replaced the CGTR and, officially, shared the same aims and objectives (its programme is copied from the CGTR)[16]. But a major change was operated in its composition. In the CGTR, all delegates belonged to national Transport Departments, whereas most of them, in the SGUE, came from various ministries all dealing with urban planning in their countries. Of its origins, the Sector Group retained a field of predilection for transportation matters. It was headed by Brian Richards, a UK architect and a public transport expert. In a provocative manner, the first assessment the Group was to conduct was entitled "Exclusion of automobile traffic in downtown areas".

BETTER (URBAN) POLICIES FOR BETTER LIFES – THE ROLE OF OECD IN TRANSNATIONAL EXCHANGES OF PLANNING IDEAS IN THE 1970S

FROM LOCAL TO TRANSNATIONAL THEN NATIONAL: THE FACILITATING ROLE OF OECD IN THE EXCHANGE OF URBAN PLANNING IDEAS

DOCUMENTING TRANSNATIONAL PHENOMENA: THE BOTTOM-UP PROCESS OF AN INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION

The function of the Sector Group on the Urban Environment was not to elaborate itself new ideas in the field of urban planning but to "bring to the attention of public officals significant approaches and innovative concepts"[17]. The SGUE played a role of identification. It had to point out initiatives of major interest that do exist but were not generalised. This could include policies experimented by a single Member state or only few of them, as well as projects leaded by local authorities or private actors. Recognizing these intiatives, the SGUE must seek for significative examples and collect precise informations (costs, benefits, feasibility, external impacts). This investigation might end up with a statement of conclusions that, once validated by OECD Council, should lead Member States to initiate new policies.

This working method implied a bottom-up process, unusual for a period dominated by centralised policies – at least in France or in the UK. The task of the Group was to identify on-the-ground realities (local scale) in order to shape contemporary topics of interest (transnational scale) and recommend Member States plans of action (national scale). This pattern was induced by the logic of an international organisation. OECD research programs would only be meaningful if they contribute to highlight phenomena that were not led by States themselves. Significantly, the founding charter of the SGUE was entirely built arround concepts of "innovation" and "experimentation".

"Finally, the Group may wish to throw its weight behind attempts to introduce a more experimental spirit in dealing with urban problems. [...] There would be greater likelihood that innovation and experimentation in urban development would be viewed as something significant rather than of marginal values."[18]

No precise definition was given to these concepts, but the SGUE underlined the importance of placing the notion of "pragmatism" at the heart of its works. This gave the opportunity to highlight local schemes led by city governments, outside the framework of national policies. Till the beginning of its activity, the SGUE gave a proeminent place to local scale as a privileged ground for innovation in the field of urban planning, taking into account the social, human and environmental matters altogether. Among the first ten assessments completed by the Group, most of research programs effectively dealt with local experiments: "Vehicle-free areas in cities" (1970-1972), "Policy instruments for influencing the form and structure of urban development" (1972-1974), "Urban noise abatement" (1973-1975), "Low-cost improvements in the outdoor urban environment" (1973-1975), "Management of publicly-owned land" (1975-1977), "Traffic policies for improvement of urban environment" (1975-1976).

Nevertheless, this orientation did not intend to oppose local governments to State administrations. It rather underlined the interest of national ministerial delegations for any idea that would be likely to embody the new concern for environment in urban planning. It also recongnized that local planners and councillors were best placed to mesure the "diseconomies" of growth.

AN EXAMPLE: FIRST ASSESSMENT ON TRAFFIC-FREE ZONES IN CITY CENTERS (1970-1972)

The first assessment ("Exclusion of automobile in donwtown areas") clearly illustrated SGUE's working methods. In 1970, none of OECD Member States had a clear policy about automobile traffic limitation in downtown areas. First initiatives came from local governments in the early 1960s. In November 1970, SGUE delegates were requested to identify best experts in that field in their countries and to invite them to present their experiences. Seven experts were heard by the SGUE at its first meeting in September 1971[19]. Five of them were city planning officers, a then thriving profession: Kai Lemberg (Copenhagen, Denmark), Alain Gaspérini (Rouen, France), Alfred A. Wood (Norwich, UK), Wilhelm Niehusener (Essen, Germany) and Curt Elmberg (Goteborg, Sweden). In both case, the experts selected had initiated the very first pedestrian precinct experiment in their countries without going through any national policy. The two experts remaining were the famous US planner Victor Gruen, who gave a general introduction[20], and Sidney Davidoff, righ-hand man of New York Mayor John Lindsay, who supported the project to turn most of Madison Avenue into a pedestrian mall[21].

All presentations focused on the local ability to solve a problem and to break with the mainstream car-dominated model of urban planning. Particular attention was paid to local negociation process, demonstrating a pragmatic approach. Local scale enabled innovation. From that point of view, Norwich City Planner was probably the most assertive[22]. In his paper, the city was not considered as a sole experience, but as a fundamental step that would allow all cities through the UK to follow this example, without fearing to make mistakes. Alfred A. Wood insisted on the activity of Norwich Planning Department as the unique responsible for the scheme: it initiated the project, conducted an international study tour in Germany and Danemark to gain experience (implying that the UK Transportation Departement was of no assistance) and negociated with reluctant local politicians, shopkeepers and so on.

Following this first meeting, the SGUE carried the second phase consisting to translate the various local experiences into a synthesis that could lead to national policies or even to an international cooperation in that field. It appointed John Michael Thomson, a British transport expert, to elaborate a report allowing to shift from technical to political considerations at a national level. In the beginning of the 1970s, automobile restraints were a very sensitive subject. Thomson worked on a standardization that would not be perceived as too controversial. "Exclusion of automobile" became "Policy towards the creation of vehicle-free areas", in a more positive approach typical in OECD's rhetoric. In its statement of conclusions, circulated in April 1972, the SGUE argued that "what is needed to promote vehicle-free areas is not a revolutionay change in existing policy and practice, but a shift in emphasis"[23]. In support of this, the document cited the "experience from many cities all over the world" as an existing phenomenon that should persuade States to support these initiatives.

In July 25th, 1972, the OECD Council unanimously adopted the statement of conclusions enjoining Member States to promote pedestrianisation in city centers, giving a international visibility to a phenomenon limited to local experiments.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE OECD ON URBAN PLANNING

DISSEMINATING CONCLUSIONS

The work of the Sector Group on the Urban Environment was not to be limited to OECD's internal activity. In charge of monitoring the group within the Secretariat, an Urban Environment Division was also dedicated to the dissemination of conclusions at a larger scale. Headed by US senior official and transport expert C. Kenneth Orski, the Division was particularly active to promote SGUE's works about the first assessment. The very first initiative took place as soon as September 1971 (a few days after the first meeting of the Group), through a publication in the spanish official planning review *Ciudad y Territorio*. The issue[24] gathered papers from city planning officers responsible for first pedestrian schemes in their cities, without recommandation from the OECD – due to the early date of publication. In June 1972, Orski coordinated himself a special issue of the US review HUD International Brief entitled "Vehicle-Free Zones in City Centers: The European Experience"[25]. The volume reproduced the previous case studies but new reports were added, among which Thomson's work on the way to initiate national pedestrian policies and a synthesis written by Orski that presented – with optimism – pedestrianisation as a global phenomenon.

This publication activity peaked in 1974 with an official synthesis edited by the OECD and entitled *Streets for People*[26], in reference to Bernard Rudofsky's book published in 1969[27], although the project was quite different. It gathered all case studies plus some new ones and all synthesis produced during the first assessment, with an emphasis to political aspects. At that time, this represented the most complete study on the subject. Some books were published before, but they were only collections of case studies realised for a limited audience[28]. The volume became soon a reference and was still cited by experts in the beginning of the 1980s[29].

With this first assessment, the activity of the OECD related to the urban environment and urban planning gained higher visibility at a time these issues were more and more considered as future-oriented for Member States. In April 14th-16th 1975, the Environment Directorate of the Organisation organised an international conference entitled 'Better Towns With Less Traffic', mobilizing past and present works of the SGUE around the theme of low-cost improvements of urban areas. More than 330 persons attented the conference, including representatives from 60 ministries/secretaries from 22 countries, 45 representatives of municipal governments (most of them from Europe) or world-famous experts as Sir Colin Buchanan. Following SGUE's working methods, the program highlighted seven case studies: Uppsala, Munich, Nottingham, Bologna, Besançon, Nagoya and Singapor. Again, but at a higher level, OECD facilitated the circulation of innovative ideas in urban planning from local to transnational.

THE IMPACT OF OECD'S RECOMMENDATIONS ON NATIONAL POLICIES: THE CASE OF FRANCE

The impact of OECD's works and conclusions is not documented through the archives. No appraisal was conducted to this end by the Organisation. Nevertheless, an example may help to illustrate the way OECD's results could be reused by a national administration. In the late 1970s, pedestrianisation was considered in France, a country renowned for its centralised system, as the result of a circular note published by the Minister for Equipment in Jacques Chaban Delmas' government, Olivier Guichard, in December 29th, 1972, entitled *Creation of pedestrian precincts in city centers*[30]. In fact, first schemes were initiated at a local level by city governments in the late 1960s (Rouen), but, significantly, the circular note was perceived as a turning point.

French experts from the Minister for Equipment knew about pedestrian experiences in Europe till the mid-1960s[31] but never launched such a policy. The circular note was the very first effort in this sense. It was published only two months after OECD circulated the conclusions of SGUE's first assessment (October 1972). If both documents are compared, they seem to be similar in substance. The Minister reused arguments taken from the recommendations promulgated by the international organisation to establish the circular note adressed to prefects:

Cédric Feriel
BETTER (URBAN) POLICIES FOR BETTER LIFES – THE ROLE OF OECD IN TRANSNATIONAL EXCHANGES OF PLANNING IDEAS IN THE 1970S

OECD'S RECOMMENDATIONS, OCTOBER 1972 (VOTED JUNE 1972)	CIRCULAR NOTE BY OLIVIER GUICHARD, DECEMBER 29TH, 1972
"Demonstration projects should be promoted and supported in selected towns and cities in Member countries"	"I ask you to give city governments the oppotunity to know how vehicle-free zones can dramatically improve the living environment [...]."
"Planning for urban areas and, in particular, urban land use and transportation studies, should include consideration of pedestrian movement"	"I consider it very important that all local authorities add the concern to create pedestrian precincts to their everyday reflections and actions in the field of urban planning."
"Governments should, where appropriate, review current financial, legal, administrative and institutional arrangements for encouraging the creation of vehicle-free areas in cities"	"I wish to support these initiatives. My services will always be available for local governments that would launch such actions [...]."
"Governments should carry out and support studies of pedestrian movement"	

TABLE 1 The influence of OECD on a national policy. Comparision between OECD's recommendations about vehicle-free areas in city centers (June-October, 1972) and the circular note from French Minister of the Equipment Olivier Guichard (December 29th, 1972)

A guidance note, attached to the circular note[32] and setting out three arguments in favour of pedestrianisation, followed the same process. The arguments were exactly the same as those developed in OECD's recommendations: a pedestrian precinct does improve the urban environment ; it contributes to reinforce social life ; it helps to increase turnover. This is all the more striking because, in both cases, the french text did not add any argument to OECD's list.

Pointing out this parallel does not mean that the OECD was the sole origin of a national policy. Other aspects need to be taken into account. The circular note formed part of the launching of the *politique des villes moyennes* (medium-sized towns policy) and the recommendations arrived at the right time. It is also possible to assert that this reusing process demonstrates how a national ministry get acculturated to the importance of a topic through the role of OECD. By translating an on-the-ground phenomenon into a political framework, the Organisation allows the appropriation of new concepts by national administrations.

CONCLUSION

Created in the early 1960s to promote policies that will improve the economic and social well-being of people around the world, the OECD gradually integrated urban planning as a component of its research program. A shift in emphasis was carried out throught the environmental turn of the Organisation in 1969-1970, when a specific Division was dedicated to the Urban Environment, associated to a research Sector Group on the same topic.

This initial approach of OECD's role highlights an uncommon process in the circulation of urban planning ideas during the second half of the twentieth century. Because the task of an international organisation is to inform Members countries of innovative and rising phenomena, OECD's working programs articulated levels from local experiments straight to transnational observation, before translating results into recommendations for national policies. In this sense, the Organisation contributed to make cities more visible actors in the field of urban planning, at a period dominated by the role of centralised administrations. This anticipates the mechanisms discribed by Patrick Le Galès regarding the impact of European Union policies in the rise of European cities till the early 1980s[33].

OECD's methods illustrate, since the early 1970s, some dialogue between local and national levels through an international organisation. Even in such a centralised country as France, local authorities were able to develop innovative experiments by their own. Without exaggerating the significance of this phenomenon, national administrations were in turn open to learn from the local scale, especially if experiences expresses a transnational reality. The OECD's played here a facilitating role. Collecting informations about innovative experiments across all Member States, the Organisation contributed to make transnational phenomema visible and to give them a meaning, using a great variety of ways.

Cédric Feriel

BETTER (URBAN) POLICIES FOR BETTER LIFES – THE ROLE OF OECD IN TRANSNATIONAL EXCHANGES OF PLANNING IDEAS IN THE 1970S

Many aspects remain to be studied, in particular the balance of power between national delegations within the OECD that could clarify research programs choices. For example, US delegates played a important role in the creation of the Urban Environment Division (by the way headed by a US senior official, C. Kenneth Orski) and the SGUE in 1969-1970. Nevertheless, the first assessment on "auto-exclusion" remained focused on the european experience and US were the only delegates to distance from the OECD's statement of conclusions[34]. The international organisation was not a neutral observer. Lauching a research program ensued strategic choices. In that sense, the activity of the OECD reveals as much the transnational dimension of urban planning till the second half of the twentieth as it highlights the increasing but selective and uncomplete awareness by the national governments of this trend.

Notes on contributor

Cedric Feriel holds a Ph.D. in history (University Paris-Saclay, 2015) and is assistant leturer at the University Rennes 2. His research focuses on the revitalization of historical inner-city areas during the second half of the twentieth century and on the exchange of planning ideas. His Ph.D dissertation dealt with pedestrianisation of city-centers in Europe and the USA in the 1960s-1970s as a transnational urban mutation conducting by city governments.

Endnotes

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3 OECD Library & Archives, 2 rue André Pascal, 75116 Paris.
4 *Convention of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development*, Paris, 14th December 1960.
5 OECD archives, DAS/CSI/67.1.
6 OCED archives, DAS/CSI/67.1, *Catalogue of International Organisations concerned with traffic problems*, 5th January 1967.
7 Between 1965 and 1967, OECD Council's minutes repeadly show the interest of US delegates for urban transportation topics.
8 OECD archives, DAS/CSI/67-82.
9 Among which the meeting of the Ad Hoc Group of Experts on Urban Simulation Models, in December 1967. OECD archives, DAS/CSI/67.104.
10 OECD archives, U/ENV/71.1.
11 OECD archives, C(69)123.
12 OECD archives, C(69)168.
13 OECD archives, CM(70)15.
14 The concept was not invented at this occasion. It was already part of the issues covered, for example, by the US *Department of Housing and Urban Development* till 1965.
15 OECD archives, U/ENV/71.5, appendix D.
16 The comparision between U/ENV/71.1 (last meeting of CGTR) and U/ENV/71.5 (first meeting of SGUE) reveals that texts are similar.
17 OECD archives, U/ENV/71.5.
18 *Ibid.*
19 OECD archives, U/ENV/71.4.
20 His intervention was entitled "the Taming of the Motor Car", as was the chapter 16 of his well-known book *The Heart of Our Cities*, 1964.
21 Launched in 1970, the project was buried in 1973 when Lindsay lost the elections.
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26 OECD, *Streets for People*, 1974.
27 Bernard Rudofsky, *Streets for People*, 1969.
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BETTER (URBAN) POLICIES FOR BETTER LIFES – THE ROLE OF OECD IN TRANSNATIONAL EXCHANGES OF PLANNING IDEAS IN THE 1970S

MEDIATION FOR THE SOLUTION OF URBAN PROBLEMS: THE SEARCH FOR ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY FOR PRESENT AND FUTURE GENERATIONS BY APPLYING GOVERNANCE PROCESSES

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This article analyzes the role of the new forms of conflict resolution, focusing on mediation, for solving urban problems. At first, it indicates the historical development of irregular occupation in Brazil, addressing how it arose in the country. After, it evaluates the historical development of mediation in the Brazilian legislation as a way of solution to urban conflicts generated by the illegal occupation. Lastly, it addresses the governance, assessing its concept and importance, as well as how it can be performed for the defense and protection of the urban environment, with a view to maintaining environmental quality for present and future generations in respect for the principle of intergenerational solidarity (adopted by the Brazilian Constitution), by combining with the mediation.

INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to demonstrate the importance of Law 13.140/2015, which provides mediation as a mean of settling disputes within public administration for the materialization and execution of intergenerational solidarity. In this sense, this paper is not just a study of a specific case, but it has the intention to highlight the importance of this regulation for the solution of urban conflicts.

This law solidifies a Brazilian public policy of consensual methods for conflict resolution, which began with the Constitutional amendment nº. 45/2004, considered the framework for judicial reform in pursuit of efficiency. Afterwards, the National Judicial Council issued the Resolution nº.125/2010, establishing mediation as an appropriate tool for conflict resolution. The historical course for consolidation of this trend was the enactment of Law 13.140/2015, with importance closely related to management, prevention and resolution of urban environmental conflicts.

These conflicts have materialized around the use and occupation of urban land, as in most large Brazilian centers, accelerated urbanization, coupled with the imbalance of income distribution, generated towns with peripheral human settlements, that reflect and perpetuate inequalities, promote social exclusion, environmental degradation and exposes the inability of State to intervene in the implementation of effective public policies for environmental protection, social inclusion and conflict resolution.

Moreover, it is timely an analysis and interpretation of Mediation Act, to determine whether it may contribute to resilience of urban system, in the sense that the resilient societies are also those that have the capacity to mediate the differences with cordiality and tolerance.

Following this dynamic, the implementation of mediation can be seen as an important tool for urban environmental governance arrangements, which will manage, prevent and resolve conflicts around the urban areas in search of intergenerational solidarity, because this new form of conflict resolution is an undeniable part of the mechanisms for the implementation of a effective governance, as it allows the participation and dialogue between different actors, seeking a beneficial solution and adopting a peaceful model based on cooperation.

In this line of reasoning, this paper discusses, at first, through a historical building, how the illegal occupation occurred in Brazil, giving rise to urban environmental conflicts. Then, it analyzes the role of new forms of conflict resolution, focusing on mediation for solving these urban problems caused by occupation, indicating the historical development of mediation in the Brazilian legislation. After that, it ponders on governance, Evaluating its concept and importance.

Finally, it discusses the possibility of using this mechanism for the defense and protection of urban environment, aiming the maintenance of environmental quality for present and future generations, in respect to the principle of intergenerational solidarity, adopted by the Brazilian Federal Constitution of 1988.

ENVIRONMENTAL CONFLICTS: HISTORICAL DIMENSION OF IRREGULAR OCCUPATION

Environmental conflicts are characterized by having a constantly changing and evolving nature. In general, it can be conceptualized as a social dispute, which occurs when someone has a certain claim to make use of a natural resource and the other creates a barrier to prevent or regulate such conduct. It can be divided into two types: a) conflicts of use, in which there is a dispute between individuals, or individuals with the government, which have intention to make use of some good or resource environment; and, b) conflicts between entrepreneurs, both public and private, that are aimed at the exploitation of resources, while the society seeks to preserve or conservation of it.[1]

One of the main environmental conflicts is regarding to the urban environment surrounding, the use and occupation of the land. Commonly, it arises around housing needs, whose result is the uncontrolled illegal occupation of urban land.

Population growth, trend to urbanization, inconsistent public policies, lack of preparation and inadequate planning have resulted in increased degradation of socio-economic conditions of people, especially in cities and suburbs.

Within the historical context, the formation of illegal areas in Brazil is directly related to the exclusionary process of urbanization and housing throughout the twentieth century.

The capitalist real estate market, low wages and social inequality present from the beginning of the formation of Brazilian society, prevented access to housing for much of the population. World Bank data show that from 1 million homes in Brazil, about 700,000 are illegal, which implies that the part of the population lives in informal housing.

This happens because, the alternative found to housing is the occupation of peripheral land in large cities, where the value is lower for the maintenance of residence, given that, in the last century, there was an intense migration of the population to major urban centers, in the search of better working conditions.

However, since the beginning of the construction process of cities and Brazilian society, there was a gap between access to housing and population growth.

The first form of recognition of illegal areas in the city takes place in the nineteenth century, when people interested in the urban setting in Brazil and Europe discovers the slums: "*property whose main characteristic is the precariousness of housing conditions, mostly result in living conditions and subhuman housing*"[2].

This population is sometimes marginalized, without access to clean water, sanitation, sewerage, electricity, suitable and adequate health services, education and other basic human rights that must be promoted for minimal quality life (even in the environmental aspect).

Based on the European movement for hygienist urban reform, Brazilian cities start building large avenues and sanitation deployment to the landscape composition to meet the interests of the bourgeoisie of the industrial period.

These reforms did not create enough affordable housing to shelter the resident working class in the slums, giving rise to other forms of illegal areas to these families, starting the peripheries.

At the moment, despite constitutional guarantees and the City Statute, that brought forecasting tools to implement participatory planning, the problems generated throughout history on the growth of Brazilian cities still exist and need to be addressed.

There are several problems caused by irregular occupations, including disasters caused by occupation of risk areas, flooding the silting of watercourses, commitment watercourses that turned waste dumps, disappearance of green areas and occupation of environmental protection areas.

Thus, one of the important features of this conflict is the high social impact, which makes the participation of society a key in its resolution. This is a multipart conflict and imbalance of power (between public and private), which involves the interests of the population, economic conditions, access to information, and other factors.

MEDIATION AS A SOLUTION TO URBAN PROBLEMS

We can illustrate this scenario with urban land conflicts, which, for the most part, has as taxable event invasions of public and private areas for housing purposes. The contest for possession or urban property ownership, and the impact of public and private projects, involves low-income families and vulnerable social groups that need or demand the protection of the State in ensuring the human right to housing.

For the solution of such conflicts, as a rule, the government or the individual who find themselves injured, trigger the Judiciary. However, this does not seem the most appropriate measure, because besides the complexity of the procedure, the, solution of environmental conflict is not only in the hands of justice bodies, but it dependents on measures to be taken by other public bodies. Where and how to remove the occupants are always recurring issues, that rely on actors who are not always involved in the process.

Gabriela Soldano Garcez | Simone Alves Cardoso

Thus, there is no doubt that environmental conflicts, by its nature, require the use of consensual methods, such as mediation, which favors the dialogue.

The choice of mediation as a instrument to conflict resolution promotes participatory planning, by giving voice and empowering citizens in the search for just and sustainable solutions, which is essential to promoting peace in the cities.

HISTORY OF MEDIATION IN BRAZILIAN LAW

Given the inefficiency and inadequacy of traditional means of conflict resolution, such as administrative and judicial ones, for a few decades, it has intensified the adoption of consensual means, focusing on a pacifying solution.

Increasingly, it has been sought or tried to find other ways, giving focus to negotiation, conciliation and mediation which can be applied extra or judicially.

Mediation is an effective and satisfactory mechanism for all involved in the search for a more suitable way to the conflict resolution and a sense of justice, since the parties actively participate in the construction of the solution with the help of an impartial third party.

Since the nineties, Brazil has faced a challenge in the quest to find and develop methods that are considered more equitable for its users, in order to provide a more active role through its participation in the construction of solutions to the conflict. To this end, it has begun a reform in the judiciary, whose main objective is to educate and encourage citizens in the use of consensual means in order to spread it as the best way of resolving the conflicts.

The stance of encouraging these methods allows real access to justice so that the parties can reach a negotiated and most appropriate solution. Given this perspective, this reform should be based on mediation as an important mechanism to conflicts.

It will be through the use of mediation that Justice will become rapid, efficient and modern, in order to facilitate the approach of the parties to reach, in a consensual way, a satisfactory result.

In Brazil, mediation started to gain momentum with the implementation of initiatives such as the foundation of the National Council of Mediation and Arbitration Institutions (known as CONIMA), in 1997, and with projects of laws to regulate the mediation as a method of prevention and resolution of conflicts.

The Constitutional Amendment nº. 45/2004 established the framework of the judicial reform, in the search of a system that expands access to justice and promotes the principle of reasonable duration of court proceedings as a fundamental right. But, it was only in 2010, when the National Judicial Council issued the Resolution nº. 125, the conciliation and judicial mediation activities were regulated.

The article 1, of mentioned Resolution, establishes the National Judicial Policy treatment of conflicts of interest, in order to ensure the right of everyone to the solution by appropriate means..To meet this goals, the courts of all States should establish Permanent Core of Consensual Methods to Conflict Resolution and install the Judicial Centres of Conflict and Citizenship Solution. To reinforce this policy, the new Civil Procedure Code, sanctioned on March 16, of 2015, defines the role of conciliator and mediator, and the obligation of the courts in the creation of these centers.

Mediation aims to encourage the active participation of society in the conflict resolution procedure, so that they can get, through stimulation of a third, a negotiated solution more appropriate.

In 2015, it was approved the Law nº. 13.140/2016, which regulated the judicial mediation and extrajudicial.

ASPECTS OF LAW Nº. 13.140/2015

The Law nº. 13.140/2015 is a real legal framework, to provide mediation as a means of settling disputes between individuals and the consensual resolution of conflicts within the public administration.

The law provides the possibility of mediation involving available and unavailable rights, that admit transaction, as well as provides the extrajudicial and judicial mediation.

The extrajudicial mediation can be performed by any capable person that has the confidence of the parties. The judicial mediation should be conducted by a capable and graduated mediator with at least two years of higher education course, who has obtained training in an organization recognized.

The Courts must establish and maintain updated records of the qualified and authorized mediators to act in judicial mediation. It is up to the courts the creation of the Judicial Consensual Conflict Solution Centers, responsible for carrying out pre-procedural and procedural conciliation and mediation sessions, as well as developing programs to help, guide and stimulate consensual resolutions.

BRIEF COMPARISON WITH THE MEDIATION CONDUCTED IN OTHER COUNTRIES

Internationally, it is not only Brazil that qualifies mediation, for the reasons stated in this paper. Other countries also do the same, through legislation or specific rules that allow and even regulate the practice of mediation, as an alternative form of conflict resolution in several areas.

Within the European Community, there are the Directive 2008/52/CE of the European Parliament and the Council, of May 21, 2008, on mediation in civil and commercial matters, which claims to be the access to justice a fundamental right and in order to improve it, it calls on the Member States to establish non judicial alternative procedures through voluntary process, given that the parties themselves are responsible for the procedures to be followed, playing a role "*particularly active in efforts to find the solution that suits them better*"[3].

The Directive also evaluates mediation as a faster possible extrajudicial solution, inexpensive and adaptable to the needs of the parties, since "*it is more likely that the agreements obtained from mediation be enforced voluntarily and preserves an amicable and sustainable relationship between the parts. These benefits become even more pronounced in situations displaying cross-border aspects*"[4].

In this sense, by allowing the use of mediation to cross-border problems, the Directive admits its application for solving problems related to the urban environment, in view of the inherent cross-border character of Environmental Law, since its effects are felt by all, often not respecting the pre-established geopolitical boundaries.

On the other hand, in the United States, mediation was carried out decades ago as a form of resolving conflicts through consensus between the parties and, it can be performed on a contractual (so that the parties reach an agreement on behalf of a signed contract) or voluntarily (when the parties prefer to litigate mediate) framework, as well as be applied with judicial determination (when the judge determines there will be mediation in that particular case)[5].

It is clear, therefore, that mediation is a reality to be applied to the solution of conflicts, not only in the Brazilians cases, but also internationally.

MEDIATION AS A FACILITATOR OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION THROUGH GOVERNANCE MECHANISMS

It is noticed that, through this voluntary process, it is possible to obtain the fundamental right to access to justice, because the parties will be helped to reach an agreement on their adversity, respecting the legal limits, and "beyond the formal aspects before judicial bodies, implies access to fair legal system", as Resolution nº. 125/10, of the National Council of Justice.

Through mediation, it is also able to access efficient justice, because it seeks to solve the conflict in a more dynamic way, looking for the maximum effectiveness of the rights, and empowering those involved in the responsibility for the decision and subsequent implementation, giving greater satisfaction, safety and economy to parties, as well as contributing to the restoration and maintenance of interpersonal relationships.

The result is more than merely solve a conflict, it transforms opponents into collaborators, as well as stimulates and vitalizes the communication between individuals in conflict, so as to provide what the public jurisdiction does not have a position to offer (due to its own characteristics): speed and satisfaction among the parties that, thus, can restore their relations. [6]

With features of privacy, oral communication, dialogue, autonomy, balance, speed, lower cost and cooperation, can be the object of mediation:

Problems relating to everyday issues, as disagreements among members of educational institutions and leisure, family or between neighbors discussions and conflicts on the environment have been the main issues brought to discussion through mediation, although it is allowed to discuss in this process almost any conflict that may interest to parties. [7]

Thus, it can be used for issues involving environmental conflicts in the search for negotiated solutions to the creation of public management and policy instruments involving public and private sector and civil society, with the primary objective of encouraging and promoting the rational and sustainable use of currently available resources, to the defense and protection of the environment, under the Federal Constitution of 1988.

Mediation uses the basic processes involving governance, to ensure an ecologically balanced environment for all present and future generations. In this sense, it requires the "expanded participation", essential to a effective governance in order to ensure proper management for sustainable development, "adopting more stringent social and environmental policies, and ensuring a more active role for citizens and local agents"[8], as well as to public or private sector institutions.

Governance introduces new mechanisms and actors for discussion and interaction between all those involved in a particular issue. What it is essential to the issues of environmental law, in view of its intrinsic characteristic of transnationality, as the systems and ecosystems do not fit neatly into any kind of predetermined boundary.

This is what happens, for example, in the event of environmental disasters such as emissions, oil spills, accidents with nuclear materials, increase of the Earth's temperature, increase of organic waste, among other events.

It is, therefore, necessary an integrated management (which can be obtained through the mediation) to the effectiveness of the right to an ecologically balanced environment for present and future generations. Because, the environment does not see borders, it connects people and recontextualises them, forming a new structural and economic reality regarding the need for cooperation for maintenance and/or recovery of the ecologically balanced environment, in respect to the principle of intergenerational solidarity (prioritized by the Brazilian Federal Constitution of 1988), bearing in mind the principle of sustainable development (in any of its three pillars: economic, social and environmental).

THE RESPECT FOR THE PRINCIPLE OF INTERGENERATIONAL SOLIDARITY THROUGH ENVIRONMENTAL MEDIATION

The Brazilian environmental law is guided by the principle of intergenerational solidarity contained in the caput of article 225, of the Constitution, which prescribes that the environmental preservation should be done keeping in mind both the present and the future generations.

Those who were not even born, who have no voice or form of expression, not even procedural, cannot be committed to their right to enjoy quality of life, by the way that current generations use of Earth's natural resources. [9]

It translates into a principle of ethics between generations, since the currently existing resources should be used to ensure a standard of consistent quality for future generations.

This understanding is consistent with the Principle nº. 1, of the Stockholm Declaration, of 1972 (which inspired the Constitution of 1988), which recognizes the right of future generations is closely linked to responsibility of current ones with the balance of the environment.

The Environmental Law has, thus, transgenerational features, since it extrapolates the legal rights of present generations to achieve those yet to come. The environmental protection should, therefore, create a bond of solidarity of present generations towards the future.

"It is a right that translates, for the first time, an inter-generational commitment, a pact of the current generation with the future, to respect and preserve the environmental balance as a common good". [10]

In this sense, the building of cooperative relations between community members is essential, including the public or private sector, through productive dialogue in order to raise awareness about the rights and duties of every citizen, which ultimately favors the concept of a positive change in society.

It is noticed that, mediation emphasizes the culture of democracy through the development of attitudes and behaviors towards peace and mutual respect for the individual to identify their differences from each other, seeking a way to pacify them, beyond treatment most suitable for disputes, encouraging the participation of the parties through cooperation and recognition of citizen role, to facilitate a solution to the conflict, listing viable alternatives and choosing the most appropriate and fair ones, providing efficiency and effectiveness intergenerational solidarity, brought by the Federal Constitution of 1988.

Anyway, this participative management (promoted through collaborative solution building) encourages the active involvement of citizens and the development of a democratic process, besides promoting social inclusion.

CONCLUSIONS

In this work, we have identified the process of urbanization of cities as an environment capable of generating socio-environmental conflicts that commonly arise with housing needs around the use and occupation of land, which result is the uncontrolled illegal occupation of urban land.

These are conflicts that require a multi-disciplinary knowledge, for which there is no isolated solution, but there is the need for intervention in various areas of action such as economics, law and sociology. So, to reach consensus between the parties it takes a close interconnection of these areas in the planning and implementation of solutions.

This interconnection can be achieved in the implementation of agreed methods of conflict resolution, such as mediation. In this sense, the solidification of a legal framework laying down on specific rules for implementation of environmental mediation is essential to implement citizen participation and involve actors, who can build the right solutions to urban environmental problems.

The Law nº. 13.140/2016 reaffirms the possibility of management of environmental conflicts, through effective governance in a view of management, prevention and resolution of these urban conflicts.

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PLANNING CONTROLS AND BOTTOM-UP PRACTICE: DYNAMIC FORMS AND MEANINGS IN DAXUE ROAD, SHAPOWEI (2012-2016)

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Recently, the transformation of China's planning direction has been widely concerned, which indicates the trends from the increment planning to inventory planning and policy planning. Inventory planning which focuses on dealing with complicated problems relates to the adjustment of existing interests. And policy planning is an essential supporting means for the above two types of planning implementation. This study selects the Daxue Road, Shapowei, Xiamen as the research area, where boat people gather and settle. Besides, this community-scale area also suffered from a series of commercialization dramatically since 2012. The research indicates a clear process of three periods of typology evolution, which identifies the typological logics evolved from the local socio-spatial practice. In this process, due to various driving forces and power games, a series of rapid and complicated transformations emerging from bottom-up interventions and top-down controls.

This study discusses the dynamic forms and meanings of three principal types of shop house in Daxue Road- the standard form, the isomorphic form, and the metamorphosis form- that sequentially appeared in the bottom-up housing history. And each building type influenced by spontaneous needs and governance controls is explored in a dynamic way over the time, as well as how it resiliently developed into a mixed street landscape. Literature review is applied to collect historical developments about this old town area and planning controls. Field survey, oral interview and spatial mapping are employed to and identify the basic types and their evolutionary patterns.

Results show that buildings' patterns in Shapowei experienced from a representational evolution to a structural transformation, demonstrating the dynamic interactions from both sides of top-down and bottom-up. In this period, the percentage of residences part was decreasing accordingly, accompanying with many new commercial types involved to dramatically change the existing typology. And there still exits obvious gaps among planning regulation acts, street landscape and building types, which resulted in large informal housing activities afterwards, and produces theirs own meanings. Large scales of spontaneous practices indicate the absence of policy planning. Nowadays, China's urbanization is undergoing a rapid structure adjustment and transformation stage, however, with a series of issues happened in the regeneration process of old town areas. This study focusing on the typological evolution and its urban spatial mechanism could provide a potential model to understand the resilience between bottom-up practice and top-down regulations.

V.06 P.213   **Yongming Chen | Yu Yan**
PLANNING CONTROLS AND BOTTOM-UP PRACTICE: DYNAMIC FORMS AND MEANINGS IN DAXUE ROAD, SHAPOWEI (2012-2016)

TOC

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE DURING 90S IN ÇANAKKALE

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This paper aims to discuss the historical background of today's city councils, by examining the Çanakkale experience to pursue the roots of participative democracy at the local level. Drawing on the examples of local participation in Çanakkale during 90s, it is recognized that this approach of the municipality opened up new possibilities of enhancing the capacity of the local democracy. Çanakkale was one of the distinct examples of local participative administration during the early 90's in Turkey for being the first experience of participative democracy at the local level. The main tool for establishing a participative administration, the mayor of the city began organizing open public meetings. However, the meetings were limited merely for the decision-making process. To overcome this limitation three new mechanisms come into use. These were opening a space for the locals to debate issues before the decision-making process; using public participation in the planning process of one of the central historical neighbourhoods' of the city and lastly, carrying out the Local Agenda 21 to encourage public participation. So, this paper investigates the construction of participative democracy at the local level in Turkey by examining these three mechanisms in detail and how do they shaped today's mechanisms.

Keywords
public participation, participative democracy, collaborative planning, Local Agenda 21

SPATIAL MANIFESTATIONS OF NEOLIBERAL URBANISM IN THE CASE OF ISTANBUL: INTERROGATING MASSIVE MIX-USE PROJECTS

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The rise of neo-liberal economic policies marked the changes in the urban agenda and the way urban areas develop and function over the last three decades. Today, cities are extremely dependent on economic structure and governing policies, in which profit based approaches start to dominate how the urban environment is shaped. Major cities all around the world are in constant competition with each other to attract capital flow, tourists and highly qualified labour to put themselves in the global cities map. In that regard, along with the unprecedented levels of urbanization taking place, functional, spatial and social segregation is growing in cities more than ever. In the new era of competition among cities, Istanbul has become the focus of Turkey's economic development effort. From the 1980's national policy intended to make Istanbul the focal point of a neo-liberal strategy approach to integrating the Turkish economy with global markets. These policy packages had a strong influence on the changing face of Istanbul in the post-1980's period (Enlil, 2011). As stated by many critics, from government driven, top down, controversial, gigantic infrastructural projects, to incredible numbers of shopping malls standing side by side, to the so-called social housing projects (which in many cases destroys historical, poor neighbourhoods to open up space for private real estate developments), as well as the presence of a strong tabula rasa approach rooted in municipal projects, the city transformed rapidly and became a perfect example of what a neoliberal city is all about in the most extreme ways possible (Ekmekçi 2012, Bartu 2014, Aksoy 2014). After the financial crisis in 2000/01, the city -as any other major cities have- responded to the pressures of the global economy by using very big, mixed-use developments as attractors of multinational business and sites for new housing. Since then, a vast number of large scale mix use projects have been built both at the centre and the periphery of Istanbul, by private investors. These massive projects form new urban dynamics, change the urban morphology and transform the existing built environment. This transformation is a part of neoliberal urban approach and "new Istanbul" discourse and its selective "middle and upper class" democracy. It is associated with new forms of "governing" urban interventions, characterized by less democratic and more elite-driven priorities. Within this framework, through a discoursive reading of the visual and textual material on the three selected large scaled mix-use projects in Istanbul (Zorlu Center, Mall of Istanbul and Emaar Square), this study aims to explore contradictory dynamics of the urban restructuring of Istanbul along with the "new Istanbul" discourse. By focusing on; scales/urban impacts of the projects, their decision-making process, targeted social groups, projected 'needs' and 'lifestyle', the study intends to provide an alternative discussion platform for a broader understanding of the formation of architecture and the reproduction of the city.

Keywords
Istanbul, Neoliberal Urbanism, Large scale Mix-use Projects, Urban Context

Public Spaces and
Public Policy

Chair: Roberto Rocco

RESILIENCE AND URBAN TRANSFORMATION IN THE LANDSCAPE OF XV DE NOVEMBRO SQUARE IN RIO DE JANEIRO IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Flavia Nascimento

University of SaoPaulo

The goal of this paper is to study the urban transformation in Rio de Janeiro's downtown area, as well as its resilience capacity in light of the countless urban renewal projects undertaken in the region. With a focus on one of its main centers of power, XV de Novembro Square along the second half of the 20th century, we intend to examine the projects, the social actors and the urban planning associated with this area, as well as the persistence of different elements within this landscape. The aim is to reflect on how the physical resistance of the buildings and of urban form were made possible in light of the urban planning policies. XV de Novembro Square first was occupied in the 16th century, but it was in the 18th century that it became the main port in Brazil, due to its strategic location for the Portuguese Crown to ship out its products into the Atlantic. It also served as the seat of the government, a residence for nobility and place for the public display of power. The square's urban fabric, depicted by several artists and photographers, took on a monumental aspect, related to the rhetoric and persuasive symbols commonly found in the seats of power in the Americas. Even after monarchy was abolished and the seat of government was moved to another district, XV de Novembro Square remained in the urban imaginary as a "historic center". In the 1950s, XV de Novembro Square was deeply affected by construction of an elevated roadway that contoured Rio de Janeiro's downtown along the edge of Guanabara Bay, as the square lost its relationship with the sea and saw its port activities gradually move elsewhere. Major changes took place during the civil-military dictatorship that started in 1964, such as office buildings higher than ten stories in height being built where historic structures once stood – part of a process that confirmed the area's status as a financial and administrative services center and marked the beginning of its affirmation as a cultural center. Despite all of these changes, the region's historic buildings, urban form and open areas resisted, due either to urban planning efforts or preservation policies. In the 2000s, urban planning initiatives cast a new light on the region, now seen as a "place of history" and the "birthplace of samba". The elevated avenue was demolished and projects for the urban center are currently underway, one of which is the newly-opened Tomorrow Museum, designed by Santiago Calatrava. XV de Novembro Square is now understood as a place that contains examples from Rio de Janeiro's historic collection, and an area that could potentially become the city's cultural center. By looking at the area's urban projects, plans and technical studies, and based on cartography, we will seek to discuss the staying power and resilience of Rio de Janeiro's downtown.

V.06 P.221 **Flavia Nascimento**

RESILIENCE AND URBAN TRANSFORMATION IN THE LANDSCAPE OF XV DE NOVEMBRO SQUARE IN RIO DE JANEIRO IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

TOC

FROM SPLINTERED MUNICIPALISM TO METROPOLITAN RESILIENCE: INTERWAR PROVINCIAL EXPERIMENTS IN METROPOLITAN GOVERNANCE

Tom Broes | Michiel Dehaene

Ghent University

In many studies, the Belgian territory is often regarded as a notorious case of urban sprawl. Ever since the establishment of the Belgian nation state in 1830, a pertinent and stubborn belief in the principle of subsidiarity and a deeply rooted municipalism facilitated and encouraged a national policy of dispersion. For more than a century, all means seem to have been allocated and spread over more than 2500 tiny municipalities, mainly cutting the entire territory into sub-urban pieces, producing a finely grained nebulous urban landscape and dispersed patterns of urbanization.

In contrast to these pertinent readings of urban dispersion, this paper recalls a short but intense and almost forgotten episode of urban agglomeration that seems to have marked the history of Belgian planning during the Interwar period. In spite of the obstinate policies of dispersion and division, the main Belgian cities were nonetheless growing beyond their legal boundaries at the turn of the 20th century. Beyond these city boundaries lay a splintered landscape of un-emancipated hamlets that were not capable of addressing these waves of extended urbanization that washed over their territories. In this political and institutional void, the provincial authorities seem to have been the most suitable administrative level to conduct the urbanization process in these greater urban regions. Mainly in the interwar period, the provincial authorities experimented with all kinds of regional/metropolitan/intercommunal forms of governance in order to accomplish the urban (re) socialization of everyday living conditions in the Belgian agglomerations.

The paper focuses on the Antwerp metropolitan region in particular. Recomposing the political careers and projects of several aristocratic provincial governors and clerks, including their relations to both local and supra-local public and private partners, the pro-active and intriguing role of the Antwerp provincial authorities is unpacked. Several provincial studies did not only produce a thorough survey of the agglomeration's regional geography, but also clearly acknowledged and mapped the changing social needs of an urbanizing society. In response, utility systems were put in place, but also metropolitan parks were preserved from thoughtless tract development and were promoted for urban appropriation long before a truly metropolitan condition would establish itself. These different plans never amounted in a concerted urban policy. They did however provide the urbanization process with various forms of resilience creating a setting that made the existing municipal landscape more responsive to the growing strain on the metropolitan area. As such, a kind of provincial policy and governance emerged, that was at times able to constructively accommodate the urbanization process in order to organize positive agglomeration effects.

This promising provincial project did not set through after WWII. The Belgian nation state never considered a strong provincial authority using the divided municipal landscape as a way to reinforce a national power base. Recalling the provincial project of the interbellum is particularly relevant today, in the context of recurring debates and obstinate ideas regarding the redundant nature of the provincial planning level.

THE IMAGINED CITY. A VIEW TO PLANS AND PROJECTS OF CITIES IN THE EMERGENCE OF CHILEAN PLANNING (1872-1929)

Macarena Ibarra

Instituto de Estudios Urbanos y Territoriales, Pontificia Universidad Católica

Urban historiography between 1872 and 1929, period in which planning institutionalized in Chile, have usually focused in the work of Intendente Benajamin Vicuña Mackenna as his proposals (La transformación de Santiago, 1872) leaded to most of urban transformations in the following decades (Martínez, 2007), and in the embellishment of Santiago and other Chilean cities due to the celebrations of the first Centenary of Chilean Independence from Spain, in 1910 since such anniversay prompted to a number of public works and lead to the construction of notable monuments (De Ramón, 2003; Oyarzún et.al., 2005; Ibarra, 2005). However, urban historiography has put little attention on the number of urban proposals for transforming Chilean cities that were discussed -specially in the National Congress- and which, most of them, were not were approved. The debates related those proposals are of interest in terms of the emergence of planning as a public issue and as a discipline in Chile. This paper looks at this proposals from a critical and analytical perspective, considering that a third of them were discussed in the National Congress, between 1892 and 1925. These projects were proposed by local authorities, professional circles, and members of the Parliament through a figure of mixed commission (for Santiago in 1912). The debates of such projects were carried out in the context of a political system in which the Parliament had the attribution of approving urban plans. Further to the reasons behind these "non-approved" projects, the political dimensión of these debates are key to approach the way in which urban issues were included in the public agenda. In this way, the paper seeks to analyse the debates that correspond to the moment of gestation of planning in Chile, appearing as an important antecedent to the understanding of the formative period of the discipline after its cristalization.

UNBALANCED SAUDI ARABIA: APPLYING RANK-SIZE RULE TO EVALUATE SAUDI URBAN GROWTH PATTERNS

Bader Bajaber

KFUPM

The Saudi Arabian economy's dramatic shift toward oil production over the last 60 years has had a substantial influence on the country's cities and their composition. This transformation, which began in the late 1930's, was a central development in the history of Saudi Arabia. Since then, massive resources have been diverted to the provision of infrastructure and the management of urban growth. In 1970, the national government began to plan for this rapid growth with recurring five-year national development plans. These plans aim to ensure that all regions in Saudi Arabia, particularly the rural areas, have an equal opportunity to develop their full potential, and that they are provided with a full range of government services. However, a significant variation of growth in size and prosperity across Saudi cities continues today. This paper examines the historical growth of Saudi cities and the extent to which they are moving toward more balanced growth via investigating the changes in their population size distribution from 1989 to 2010. Rank-size rule, which describes a general trend observed in urban populations worldwide, is used as a basis for analyzing 26 Saudi cities, with an emphasis on how the population and rank of these cities has changed from 1989 to 2010. The paper finds that Saudi Arabia does not follow the trend hypothesized by the rank-size rule. Three major urban areas were found to have a very high percentage of the national total population. Although the national five-year development plans were aiming towards balanced population growth throughout the country, this goal has not been achieved yet due to lack of coordination and comprehensive planning. Rank-size rule is an empirical tool that is commonly used in contemporary urban studies to estimate the relationship between a city's population relative to other cities within a system, and often the system is simply a nation or a region. Rank-size rule hypothetically predicts that the second most populous city in the nation or region will have half of the population of the most populous city, the third most populous city will have one-third of the population of the most populous city, and so on (Shukla, 2010). In other words, rank-size rule assumes rank times population is constant across cities, which is equal to the population of the largest city. Investigating rank-size distribution at one point in time and comparing it with the hypothetical rank-size rule assumption allows one to observe and understand the concentration and unequal development between cities. Moreover, analyzing changes in the rank-size distribution over time is useful in order to track the development progress of cities, and how they vary in their growth rates and prosperity. The paper also highlights five planning-related factors that have influenced the observed growth pattern during the period from 1989 to 2010. These factors include: the learning-by-doing approach resulting from the rapid transformation of population; the centralized urban management system; the lack of coordination in policy formulation; the lack of appropriate local manpower; and the lack of a comprehensive planning intelligence information database.

V.06 P.227   **Bader Bajaber**
UNBALANCED SAUDI ARABIA: APPLYING RANK-SIZE RULE TO EVALUATE SAUDI URBAN GROWTH PATTERNS

TOC

Playing in Traffic:
The Driver versus
Pedestrian in
The Metropolis

Chair: James Wunsch

BACK SEAT DREAMING: MOTOR MANIA, MICKEY'S TRAILER, AND THE LITTLE HOUSE

Joe Goddard

University of Copenhagen

This presentation compares three short Disney films, Mickey's Trailer (1938), the Little House (1942), and Motor Mania (1950). In each of these films, the auto appears front and center as the force, which moves us through narratives with vividly changing scenes and landscapes. Arguably the films can also be seen as depictions of the automobile as de-humanizing the built environment and degrading the natural habitat. Progress here can be read as regressive. Though intended for entertainment, many adults and some children might view these films as ironic commentaries on car culture. Employing familiar gags and situations rendered comic via the medium of cartoon magical realism (where anything is possible if grounded in the familiar), these cartoons present a consistent socially constructed cultural tapestry, aligned with contemporary documentary and other materials to create an intertextuality (stylistic and of substance) which multiplies the collective authority of the texts. For comedy to avoid the ridiculous it must have its roots in the banal and the ordinary, a factor that certainly holds true for these cartoons. While not intended solely for kids, these films, like many other Disney seven-minute offerings, came to be bundled especially for children. Repeated viewings, reinforced and hammered in blow by blow, one film at a time, powerfully convey an essentially anti-urban and anti-modern theme. Cars may be fun, but under their regime, the world changes in fearful ways. Children are subjected to images, which, at the very least, would make them skeptical towards the (supposedly planned) urban world and favorable to the (supposedly unplanned) natural world. On some level, the ostensibly playful films stood to alter the child's cultural and physical sensibilities. Thus the cartoon images of "natural" farms and woodland juxtaposed against the "unnatural" highways, machines and cities undermine (deeply though perhaps subconsciously) the efforts of planners and others to create a rationally framed world. The three films speak to different yet equally applicable views of the city. The Little House film "reads" as a simplified textbook on how in the early 20th century the motorcar and transit expand, transform and ultimately degrade the American city and countryside. Mickey's Trailer concerns the chasm of experiential satisfaction between the rejuvenating cathedrals of the natural world and debased, collision-bound modernity. Moving from physical degradation to moral malaise, Motor Mania shows how repressed, controlled, modern life explodes into a nightmare for the innocent unprotected pedestrian. The two latter films lean heavily on contemporary promotional films and popularizations of contemporary sociological ideas of American society offered in advertising film by Ford Motor Company's Glacier National Park (1938) and in the comedy Bachelor in Paradise (1956). Spanning the period from the thirties to the fifties, the films follow the progression in which the automobile goes from regional to national ubiquity, with great consequences for adults and children.

HOW CARS TRANSFORMED CHILDHOOD: A STUDY IN MOBILITY AND CONFINEMENT

James Wunsch

Empire State College (SUNY)

How did cars transform American childhood? This presentation focuses on a critical place and time-- the city and suburb of the nineteen twenties. Consider that in the year 1925, around 7,000 children in the U.S. were killed by cars and trucks, a total amounting to almost one-third of the entire year's motor vehicle fatalities. Because so many of the unfortunate kids were playing in city streets, anxious parents and public officials began encouraging and even demanding they play on sidewalks and in newly constructed playgrounds. But paradoxically, the ready availability of the automobile itself, made it possible for parents to leave congested city streets and head for a suburb, seemingly a much safer place for play. Indeed, while one might expect that in the interwar years children would have swarmed through suburbia's quiet streets and cul-de-sacs, in fact they had disappeared from public view. Not that the car in suburbia constituted any sort of threat. Rather what happened was cars had so effectively dispersed population and services within the community that shops, schools, playgrounds, libraries and movie theaters, just a few blocks away in cities, were no longer accessible for suburban kids. Why play or hang out in the street when there was no longer a neighborhood candy store or hobby shop within walking distance? With so few families on the block, (single-family houses in the suburbs were constructed on large lots) there were few kids playing outside. You might as well play in the backyard or inside.

In this paper, I argue that the auto powered dispersal of people and uses (sustained by force of law through newly adopted zoning ordinances) meant that young people would remain dependent on parent or other chauffeur until such time as they themselves could obtain a license and wheels. And what of those less privileged youth who could not afford a license and a car? How could they escape marginalization?

In this paper I draw on a transit, highway, and zoning research carried out as former Associate Director of the Regional Plan Association (New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut.) to explore transformations in childhood and community streets. Additionally, I will utilize the history of urban childhood and the social geography of cities, which form the basis of my courses at Empire State College,State University of New York.

Keywords
automobile, mobility, driving, child development, suburbanization, urbanization, adolescence, driverless cars

THE TRANSATLANTIC TRANSFER OF PEDESTRIANIZATION IN THE POST WORLD WAR II PLANNING ERA

Kelly Gregg

the University of Toronto

The 2009 pedestrianization of Broadway in Midtown Manhattan, lead by Danish Architect Jan Gehl is evidence of renewed interest in adapting European pedestrianization planning strategies to the North American context. However, these new strategies, are being applied without reference to the post-war generation of projects that also looked to European planning models, but were broadly deemed unsuccessful in revitalizing downtowns. This research looks at the first transatlantic transfer of ideas about pedestrianization during the 1950s and 1960s using the lens of Victor Gruen, an influential proponent of modernist pedestrianization in post-war North America (Gruen, 1964; Victor Gruen Associates, 1958). Beginning in Europe, pedestrianization emerged and became broadly applied across continents to account for rapid changes in cities in the post-war era (Brambilla & Longo, 1977; Robertson, 1994). In both Europe and North America, the physical implementation of pedestrianization was marked by the redesign of public streets to include limiting motorized vehicular use of the street, and enhancing pedestrian facilities (Brambilla & Longo, 1976, 1977; Robertson, 1994). Proposals presented by Gruen often looked to European experiences as a model, despite the vastly different planning contexts. Where European pedestrianization took place in the context of central districts that were repopulating and being rebuilt after World War II, pedestrianization in North America was being implemented in downtown areas that faced increasing competition from suburban growth and development. Thus, the transatlantic transfer of pedestrianization marked an adaptation of the use of pedestrianization, from congestion relief and architectural preservation in Europe, to retail revitalization and modernization in North America (Robertson, 1994; Uhlig, 1979). This was a distinct shift, as retail revitalization was not a goal in early European pedestrianization projects and proposals which were, in fact, often initially met with opposition by retailers (Wagenaar, 2011).

American and Canadian planners observed the success and vibrancy of pedestrian streets in Europe, and with Gruen as a leading proponent, soon advocated for adopting pedestrianization strategies with the hopes of revitalizing the fading American downtown retail districts. This paper addresses the question of what can be learned from this past transatlantic transfer of planning ideas related to pedestrianization? The research questions first, how did Gruen and other proponents reference, and perhaps change the meaning of, European planning strategies when they adapted them to a very different context. Based on the writings of Guren and examining several project case studies, did North American planners argue that the retail vitalization associated with European examples (even though this was not their goal), could be simply reproduced in the North American context? To the degree that recognized the differences, how did North American planners justify their reinterpretation of Europe proposals? The paper speaks more broadly to issues of the transfer and reinterpretation of planning ideas, something occurring again as evidenced by the Broadway pedestrianization project.

Keywords

pedestrian streets, pedestrianization, pedestrian malls, transatlantic transfer, post-war planning, Victor Gruen, Jan Gehl

THE DEPICTION OF POST WAR AMERICAN LIFESTYLE IN ARCHITECTURAL MAGAZINES

Phoebus Panigyrakis

TU Delft

The shift from 1920's mechanistic functionalism, to the comfortable living of the post war "American dream" happened in between the turning of glossy pages of American magazines, where the success-stories of mid-century architecture found its way to the common people of the greater American melting pot. More specifically, the architectural magazine, first and foremost a bastion to the profession, gained wider readability engaging more and more people on the matter of expressing their identity and fulfilling their dreams by having a new house, or even better, achieving a modern "lifestyle". Since then, architecture is actively participating within the mass media, entertaining while also serving its audience/ clientele. The focus of this research lies on the depiction of American Lifestyle in architectural magazines during the post-war period. By then, the U.S.A. had shortly emerged as the global superpower, and its cultural dominance, along with the economical, was largely instrumented through lifestyle magazines. And architectural ones, tended to look like them. In their pages, presenting a school meant to present the ways of the younger generation. A hospital, meant for the self-evident truth of the fruits of modern technology to our well-being. A new public square of an extension of a university was depicted as a cosmopolitan event while the house stayed strong as the central stage for the all-inclusive spectacle of architecture. The period under study will be from 1945 (the end of WWII) until 1972 when the start of the oil crisis, ended the celebrated period of American affluence having as a result, the folding of a large part of the magazine industry. In regards to the editorship, texts were becoming more and more informal, incorporating idioms of oral language even as architectural terminology (e.g Googie) . Photographers such as E. Stoller and J. Shulman, brought the medium a bit closer to the photojournalism of their contemporary Life, Look or Harper's magazine. The ads, in contrast to the idealistic view of the editors, were just as well interested in redefining modern living (through their products) and having the architect as a model and living evidence of the world at hand. Of course, just like most of the big promises of the 20th century, lifestyle - in general and in architecture in particular- never fulfilled its premises. It did however establish a cycle between the audience and the pointing fingers of the medium, that still sets the standards to what is/should be considered good architecture in our times.

Keywords
Lifestyle, Architectural Magazines, Post war U.S.A.

Urbanism and Politics in the 1960s: Permanence, Rupture and Tensions in Brazilian Urbanism and Development

Chair: Eneida Mendonça

NITERÓI 1960: A MEDIUM-SIZED CAPITAL IN CONFLICT

Marlice Azevedo

Federal Fluminense University PPGAU-UFF

The 1960s in Brazil were marked by the transfer of the country's capital from Rio de Janeiro, which had played this role since the end of the 18th century, to Brasília in the Planalto Central (central plateau) region that is the country's geographical center.

The country was undergoing an intense urbanization process that exceeded 50% every ten years (66% in 1960/1970 and 55% in 1970/1980) and which created a new urban profile where the metropolitan regions were prominent. This period was marked by profound territorial and urban transformations, such as a population increase, rural/urban migration, industrialization and a crisis in the agrarian structure. Furthermore, economic planning initiatives were disconnected from the urban issues dealt with by government measures brought on by territorial physical planning. All these facts contributed towards aggravating the urban crisis and the housing supply.

Between 1960 and 1980 the population in the city of Niterói rose by some 63% and as the capital of Rio de Janeiro State, the city had its own specifics related to its geographical location, by the Guanabara Bay, across from Rio de Janeiro city – which at that point was still the federal capital and to which Niteroi had a strong connection and dependency ties. Due to its proximity to Rio de Janeiro city Niterói ended up losing certain advantages and privileges, while being affected by a crisis to its waterways (the connection between Niterói and Rio de Janeiro) and by a rupture to the political and administrative continuity of the State government in 1961. In 1959, the waterways crisis prompted the "boats revolt", a deadly popular uprising that set the city alight and destroyed buildings. Due to its huge repercussions, the uprising exceeded its geographical borders and is now considered a preview of the demonstrations that gave birth to the political events of the 1960s in Brazil.

As Niteroi was the capital of Rio de Janeiro State, its Urban Planning initiatives often originated in the State Government, also being identified in the legislative power, whose documents recorded several measures to that effect.

In the second half of the decade, the local administration created the Urban Planning and Director Plan Committee (1966) to oversee urban planning in the city. This initiative contributed towards strengthening urban planning actions on a municipal level and including the subject in the agendas of most Brazilian cities, in tandem with professional training initiatives in the area.

It is from this premise that this study addresses events, by analyzing statements emanating from the executive and legislative powers and from newspapers and magazines of the time. These sources have enabled us to draw up an illustrated overview of these events, which were also a reflection of nationwide and local political and labor movements instigated by a deep political and economic crisis sweeping the country at the time.

Keywords
Rio de Janeiro/Niterói connection, transport crisis, social conflicts, popular uprising

17th IPHS Conference, Delft 2016 | **HISTORY ▪ URBANISM ▪ RESILIENCE** | VOLUME 06 Scales and Systems |

PolicyMakingSystemsofCity,CultureandSociety | *UrbanismandPoliticsinthe1960s:Permanence,RuptureandTensionsinBrazilianUrbanismandDevelopment*

PORT RESTRUCTURING, URBANIZATION AND THE INSTITUTIONAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE GRANDE VITÓRIA METROPOLITAN REGION – ES, BRAZIL

Eneida Mendonca

Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo

This study is about Urbanism and Politics in the 1960s from an Urbanization/Development viewpoint, with a special focus on Vitória, the capital of Espírito Santo, Brazil. The main issues are port restructuring (SIQUEIRA, 1994), its role in the ensuing urban and metropolitan expansion, and the State's efforts to build an institutional apparatus related to Vitória's metropolitan planning. Although population growth in the capital and its neighboring municipalities had been increasing since the 1940s, there was a contribution to the expansion and acceleration of the urbanization process from factors such as an agricultural crisis caused by the eradication of the coffee plantations in the 1950s and 1960s (ROCHA and MORANDI, 1991) and the installation of the port and of steel industries in the 1960s and 1970s. This process included formal and informal land occupation, which in turn led to respective increases to the middle-class and low-income populations in the region following the creation of new jobs and the attraction of surplus unqualified labor. In tandem with this, the process of recognition of this urban structure's formation and metropolitan incorporation required several initiatives such as the formulation of diagnosis, analysis, planning and management strategies that were more compatible with the scale of the transformations. Such initiatives from the Espírito Santo Development Bank in the second half of the 1960s led to the creation of committees entrusted with drawing up guidelines (ESPÍRITO SANTO, 1985; MENDONÇA, 1991) for the implementation of the Integrated Development Plan for the Grande Vitória's urban agglomeration (MMM ROBERTO, 1973). Subsequently, a Foundation was created to oversee state planning, with a special focus on the municipalities in question and also as another preliminary reference to the Grande Vitória Metropolian Region that was created afterwards (ESPÍRITO SANTO, 2005). The documents used in the study include literature about the history and the urban evolution of Vitória and its metropolitan region; and original documents such as reports, plans, legislation, photographs and aerial photogrametric surveys from various periods for a comparative analysis illustrating the urbanization process and its timeline. We have concluded that the installation of a new port structure backing directly onto Vitória's hinterland proper, on areas bordering the Serra municipality, contributed towards the expansion of the urban infrastructure; increased the value of areas further from the central area; and favored the metropolitan expansion process, while at the same time encouraging the development of an institutional technical apparatus related to metropolitan planning.

V.06 P.243 **Eneida Mendonca**

PORT RESTRUCTURING, URBANIZATION AND THE INSTITUTIONAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE GRANDE VITÓRIA METROPOLITAN REGION – ES, BRAZIL

TOC

BRASÍLIA: SOCIO-SPATIAL SEGREGATION IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF A FEDERAL CAPITAL (1956-1970)

José Geraldo Simões Junior

Mackenzie University

This paper approaches the early stages of urbanization in Brasília, which dual nature as official city under construction (Pilot Plan) and as a city built as a result of adaptation to social circumstances (settlements of workers and satellite cities) generated social segregation and exclusion that has persisted until the present day. Between 1956, when the first construction sites were established, and 1970 (when Companhia de Erradicação de Invasões - the company for the eradication of land invasions) was officially created, the process of urbanization of Brasilia was headed by the state-owned company Novacap. The popular housing policies adopted by the company were marked by the frequent removal and relocation of construction site workers who lived in precarious conditions in contractors' lodgings or in slums in the surroundings of the Pilot Plan area. A clearer understanding of this process featured in the book published by Kim & Wesely in 2010, containing many photos (many unseen until then) portraying the early stages of the construction of Brasilia. This paper defines four categories that marked said urbanization process: the official settlements, the contractors' lodgings (in the surroundings of the construction sites), the slums and the construction of the satellite-cities. These actions have led to such an accentuated social and spatial segregation in the Federal District that today, the elite area of the Pilot Plan shelters only 10% of the entire population of the Federal District (estimated at two million inhabitants). Thus, Brasília is currently one of the most segregated urban agglomerations in Brazil. Lastly, this paper aims to establish a critical approach to the project of the New Capital of Brazil, showing the duality between a desired modernity (Pilot Plan) and the socioeconomic reality of the country, where the poverty was dominant. The actions of Novacap represented the picture of such contradictions, to reaffirm a pattern of traditional social and spatial segregation, concealing the social problems in order to highlight a modernity without support, which was to mark the development of this country until today.

17th IPHS Conference, Delft 2016 | **HISTORY ▪ URBANISM ▪ RESILIENCE** | VOLUME 06 Scales and Systems |

Policy Making Systems of City, Culture and Society | *Urbanism and Politics in the 1960s: Permanence, Rupture and Tensions in Brazilian Urbanism and Development*

THE REGIONAL ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY OF EXTRACTION IN THE AMAZON RIVER BASIN

Ana Maria Duran Calisto

Estudio A0 / UCLA

Within the framework of Michael Storper's "people to jobs" model of urban genesis and development, I would like to analyze the re-emergence of a regional economy of extraction in the Amazon River basin, driven by the new global economy in which the weigh of China and India have managed to tilt the development of South America, as the need to trade across the Pacific has led the region to propose a continental scale deployment of transport, energy and telecommunications infrastructure known as IIRSA/COSIPLAN. The proposed discussion would focus its analysis on how the forces of global investment and trade impact urban quality at ground level and local grain, raising environmental concerns which are at odds with another set of hopes placed by the global agenda upon the Amazon, as rain forests are expected to play a critical role in the reduction of global warming in the coming years.

Keywords
Amazon River basin, extraction and global trade, global warming, regional economies, new economic geographies

17th IPHS Conference, Delft 2016 | **HISTORY ▪ URBANISM ▪ RESILIENCE** | VOLUME 06 Scales and Systems |

PolicyMakingSystemsofCity,CultureandSociety | *UrbanismandPoliticsinthe1960s:Permanence,RuptureandTensionsinBrazilianUrbanismandDevelopment*

THE URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOUTHERN REGION OF MINAS GERAIS (1930-1980)

Fabio J. M. de Lima

UFJF

The paper presents a cities' research approach in Brazil, on the issue related to urban planning with an emphasis on the history of urbanism. This research as a continuation of previous works, focuses on the urban policies and the modernization between the years 1930 and 1980 in the South of the State of Minas Gerais. These region of the state were considered strategic by government considering the potential of hydro-mineral resources'explotaition. Another atribute is the possibilities to explore the tourism providing services and accommodation. In this context the cities of Cambuquira, Caxambu, Conceição do Rio Verde, Lambari, Pocos de Caldas and São Lourenço were investigated with the intent to comprehend the changes and the continuites of their urban landscape. The thematic involves the theories and practices embedded in the planner's proposals to these cities. This methodical 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 to the unplanned urban expansion which difficult the management of the new areas anywhere that includes social, cultural and economic effects. In this sense, the research includes comparative studies, or rather, the comparative analysis of concepts and issues related to the planner's proposals. These urban proposals are reflected in the professional biographies which are also object of this study. Thus, this research focuses on the planning process with theoretical references used by planners. And while the difficulties to materialize the planning ideas. Nowadays the complex reality of these cities can be summarized by some aspects. At first an inequitable expansion with disqualification of public spaces. In this process the devastation of remaining forests and damage to the sources of mineral water. These components generalized are placed as challenges to the rehabilitation of the hidro-mineral cities in the South of Minas Gerais.

Keywords
urban planning, cultural heritage, history of the cities

URBAN PLANNING IN GUANABARA STATE, BRAZIL: DOXIADIS, FROM EKISTICS TO THE DELOS MEETINGS

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This article looks into the evolution of the Ekistics Theory as formulated by Constantinos A. Doxiadis for the drawing up of a concept of Network. Following the Delos Meetings, this theory, a science of human settlements, subsequently evolved into the idea of human activity networks and how they could apply to different fields, especially architecture and urbanism. Those meeting were held during cruises around the Greek Islands with intellectuals from different areas of knowledge and countries. , Moreover, Ekistics theory was used as a basic for the formulation of the Plan for Guanabara State, Brazil, whose launch in 1964 took place a few months after the first Delos Meeting in 1963. The plan was developed for Guanabara State following the transfer of the country's capital from Rio de Janeiro to Brasília in 1960. Carlos Lacerda, the first elected governor, invited Doxiadis, hoping that by using technical instruments devised by the Greek architect and by relying on a foreign consultant, the plan would turn the city-state into a model of administration, apart from political pressures. The article highlights the rationality based on the Ekistics, strongly reflected in the plan, and the fragile remains of other principles detailed during the Delos Meetings.

Keywords
Ekistics, Plan for Guanabara State, Doxiadis, Delos Meetings

INTRODUCTION

The Ekistics Theory was used as a basis for the Plan for Guanabara State, whose launch in 1964 took place a few months after the first Delos Symposium in 1963. These meetings promoted by Constantinos A. Doxiadis, the plan's author, were held during cruises around the Greek Islands with intellectuals from different knowledge areas and countries[1].

The plan was developed for Guanabara State (the former Federal District) following the transfer of the country's capital from Rio de Janeiro to Brasília in 1960[2]. After a debate encompassing the transformations that marked the end of the 1950s[3], the selected alternative was to transform the city into a state that lost several of its functions as an administrative center but remained an important service center. The choice was to create a city-state entrusted with the necessary municipal and state resources to face the issues at hand.

Its first elected governor was Carlos F. Werneck de Lacerda, who opted for the plan[4] and invited Doxiadis[5] - a Greek architect who had worked in four continents. The governor's choice of Doxiadis stemmed from a wish to turn the city-state into a model of administration that would remain immune to political pressure. However, he was severely criticized[6] for not seeking recommendation from local technicians.

In 1937, Doxiadis became responsible for the planning sector of the Greater Athens Region and as of 1940 he was in charge of the bodies linked to urban and housing planning in Greece. In 1951, he set up the Doxiadis Associates Office and executed urban plans and regional studies in several countries[7]. In 1958, he founded the Technological Educational Institute of Athens – a research center for global studies and statistics. In 1963, he created the Athens Center of Ekistics, where he deepened the Ekistics Theory – a term he coined in 1942.

Meanwhile, Lacerda hoped that through the technical instrument provided by Ekistics and the expertise of a foreign consultant, the plan (which was scheduled to be concluded by the end of his mandate in 1965) would help establish his image as an efficient administrator. Furthermore, in a context of political instability this was a personal project and a potential contribution to Lacerda's candidacy for the Presidency of the country in 1965[8].

However, there was an inversion between planning and execution of the works. The plan was a necessary element for organizing ongoing works in housing, road and water and sewerage[9]. These sectors were being boosted, among other things, by cooperation between the USA and Brazil through the Alliance for Progress Program[10] and by other types of financing through the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB)[11].

EKISTICS AND HUMAN SETTLEMENTS

The Ekistics Theory drawn up by Doxiadis focused on city growth. "Human settlements are no longer satisfactory for their inhabitants", he said in the introduction of his book "Ekistics: an introduction to the science of human settlements" in 1968. He considered that in contemporary cities there was an imbalance between elements such as transportation, zoning and communication.

In the preface of his "Architecture in Transition" in 1963, the author stated that the decision to publish this book before another one entirely focused on the Ekistics Theory was due to the implications of architecture in current times. According to him, his ideas at the time were aimed at architects and not urban planners. In addition to offering "a new approach" that provided a framework for the architect's work, this theory coordinated other disciplines and assigned architects with a new role (Figure 1):

V.06 P.252   **Vera Rezende**
URBAN PLANNING IN GUANABARA STATE, BRAZIL: DOXIADIS, FROM EKISTICS TO THE DELOS MEETINGS

TOC

17th IPHS Conference, Delft 2016 | **HISTORY ▪ URBANISM ▪ RESILIENCE** | VOLUME 06 Scales and Systems |

PolicyMakingSystemsofCity,CultureandSociety | *UrbanismandPoliticsinthe1960s:Permanence,RuptureandTensionsinBrazilianUrbanismandDevelopment*

FIGURE 1 Ekistics and the interface with other disciplines.
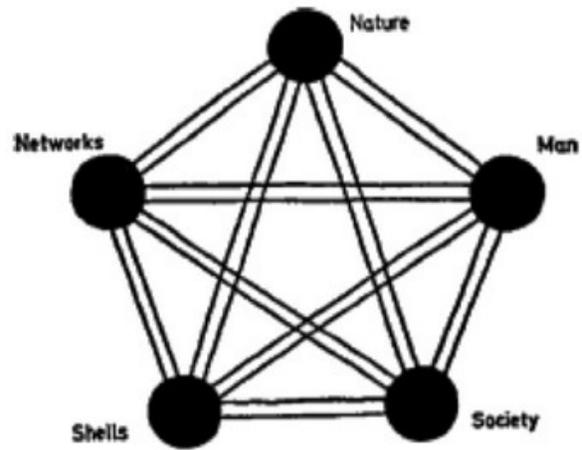
FIGURE 2 The network of 5 elements.

Ekistics (from oikos the ancient Greek word for house or dwelling) is the science of human settlements. It combines economics, sociology, political sciences, administration, technology and aesthetics within a coherent group, thus resulting in the creation of a new human habitat[12].

The essential knowledge provided by Ekistics would encourage architects to understand space in an innovative manner. For example, he said that the plan for Greater Mussayb, in Iraq, bore a stronger resemblance to natural calcium carbonate formations than to an architectural product[13].

The intent to create a type of science was not only present in Ekistics but also in architecture, as it claimed to foresee the ecumenical architectural zones that would prevail in the future of mankind. "He needs to be a scientist and also carry out research", he would say about architects[14]. This assumption was close to the ideals of the International Congress of Modern Architecture (CIAM), which aimed at setting a universal paradigm.

According to Doxiadis, the development of a scientific approach or the elevation of Ekistics to the category of science would provide the necessary international recognition, including from the United Nations. His views on cities were based on man and human unity ("the human sector"), which expanded in a parabolic manner and resulted in Dynapolis. "Dynapolis will not be strangled to death. It will expand in a parabolic manner and gradually adopt a geometrical form based on a rectilinear axis system".[15]

Doxiadis' principle, which he included in most of his projects from the mid- 1950s onwards, translated into the assumption that a city must grow in a single direction and its inner core must move and expand on the same scale as the city's growth. He defended this type of growth in opposition to the growth that had occurred in the past (with cities growing in a linear way from the core towards the peripheral areas). The idea of a city without limits was opposed to the traditional linear city, which could only happen in small areas. In the end, civilization would become an ecumenopolis ("a worldwide city"). The idea was based on the biggest scale possible. If data could be controlled, so could cities.[16] Courses on statistical analyses would be indispensable for architectural training. Furthermore, a project should start with precise charts and not artistic drawings.

Despite his connection with the CIAMs, Doxiadis had exceeded the initial modern concepts and drawn up a theory which, according to him, could be applied to any city. He insisted that the real dimension of the cities is not space but time. Basically, a city's trajectory towards development is more relevant than its shape. However, the ideas of the Athens Charter and of the CIAMs showed limitations due to their attachment to functions (living, engaging

in leisurely activities, working and travelling) and for their failure to go deeper into their interconnections[17]. This deepening would lead to the study of networks, during meetings that went beyond the modern functional premises of the last CIAM in 1956.

Ekistics was based on complex settlements and numbers of inhabitants which, with the individual as a starting point, would turn into communities of 30 million people – the ecumenopolis. The hierarchy of the communities was defined according to a logarithmic scale based on five elements: man, nature, society, structures (shells) and the networks. (Figure 2) A sixth element would be defined by the intersection of the other five.

TIME AND PRINCIPLES OF DESIRE AND VIABILITY.

In view of their complexity and of the several factors to be analyzed, the grids would become an instrument that synthesized the relationship between the elements, man (anthropos) and the hierarchized communities conceived by the theory (Figure 3).

Over time, Doxiadis increasingly focused on the study of networks within the cities and between cities, in order to draw up a general theory with a scientific basis that could explain all the settlements and justify the actions carried out in them. The international dissemination of Ekistics was prompted by the Delos Symposium during which intellectuals, and not only architects, were invited by Doxiadis and the Athens Technological Institute to discuss urban networks.

THE DELOS SYMPOSIUM - A WORLD IN A NETWORK

The first Delos Symposium took place aboard the New Hellas in July 1963, sailing from Athens for an eight day trip through the Greek Islands. Its goal was to discuss the evolution of human settlements, amid privileged surroundings comprised of classic antiquities and cities.

The meeting was attended by 34 intellectuals from 14 countries[18]. Among them were architects who sought to go beyond the traditional limits of architectural discourse, representatives from the United Nations and specialists in areas such as economics, administration, town planning, sociology, ethnography/anthropology, geography, biotechnology, information, medicine, engineering and law. The predominant nationalities among the participants were United States and British. Despite the proximity of the meeting (July 1963) and Doxiadis' contract (March 1964) for the launch of the plan in Brazil, there were no Brazilian professionals at the first meeting.

The participants included professionals from various fields and with different approaches to reality: Buckminster Fuller (USA)[19], architect; Margaret Mead (USA), anthropologist; Sigfried Gideon (Switzerland), art historian; Walter Christaller (Germany), geographer; Barbara Ward (United Kingdom), economist; and Marshall McLuhan[20] (Canada), philosopher and communication expert. Despite having a different academic background to Doxiadis, McLuhan became a big collaborator of the Greek architect in the field of networks and was a pioneer in applying them to information technology. In his invitation to the symposium, Doxiadis mentioned the ideas that were essential for the discussion about human settlements described in his book Gutenberg Galaxy in 1962, on the impact of the press on European culture. B. Fuller, another great partner of the Greek architect, was also present at the meeting. Fuller was already applying the concept of networks to a physical dimension and since his first book Nine Chains to the Moon in 1938, he had been describing technology as an extension of the human body.

FIGURE 3 Grid. The "anthropocosmos" model, 6 elements, the relationship with population levels,

A common feature among the symposium's guests was their ability to contribute through their specific areas of knowledge and to divulge the results. This helped expand the meetings' outreach towards the creation of a new form of international thought. Doxiadis' ambitions were not modest and the cruise, which was sponsored by the Athens Technological Institute, was much more than a symposium to debate "the quick deterioration of human settlements in today's world"[21].

The goal was to expand the arguments which claimed that the evolution of technology is the evolution of the human body, of cities and of the possibility to plan them. This enterprise also involved a representative from the United Nations (UN) in the final sessions, during which a statement was drafted. By the end of the symposium a document was issued stating the seriousness of the situation; the participants' pledge to continue working together; the establishment of a permanent secretariat at the Athens Technological Institute; and the plan to hold a second symposium in July 1964. The final goal was to draft a Delos Statement, which similarly to the Athens Charter, described the type of actions that were necessary for the world.

CHARLES ABRAMS (U.S.A.).
Housing Expert and Visiting Professor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

EDMUND N. BACON (U.S.A.).
Executive Director, Philadelphia City Planning Commission.

STEWART BATES (Canada).
President, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

PEDRO BIDAGOR LASARTE (Spain).
Director General of Planning, Ministry of Housing.

A.K. BROHI (Pakistan).
Senior Advocate of the Supreme Court.

C.S. CHANDRASEKHARA (India).
Sec. Gen., East Asia Regional Organization for Planning and Housing.

WALTER CHRISTALLER (Germany).
Professor Emeritus of Regional Geography; Vice President, Regional Science Association, U.S.A.

JACOB L. CRANE (U.S.A.).
City Planning Consultant.

RICHARD LLEWELYN-DAVIES (Britain).
Chairman, Department of Architecture, London University.

C.A. DOXIADIS (Greece).
President, Athens Technological Institute.

LEONARD DUHL (U.S.A.).
Psychiatrist, National Institute of Mental Health.

O.E. FISCHNICH (U.N.).
Assistant Director General, Technical Department, F.A.O.

LYLE C. FITCH (U.S.A.).
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Director, Generalized Science Exploration, Southern Illinois University.

CLIFFORD FURNAS (U.S.A.).
President, State University of New York at Buffalo.

S. GIEDION (Switzerland).
Professor of Art History, Zurich and Harvard Universities.

J. GORYNSKI (Poland).
Undersecretary, Ministry of Communal Administration and Housing.

EIICHI ISOMURA (Japan).
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BARBARA WARD JACKSON (Britain).
Economist and author.

STURE LINNER (U.N.).
Director of United Nations Special Fund Programs in Greece, Representative of the United Nations Technical Assistance Board.

M.S. MAKIYA (Iraq.).
Principal, Department of Architecture, University of Baghdad.

EDWARD S. MASON (U.S.A.).
Lamont University Professor, Harvard University.

SIR ROBERT MATTHEW (Britain).
Professor, Royal Institute of British Architects.

MARGARET MEAD (U.S.A.).
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MARSHALL McLUHAN (Canada).
Director, Centre for the Study of the Extensions of Man, University of Toronto.

WACLAW OSTROWSKI (Poland).
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ALFRED R. OTOO (Ghana).
Chief Development Officer, Accra-Tema Metropolitan Area.

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Professor of Sociology, Princeton University.

E. PAPANOUTSOS (Greece).
Vice-President, Athens Technological Institute.

SHAFIK H. EL-SADR (U.A.R.).
Undersecretary of State for the Ministry of Housing and Public Utilities.

CARL SCHWEYER (Germany)
President, International Federation of Housing and Planning.

C.H. WADDINGTON (Britain).
Professor of Animal Genetics, University of Edinburgh.

Sir ROBERT WATSON-WATT (Britain).
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, California.

FIGURE 4 All the participants at Delos One.

Delos One (July 6 to 13, 1963) resulted in the Declaration of Delos. According to the document, over the following 40 years the world population would reach 7 billion people at a growth rate of 2%, while the urban populations were increasing by 4%. The document described necessary actions that needed to be taken by national and international institutions:

"a- to establish a new discipline of human settlements; b- to carry out basic research of the most far-reaching kind; c- to bring together specialists from other relevant disciplines to work together on projects in this field; d-to work out new methods to train the men who will take over leadership and responsibility in the sphere of action;..i- to attract some of the best young minds into this new area of research, development and practice"[22].

V.06 P.256   **Vera Rezende**
URBAN PLANNING IN GUANABARA STATE, BRAZIL: DOXIADIS, FROM EKISTICS TO THE DELOS MEETINGS

TOC

ABRAMS, CHARLES
  American lawyer and housing expert.

BACON, EDMUND N.
  American architect and city planner.

BROHI, ALLAH BUKHSH K.
  Pakistani lawyer and statesman.

CLARK, COLIN GRANT
  British economist.

COLE, ALBERT M.
  American lawyer and congressman.

CRAIG, A. OLUMIDE
  Nigerian architect and planner.

DOXIADIS, CONSTANTINOS A.
  Greek architect and ekistician.

DUHL, LEONARD J.
  American psychiatrist.

FITCH, LYLE C.
  American economist and administrator.

FULLER, RICHARD BUCKMINSTER
  American designer and engineer.

GORYNSKI, JULIUSZ
  Polish architect and administrator.

GOTTMANN, JEAN
  French geographer.

ISOMURA, EIICHI
  Japanese sociologist.

JONES, EMRYS
  British geographer.

KOESTLER, ARTHUR
  British (naturalized) journalist and author.

LASUEN, SANCHO JOSE-RAMON
  Spanish economist.

LLEWELYN-DAVIES, (LIFE BARON) RICHARD
  British architect.

MAKIYA, MOHAMED S.
  Iraqi architect and town planner.

MATTHEW, SIR ROBERT H.
  British architect.

MEAD, MARGARET
  American anthropologist.

MEIER, RICHARD L.
  American research scientist.

MEYERSON, MARTIN
  American city planner.

➡ MODESTO, HELIO
  Brazilian architect and town planner.

NIELSEN, WALDEMAR A.
  American economist.

RILEY, JOHN WINCHELL
  American sociologist.

SHARON, ARIEH
  Israeli architect and town planner.

SMIRNOVA, OLGA VASILIEVNA
  Russian architect and city planner.

TRAPÉNZNIKOV, KONSTANTIN IVANOVITCH
  Russian architect' and city planner.

TUGWELL, REXFORD G.
  American political scientist.

WADDINGTON, C.H.
  British biologist.

WARD, BARBARA, (LADY JACKSON)
  British economist and author.

FIGURE 5 Hélio Modesto among participants of Delos Two.

The missionary character of the participants was evident and the actions were launched through the recognition and expansion of a specific field and through the recruitment of new collaborators towards an international or planetary effort.

The second Delos Symposium, which took place a year later, drew up recommendations for the United Nations-UN regarding the recognition of human settlements as an independent sector and the allocation of funds to tackle the growing urban crisis[23]. This meeting was attended by Brazilian urban planner Hélio Modesto, the coordinator of the Doxiadis Plan in Guanabara State and director of the Executive Committee for the Urban Development of Guanabara State - CEDUG, created to monitor the plan's execution on an institutional level. (Figure 5). Modesto's participation in drawing up the preparation process allowed him to see the need for applying the Ekistics Theory.

The third Delos Symposium discussed the need to think about changes on a global scale: "technology could provide the necessary resources to create new and better standards of urban living"[24]. The fourth meeting was focused on mobility, fast transport systems and on the transport grid as a planning tool. In this meeting[25], the participants embraced Doxiadis' claim that the networks were the newest element to settlements and therefore, would radically change the future.

The fifth meeting discussed urban development. Although Doxiadis' technical planning could be criticized for distancing itself from social issues, in this event the debate included the need to consider the imbalances between nations and cities and the rural areas. It was necessary to create opportunities "to make the dream of a better urban life come true"[26]. The sixth meeting confirmed a worsening in urban conditions and the need to establish a

V.06 P.257   **Vera Rezende**
URBAN PLANNING IN GUANABARA STATE, BRAZIL: DOXIADIS, FROM EKISTICS TO THE DELOS MEETINGS

TOC

17th IPHS Conference, Delft 2016 | **HISTORY ▪ URBANISM ▪ RESILIENCE** | VOLUME 06 Scales and Systems |

PolicyMakingSystemsofCity,CultureandSociety | *UrbanismandPoliticsinthe1960s:Permanence,RuptureandTensionsinBrazilianUrbanismandDevelopment*

science of human settlements[27]. However, the first Delos Symposium mentioned it as a necessary discipline rather than a science. Brazil was represented by Carlos Chagas, the Unesco Ambassador in Paris, who did not have the same technical credentials as some of the other members. His participation in the meeting took place during the military dictatorship and soon before the enacting of Institutional Act nº 5 - AI-5[28].

The discussion about networks continued during the eighth Delos Symposium; "The development of a global network is a historic process that will have no end", as well as the need for a global technological conscience[29]. From then on, networks became the official theme of the meetings, as they were considered to be the most important element in the settlements. The ninth meeting stood out for denouncing inequality in less industrialized countries in its "Declaration on the state of emergency in human settlements". By the end, the participants committed to the mission of building a new order of human settlements, at the risk of having witnessed the problems and "crossed to the other side of the street", ignoring them[30].

Carlos Lacerda, former governor of Guanabara State and responsible for hiring Doxiadis in 1964, took part in the tenth meeting in 1972. At the time, Lacerda had had his mandate removed by the military regime[31] and was no longer in public office. The Declaration of Delos Ten reaffirmed former warnings: "Measures must be taken to prevent the uncontrollable expansion of metropolitan areas". The networks were also reaffirmed as necessary invisible elements to be researched, in opposition to the urban planners' practice of focusing on visible and dense shapes.

Delos Ten introduced environmental concerns into the agenda[32]. This took place one month after the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held in Stockholm in 1972[33], thus reflecting the symposium's willingness to tackle issues of international concern. In 1974, Delos Eleven put forward the proposals for a letter to be discussed at the United Nations Conference in Vancouver, in 1976: the rights to housing, equality, dignity and the need for a scientific approach to solve the settlement problem. Ekistics was the proposed solution. The document also called for a commitment by the United Nations, which was drawn up during Delos Two, ten years before, towards tackling bad housing conditions in settlements from small villages to large cities.

The quest for a science was clearly expressed: "Ekistics' conception and sophistication as a scientific and systematic approach would enable the development of a model for human settlements"[34]. This would occur through the classification of land zones according to their degree of human intervention, and of settlements according to their dimensions, structure and function. The goal was to draft a Human Settlement Letter. This required the development of a particular vocabulary, as the new discipline "that integrates and connects several ancient and new sciences" should have a common language to facilitate communication between different types of knowledge and cultures.

Finally, in 1975, the twelfth and last Delos Symposium was held two weeks after Doxiadis' death. The declaration "Trend is not fate. There is hope in action" spoke about equal rights and opportunities in human settlements; the rights to the land as a social product and to the environment[35]. The social issues continued to resist to technical instrumentation.

Carlos Lacerda, who at the time of the Doxiadis Plan was state governor, also attended this last meeting. Brazilian participation in the 12 meetings had been rare and was restricted to the second, sixth, tenth and 12th Delos.
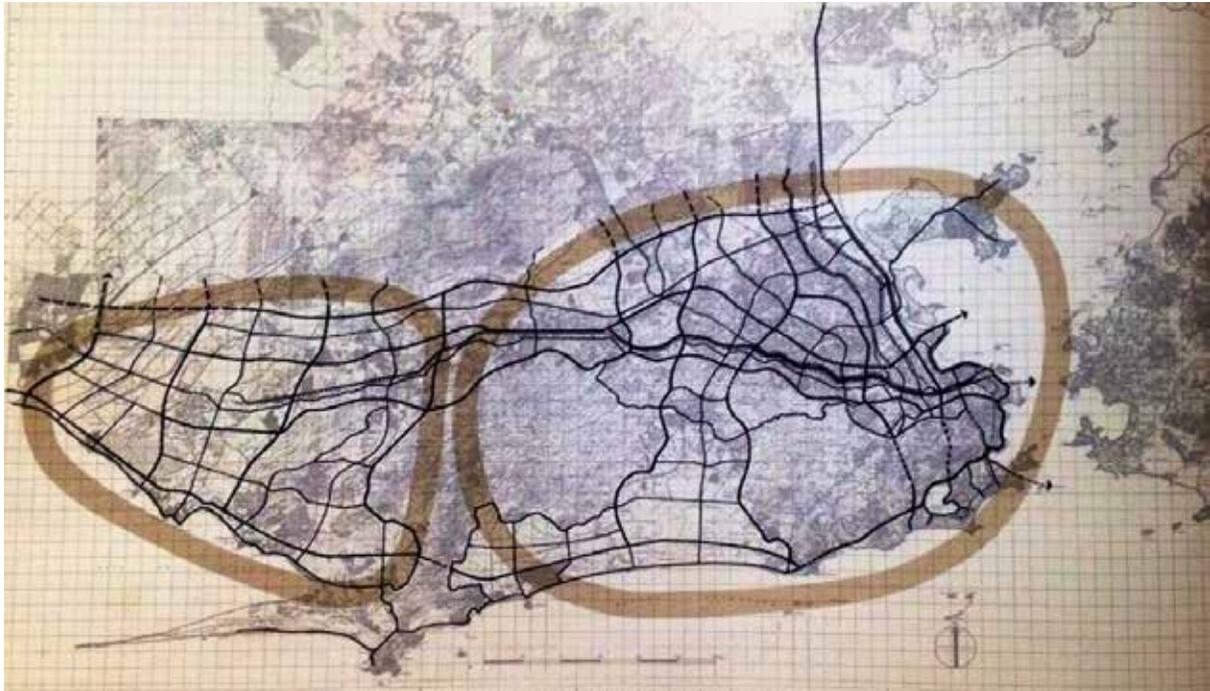
FIGURE 6 Guanabara State: two class VII communities.

EKISTICS THEORY IN GUANABARA STATE

The Doxiadis Plan defined the needs of the new state within a 35-year timeframe and based on an estimated population of 8.4 million inhabitants by the year 2000. In 1964, the Executive Committee for the Urban Development of Guanabara State - CEDUG was created to develop the plan. CEDUG was comprised of Brazilian technicians responsible for collecting and interpreting statistical material for the consultancy office in Athens.

The plan's methodology followed a technical rationality approach to determine insufficiencies and quantify the areas' needs: central functions, industry, recreation and leisure, housing, transport and road system and public services. The transformations were guided by an action plan through solution modeling and the identification of areas that could be subjected to interventions. The plan offered a set of alternatives that considered economic and social factors in the analysis of the state in macro, meso and micro scales. Meanwhile, its proposals were less ambitious and had a more quantitative and physical approach.

While many of the ideas debated at the Delos Symposium were present in the diagnosis, the same cannot be said about the proposals. In fact, the plan stated that the solutions for the city could not be applied on a local level, as it was necessary to investigate centrifugal and centripetal forces that were beyond the city-state and yet still acted on it. However, this pursuit of development through function and the optimization of space led to an imbalance between the diagnosis and the proposals. Furthermore, the ideology behind planning in Brazil at the time pointed towards urban, metropolitan and regional planning that included integration between the various levels. However, by being restricted to the city-state, the plan ended up distancing itself from this premise.

The city would be structured into hierarchized and self-sufficient communities that would carry out certain functions, based on standards established by Ekistics. This was justified by interdependency between the human settlements, in which the larger ones would act as a center for the smaller ones and in turn, be served by other much larger settlements[36]. The communities' division ranged from class I, which holds 10 to 15 households,

17th IPHS Conference, Delft 2016 | **HISTORY ▪ URBANISM ▪ RESILIENCE** | VOLUME 06 Scales and Systems |

PolicyMakingSystemsofCity,CultureandSociety | *UrbanismandPoliticsinthe1960s:Permanence,RuptureandTensionsinBrazilianUrbanismandDevelopment*

to class IX, the megalopolis. By the year 2000, Guanabara State would have created two class VII communities, each one with 2,000,000 to 4,000,000 inhabitants. (Figure 6) The metropolitan area would be an agglomeration similar to the class VIII community, with a population of around 14,000,000 people[37].

The structure formed by the communities with its hierarchized functions was like a "strait-jacket" for the city. Meanwhile, the proposals for the neighborhoods of Copacabana and Mangue (microscale) had been separated from the group for having an essentially physical nature.

Thus, despite the complex theory drawn up by the author and the use of projection and analysis instruments, the result was the applying of established concepts and ready-made solutions – a contradiction in the methodology, as mentioned by Madanadipour about the Doxiadis plan for Teheran[38]. According to him, despite its wider approach and the collection of a large quantity of data, this type of planning fails to consider the city's needs. The analyses resulted in a type of manual that could be uniformly applied anywhere, whatever the country or region.

The fact that the Greek team had developed the plan in Athens, amid occasional visits to Brazil or consultations with Brazilians in Greece, partly explains the gap between plan and object of study[39]. The State's team was entrusted with the collection of information and data for analysis. After spending one month in the consultants' offices in Athens in 1964 and attending the second Delos meeting Modesto, the Technical Director at CEDUG, ended up acknowledging a few years later that the plan used complicated tools to justify pre-established proposals.

In the diagnosis, for instance, the classification of sub-normal housing was done according to universal standards. It considered that favelas (slums) were the result of the availability of unoccupied land and of the low-income population's lack of resources and tendency towards living near the areas where the jobs were. Thus, the diagnosis ended up omitting a crucial issue: the lack of land access mechanisms for the poor due to high land prices, especially in urban areas.

CONCLUSION

In addition to strengthening the idea of a world shaped as a network, another three aspects emerged in the development of the Ekistics Theory during the Delos Symposium. First, an emphasis on technical instrumentation, statistical surveys and the construction of grids. Secondly, that the theory must be acknowledged as a science, so that international resources could be raised for the implementation of the settlements. And third, the social issues. Although this subject was initially discussed in relation to the crisis in human settlements, it subsequently became an important issue about which action proposals were drawn up – a sign of the great contribution to the theory by participants from outside the architecture field (anthropologists, geographers, historians, philosophers, etc.).

Thus, social issues were placed side-by-side with technical questions and with the obsession with the network system that formed the basis for the idea of housing on a global scale. The continued efforts for Ekistics to receive scientific status was a constant feature in the Delos meetings, as this idea was based on the premise that human settlements were susceptible to systematic research. Was Ekistics a science or a set of instruments for knowledge and action? Doxiadis had already discussed this issue years before the meetings:
… as long as Ekistics and regional science use the laws of broad application, both can be described as science. If they lose this quality or fail in this regard, then they cannot be called a science[40].

The death of Doxiadis in 1975 and the subsequent interruption of the events could have contributed towards the discipline not receiving the recognition sought by its author. Furthermore, in the 1970s quantitative methods started being challenged by social issues and planning went on to include the participation of residents and their inputs about their problems.

Throughout the Delos meetings, the main vehicle for the dissemination of the theory and of the meetings (including the publication of articles by the participants) was Ekistics, a magazine that Doxiadis created in 1955[41] in partnership with urban planner Jacqueline Tyrwhitt, editor and member of the Delos planning committee. The Ekistics publication was itself a networking instrument.

Regarding the Doxiadis Plan, it was delivered in 1965, at the end of the Lacerda Administration, following the Military Coup in 1964. By the end of that year, the State was being administered by elected governor Francisco Negrão de Lima, and due to administrative discontinuity, political opposition between Lacerda and Negrão and economic problems, the plan was not implemented. It basically became a data archive about Rio de Janeiro.

On the other hand, as the plan had been drawn up between 1964 and 1965 it did not benefit from the subsequent discussions at the Delos Symposium. These debates, which occurred between 1963 and 1975, were based on the Ekistics' technical instrumentation and had become more aware of social and environmental issues. In view of its composition, of the participation of members from diverse fields and of the themes discussed, the Delos Symposium was the biggest contribution Doxiadis has left to the debate about human settlements in the 1960s and 1970s.

V.06 P.261   **Vera Rezende**
URBAN PLANNING IN GUANABARA STATE, BRAZIL: DOXIADIS, FROM EKISTICS TO THE DELOS MEETINGS

TOC

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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Image sources

Figure 1: Doxiadis, 1962.
Figure 2: Doxiadis, Ekistics, 1970.
Figure 3: Doxiadis, Ekistics, 1970.
Figure 4: Report of the First Symposium, the Declaration of Delos, July 6-13 1963.
Figure 5: Report of the Second Symposium, July 14-21 1964
Figure 6: Doxiadis, 1965.

Endnotes

1 This article resulted from a research carried out by the author on primary documentation of the Doxiadis Plan for the State of Guanabara and the Delos Meetings, in order to cross ideas and proposals in the two sets of documents. The bibliography lists the fundamental titles and authors.

2 Rio de Janeiro city became Guanabara State on April 21, 1960, according to the 1964 Constitution and Law no. 3,752, of April 14, 1960.

3 The change of capital and the situation of "the free city" received many suggestions, among which the incorporation of neighboring municipalities to Guanabara State . *O Globo.* July 19 (1958): 3. The solution found was the creation of a state without municipalities. *O Globo,* December 5 (1960): 6.

4 The contract was signed in March 1964 between Guanabara State and the "Doxiadis Associates" office, to the amount of US$700,000.00.

5 Doxiadis was born in Greece in 1913 and died in 1975. He graduated in Engineering and Architecture at the Athens Technical University in 1935 and received a PhD from Charlottenburg University in Berlin, Germany.

6 The newspapers voiced the indignation of local technicians and the controversy regarding the President of the Engineering Club, giving emphasis to the words "Doxiadis, go home". *Diário da Noite,* January 15 (1964).

7   Projects and plans developed 1955-1975 for capital cities: Washington D.C. Islamabad, Baghdad, Greater Khartoum, Riyadh and Stockholm.

8   The elections were not held due to the Military Coup in 1964 in Brazil.

9   In order to put an end to the water supply problems, he built the "works of the century", the Rio Guandu Duct, comprised of 36km tunnels and ducts.

10   In 1961, soon after the Cuban Revolution of 1959, President Kennedy created the United States Agency for International Development (Usaid), an operative institution of the Alliance for Progress Program

11   Lacerda was received by President Kennedy in 1962. At the time, he came into contact with the study drawn up by Doxiadis for Washington DC, which we believe might have influenced his choice.

12   C. A. Doxiadis, *Architecture in transition*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), 9.

13   Ibid, 10.

14   Ibid.195.

15   According to the author, the idea of "dynapolis" was implemented in some cases: in Khartoum, in Sudan, in an existing city and in Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan, where it was applied to a new city. Ibid, 103.

16   M, Wigley, "Network Fever" *Grey Room* 04 (Cambridge: Grey Room Inc. and MIT, 2001), 82–122.

17   Doxiadis. *Ekistics: an Introduction to the science of human settlements.*

18   Greece, USA, United Kingdom, India, Pakistan, Germany, Poland, Iraq, Japan, Spain, Switzerland and Canada.(Delos One, 1963)

19   Richard Buckminster Fuller (1895 – 1983) United States architect, author and inventor of the Geodesic Dome.

20   Herbert Marshall McLuhan (1911 - 1980), Canadian philosopher and communication theorist. He created the term "Global Village".

21   Delos One, 1963.

22   Ibid.

23   Delos Two, 1964.

24   The participants included British historian Arnold Toynbee and Japanese architect Kenzo Tange. Delos Three, 1965.

25   Delos Four 1966.

26   Delos Five, 1967.

27   Delos Six, 1968.

28   Institutional Act n 5 - AI-5 was enacted in December 1968. It restricted political rights and launched a series of arbitrary actions. It lasted until December 1978.

29   Delos Eight, 1970.

30   Delos Nine, 1971.

31   Lacerda had his mandate removed by AI-5 in December 1968.

32   Delos Ten, 1972.

33   The Conference (June 5 to 16, 1972) was attended by representatives from 113 countries and 250 NGOs and UN bodies. It produced the first Declaration on the Human Environment.

34   Delos Eleven, 1974.

35   Delos Twelve, 1975.

36   Doxiadis, "On Linear Cities", 35-42.

37   Doxiadis Associates. *Guanabara, um plano para o desenvolvimento urbano* (Rio de Janeiro: Secretaria Municipal de Planejamento e Coordenação Geral, CEDUG, 1967), 1155-1181.

38   Getting to know the object through extensive research but applying ready-made solutions to it would create a gap between knowledge and action. A. Madanipour,, "The limits of scientific planning: Doxiadis and the Tehran Action Plan". Planning perspectives Journal 25 (2010): 496.

39   Direct contact between the teams took place through the visits of four members of CEDUG to Athens: twice in 1964 and twice in 1965. M. Sosa, "A Guanabara de Doxiadis e a Havana de Sert. Ekistics e Urban Design, novas direções na ruptura do CIAM" (PhD diss, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 2008). (Sosa, 2008)

40   Doxiadis, "Ekistics and Regional Science", 12.

41   Titles: 1955, Tropical Housing & Planning Monthly Bulletin; 1956, Tropical Housing & Planning Monthly Information Bulletin; in 1957, Ekistics: Housing & Planning Abstracts; 1959, Ekistics: Abstracts of the Problems and Science of Human Settlements; 1961, Ekistics: Reviews on the Problems and Science of Human Settlements; 1965, Ekistics: The Problems and Science of Human Settlements.

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Policy Making Systems of City, Culture and Society | *Urbanism and Politics in the 1960s: Permanence, Rupture and Tensions in Brazilian Urbanism and Development*

URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING IN SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL IN THE 60'S

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In the 1960s, a combination of new political, social and economic processes led to a change in urban and regional planning in Brazil. On the one hand, the economic planning that had been introduced in an incipient manner into the federal government's agenda since the end of the Vargas Era acquired greater importance and played a growing role both in sectorial and public spheres. On the other hand, increased and more complex team building both in public bodies and in private engineering and architecture offices was a response both to a new territoriality in the urbanization process and to an increase in demands created by this new government agenda. The present study analyzes the formation and the modus operandi of the urban and regional planning offices and teams in the 1960s, especially in São Paulo. The professional and political trajectories of the technicians who comprised the teams in these offices reveals the different concepts and trends in urbanism adopted in the various Plans drawn up for different government spheres.

FROM URBANISM TO URBAN PLANNING IN BRAZIL

The main aspects of a transition from urbanism to urban planning in Brazil were changes to the scale of the object of intervention, the coordination between plan and management and the expansion of planning into all spheres of intervention (federal, state and municipal).

The change in scale features in the initial plans for urbanized areas, which included suburbs as part of the urban area. The concept of agglomerations as a unity for recognition of urban problems and for proposing public policies that exceeded political and municipal administrative limits, meanwhile, featured in the studies conducted by SAGMACS for São Paulo at the end of the 1950s.

The coordination between plan and management became more evident during the Estado Novo period. A radical modernization of the roads system carried out by teams of municipal engineers was documented through guidelines for road extensions, enlargement and remodeling in plans drawn up at the end of the 1920s for São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro and in the 1930s and 1950s for the Recife, Porto Alegre and Belo Horizonte cities..

URBAN PLANNING IN SÃO PAULO IN THE 1950S

In the 1950s, three events signaled changes in urban planning in São Paulo. The first was the creation of the Department of Urbanism in 1947, which consolidated and institutionalized urban planning in the São Paulo Mayor's Office.
Additionally, the arrival of the priest Father Lebret and the creation of the SAGMACS consultancy and technical assistance offices, created fertile ground for the training in urbanism of militant young Catholics who combined a reformism based on the concept of solidarity with empirical research methodology linked to action[1].
Finally, there was an effective separation between the teaching of architecture and of engineering. Following an autonomization process in the 1940s, this separation enabled the training of an autonomous body of professors that followed the principles laid down by the International Architecture Congresses.

The creation of the Department of Urbanism in São Paulo in 1947[2] within the structure of the State Works Secretariat signaled an increasing institutionalization of planning. The Department was entrusted with the "drawing up, execution and defense of Plano da Cidade (city plan)" and had specialized sections divided into Research, Regulation and Advertizing; General Planning; Development of the Plan, Library and Archive Services, Urban Research Services and Technical Services.

The Decree-Law also created the Committee for the City Plan, which was comprised of representatives from the executive and legislative powers, from universities and from professional bodies. Its function was to appraise, upon request from the Municipal Executive or Legislative Powers, the projects linked to the City Plan and the problems related to public utility services. Furthermore, the Committee would put forward studies and suggestions related to urbanism.
In addition to the Department of Urbanism, the decree created the Departments of Architecture and Public Works. This resulted in a separation, within the municipal administration, of the professions of architect, engineer and urban planner. [3]

On a national level, another organization was being established in the form of a Committee which would be responsible for drawing up studies and plans for the country's five regions (North/South/Center/East/West). On a state level, a proposal was put forward for the creation of an urbanism council, for the drawing up of a plan to analyze population and activity distribution and the obligation (based on the French model) of organizing plans for cities whose population exceeded a certain number.

ECONOMIC E HUMANISM MOVEMENT ▪ THE SAGMACS TEAM IN SAO PAULO

The Economie and Humanisme Movement was founded in 1942 by French Dominican priests, and it intended to create the bases of a new project to confront the social doctrine of the catholic Church. This project took on a new direction after the visit of one the founders, Father Louis Joseph Lebret to Brazil and new ideas and concepts were embraced. One and certainly the most important for the local social reality was the concept of under development. Brazil and other countries in Latin America continent became a kind of laboratory of research on social problems and transformed and enlarged the fundaments of the Economie et Humanisme Movement. The research teams resulted in the formation of a new generation of young urbanists, architects, sociologists and economists, who were involved in a project for transforming society through urban and regional development projects. They had an important role in transforming the urban planning milieu in Brazil.

The first years after the formation of the Economy and Humanism Movement in Brazil cast a light upon the religious and political circles in which Lebret moved and the way in which he established his network of contacts. At the time, the congregation of Dominican priests in Brazil was directly linked to the Province of Dominicans in Toulouse, which favored maintaining regular contact between Dominicans in France and Brazil. It was in conservative, Catholic political circles that the first contacts were made. But, with the start of research work, relations became increasingly restricted to more progressive circles. Lebret's approximation to Christian democratic politicians made it possible to set up a support network for the Economy and Humanism ideas.

The first opportunity for Lebret to visit Brazil was provided by the Dominican clergyman Father Dale, who invited him to give a course at the institution where he taught, ELSP Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política [Free School of Sociology and Politics].
Lebret arrived in São Paulo in 1947. In his PhD thesis, Denis Pelletier emphasizes the new theoretical direction that was impressed upon on the Movement, now clearly influenced by Marxist ideology; this became public knowledge in the course that Lebret taught at the ELSP [School of Sociology and Politics in São Paulo] from April 14 to June 5, 1947. The lectures for audiences of students and intellectuals and later organized into four books were a first attempt at synthesizing human economics as being practical and a theoretical response to the impasses of political economics. Four of the longest chapters are dedicated to Marxism and two to Leninism and the Soviet economy. The book, "*Introduction génerale à l'économie humaine*"[4] [General introduction to human economics] in four volumes was never published.

According to Pelletier[5], the course was "a key stage in the intellectual journey of Lebret". It closed the cycle that had been initiated in 1938 and that was linked to the war years and the community utopia that underscored the start of the Economy and Humanism Movement. In the reencounter with Marxism and while he was in Brazil, he prepared an economic and political reflection.

In the period during which he remained in São Paulo, Father Lebret set up a local Economy and Humanism Movement study center and SAGMACS[6] research office, organized along the same lines as the French SAGMA team.

The essential characteristic of the second half of the 1950s was the progressive independence of the SAGMACS research office vis-à-vis the Economy and Humanism Movement. Difficulties in Catholic circles contributed to this distancing. In March 1954, the hostility of the Cardinal Archbishop of São Paulo with regard to Economy and Humanism ended up bearing fruit and the director of the movement in São Paulo, Father Benevenuto de Santa Cruz, was transferred to the monastery in Rio de Janeiro and forbidden from coming to the Diocese of São Paulo. This sanction, as well as the internal tensions within the team, brought laypeople into essential positions of responsibility in SAGMACS, thus renewing the link with the start of the association.[7]

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Policy Making Systems of City, Culture and Society | Urbanism and Politics in the 1960s: Permanence, Rupture and Tensions in Brazilian Urbanism and Development

SAGMACS in São Paulo was set up in accordance with the French model and conceived of as a social research laboratory. As was previously observed, the political involvement of SAGMACS was wide-ranging and contacts in the Church went from Catholic integralist circles to young Catholic workers. Furthermore, as the action of the group became more consolidated around carrying out research, the alliances grew closer.[8]

São Paulo, having been a relatively unremarkable city in the early twentieth century with just a little over 200,000 inhabitants the intervening half century had dramatically transformed the city. Its population had reached 2,150,000 inhabitants and had expanded to occupy an area of 420 square kilometers. During the same period, São Paulo's economic base shifted from a coffee monoculture to become the foremost industrial centre of Brazil. This transformation of the industrial base was accompanied by a process of rapid metropolitanisation. In 1957, Wladimir de Toledo Piza, then mayor of São Paulo, commissioned SAGMACS to draw a detailed study concerning urban planning for the municipality of Sao Paulo**9**.

In the research commissioned by the São Paulo city administration, SAGMACS studied the São Paulo agglomeration. The region was divided into 360 units of analysis, defined as an "elementary echelon of collective life" and grouped into 4 major areas for the basic field research: east, north, mid-south and west.

"The idea was that the needs, equipment and services of an urban region could be thought of in three echelons of collective life: some elementary units being attracted by a better-equipped unit, forming a complex echelon, and, in turn, some complex units being attracted by a very well-equipped unit or a complete unit[10].

The hypothesis of the proposal was that the tendency of the São Paulo agglomeration was to structure itself in a polynuclear manner into secondary centers, in order to give different regions a relative autonomy. This gave rise to sub-regions that were articulated and all attracted by the main center. Data collection was done using observation forms and questionnaires for interviews. Analysis was carried out by sampling, in such a way as to characterize all 360 units of analysis. The research provided elements and data that were transformed into numerical assessments of the real and relative situations, in which each indicator of the level of life of the local residents and existing equipment and services were ascribed values from 0 to 4. These marks were used to draw sector graphs, called "daisies," that presented a summary of the levels in each analysis unit. More general graphs were also prepared in the form of carpets, or dual entry matrices, in which the variables were inter-related on the lines and the elementary units were grouped by complex and complete units on the columns. Each small square intersection was colored white for the best situations and black for the worst, with intermediary hachures for marks 1, 2 and 3, thus creating a patchwork on which it would be easy to identify where the neediest parts were and what they were most in need of.

The dynamics of attraction and perceived displacement of the population were mapped out, linking the points of origin and destination with lines of different color for each variable and of a thickness proportional to the intensity of the dependence of the interlinked units and the direction of the displacement. So, a map was obtained of school, purchases, health service attraction etc, which gave the true polarization tendency and its deficiencies in equipment, road and transport links, with a simultaneous summary and analytical view capable of providing guidance for corrective measures that were needed and choice, based on priorities for an action program and suggestions of development and regulation policies.

For urbanistic research, the type of occupation and use of the land was established. A set of 14 homogenous units were chosen as samples that covered the diversity of types established. In this survey, as in the others, we were able to identify an empirical and inductive basis that demanded a profound knowledge of the complexity of the urban agglomeration. Moreover, this knowledge was accessible to the greatest possible number of agents involved in the decision processes and linked in one way or another to the destinies of the city it was intended to transform.

17th IPHS Conference, Delft 2016 | **HISTORY ▪ URBANISM ▪ RESILIENCE** | VOLUME 06 Scales and Systems |

PolicyMakingSystemsofCity,CultureandSociety | *UrbanismandPoliticsinthe1960s:Permanence,RuptureandTensionsinBrazilianUrbanismandDevelopment*

The evolution from research methodology to intervention proposal was achieved by the precise characterization of the needs, possibilities and priorities of the entire urban area and the entire population, considering their way of life and living conditions.

The suggestions made centered on removing congestion from the main center of São Paulo, so that it could conveniently respond to its multiple functions of national projection, as this major agglomeration's economic and state government administrative center and its local and municipal service and commercial function. It was necessary to save the center from drowning. An innovative subway solution was proposed, following the line of the Pinheiros and Tietê Rivers, joining the secondary centers that had been formed on their banks: Penha, Tatuapé, Belenzinho, Santana, Pinheiros, and Lapa.

It was a proposal of another type of organization, different from the concentric radius that had prevailed until then in São Paulo urbanistic plans. It also foresaw links with a large turnpike road linking São Miguel with Santo Amaro, crossing the Anchieta Highway, as well as other long-term proposals that stimulated new types of business and of breaking with real estate market trends. It included proposals for decentralizing major political, management and administrative activities to increase the value of new areas, such as the city's east end. It contained proposals for a new location for the seats of both the city administration and state government.

The Urban Structure of the São Paulo Agglomeration research (Current structures and rational structures) developed the urban and regional study in an articulated manner. The first part "Historical, demographic and economic prospects of the São Paulo agglomeration," a critical analysis of the dynamic nature of São Paulo, proposed limits to urban growth based on demographic data. For the first time ever, an urban planning study of São Paulo included studies into the history of the formation of the city from its foundation, via its colonial and empire phases to its transformation into a metropolis in the 20th century. In the second part, "Urban Structure of São Paulo," a method was applied for identifying the forms of social organization in the whole urbanized area of the São Paulo agglomeration, including the municipalities of São Paulo, Santo André, São Bernardo and Guarulhos. The third part of the study consisted of the "Sociological Aspects of the São Paulo.

THE EXPANSION OF PLANNING INTO OTHER GOVERNMENT SPHERES

By the end of WW2 there was an increase in planning as a form of political and economic management in all government spheres.
According to Lafer (1972), initial attempts at planning the economic system were restricted to preliminary documents such as the Simonsen Report from 1945 or diagnoses such as that produced by the Brazil-USA Joint Committee.

However, between 1956 and 1961 the theoretical possibility of planning in the economic and political fields started to emerge. The Target Plan, which was designed and executed during the Juscelino Kubitschek Government, was of a different nature (both in terms of its complex agenda and of its impact). This was the first plan coordinating the private and the public sectors – thus substantially raising its share in investments. It was also the first plan to have a formal monitoring of targets through a Development Council created in 1956. Also according to Lafer, the Target Plan inaugurated a new period of political participation.

Economic planning, which had been introduced in an incipient manner into the federal government's agenda as of the end of Estado Novo, gained importance through the Target Plan and saw its scope grow both at sectorial and government levels.

The second important plan of this period was the Triennial Social and Economic Development Plan (1963-1965), which was designed by a team coordinated by Celso Furtado. This was not an ambitious plan (it was drawn up in only six months) and its goal was to tackle small-scale economic problems while nonetheless offering an overview. The Triennial Plan is considered an advance in view of its wide-encompassing approach to economics and its focus on social problems.

On a regional level, two plans stood out at the beginning of the 1960s: the Action Plan, drawn up by the São Paulo State Planning Group (Carvalho Pinto Government - 1959-1963) and the SUDENE Program. The former, which was restricted to the state government, was drawn up by a small group of technicians directly linked to the governor and had the merit of establishing clear links between the budget and the work plan. Despite not being very ambitious in terms of its diagnosis and scope, the plan showed clear results and established a new form of integration between physical and financial planning.

An Economic Policy for the Northeast drawn up by a group appointed by the Presidency of the Republic led to a radical change to ways of tackling the drought in the region. The creation of the Superintendence for the Development of the Northeast (SUDENE) in 1959 was crucial for this policy, as SUDENE became the institution encumbered with planning and coordinating a series of measures to change economic development conditions in the region. Following the 1958 drought, SUDENE proposed a different vision to Celso Furtado's "hydraulic approach", alongside the implementation of engineering works to tackle the drought problem.

In addition to the need for more personnel, the complex process of setting up teams in public bodies and in engineering and architecture offices was a response to a new territoriality in the urbanization processes and to an increase in the demands created by the new government agenda.

In the 1950s, offices such as Hidrobrasileira, which was founded in 1954, and Hidroservice, which was created in 1958, developed projects for water supply works, hydroelectric power plants and highways. In the field of engineering, throughout the 1960s these offices put together increasingly complex teams which included professionals specialized in economic planning and in urban and regional planning.

BASELINE REFORMS AND THE POLITICIZATION OF THE URBAN QUESTION

During the Juscelino Kubischek Government several proposals were put forward to change the economic, social and political structures in order to tackle underdevelopment and reduce inequality in Brazil.

These proposals were included in the political agenda during the João Goulart Government. They were known as baseline reforms and included structural changes in different sectors: financial, fiscal, education, agrarian and urban.

In 1961 the National Council for Popular Housing Planning was created. This Council was entrusted with "coordinating the activities of the Federal and Municipal Government into a joint action to guide a national policy for low-income housing. This included participation from autarchies, semi-public enterprises, institutions comprised of professional architects, engineers and agronomists, and private entities" (Decree 50,488, from April 25th, 1961 – article 2). In 1961 the National Municipalities Agency (SENAM) was created. It was assigned with coordinating the relations between municipalities and federal government bodies and providing technical assistance to the municipalities.

It is also important to mention an event considered a landmark in social reform proposals: the Workshop on Housing and Urban Reform, which was organized by the Brazilian Architects Institute (IAB) with support from the State Civil Servants Pensions Institute (IPASE). The first session was held at Hotel Quitandinha, in Petrópolis,

17th IPHS Conference, Delft 2016 | **HISTORY ▪ URBANISM ▪ RESILIENCE** | VOLUME 06 Scales and Systems |

PolicyMakingSystemsofCity,CultureandSociety | *UrbanismandPoliticsinthe1960s:Permanence,Rupture and Tensions in Brazilian Urbanism and Development*

in Rio de Janeiro,[11] over July 24th to 26th, under the coordination of architect Jorge Wilheim. The second event took place at IAB's headquarters, in São Paulo, over July 29th to 31st, under the coordination of architect Joaquim Guedes

An urban reform project was drawn up during the meeting for the purpose of being included in the broader set of Baseline Social Reforms. However, the proceedings were interrupted by the implementation of the military regime in March 1964.

THE CREATION OF THE FEDERAL HOUSING AND URBANISM AGENCY (SERFHAU)

The 1964 military coup was the result of a long process of political alliances that became radicalized between 1964 and 1969. The 17 Institutional Acts enacted over the subsequent five years affected political structures as well as civil and political rights. Amid growing radicalization, these Institutional Acts eliminated political parties, imposed indirect elections, dissolved Congress, removed the right to habeas corpus and approved the death penalty for political terrorism crimes.

Repression of opponents (especially communists) to the military regime that had deposed the João Goulart constitutional government in March 1964 became state policy, which grew fiercer after the enactment of Institutional Act n° 5 in December 1968 (which suspended "habeas corpus" and individual rights). The persecution, expulsion, arrest, torture and murder of left-wing professors, students, militants and intellectuals became an official policy which led many to go underground and seek exile.

After the military coup, the creation of the Federal Housing and Urbanism Agency (SERFHAU) in 1965 was an attempt to draw up a national urban planning policy and centralize the instruments and funds for its implementation.

The creation of this institution resulted in a transfer of municipal planning responsibilities to the federal level. It was only in 1968, after architect Harry Cole took over the institution's leadership, that SERFHAU became adequately structured to draw up and coordinate national urban planning policies.

The implementation of a Fund for the Financing of Planning (FIPLAN) with resources from the Brazilian Development Bank (BNH); the drawing up of the Concentrated Action Plan (PAC) and incentives to the Local Plans for Integrated Development (PLDI) created the necessary conditions for the setting up of state, metropolitan and municipal institutions. Furthermore, the granting of resources for integrated development director plans relied on the creation of "permanent local planning and development bodies".

According to Feldman, "Technical assistance activities for the municipalities became institutionalized on federal and state levels and for the first time a federal body was entrusted with approving the municipal governments' hiring of consultancies for drawing up plans".

The creation of SEFHAU and its activities were part of the ambiguities and contradictions of that period. "If on the one hand the military's rise to power in 1964 hindered the implementation of the proposals put forward during SHRU, the military dictatorship's new government structure enabled the implementation of the institutional reform that was necessary to carry out part of the transformations proposed by the Workshop. Thus, the military were able to adjust the discourse of the event's participants[12]"

During its eight years of activity, SERFHAU provided technical assistance and financed the drawing up of plans for municipalities. It developed a methodology that was extensively applied without distinguishing regional and local singularities – thus drawing a great deal of criticism.

At the same time that local planning was being defined as a national policy, planning scales on a local and metropolitan level became the object of plans and the cause of the creation of increasingly complex institutions.

Perception about the growth and conurbation process undergone by the main Brazilian cities had been an object of research and of proposals since the 1950s. Research conducted by SAGMACS under the leadership of Dominican priest Louis Joseph Lebret about São Paulo's agglomeration was one of the references for the plans drawn up for São Paulo: the Basic Urban Plan of 1969, for the municipality; and the Metropolitan Plan for Integrated Development – the first plan that covered the São Paulo metropolitan region.

RUPTURES AND NEW TENDENCIES

By the end of the 1960s, few changes occurred in the urban structuring process compared to what had been done during the peripheral expansion of Brazilian cities. The implementation of housing policies through the construction of large housing projects and investment in large infrastructure projects has redefined the growth axis in the cities and affirmed a new metropolitan regional character. However, it was through the creation of nine regions[13] in 1973 that the institutionalization of the metropolis was acknowledged in Brazil as necessary for territorial coordination.

Amid political rupture and the expulsion of professionals, politicians, technicians and intellectuals who were forbidden from remaining and working in the country, this process suffered gradual fissures that manifested themselves through recurring political and technical practices and through the emergence of forms of resistance that would gradually upset the system.

17th IPHS Conference, Delft 2016 | **HISTORY ▪ URBANISM ▪ RESILIENCE** | VOLUME 06 Scales and Systems |

Policy Making Systems of City, Culture and Society | *Urbanism and Politics in the 1960s: Permanence, Rupture and Tensions in Brazilian Urbanism and Development*

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Sagmacs Estrutura urbana da aglomeração paulistana.Estruturas atuais estruturas nacionais, Sao Paulo, 1958 304p.

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1   See the formation of the movement in São Paulo, Lamparelli , Celso *"Joseph Louis Lebret e a pesquisa urbanos regional no Brasil- crônicas tardias ou história prematura"* in *Espaço & Debates* no 37 , 1994

2   Decree-Law 431 7/7/47

3   According to Feldman, Sarah, 1996, opus cit p 27

4   According to Pelletier , Denis *opus cit*, p 101

5   According to Pelletier , Denis *opus cit*, p 127

6   Sagmacs – Sociedade de Analise Grafica e Mecanografica Aplicada Complexos Sociais [Society for Graphic and Mecanographic Analyses as applied to Social Complexes.]

7   According to Pelletier, Denis, 1996 *opus cit*, p 321

8   Research into the social problems of minors was prevented as a result of the intervention of a Catholic institution, and the Jockey Club, which had made it possible to set up the SAGMACS office in São Paulo, suspended its funding after research was published that denounced the wretched living conditions of jockeys. According to Le Duigou - Santa Cruz correspondence, dated May 15, July 29, and November 27, 1949, NA 45 AS 104, after Pelletier, Denis, 1996, *opus cit*, p 299.

9   "Estrutura Urbana da Aglomeração Paulistana. (Estruturas atuais e estruturas racionais)Study prepared by Sagmacs and by the Comissão de Pesquisa Urbana da Prefeitura de São Paulo [Urban Research Commission of the São Paulo city administration].São Paulo, 1958

10 According to architect Celso Lamparelli, in an interview hold on May and June, 2000

11 See this event's influence on urban planning in São Paulo Antonucci , Denise"*Plano Diretor de São Paulo 1991 Avanços e Permanências*", Master's Degree thesis from FAU USP , 1999

12 According to Bonduki, Nabil and Koury, Ana Paula opus cit.

13 São Paulo, Belo Horizonte, Rio de Janeiro, Recife, Salvador, Porto Alegre, Curitiba, Fortaleza and Belem - each had its own planning agency.

THE HOUSING ISSUE AND PLANNING IN THE CITY OF NITERÓI-RJ (BRAZIL) IN THE EARLY 1970S: CONTRADICTORY ASPECTS OF A MASTER PLAN

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This research is part of a comprehensive study entitled 'Housing, plan, city: the housing issue in the city of Niterói and the process for the master plan (1960 – 1975)', developed at Fluminense Federal University (Universidade Federal Fluminense). The present article aims to discuss two issues that represented contradictory aspects in the Master Plan elaborated by Wit-Olaf Prochnik's office (1975-1977). The first one is that, despite the dramatic situation that resulted from an increase in favela growth in Niterói, especially in the 1960s and 1970s, along with the forced removal of over one thousand families due to the construction of the Rio-Niterói bridge, there is little mention to social housing in the Master Plan. The second one is that the Master Plan presented both traditional and innovative aspects. It obeyed, on one hand, the planning guidelines of the authoritarian military regime in methodology and broader proposals, but on the other hand, it also established other methods tentatively, seeking some kind of participation from local agents. The hypothesis was that this Master Plan presented evidence of a possible but still 'shy' transition on the planning process. The methodology included research from primary sources, particularly official documents from the municipality, and printed press.

V.06 P.275 **Maria Lais Pereira da Silva | Mariana Campos Corrêa | Bruna Bastos dos Santos**

THE HOUSING ISSUE AND PLANNING IN THE CITY OF NITERÓI-RJ (BRAZIL) IN THE EARLY 1970S: CONTRADICTORY ASPECTS OF A MASTER PLAN

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TOC

INTRODUCTION

The research that originated this paper was developed by the authors at Fluminense Federal University (*Universidade Federal Fluminense*), in the years 2014-2015. It started, in its first year, with an extensive study of the housing issue in the city of Niterói. This city is located in the State of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil[1] (Figure 1). The research revealed the existence of *favelas* since the beginning of the 20th century, following the establishment of the first industries in the city. This study discussed the city planning process in the first three decades of the 20th century, focusing in the graduation thesis of Attilio Correia Lima, which is considered to be the first major attempt in the 20th century to organize Niterói´s urban expansion. It analyses how the housing situation was dealt with within the city planning process[2]. The present article aims to provide an analysis of the Master Plan elaborated later on by the Wit–Olaf Prochnik's office (1975-1977), which was preceded by a large data collection and prospections that were the base for an extensive list of proposals and projects.[3]

A remarkable increase in favela growth occurred in the city of Niterói, during the 1960s and the 1970s, following somehow what was happening in the neighbouring city of Rio de Janeiro, centre of a vast metropolitan area. In Niterói, as will be detailed in the first part of this paper, the residents of *favelas*, which were spreading over hills and public land, represented 7% of the city's total population. Also, in the years preceding 1975, the counterpart of this growth was the forced removal of more than one thousand families to other municipalities, mainly due to the construction of the President Costa e Silva Bridge (Rio-Niterói Bridge). At the same time, the real estate market, which by that time had been acting in the city for a few decades, was growing in size and aggressiveness. Real estate interest grew especially along the south and east coasts of the city, but also close to its central area, where the land was increasing in value with all the public interventions. Thus, it was clear that housing was a real important issue in Niterói in the 1960s and 1970s.

But housing in Brazil has always been a widespread national problem. So, it is no surprise that from the early 1960s the housing issue was the object of a National Policy implemented by the National Housing Bank (*Banco Nacional de Habitação*) and its agents. A first issue that arises from this context is the role of the housing problem as it appears on the diagnosis and guidelines of the Wit-Olaf Prochnik's Master Plan. A second point of debate is in regard of the nature of the plan itself. It is our hypothesis that the Wit-Olaf Prochnik's Master Plan presented evidence of a possible 'transition' in the planning process. Although it is in part a traditional plan that follows the guidelines of the National Planning System of the authoritarian regime, it presents aspects of an 'innovative' process, seeking participation of local agents and creating new possibilities for Niterói's future urban development. This discussion constitutes the third part of this text and links with the conclusion.

The Methodology included primary sources, particularly official documents from the municipality, the press (between 1960 and 1975), and interviews with experts and technicians that worked or were in some way related to the Plan and the municipality, besides the existing bibliography.

THE HOUSING ISSUE IN NITERÓI

From 1950 to the late 1970s, but especially in the early 1960s, the housing issue acquired new dimensions. This was also the period when political and institutional situation in Brazil were transformed, following the military coup of 1964. In this same period, a national housing policy was implemented by the National Housing Bank and state housing agencies were created, highlighting the housing issue. It is important to mention that both national and local policies included building new social housing and *favela* eradication nationwide, especially after the experiences in the State of Guanabara. One of the main agents, that in fact was responsible for the forced removal of *favelas* in the States of Rio de Janeiro and Guanabara, was the Social Housing Coordination of the Metropolitan Area of Rio de Janeiro (*Coordenação de Habitação de Interesse Social da Área do Grande Rio* – CHISAM), a federal government agency created in 1968 and extinct in 1973.

FIGURE 1 Map of the studied area 2016. The map, elaborated by Mariana Corrêa and Bruna dos Santos, shows the location of the city of Niterói in the Brazilian map.
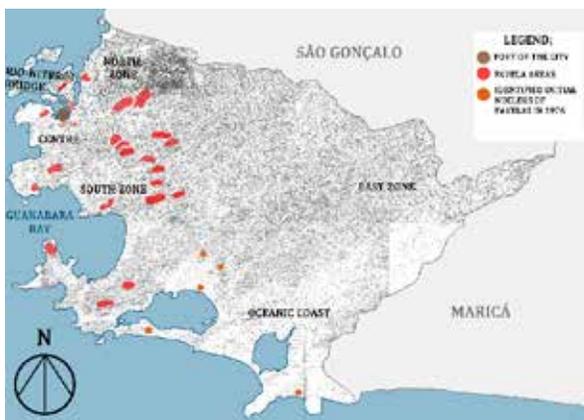

FIGURE 2 Favelas of Niterói. The map, elaborated by Bruna Bastos using a map of 1976, represents the older settlements, and the initial nucleus of favelas.

FIGURE 3 Favela of Maveroy, Niterói. The families from the favela of Maveroy were removed to social housing projects, most of them in the municipality of São Gonçalo.

At that period major changes occurred in the urbanisation process[4], as well as in the institutional and political spheres in Niterói and Rio de Janeiro. In fact, in 1975, the city of Niterói lost the *status* of state capital because of the fusion of the States of Guanabara and Rio de Janeiro, which caused a ripple effect in the housing problem.

By the late 1960s, a remarkable increase in growth of the *favelas* happened, due to many reasons, but especially linked to migration and economic processes. This trend was also observed in Niterói. Some authors indicate that, by mid-seventies, the residents of these settlements represented 7% of the total city population[5] , and were spread all over public hills and land in the city.[6]

Figure 2 shows that by the 1970s, the favelas had spread from the north of the city, a traditional area that since the beginning of the 20th century concentrated industries and the docks, to the south and east coasts, and the countryside of the municipality. The data obtained by Leão XIII Foundation[7] (Fundação Leão XIII) and included in Wit-Olaf Prochnik's Master Plan indicated that, from 1971 to 1975, there was a substantial increase in the number of favelas and its residents: in fact, going from 2% of the total population, to the aforementioned 7%[8].

Furthermore, during the 1970s, the land from the south coast to the east coast, which had been previously divided in plots, started to be occupied. From 1975 to 1977, the real estate market pressured heavily the municipality, demanding big projects in the oceanic area, starting a new form of land occupation.[9] In that same period, very important public interventions on road and communication networks were happening. Among them, were Contorno Avenue (in the city of Niterói) and, most of all, the Rio – Niterói Bridge, that had been under construction since 1968.

This context reinforced the policy of forced removal of the *favela* population, which had been adopted since the early 1960s. In fact, several *favelas* had suffered partial or total eradication, due to public works or other reasons, some even linked to Real Estate Market interests. Forced removal was considered the main solution for the *favelas*, despite a fierce debate amongst planners and *favela* leaders that pointed out the urbanisation of the settlements as a better and more humane solution. In fact, the urbanisation of the favelas was a possible solution and a plea made by those dealing with the favelas since the 1940s, but, with few exceptions due to specific political contexts, it was always denied by the authorities. Obviously, this kind of urbanisation would be even harder to take place after 1968, when an authoritative decree called the 'Act number 5' established definitively the military dictatorship in Brazil.

According to press reports, there was a Fluminense Urbanisation Plan (*Plano de Urbanização Fluminense*) concerning the removal of *favelas* located in areas defined by the State as a priority. Thus, *favelas* and squatter settlements, especially those located close to or inside the areas intended for the construction of the accesses to the Bridge, were becoming more vulnerable and visible. In many newspapers, these settlements were beginning to be described not only as places of disease and epidemic outbreaks, but also as obstacles to the impending modernity and urban development[10].

In this regard, the housing state agency called Social Housing Company of the State of Rio de Janeiro (*Companhia de Habitação Popular do Estado do Rio de Janeiro*), within a national policy, intensified surveys and studies to eradicate the *favelas*. The removed populations would be relocated to social housing projects that were usually in neighbouring towns, and were financed by the federal government. (Table 1)

SOCIAL HOUSING PROJECT	TOTAL HOUSES AND FLATS	MUNICIPALITY
Mahatma Gandhi	80 houses	São Gonçalo
Brasilândia	62 blocks/ 1340 flats	São Gonçalo
Jardim Catarina	192 houses	São Gonçalo
Nilo Peçanha	24 blocks/ 300 flats	São Gonçalo
Marquês do Paraná	12 blocks/ 200 flats	Niterói
Benjamin Constant	12 blocks/ 192 flats	Niterói

TABLE 1 Examples of Social Housing Projects for the people removed. As we can observe, only two housing projects were built in Niterói.

This process included the *favelas* of Maveroy (Figure 3), Maracanazinho, Lixo, and Contorno, located within the Bridge's construction area. In this context, as in many others, public opinion was not unanimous. And in fact, the process of forcibly removing those families from their shacks in the favelas revealed precarious living conditions in both *favelas* and the new social housing projects. And it was even pointed by the press that most of the families residing in the affected areas could not afford the new houses built by the social housing agencies.

17th IPHS Conference, Delft 2016 | **HISTORY ▪ URBANISM ▪ RESILIENCE** | VOLUME 06 Scales and Systems |

Policy Making Systems of City, Culture and Society | *Urbanism and Politics in the 1960s: Permanence, Rupture and Tensions in Brazilian Urbanism and Development*

Besides not having enough resources to buy the new houses or flats, the people removed were also upset and confused, because they were left in the dark regarding municipal and federal plans for them, and didn´t know what to expect, ignoring their destinies[11]. A number of families ended up rebuilding their shacks in other *favelas*.

All this shows that Niterói, in spite of its size, had a complex housing crisis, extensively reported by the press. In the same period (1960s and 1970s), an official position was announced by public authorities regarding urban planning in states and municipalities. A number of plans for several cities were developed following these national guidelines created by the federal planning institution named Federal Housing and Urbanism Service (*Serviço Federal de Habitação e Urbanismo*), that was created in 1964, around the same time the National Housing Bank was founded. In Niterói's case, the discussion and design of a Master Plan for the city was paramount, because of the situation it was facing, with the imminent construction of the Rio-Niterói Bridge, and all the interventions that were already in course.

The next session of this article aims to analyse how the housing issue was dealt with in Wit-Olaf Prochnik's Master Plan.

THE MASTER PLAN OF WIT-OLAF PROCHNIK

Considering the removal process that affected several families and all the conflicts related to this situation, and considering the existence of a master plan elaborated for the city of Niterói in the second half of the 1970s, this part of the article aims to discuss how the Wit-Olaf Prochnik's Master Plan deals with the housing problems.

THE DOCUMENTS OF THE MASTER PLAN

The documents developed for the elaboration of Niteroi's Master Plan, to which the authors had access, are dated from 1976 and 1977. They encompass a diagnosis of Niterói, comprising physical geography, demography, and social aspects (health, education, culture, social service, cultural and historical heritage), infrastructure, road and transport networks, and land use. Another document includes prognostics for urban expansion and analyses the alternatives and proposals for urban development.

Regarding the social housing issue, the master plan dedicated one section of the Diagnosis[12] to discuss Niterói's *favelas*, including aspects related to their development in the 1970s and the removal process that affected some of these settlements, partly justified by the construction of Rio-Niterói Bridge. The document emphasises the lack of data about Niteroi's *favelas*. The authors point out that this fact represented a strong limitation for developing a more accurate analysis of this issue.

Considering the aforementioned lack of data, the master plan used the forced removal process that took place in the neighbouring city of Rio de Janeiro, in 1962/1963, as a template on how to deal with the *favelas* problem. This section of the original document was divided in two subsections.

The first was an introductory subsection, where the history and the development of *favelas* in the State of Guanabara were presented, along with the many interventions these settlements had suffered from 1920 to 1968. This subsection indicated the existence of two lines of action usual in the 1960s: one consisting in removing *favelas* and reallocating the families; and the other one involving the urbanisation of *favelas*. It must be noted that, in this first part, all the references are exclusively from authors that studied the city of Rio de Janeiro and its specific situation.

The second subsection is the one that actually discusses the city of Niterói. It presents the demographic aspects of the *favelas* based on two censuses performed by Leão XIII Foundation in 1971 and in 1975. This subsection also describes the *favelas* of Moinho Atlântico, Maveroy, Maruí, and Nova Brasília based on scientific articles drafted by the School of Social Service (*Escola de Serviço Social*). It also contains data obtained in studies developed by the housing state agency concerning the removal processes that took place on earlier dates. At this point in the document, an analysis is presented, using different sources, and it demonstrates once again the growth of the *favelas* and the problems caused by the forced removals. The conclusion stresses that little official attention had been directed to the *favelas* in Niterói. They also present propositions, some of which are very detailed, suggesting the development of further studies about Niteroi's *favelas*, and they also suggest some criteria to determine which *favelas* should be eradicated, and which ones could be preserved and urbanised. In a certain way, this represented an improvement, considering that the solution generally adopted was, in fact, the forced removal of the population and the destruction of their homes.

Although in this section of the diagnosis there are more concrete proposals to somehow solve the known problems of the *favelas*, in the document that really gives directions to the city's development, there are only general guidelines to deal with social housing and its problems.

THE MASTER PLAN: NATURE AND PLANNING ISSUES

The context in which the Master Plan of Niterói was elaborated was unique, in the sense that the city had a special situation regarding its position. During the early 1970s, Niterói was being prepared for changes to come in the near future. Or at least there were some evidence of that. Although the city was still capital of the State of Rio de Janeiro, in 1974, the legislation that officially defined Rio de Janeiro's Metropolitan Area also decreed the fusion of the States of Guanabara and Rio de Janeiro. This situation would obviously bring about political and institutional changes in both cities.

On the other hand, since the early 1960s, there was a national debate about the possibilities and the importance of urban planning, which included national and regional Plans. This involved cities all over Brazil and was mainly put forth by public authorities and technicians, represented by professional associations of architects, engineers and so on. After the 1964 coup, the government established the National Development Plan (*Plano Nacional de Desenvolvimento*) based on a federal system, and created the Federal Housing and Urbanism Service (SERFHAU) in order to develop plans for the municipalities. The various critics of this system draw attention to the fact that the national plans were elaborated targeting exclusively the economic growth of the main metropolitan cities. Furthermore, contradicting the initial intention to plan locally, defined by the SERFHAU, the dictatorship gradually created laws that effectively took from the municipalities their economic and political autonomies. Therefore, at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, there were several plans that did not have political or economic resources to be implemented.

Another aspect criticised by many authors was that the Federal Government defined, in broad terms, the guidelines that should be used in all those plans, in order to manoeuvre the country and its cities to achieve the dictatorship's own goals (especially its economic and political goals). Lastly, there was also an attempt to define a unique methodology, focused on quantitative data.

The Commission of the Urban Development Plan (*Comissão do Plano de Desenvolvimento Urbano*) was created in Niterói, in 1965, in order to propose urban regulations for the city, and was constituted by members of professional associations of architects, engineers, and others. In the following couple of years, a Preliminary Urbanisation Plan (*Plano Preliminar de Urbanização*) was elaborated. These important initiatives preceded Wit-Olaf Prochnik's Plan. Right after the fusion of the States, in the heat of the debates about the consequences of the Rio –

 Maria Lais Pereira da Silva | Mariana Campos Corrêa | Bruna Bastos dos Santos
THE HOUSING ISSUE AND PLANNING IN THE CITY OF NITERÓI-RJ (BRAZIL) IN THE EARLY 1970S: CONTRADICTORY ASPECTS OF A MASTER PLAN

Niterói Bridge construction, the Urban Planning and Development Coordination (*Coordenadoria de Planejamento e Desenvolvimento Urbano*) was created, coordinated by the architect Ferdinando Rodrigues. This was the main agency involved in the public bidding won by the office of Wit-Olaf Prochnik[13].

The documents of the plan to which the authors had access included a number of partial reports, a final report that consolidated the diagnosis of Niterói, and a volume that included diagnosis and development alternatives. There was also a volume that synthesised the propositions of the plan.

It is important to note that in the beginning of the final volume, it is clearly stated that the national and regional guidelines were being followed. This, in a certain way, linked the plan to the federal frame of work, contemplating the usual contents and priorities directed by the planning system.

On the other hand, the master plan presented two basic aspects that announced new methodologies that only in further years would be vastly used by planners. In the first place, rather than define final propositions going only in one direction, the plan develops five alternatives for the urban growth of the city, based on projections and diagnosis.[14] The second aspect is a somewhat participative process, drawing attention to the importance of involving in the discussion of the proposed alternatives not only public planning authorities, but civil leaders, professional associations, dwellers associations, and so on. To achieve this, the planning team and the municipal government organised a number of public seminars. Some authors call attention to the fact that there were severe limitations to the debate, due to a lack of basic information about the plan by most of the population, in such a way that the discussion ended up being mostly restricted to planners and technicians.

The ideas above pave the way for some conclusions in this article.

CONCLUSION

Considering that the initial hypothesis was that the Wit-Olaf Prochnik´s Master Plan presented evidence of a possible transition on the planning process, even under dire political circumstances, the results of this research were mainly positive. In fact, regarding the role of the housing issue on Wit-Olaf Prochnik's Master Plan, it is clear that there was a real attempt to observe the broader situation of the *favelas*, and that its diagnosis even presented concrete and important propositions. Nevertheless, what did not happen was the proper use of more specific results from the report. That happened, as mentioned by the team of planners, because of the lack of basic data from the municipality, so that their final analysis ended up using different and secondary sources.

The plan, in fact, can be looked upon as a transition between technocratic planning, and a more political and innovative planning. This can be understood by the events of the mid-seventies, among other causes, and due to the political changes that were already being announced and occurred in further years: the debate about public participation, the reorganisation of civil associations. In the urban planning field, there was also already a discussion of new methodologies in planning courses. So the entire decade can be somehow considered a transitional period. In this case, the Wit-Olaf Prochnik's plan clearly represents a pivotal moment for this transition.

Disclosure Statement

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V.06 P.282 **Maria Lais Pereira da Silva | Mariana Campos Corrêa | Bruna Bastos dos Santos**

THE HOUSING ISSUE AND PLANNING IN THE CITY OF NITERÓI-RJ (BRAZIL) IN THE EARLY 1970S: CONTRADICTORY ASPECTS OF A MASTER PLAN

Image sources
Figure 1: Google Earth, 2016.
Figure 2: FUNDREM (Foundation of the Metropolitan area of Rio de Janeiro), 1976.
Figure 3: National Archive (Arquivo Nacional), Correio da Manhã, 1971.
Table 1: National Library (Biblioteca Nacional), Correio da Manhã, January 6th, 1970.

Endnotes

1   When the Federal Capital was moved to Brasília, in 1960, the city of Rio de Janeiro became a new state, the State of Guanabara. The extinction of the State of Guanabara, in 1975, resulted in the fusion of the States of Guanabara and Rio de Janeiro. Niterói, that was the capital of the then State of Rio de Janeiro, lost its condition of capital to become a municipality of the new State.

2   Silva, Corrêa, and Werneck, "Housing and Plans".

3   Azevedo, Benedicto, and Leal Junior, "planejamento urbano global".

4   In the decades of 1950 and 1960, occurred the expansion of the metropolitan area of Rio de Janeiro.

5   In the 1960s, the population of Niterói totalled 245,4 thousands of inhabitants.

6   Niterói had many public lands remaining from the period when the city was the capital of the State of Rio de Janeiro and due to the appropriation of the indigenous land of Araribóia by the Government.

7   The Leão XIII Foundation was created in 1940s by the catholic church and transferred to the State in the 1960s. It aimed the expansion of social work on the *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro and was an important agency on local housing policies.

8   Wit-Olaf Prochnik Arquitetura e Planejamento, *Caracterização do município*, chap. 7, pp. 16-17.

9   Azevedo, "L'impact des politiques urbaines".

10   For instance, the *Correio da Manhã* article '*Favela, obstáculo número 1*' ('*Favela*, obstacle number 1') on April 22, 1970.

11   As mentioned in article published by *O Fluminense*, 'Problema em favela é renda' (The problem in the *favela* is income), on November 2, 1971.

12   Wit-Olaf Prochnik Arquitetura e Planejamento, *Caracterização do município*, chap. 7, pp. 5-32.

13   The architect and urbanist Wit-Olaf Prochnik had already developed urban plans in other cities, having also relations with the Brazilian Institute of Administration (*Instituto Brasileiro de Administração Municipal*).

14   Salandía, "O papel da Estrutura Fundiária".

THE HOUSING ISSUE AND PLANNING IN THE CITY OF NITERÓI-RJ (BRAZIL) IN THE EARLY 1970S: CONTRADICTORY ASPECTS OF A MASTER PLAN

TOC

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Policy Making Systems of City, Culture and Society | *Urbanism and Politics in the 1960s: Permanence, Rupture and Tensions in Brazilian Urbanism and Development*

A LIBERAL EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE AND THE STATE OF NATIONAL SECURITY

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The theme of this paper is the educational policy in the State of National Security. This present excerpt converts into an investigation on an educational experience, which made use of more liberal methodology during the period when the Doctrine of National Security and Development was in force in Brazil, as conceived and spread out from the Political, Strategic and Defense Studies Centre (Escola Superior de Guerra - ESG). The main purpose is to verify the hypothesis of the incompatibility between the regime of exceptions set up in Brazil in 1964, under strict social and political control and its social coexistence with experiences that involved the principle of welfare of the population. Basic needs were considered as a citizen's right in order to develop the human being and the society. The educational experience is the Course of Methodology and Projects of Urban Planning (CEMUAM). CEMUAMs made use of a method based on the precepts of the Economics and Humanism Movement developed by the French Dominican priest Louis-Joseph Lebret, together with other intellectuals and clergymen. Its methodology, when applied to projects of development, was essentially pedagogical, aiming at the formation of the maximum number of technical and political agents to assume the changes and the development of the country. The approach understands the development as necessarily integral and harmonic, at the fastest pace possible and at the lowest social and economic cost, taking for granted the open adhesion of every member of the community during the process. The educational model adopted in the 1960s in Brazil focused on the expansion of the internal market and in mass-consumption. As a result, the educational policy would frame a system of which technocracy aligned with the goals to be reached. The atmosphere created by ESG favored the deepening and spread of the conceptual fundamentals, which served to justify the intervention and the control of the Armed Forces over the State – the ideology of National Security. As a result, it could be argued that the commitment of the Doctrine was market-oriented, namely the capital, distinct from the guiding principles of MEH (Economics and Humanism Movement). The facts depicted point to the above-suggested hypothesis, of incompatibility between the ruling political regime and the educational methods used by those experiences. To clarify the issues included in this hypothesis, some possibilities are envisaged about the Course. First, its venue in Rio de Janeiro that did not accommodate the central power any longer. Secondly, it was taught in a foundation with strong political and financial ties with the military government. Also, the possibility of producing new plans for federal government interests at lower costs and by means of cheaper scholarships than paying professional or advisory staff. In addition, the participation in the course restricted to technicians, linked to the public authorities by employment contracts, who could fear loss of their jobs. Finally, the field of action in disadvantaged communities, willing and needing local and federal governments' resources.

Keywords
educational system, dictatorship, Economics and Humanism, educational institutions of planning

THE IDEAS AND PRACTICES OF URBAN AND METROPOLITAN PLANNING IN THE STATE OF RIO GRANDE DO SUL IN THE 1960S

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This article investigates the ideas and practices that led to the development of metropolitan plans in Brazil in the 1960s, which was a period characterized by rapid urban growth. In 1960, the urban population exceeded 40% of the total population. Large internal migration accelerated the growth of the southeastern and southern cities of Brazil and became the most important issue of social and economic order of the country. In 1964, a military government was installed in the country by eliminating the democratic freedoms. This period of political exceptionality marked the social, economic and institutional relations. In 1967, a new Constitution was promulgated and Brazilian cities received prominence as special areas of public administration and territorial planning. To advance the discussion of this period and the analysis of metropolitan planning experience in the country, we highlight the Rio Grande do Sul state and the metropolitan area of Porto Alegre, as a case study to question the progress and development of this process in this period. The hypothesis proposed in this paper considers: 1) the extensive and significant period of experience of local technical teams formed within the spheres of public administration of the state of Rio Grande do Sul in the development of urban plans and projects; 2) the period of the decade 1960 and after 1964 stood out as an enabling environment for the advancement of urban planning actions and, specifically, technical and administrative organization for the development of the Metropolitan Development Plan; 3) this experience was considered as one of the pioneering in the country. A German-Brazilian mixed team with a bi coordination of both countries involved carried out the preparation of this plan. The basic agreement that gave rise to this cooperation came from legal sources under which its operating structure was assembled. The Basic Agreement on Technical Cooperation was signed between the Governments of Brazil and Germany, on November 30, 1963 and approved by Legislative Decree number 6, of the Federal Senate, of May 8, 1964, and promulgated by the President of Brazil on July 30, 1964, it formed the basis for the supplementary agreements signed between the governments of Brazil and Germany to prepare the Metropolitan Development Plan of Porto Alegre. Additional adjustments were necessary to facilitate the cooperation agreement embodied in the exchange of notes of February 1971 between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Brazil and the Chargé d'Affaires of the Federal Republic of Germany. It was concluded that there was a large prior knowledge accumulation that promoted the possibility that the Rio Grande do Sul to benefit this to be ahead of the demands generated by federal public policies, especially in the second half of the 1960s. At the end of jobs and the closure of the German-Brazilian partnership was recognized the positive German contribution to the results achieved and the process of both learning team in the preparation of the Metropolitan Development Plan of Porto Alegre.

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PolicyMakingSystemsofCity,CultureandSociety | *UrbanismandPoliticsinthe1960s:Permanence,RuptureandTensionsinBrazilianUrbanismandDevelopment*

INSTITUTIONS AND PLANNING IN THE STATE OF RIO GRANDE DO SUL

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This study looks into how ideas about urban and regional planning first originated in Rio Grande do Sul (RS). Our analysis focuses on institutions created or adapted in the 1960s and subsequently improved in the 1970s and which were responsible for guiding public policies in RS. That period saw strong interaction between federal bodies (through SERFHAU, SUDESUL and the Interior Ministry) and state bodies (Public Works Secretariat - SOP). It also saw the creation of Metroplan (initially called the Metropolitan Region's Executive Group - GERM) and of the capital's municipal bodies - especially the recently-created Municipal Planning Secretariat. Furthermore, the Federal University played a coordinating role through its various departments. Initial integration took place through different approaches and through the interdisciplinary involvement of sociologists, economists, geographers, engineers, architects and others. The objective of this paper is to explain, instigate and to promote a broad discussion about the State as a whole and their cities. This new scenario prompted the formulation of public regional and urban policies, implemented through regional and urban planning (not only from a physical plan, but also from the economic, social, cultural, political, administrative and location studies) and having a strong impact on space. This has resulted in the drafting of the State Development Policy document, which was based on the research about the State and its cities. It was coordinated by the University, with participation by technicians from all of the above mentioned institutions and coordinated by the University, with participation by technicians from all of the above mentioned institutions and discussed in the first and second Workshops on Urban Development Policy for Rio Grande do Sul State. Meanwhile, the idea of creating specific courses sponsored by the government and of organizing research led the University to create its first post graduated program (sensu Strictu) in Urban and Regional Planning, PROPUR (since 1970 has been providing masters degrees and doctorates – PHD).
The structure of this paper observes the items below:
1 An introduction which contextualizes the peculiarities and the rupture between urbanism, as a science, technical, and art, and town planning as an integrated and inter-disciplinary process, in the RS, in according to the analysis of The Urban Development to RS Seminaries -1970's
2 The analysis of institutions of Urban Planning acting in RS:
In the State (SOP - Secretaria de Obras Publicas), in Porto Alegre (the Municipal Secretariat of Public Works), in the Metropolitan Region (with Metroplan), and in the Federal corps -SUDESUL, SERFHAU, UFRGS.
3 Conclusions, results: the importance of the seminaries and their results. The role and the importance of the institutions to the urban planning and Development Urban. The main important result was the various plans realized undertaken in the RS, with the participation of the federal, regional and local corps, with an integration of the sectors.

ERUDITION AND EMPIRICISM ON A DEFENSIVE SYSTEM: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF URBAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE PERNAMBUCO COAST, BRAZIL

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In colonial Brazil, Pernambuco was the province with the largest sugar production since the 16th century. Portuguese colonisers were initially more interested in the goods extraction rather than territorial expansion. Possibly for this reason, they were negligent in creating a defensive system and, therefore, the few military works they built were inexpensive, located where it was possible to ship goods, and based on their empiric tradition, which was efficient against the Indians wooden weapons, their only threat. Until the 17th century, Pernambuco was coveted by other colonizers and corsairs, for its intensive sugar production. In 1630, the Dutch West Indian Company (WIC) encroached Pernambuco and faced a scarce amount of defensive works that consisted in redoubts, trenches and two small forts with medieval features, which were. obsolete because of the advent of the bulwark as an architectural response to the gunpowder-based artllery. During the Dutch occupation (1630-1654), Recife was chosen the capital of the West India Company possession in this part of Brazil. They brought professionals to build a new town, called Mauritsstad, considered by scholars as one of the best examples of an Ideal City outside Europe. The urban plan had a grid pattern layout, a central square and peripheral bulwarked walls. Furthermore, it contained a defensive system comprising bulwarked fortifications positioned to enable crossfire, tactics considered effective by military theorists. However, the Portuguese resistance forced the Dutch to try territorial expansion along the coast, causing the occupation of some coastal areas which were strategically the small points of goods shipment such as Tamandaré, to the south, and Itamacará, to the north. The Portuguese resilience consecutively gave the Dutch departure, as the places they invaded were permanently re-occupied by the Portuguese in order to regain sovereignty in the territory. Unlike the Dutch, the Portuguese did not use formal principles in the establishment and development of such places that, over time, became cities. Based on the data gathered through a literature review, this article aims to discuss how the Dutch erudition culminated in the empirical establishment of cities on the coast of Pernambuco by the Portuguese, since certain areas of the state began to be occupied and urbanized after the Dutch period. After de Dutch departure, it is possible to notice that the new Portuguese forts had their layouts designed in the light of the theories contained in the main treaties of military architecture. Nonetheless, this paper intends to discuss how the urbanization of those locations took place under the empiricism of the Portuguese tradition that prioritised topographical conditions and social zoning instead of the erudition which was part of debates of great theorists of that time, under a Renaissance military point of view.

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