IPHS International Planning History Society

I.T.U. Urban and Enviromental Planning and Research Center

14th IPHS Conference

12–15 July 2010 Istanbul, Turkey
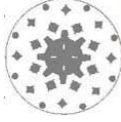
URBAN TRANSFORMATION:
CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

VOLUME 1

Istanbul, 2010

Taşkışla

IPHS

International Planning History Society

ITU

Urban and Environmental Planning and Research Center

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14th IPHS Conference
U R B A N   T R A N S F O R M A T I O N:
C O N T R O V E R S I E S ,   C O N T R A S T S   and   C H A L L E N G E S

Istanbul, Turkey, 12–15 July 2010

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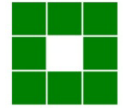
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WELLCOME NOTES

Welcome Note from The Mayor of Istanbul

ISTANBUL METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY

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07.04/2010

Dear Ms. Nuran ZEREN GULERSOY,
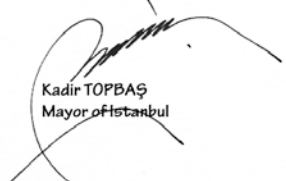
I would like to express my great pleasure that Istanbul will be hosting the 14th International Planning History Society Conference between 12-15 July 2010.

Now celebrating the European Capital of Culture 2010, Istanbul has always been the crossroads of civilizations and cultures as well as the capital of three of the greatest empires the world has known. As the center of commerce and learning and shaped by the influence of various civilizations throughout the history, Istanbul is taking major steps in the field of urban transformation today.

In this context, we hope that the IPHS 2010 Istanbul Conference will create a unique environment for the participants to discuss and exchange knowledge on the current urban transformation issues.

On this occasion, I would like to assure you that Istanbul, which is a world city where many international congresses and conferences have been successfully realized, will be hosting the 14th IPHS 2010 Conference with resounding success.

Sincerely Yours,

Kadir TOPBAŞ
Mayor of Istanbul

Opening Remarks by the President of Istanbul Technical University

Distinguished Professors, Colleagues and Guests,

Good Morning.

On behalf of 2,200 faculty members and 25,000 students, it is a pleasure to welcome you to the Istanbul Technical University, for the "14th International Planning History Society Conference" on Urban Transformation: Controversies, Contrasts and Challenges". I am certain the dynamic discussions awaiting you the next few days will make this event a most enlightening one.

Our University, established in 1773, is one of the oldest and largest Technical Universities of the region. We have a strong tradition in education and research. We believe in excellence in all our programs. Our global awareness of the need for quality in education prompted our cooperation with world organizations such as ABET and NAAB. We currently have 21 engineering programs which have been awarded the ABET certificate of equivalency. We are now in the process of applying for full accreditation this year for 23 engineering programs. We are also a leader in Turkey, with 12 Dual Diploma Programs with Universities in the United States. I am also proud to tell you that our Universities Technopark is the leading technopark of our country. It hosts more than 70 international corporations covering the complete spectrum of science and technology. These corporations, the most able groups in our Country, provide the most valuable and largest number of patents which define the future of scientific developments.

ITU maintains a leading position in science and technology as a pioneer through the ages. Over the course of these past 2 years, we have proudly initiated revolutionary change within the University. A change that is being accepted and shown as a model for other Turkish Universities.

The Istanbul Technical University is an institution of higher education that is celebrating its 237th academic year - a year that will be remembered by both students and faculty members. The University Senate has approved an addition and change to the traditional Turkish language of instruction with 30 percent English courses, to new degree programs taught entirely in English. This Fall, we will welcome students into these new programs, as we believe in the value of globalization.

Today, we are gathered to address one of the major issues of our society: urban transformation. Increased globalization has resulted in the widespread necessity for urban transformation initiatives, which, in turn, have led to challenges in many areas affecting our society. I applaud you for your quest

to address these challenges. The discussions that will take place over the course of the next few days are critical, and will assist educators and policy makers all around the world, for the future.

I invite all the participants to enjoy the cultural and historical aspects of the beautiful city of Istanbul, the 2010 European Capital of Culture. Again, I welcome you all to our campus. I hope you will have a chance to meet our faculty members and that your deliberations are fruitful.

Thank you.

Professor Dr. Muhammed Şahin,
Rector

Welcome Message from the Dean of Faculty of Architecture (ITU)

The Faculty of Architecture Istanbul Technical University is very pleased to host 14th International Planning History Society Conference 2010 Istanbul "Urban Transformation: Controversies, Contrasts and Challenges" in its building Taşkışla.

Istanbul Technical University Faculty of Architecture has 5 departments in undergraduate level and 16 master degree and 7 PhD programs in different graduate schools of ITU. Architecture, Urban and Regional Planning, Industrial Product Design, Interior Architecture, Landscape Architecture are the four years undergraduate programs. Architecture program was evaluated as "substantially equivalent" by NAAB for 6 years in 2007. Urban and Regional Planning Department was established in 1982 formally, however planning units in the Faculty of Architecture at ITU start to work in early 20th Century. The faculty members of Urban and Regional Planning Department have courses and supervise thesis in four master degree programs. These are Urban Planning, Regional Planning, Urban Design, Real Estate Development master degree programs. The doctorate program on Urban and Regional Planning serve to educate new researchers and academicians in the area as the oldest doctorate program in Turkey.

191 PhD students in graduate programs of architecture and 60 PhD students in Urban and Regional PhD program are continuing their education at Graduate School of Science, Engineering and Technology of ITU. Totally 50 PhD students (That means %20 of total PhD Students) work on the subjects related with theme of this symposium which is Urban Transformation. Since Turkey and especially Istanbul has old building stock and these buildings and the urban environment affected by urban change and transformation.

It is a great pleasure to host the important and distinguished conferences and their participants in ITU Faculty of Architecture especially at 2010 as the year of European Cultural Capital for Istanbul.

Prof. Dr. Orhan HACIHASANOĞLU
Dean ITU Faculty of Architecture

Wellcome Message from the IPHS 2010 Convenor

14th International Planning History Society Conference will take place in Istanbul, between the dates July 12-15 2010 in a city which has been the cradle of civilizations with eight thousand years of history and a geographical focal point of all humanity.

The conference addresses the theme of "Urban Transformation: Controversies, Contrasts and Challenges". Urban transformation, as one of the major issues throughout planning history, has been attached new dimensions within the context of rapid globalization especially during the last two decades. It is of major importance today to share professional and academic knowledge and expertise across the world in order to deal with controversies, contrasts and challenges that cities have been facing for a sustainable future. Istanbul, one of the largest cities in the world, once the focal point of the worldwide trading, and capital city for Byzantine, Roman, and Ottoman Empires, and chosen as European Capital of Culture for 2010 has been in transition throughout its more than eight thousand years of history. The choice of Istanbul as the conference city provides an excellent venue for the conference theme with its massive expansion and transformation processes throughout its history to explore different aspects of transformation in planning history not only for Istanbul but also across the world. The conference is considered to be a major contribution to Istanbul's present and future urban transformation process.

The conference theme seeks to provide a window for a broad investigation of urban transformation aspects in planning history, engaging sub-themes of urban transformation in the planning history with emerging concepts, planning cultures and planning models; urban transformation strategies, policies, tools, urban management and governance; urban transformation and the urban space (urban form and architecture, urban transformation in heritage sites, landscapes, waterfronts, and public spaces, etc.); urban transformation and land use (housing and squatter settlements, commercial and industrial districts, transportation and infrastructure); urban transformation and the society (social inclusion, social justice, urban poverty, gentrification); urban transformation and the economy (political economy of urban transformation, financial arrangements in urban transformation); urban transformation and the environment (sustainable transformation, green interventions, disaster management, etc.).

This conference is made of the valuable contributions of researchers and practitioners from many parts of the world. There are 410 participants coming from 42 different countries including 4 continents of the world. Within this figure, it is important to notice that there are around 100 student participants at graduate or undergraduate level.
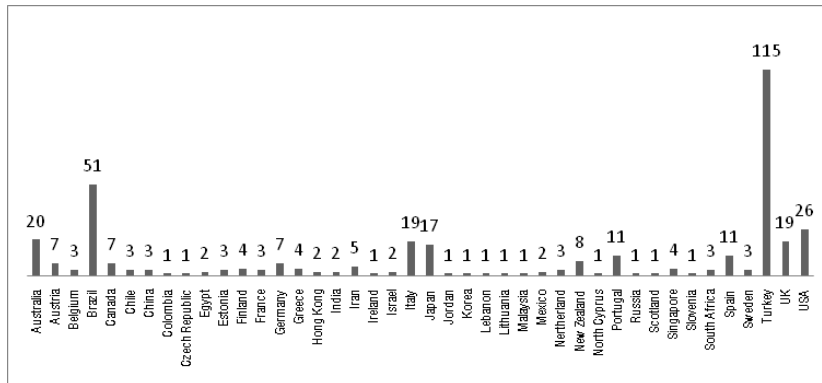
Participants coming from 42 different countries

The content of the conference have been carefully prepared in order to provide participants with a good overview of the latest approaches. We are very pleased by the high quality of papers submitted and by the range of perspectives on planning and planning history that will be addressed during the conference. There are 321 presentations; 7 of which are invited papers, 240 of which are in parallel sessions, 50 in special sessions and 24 in young researchers' sessions. We are grateful to all participants who have contributed to the conference.

The distribution of the 240 papers to be presented at the conference parallel sessions according to their themes are as follows,

- Planning Culture: 38 Papers

- Heritage Sites: 28 Papers

- Planning Models: 27 Papers

- Public Space and Landscape: 27 Papers

- Emerging Concepts under Urban Transformation: 16 Papers

- Urban Form and Architecture: 37 Papers

- Urban Space: 10 Papers

- Strategies, Policies and Tools: 10 Papers

- Economy and Finance: 6 Papers

- Industrial and Commercial Districts: 15 Papers

- Urban Management: 16 Papers

- Social Justice: 10 Papers

Among the 50 special session papers, the themes are as follows,

- The Peril-Urban Interface: Between Planning History And Landscape History

- Land Tenure, the City Statute and the Right to the City in Brazil

- Urban Design in the Thirties under Italian Fascism: Comparative Perspectives on Urban Forms and Ideologies in Italy and the Colonies

- The Planning Ideas and Legacy of Gordon Stephenson

- Port Cities and International Networks

- The Social Geography of Indian Cities: Transformed Documentation of Urban Space

- Tourism, Place Identity and Urban Transformations

- Peril-Urbanization and Environment

- Cities, Political Transformation and Civic Design: Promises and Limits of Public Space

- Cultural Identity and Urban History: The Boukoleon Monumental Itinerary as a Case Study

Young Researchers in Planning History Session (YRS) which is organized for the first time is hoped to be a tradition for International Planning History Society Conferences. The aim of the YRS is to bring together young researchers from all over the world and to provide them a special platform with an in-depth discussion of their papers by senior scholars in their field. The session targets to full-time Undergraduate and Graduate students at maximum 32 years of age. The distribution of the 24 papers to be presented at the YRS sessions according their themes are as follows,

- Urban Transformation in the Planning History: 4 Papers

- Urban Transformation and Management: 4 Papers

- Urban Transformation and the Historic Environment: 6 Papers

- Urban Transformation and Urban Space: 4 Papers

- Urban Transformation and the Society: 6 Papers

Conference Proceedings gather the accepted full papers through a blind peer review process. The review process has been introduced in two stages. At the first stage, all urban historians, planners, researchers and practitioners were invited to participate in the 14th International Planning History Society Conference with paper proposals that address the conference theme. Until the deadline for submission, 510 abstracts were received. All abstracts were refereed by the advisory and review committee and accepted abstracts were published in the "Book of Abstracts" and also, the authors were invited to present their papers in the conference. The second stage consists of submission of full papers for publication of "Conference Proceedings". All authors of accepted abstracts were asked to send their full papers for publication until the deadline for submission of full papers. Submitted full papers for publication were evaluated by two referees from the review committee through a blind review process. After the papers returned with referees comments and editorial determination, the authors were asked to send their final revised papers and those papers were published in the Conference Proceedings.

Conference Proceedings are organized in 3 volumes.

The first volume comprises of three parts:

- Urban transformation in the planning history

- Urban transformation strategies, policies, tools

- Urban transformation, land use, housing and squatter settlements

The second volume comprises of three parts:

- Urban transformation and the urban space

- Urban transformation and the society

- Urban transformation and the economy

The third volume introduces two parts and presents the papers from the special sessions and young researchers' sessions.

Ultimately, this conference is made of the valuable contributions of researchers and practitioners from all over the world.

We are especially grateful to invited speakers, Prof. Dr. Afife BATUR, Prof. Dr. Peter BATEY, Prof. Shun-ichi J. WATANABE, Prof. Dr. Murat GÜVENÇ, Prof. Dr. Baykan GÜNAY, Prof. Dr. Zeynep ÇELİK, for their valuable contribution to the conference. Our thanks also go to Prof. Eugenie BIRCH, presenting the Gordon Cherry Memorial Lecture.

We would like to thank to our Advisory Committee and Reviewers for their generous efforts in making the 14th International Planning History Society Conference a success.

With our special thanks to Dr. Kadir TOPBAŞ, Mayor, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality; Prof. Dr. Muhammed ŞAHİN, Rector, Istanbul Technical University; Prof. Dr. Orhan HACIHASANOĞLU, Dean, ITU Faculty of Architecture; Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency; ITU Development Foundation, The Scientific & Technological Research Council of Turkey, UCTEA Chamber of Architects of Turkey Istanbul Metropolitan Branch, UCTEA Camber of Urban Planners Istanbul Branch, The Building Information Centre, The Vehbi Koç Foundation, Sabancı University Sakıp Sabancı Museum and Acar Group.

We are very happy to be with you at the 14th International Planning History Society Conference in Istanbul to celebrate European Capital of Culture 2010 together.

Prof.Dr. Nuran ZEREN GÜLERSOY
IPHS 2010 Convenor

CONTENT

Caio SMOLAREK DIAS, Solange Irene SMOLAREK DIAS, Alvaro Rojas LEZANA

URBAN TRANSFORMATION LAND USE HOUSING AND SQUATTER

URBAN TRANSFORMATION
IN THE PLANNING HISTORY

THE IMPORTANCE OF CULTURAL MECHANISMS IN URBAN TRANSFORMATIONS: FROM THE SCENE CONSTRUCTION TO THE REPRESENTATION SPACE - EUROPEAN CAPITALS OF CULTURE: TWO PORTUGUESE EXAMPLES

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ABSTRACT

With this paper we intend to approach the knowledge between the City and the Architecture as a life scene space, the assertion of oneself identity between the presentation space and representation status, throughout two Portuguese cities, Lisbon (European Capital of Culture in 1994) and Oporto (European Capital of Culture in 2001). Two ancient cities with important and symbolic cultural meaning, providing a contact of successful and unsuccessful approaches and trying with this comparative analysis, foresee what will happen in ECC Guimarães (2012), always in a way of cultural identity and cultural capital perspective.

Through those examples we pretend to analyse and explain, some planning strategies between the theatre's physical space, which could be the scenery as a building, or even the city as a designed place where various dramatic and cultural events happens and actions are executed openly to everybody's eyes.

In this way the urban scenes, namely the cities, are the support of its own representative characters, the inhabitants, and also for those who seek its opportunities at a cultural level and so are trying to create and promote their own cultural identity.

The ancient city of Guimarães, north of Portugal, with the patrimony of humanity nomination by the UNESCO Heritage Centre, since 2001, will be our mainly case study, since it will be the 2012 European Capital of Culture.

The allocation of this appointment tries to confirm the validity of the cultural policies implemented and all investments in the last two decades – on both material, and symbolic assets and also in various urban equipments which gives a special attractiveness to the city and also a cultural agenda full of contemporaneity.

The city authorities strongly believe that the conditions are in place for an urban revolution even more valuable than all that led UNESCO to recognize its Historical Centre as World Heritage Site.

We seek to analyse how the ECC designation means an opportunity to improve, in a sustainable way, its inhabitant's quality of life and also to promote its cultural

experiences raising their qualification level, as well as their social awareness and citizenship. We also want to emphasize the expected impact of this political decision in sectors such as tourism and in urban redevelopment and its contribution to the growth of cultural diversity.

We pretend to outline the theatrical bonds within the city and explore some structural questions of the landscape representation throughout social and cultural activities that could fulfill the urban life and so, giving a new sense and a new meaning to the city, and not only at the city Centre, as we have observed in Lisbon 94.

Based mainly in a diachronic approach and interdisciplinary analysis, we promote a contemporary view of the city as heritage through the necessity to preserve and promote a sustainable development and emphasize its cultural meaning throughout a seasonal event, which could be extended in time and place.

INTRODUCTION

The analysis of two Portuguese cities, namely Lisbon (European Capital of Culture in 1994) and Oporto (European Capital of Culture in 2001), will be presented to highlight the interaction between the City and the Architecture in the context of the life scene space, the assertion of oneself identity between the presentation space and representation status. These two cities are of high importance and symbolic cultural meaning in national context.

Through examples, this paper will provide analyse to demonstrate the use of planning strategies between the theatre's physical space. This may be the scenery as a building or the city as a designed place where various dramatic and cultural events happen and actions are executed openly. In this way the urban scenes are the support of their own representative characters, the inhabitants, and also for those who seek opportunities at a cultural level and so are trying to create and promote their own cultural identity. The final objective is to use the collected data to forecast Guimarães 2012.

CULTURAL MECHANISMS IN URBAN TRANSFORMATION

The idea of European capitals of culture originated from Melina Mecouri, a former minister of culture in Greece.Its objective was to enrich the wealth, diversity, and general characteristics of European cultures. By achiving the objective a better shared knowledge between citizens of European Union, promotion of the city, region and country, and finally to densification in the urbanism of the host city and other cities.

In 1985, Athens was the first European Capital of Culture. Since then many other cities of the old continent received, each year, this title, that already was consolidated as a way to value and to preserve the proper culture of each country or region, bringing many benefits for the host city.[1]

Developing the potential of the ECC, some studies carried out by independent experts, between 1995 and 2004, confirmed the positive media response to the

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[1] According to the European Commission, the ECC "is a golden opportunity to show off Europe's cultural richness and diversity, and all the ties which link us together as Europeans. The event is so attractive that Europe's cities vie with each other fiercely for the honor of bearing the title."

event. It has improved the image of the chosen cities in the eyes of their inhabitants and helped develop culture and tourism. Now, the EU is motivating forthcoming cultural capitals to do yet more for long-term impact on the cultural development. The new procedure includes a key follow-up phase once the cities have been selected. [2]

The ECC is a golden opportunity to show off Europe's cultural wealth and diversity, and all the ties which link us together as Europeans. The event is so attractive that Europe's cities compete with each other in a friendly manner for the honor of bearing the title. It will generate considerable cultural and socio-economic benefits, including positive effects on tourism. Its an extremely challenging event, with a large scale, which lasts an entire year.

Cities wishing to become ECC must prepare a cultural program that meets rather specific criteria: it must reflect the European character of the event and involve the participation of the people who live there. [3]

Assuming that the places where the collective and public cultural activity occurs, have an important and lasting influence - aesthetic, social, economic and symbolic - on the form and the function of the cities (EVANS, 2001), and that, in a context of serious economic crisis, the effect of the show off architecture, agglutinant, by itself, can have fond of the end (BERGDOLL, 2010), the cities must assume its competitiveness in a support logic.

The European flavor can be seen in the themes chosen and the artists and cultural organisers from different countries cooperating to put on the event. The program must also have a lasting and sustainable impact on the city's long-term cultural, economic and social development.

Cities are stages for the great triumphs and tragedies of humanity - sites for the events and interactions, which define the ages. (STEVENSON, 2003)

In this way the urban scenes, according to Stevenson (2003): the cities and its sites, are the support of its own representative characters, the inhabitants, and also for those who seek its opportunities at a cultural level and so are trying to create and promote their own cultural identity.

The cultural and creative component is, in this direction, determinative for the economic development of the cities, COOKE and LAZZERIETTI (2007)

Cities are places of contemporary spectacle. The majority of world´s population now lives in cities, which are nowadays the most visited places by various reasons. So, the major cities in Europe are dealing with changes in the relationship between its material and symbolic aspects with growing attention on matters of consumption culture and creativity in their spaces, rather than on the production and its spaces. It is important to think about how can a city core form spectacle and promote urban identity *with urban experience, with lifestyle and also with tourism emerging as the new pivots of the new service economy[4].*

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[2] For a number of years, the EU's Culture program has helped finance the event, and will continue to do so in future. From 2012, there will be a new procedure for selecting future European capitals of culture.
[3] From 2011, two cities – from two different EU countries – will be ECC.
[4] Stevenson (2003:93.-112)

The nomination of a city, and not only the major ones, as ECC, could be a determinant contribution for this assertation.

According to the concept of sustainability[5], it implies a strategical approach to integrating conservation and consistent development which can promote a sustainable use of resources.

A project that strives to be sustainable must be consistent with the present needs wihout compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. In essence this means that to enable people now and in the future, a satisfatory level of social and economic development and also to achive culture with a reasonable use of land and architectural resources, housing, social and cultural equipments, new jobs, preservaging the existent ecossystems, and always promoting social envolvement and a better quality of life.

LISBON

By this way Lisboa 94 Europe Capital of Culture was an excellent example of sustainability.

Figure 1 – Lisbon Panorama
Source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lisboa-lisbon-_panorama.jpg

If success is to be measured in terms of audiences Lisboa 94 should be considered successful, with a cultural and social dynamics only equaled by the major social and economic event that was Expo 98.

The project motto was staging the city (*city on stage*). The entire city of Lisbon with its magnificent geography (seven hills) and architecture was a stage set in which the cultural actions of the event took place.

This was also an opportunity to promote the commemorations of the 20th anniversary of the April revolution and the consolidation of a democratic European society.

Suddenly, and despite some discomfort caused by some works on the underground network that stretched beyond schedule, the city awoke to unusual cultural activities.

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[5] According to the programme embodied by the World Comission on Environment and Development (WECD, 1987), the UNCED process and the documents agreed at the Rio Summit included the Agenda 21. We also assume the questions posed by authors such as Meppem and Gill (1998. 134) specially when they claim that" sustainability describes a state that is in a transition continually: the objective of sustainability is not to arrive at a particular point. Planning for sustainability requires explicit accounting of perspective and must be involving of broadly representative stakeholder participation through dialogue" this approach is a "move away from a culturally inappropriate and exclusive epistemology of positive and normative definitions" and became a process that facilitates reflective insight" and "the genuine sharing of ideas".

The enormous queues in front of Fine Arts Museum for the opening of two major exhibitions: *Bosch´s temptations* and *Eternal Return* remain in memory of city residents. There was a great deal of reservation from the media and also a great public expectation, the programmed was diverse and very appealing for Lisbon inhabitants and also from its periphery. There was also some major investments in heritage conservation: The Lisbon Coliseum (Coliseu dos Recreios) was a traditional concert and performance space in Lisbon since the late 19th century and its renovation had a impact on the whole street which is visible still now.

In Lisbon main squares there were public art projects. The city became an open air stage set with a dynamic that went beyond the timed programme.

The public became progressively involved as characters all year and enjoyed the new festive atmosphere that went beyond the Portuguese melancholic cultural identity.

According to the words of one of the members of the board responsible for Lisboa 94 Simoneta Luz Afonso[6]: the event brought new habits in cultural consumption and a new demand from the public, large spaces for culture and improved cultural marketing, new spaces for culture and renovated or transformed ones, a strict collaboration between major cultural operators to promote events that still remain (Great Orchestra Cycles) were major consequences of this designated event. The public became progressively involved.

They were also, other consequences like the integration of security measures in the major national museums and the increased possibility of its engage in exchanges with foreign museums, the creation and identification of new cultural itineraries throughout the city, namely the Seven Hill Project (Sete Colinas) an urban renovation programme that was launched. Further, residential, commercial and various other spaces in the old city were renovated with several kinds of involvement: economic, social and cultural levels.

This was determinate for its sustainability[7] and was beyond seasonality.

Through the words and the look of the other like HOLTON (1998). "*Lisbon 94 organizers outfitted Lisbon in a variety of new costumes through the rhetoric of promotional discourse and the transformation of Lisbon´s urban space*". It represented an excellent and unique opportunity for promoting and also reorienting, not [8]only the city cultural and self-identity but also Portugal ´s national identity towards the heart of Europe. Its legacy still remains in 2010. Lisbon is now one of the Capitals of Europe with more charisma and has been recently elected the Best European touristic destination.

If Lisboa94 is considered a good example of sustainability, Porto 2001 would be quite the opposite.

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[6] *European Capitals of Culture: the road to success from 1985 to 2010*, Luxembourg, European Communities, 2009, p.23.
[7] On sustainability issues see also David Clark (1996).
[8] Lisbon is the capital of Portugal since the mid 13th century.

PORTO

Figure 2 – Oporto Panoram
Source: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/05/Porto3flat-cc-contr-oliv1002.jpg

As a direct result a vast number of projects spread over the city (the Metro, The House of Music, the Transparent Building, funicular, Cordoaria Garden, Batalha Square, Praça D. João I Square) the inhabitants of Oporto experienced significant disruptions to daily life.

These interventions led the population to view the initiative of Oporto 2001 as nuisance rather than an opportunity or a cultural investment.

This view of the citizens also contributed to the apparent absence of an integrated (cultural) policy, real estate speculation and political conflicts of purely personal nature, finishing in fiscal slippages and failure to meet deadlines.

In the article "creative city debate: Port redux experience", GRANDE (2008) it equates the debate concerning the creative cities as stages, approaching "moved" the urban one that it converged in the ECC and a set of uncharacteristic points of the consolidated city, as thet Bombarda and Bolhão effects.

Illustrative examples include the inauguration of an event, in which the paving was done at the last minute, to be redone few days later. Further problems include, the case of the House of Music delay (projected by Rem Koolhaas). Due to numerous technical problems experienced including a hole filled with water this event only opened in April 15, 2005. Another example of the lack of coordination and integrated management was the building known as Transparent (project by Solá Morales), wrapped in a huge controversy since the beginning and that intended to assemble the natural connection between the Urban City Park (by Sidonio da Costa Pardal) and the Atlantic Ocean. Once again it took 15 million Euros and 6 years to convert the building from Transparent to Opaque (projected by Carlos Prata, opened on June 15, 2007), in order for it to have a specific use.

Despite an important set of decisions that were not achieved during the Oporto 2001, nowadays this city is recovering after the torments of the 2001 event, and assuming its own cultural agenda, considered very attractive not only for locals but also for neighbor Spain. The city has now a new leisure centre, consolidated areas such as Ribeira, and also the Museum of the Serralves Fundation a magnificent work by Álvaro Siza, an important contemporary art gallery. This is a post-happening event.

The cultural source of the cities has been a privileged vehicle for the construction and reconstruction of the same ones, locating them in a global scene. (WARLIKE, 2008) However Oporto ECC, did not leave the cultural, economic and social legacy that was expected, the city is still recovering and using the architecture as support

for the sustainable development and urban regeneration, being determinative for attribution of the cultural capital of the city.

GUIMARÃES

The ancient city of Guimarães is known as the first city of Portugal. It is located on the North of the country and its natural and architectural beauty deserved the UNESCO Heritage Centre nomination of World Heritage Site in 2001.

Guimarães city lives and especially fruitful period of its History, marked for the valuation and recognition of its historical and cultural patrimony along with an increasing investment in directed social equipment to the qualification and the development of the City and the citizens. The choice for ECC is a stage of importance in this ambitious process that desires extended sustainability beyond 2012.

The city is part of a peculiar territorial system, with a strong polycentric profile, that concentrates about 1/4 of the country population and 1/3 of the population of the region[9], and that, as a stage of a process of increasing integration and in cooperation with Galiza in North of Spain tends to configure itself as a Euro-Region.

Inside of this urban-metropolitan region of the northwestern peninsular, more particularly, inside of a crown urban-industrial who involves the area of the Big Oporto, Guimarães has consolidated a co-central position, with the Vila Nova de Famalicão city, as with Braga city. The city of Oporto, with its international airport, is 30 minutes away, Braga 15 minutes, Vigo (Spain) 90 minutes and Santiago de Compostela (Spain) is a 2-hour drive.

This position is basically supported in the industrial, scientific and cultural sources and in a internationalisation dynamics which is trying to reconfigure itself (Guimarães has remained as the main city of the Ave´s textile region, with a strong exporting profile), appointed through the consolidation of strategies of insertion in euro nets assumed by diverse institutions in the city and in the region, being to detach the Minho university.

Local authorities and the main city entities have collaborated, throughout the years, allowing a transmission of cultural and artistic development.

Underlining the identity and the historical and cultural inheritance, since the first citizens of the northwest band of the peninsula, passing through the fact that had supported the independence of the Portucalense County, in 12th century which confers it the honor to be the representation of the nationality foundation.

The structuralized and systematic tactics in the regeneration and in urban requalification and valorization of the territory by the cultural abilities are the key words of the stratagem plan. This last aspect has deserved a special attention since the middle of 80's of 20th century, until today. The laws of the historical center urban rehabilitation, are working, since then, to defend the preservation of the medieval morphology logic, working to recover and maintain the traditional constructive techniques, predominant connected to "*chã*"[10] architecture,

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[9] NuTS II (3,5 million inhabitants in 2001).
[10] Plain architecture according to George Kubler (1980).

culminating with the world-wide recognition of this merit with the classification of the historical center as Patrimony of the Humanity attributed for UNESCO, in 2001.

Figure 3 – Guimarães Old Town. Source: Andreia Garcia

The built Guimarães heritage is not restricted to its historical sites. The city has known to establish in its evolution contemporary, a fruitful dialogue in the urban and architectural plans between old and modern. This creative confrontation deserves to be underlined as object of reflection and example to consider and to go deep.

On the other hand, Guimarães has always benefited from a social environment associated with arts and culture, which are more related to values, traditions and ancestral customs, which attribute to its festivities (folklore) (the *Gualterianas* and the *Nicolinas*, to state the most important), to gastronomy, traditional arts and crafts (the embroidering, hemp, forged iron, pottery, etc.). This is an important source of the cultural life of the city, wanted in a higher academic and elitist dimension.

The challenges that currently appear to Guimarães, about cultural long run development substance are not independent of this process, as they cannot leave to answer to the challenges of the contemporary society where they affirm the new paradigms of one society characterized by the knowledge, neither leave, the reflection and the intervention in opposition that the national and international agendas have intended to enunciate in cultural substance.

The delineated strategy answers of coherent and articulated form to the implementation of one project that aims an urban, social and economics regeneration of the city, with the objective of increasing the quality of life and the access to the culture of the citizens and to promote the valuation of the territory and the collective patrimony material and incorporeal.

In this way, the European cities of middle and short dimension are the ones who face the biggest challenges in a context of intense global competitiveness for the attraction of investment and talent.

Before these new scenes and challenges, the matter is construct new ways of promoting the city and its symbolic and cultural heritage. Guimarães ECC 2012 can and must consist as model of development for hundreds of European cities of similar dimension, when opting to a process of regeneration supported in a strategy model - Cultural urban Regeneration.

In this model, the culture is seen as a catalyser and an engine of urban, social and economic regeneration.

Guimarães ECC 2012 will create a new concept of geography of quotidian and experiences, reinterpreting and reusing the public space, requalifying it, endowing it with interaction proposals that use creative resources and technology, between the creators and the citizens, either inhabitants or visitants.

Figure 4 – "Padrão do Salado" Oliveira square. Source: Pedro Garcia

The process of urban regeneration foreseen will bind the multiple geographic identities of the city, challenges and opportunities, developing in this way a strong relationship between cultural dynamic and the urban quotidian landscape.

Is possible to recognize in Guimarães a strong sense of historic and cultural identity[11], an energy that is important to lead the city, and by doing so, giving it a modern and future sense of meaning. Guimarães propose itself to demonstrate to the other European cities with similar dimension, in which way a community that saves in its heart a strong cultural memory, can become alive, and emphasize the strengths of its inhabitant's involvement that can assure the local and also the European culture.

In this way, the Guimarães 2012 Program, will be involving all the city: the local agents and the inhabitants in different programs and projects, and will be betting in a urban culture which connects the practice of the urban planning with the

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[11] As we have seen throughout our research, which included several interviews with people from different strata, and in different blogsphere.

public city management, with the yearnings and expectations of each citizen. This is the underline aim of the project.

The designation by the Portuguese Government of Guimarães as one of the ECC for 2012 rewards the collective tradition, whether in terms of our restored urban fabric or in the promotion of cultural calendar that has followed the criteria of diversity that is both steadfast and contemporary for more than 20 years. (The City Hall of Guimarães, 2006)

The new narrative of the city, it´s a set of new questions. Guimarães will show itself as a new stage of identity, the same identification of the past but deeply in the senses of the future. Those new spaces will be alternative, spaces for the imagination and new city life scenes.

Guimarães will use the banner of ECC to begin a change of paradigm, from a classic industrial economic model to an economic model based in creativity and knowledge with European significant level.

This process of transformation will have as a main space of intervention an old industrial area located in the centre of the city, too much closed to the classified area as world patrimony where there were indentified some problems of environment order.

With the implementation of the rehabilitation project and urban and functional redesign, this area will suffer a transformation in a knowledge and creative space, creator of economic, social and cultural value.

Figure 5 – Santiago square. Source: Pedro Garcia

Following this direction, it will the ideal city to become at the same time, of explicit form, in simultaneous away theater of memory and theater of prophecy? (BROADBENT, 1990) Or it will be that if it can become in a pragmatic example of extreme proportion of this representation, as in the case of Venice, an enormous scene to the urban scale? (DAVIS, 2004)

The Guimarães ECC 2012 project will allow to learn with the past, live and celebrate in a intensely way the present, at the same time that makes possible a reflection and a debate about the future for the city and the region, as a contribute, and in a scale perspective, for the construction of a Europe more participated by its citizens.

In this way, Guimarães 2012 will be materialized through a process that has in regeneration and the urban qualification excellent pillars of sustentation.

This process will include the construction and requalification of infrastructures and the reinforcement of partnership nets, which will involve the creative ones, the community and the economic agents.

It will include, equally, the accomplishment of a prestige program, which will promote the involvement and the participation of the community, creating new memories for Guimarães and Europe. The mission of Guimarães ECC 2012 is in compliance with its territorial frame, it will allow to reach the vision defined for this project and answer to agendas and the considered values.

The singularity of the historical center of Guimarães make of this city a unique place, the one which is recognized as world-wide Patrimony for UNESCO. It is recognized the characteristics of the public space of the potential city for presentation of artistic proposals value that it as scenic space of election and tourist attraction of reference.

The cultural programming associate will compete in offering cultural and creative activities in non conventional spaces: agricultural streets, squares, gardens, churches, environments or commercial spaces, allowing to offer new experiences that last in the memory of the local community and also in the visitors.

This option implies the whitewashing of diverse urban spaces and the recovery of infrastructures and equipment with special prominence for the Leather Quarter. It also implies the development of a proposal of a new relation between the citizens and the proportionate city for the use of new technological platforms in public space.

The urban space will be, therefore, the main stage and place of meeting and offer experiences of Guimarães ECC 2012.

Those cultural cities as scenery of events, where events happen, prolong themselves more than the time of its completion, promoting its sustainability.

According to Meppem and Gill (1998) "success is determined retrospectively, so the emphasis in planning should be on process and collectively considered, context – related progress rather than on achieving remote targets. A key measure of progress is the maintenance of a creative learning framework for planning. Institutional arrangements should be free to evolve in line with community learning". Assuming all these arguments and also the fact that the new role for policy makers is to facilitate learning and seek leverage points with which to direct

progress towards integrated economic, ecological and socio cultural approaches for all human activity" we hope that Guimarães 2012 it will be a success such as Lisbon 94.

Until today, there is not known one idea, one word or project by the Minister of the Culture for 2012. There is no doubt about the odd chance for the region and the city. However the true feeling starts at 1st January of 2013. The appositive in ECC 2012 will only be earns if we known how to capitalize for the future values that one such event is able to providing and if it will leave a cultural, economic and social legacy.

We need to learn with the last mistakes, which could bring to the city a wrong feeling of leaving in a huge scale scene, full of tourists, pushing over the inhabitants and losing its cultural and historic identity.

It is known that the budget for Guimarães 2012 is equivalent to the effective cost just of the Music House, for Oporto 2001, and this can determine a lesser engagement to the Government in this project, inclusively the fact of being more peripheral city of the previous ECC.

However, the fact is that 871 years later, Guimarães will become again the Capital!

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A HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE BASIC CHARACTER OF THE JAPANESE PLANNING SYSTEM: TOWARD A DRASTIC REFORM FOR DECENTRALIZATION AND PARTICIPATION

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ABSTRACT

One of the issues that are often discussed in Japan now is the reform of the current city planning system, which was originated 120 years ago. The general direction of the reform seems to head for 'decentralization' and 'participation' and many concrete proposals have been publicized till now. And yet there are a few comprehensive analyses of what are really the problems of the city planning system as a whole. This paper tries to clarify the total structure of these problems by discussing the basic character of the Japanese planning system through the following 6 concepts or keywords that are abstracted out of its history. The detailed discussions of each concepts will lead us to the reform direction which will be opposite direction of them, namely:

(1) 'Centralized Style' against 'Decentralized Style';

(2) 'Bureaucrat Initiative' against 'Citizen Initiative';

(3) 'Expanding-City Image' against 'Shrinking-City Image';

(4) 'Construction Orientation' against 'Management Orientation';

(5) 'One-Tier System' against 'Two-Tier System'; and

(6) 'Non-Professionalism' against 'Professionalism.'

INTRODUCTION

Reform of Planning System (1)

Since the beginning of the 21st century, concerns and actual movements to reform the Japan's City Planning Act have risen remarkably among people outside the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism (hereafter 'MLIT'), which is responsible for the nation's city planning administration. Nearly twenty concrete proposals have been made public by academic societies, civic groups, think-tanks and others (Watanabe and Arita 2010: 168-178). Such phenomena to try to change the basic rule of the traditional city planning are, as a whole, an epoch-making event in the entire history of the nation's modern planning era for nearly 120 years.

Many proposals emphasize the importance of '*machizukuri*' or community building, which is the people's activity to manage and enhance the physical (and often non-physical) environment of their own local community (Watanabe 2006, 2007). These proposals try to position *machizukuri* properly in the statutory planning system, which is traditionally based upon the centralization of planning powers in the hands of bureaucrats, not of citizens. So, the general trend of the reform direction

seems to head toward the area often identified with such keywords as 'decentralization' and 'participation.' And yet most proposals seem to be mere collections of improvements of the individual problems of the existing system. What is lacking is a clear picture of the total structure of the problems as a whole.

In August 2009, the Democratic Party took control of the central government. It was practically the first shift of political power in the past 60 years, since the end of the war. As the new government emphasizes 'local autonomy (*chiiki shuken*),' it is quite probable that the city planning system, which is basically a local matter, may become an important national agenda and that the reform of the City Planning Act will be discussed and actually advanced further. And yet the Democrats' concept of 'local autonomy' so far has not been elaborated into more meaningful details as far as the planning system is concerned.(2)

All these present a challenge to planning theorists and planners, who should respond with a theoretical platform upon which all the reform discussions may be productively developed. In this context, the author tries to present such a hypothetical platform through a historical and comparative analysis of the basic character of the Japanese planning system.

Brief History

Before proceeding to the main subject, however, I would like to describe briefly the history of the Japanese planning system to those who may not be familiar with it. The modern planning system started with the Tokyo Urban Improvement Act of 1888, which tried to provide such urban infrastructures as streets and parks within the already urbanized areas of the capital city of Tokyo. Urban Improvement, in a word, was not a planning program by the current standard but an urban civil engineering program.

In 1919, the nation's first City Planning Act was enacted under the strong influence of modern Western planning. This Act introduced such planning techniques as Zoning for land use controls and Land Readjustment Program for urban and suburban development projects.(3) This planning system was applied first to the six largest cities and then to many cities and towns all over Japan nearly for half a century. The 1919 Act was replaced by the City Planning Act of 1968, which is the current Act and is often called the 'New Act' as against the 'Old Act' of 1919.

It should be noted that city planning has been traditionally considered as a public service of the central government, not of the local government, and has been administered by the Home Ministry in the pre-war days, by the Ministry of Construction in the post-war 20th century days and by MLIT in the 21st century.

Content of This Paper

In the following, I would like to discuss the basic character of the Japanese planning system by abstracting 6 concepts or keywords out of its history. These concepts are mutually independent variables and yet often work together in giving the Japanese planning system a unique, and more particularly, a problematic character. So, the reform direction should be toward the opposite direction of these keywords. It should be noted that these 6 problems are all rooted even in the Urban Improvement Program. It means that our contemporary reform efforts are, more or less, a fight against the 120-year-old tradition.

The following are these keywords of 'problems' against their opposites of 'reform direction':

(1) 'Centralized Style' against 'Decentralized Style';

(2) 'Bureaucrat Initiative' against 'Citizen Initiative';

(3) 'Expanding-City Image' against 'Shrinking-City Image';

(4) 'Construction Orientation' against 'Management Orientation';

(5) 'One-Tier System' against 'Two-Tier System'; and

(6) 'Non-Professionalism' against 'Professionalism.'

CENTRALIZED STYLE

Concept of 'Centralized Style'

The 'Centralized Style' means that city planning powers are basically concentrated within the central government. This style of planning system has effectively not changed ever since the Urban Improvement Act of 1888.

In the Urban Improvement Program, all individual planning matters were decided by the national government's Tokyo Urban Improvement Committee. Under the Old Act system, each planning case was discussed by the City Planning Committee and then decided by the Home Minister, thus ostensibly receiving Cabinet approval. Under the New Act system, decision making power was basically granted to the prefectural governor, who was to act as the agent of the central government, not as the elected official. This rule was abandoned by the Decentralization Acts in 1999 and planning powers are now formally designated as administrative matters of the local government. And yet major planning decisions are still required to obtain the agreement of the upper-level government.

Reason for 'Centralized Style'

In Centralized Style, a set of standardized and detailed rules for the whole country are transmitted from the central to local governments, in a top-down fashion. The simple reason for this is efficiency. Centralized Style utilizes the benefits of 'mass production' of public service in order to meet vast needs at 'low administrative cost,' against a backdrop of insufficient resources, such as technology, finance and personnel.

This efficient method was able to demonstrate its power particularly in the pre-war days and the post-war rapid economic growth period. But in a wealthy and pluralist society, the principles of civil society call vociferously for decentralization of authority, and it is clear that Japan now stands at a crossroads.

BUREAUCRATIC INITIATIVE

Concept and Problems of 'Bureaucratic Initiative'

Since the Urban Improvement Program, it has been administrative bureaucracy, not discussion in assembly, which has actually made planning decision in city planning at the central or local government. Such control of leadership in the planning process by administrative bureaucracy is termed in this paper 'Bureaucratic

Initiative.'   Two examples are given as for the problems with Bureaucratic Initiative.

First, bureaucracy in Japan is characterized by 'rivalry' among central government ministries and departments, each of which strives to maintain influence in its own sphere, and this rivalry is transmitted on to the local governments.   This is true with the land use controls of community spaces that are the focus of city planning. Broadly speaking, urban space is the sphere of influence of MLIT, which governs the City Planning Act, and rural space that of MAFF (Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries), which governs the Agricultural Land Act etc., with no structure in place for overall planning and management of community spaces.

Second, the decision making authority in city planning rests firmly in the hands of the bureaucrats.   As a result, the rules of the game of city planning are governed by a characteristically bureaucratic logic which often refuses to accept what the citizenry view as common sense.   Thus, city planning distances itself from the citizenry, who in turn tend to gravitate towards *machizukuri*, which is people's free activity.

'Centralized Bureaucracy'

The combination of Centralized Style and Bureaucratic Initiative results in a principle that might be termed the much stronger 'Centralized Bureaucracy.'

In this context, city planning is actually carried out this way.   Nationwide standardized and pre-established rules are transmitted, virtually one-way, from the central to local governments in the form of notifications, standards, operational guidelines and procedures, etc.   These are usually standardized for the whole country, but their measures are often designed to solve problems for Tokyo and other metropolitan areas, and are forced upon smaller local communities with much differing conditions.(4)   Three points must be mentioned below as problems with Centralized Bureaucracy.

First, the rules concerning the basics of people's living should be applied naturally to each municipality without difference in terms of fairness and impartiality. However, in the case of the Building Standards Act, what appears in principle to be 'nationwide uniformity' is in fact 'minimum nationwide uniformity,' and gives rise to a mechanical perverted equality.   As a result, standardized community spaces are being built throughout the country.   On the other hand, the concept of *machizukuri* prioritizes the diversity born from the creativity of the local citizenry.   These local citizens who wish to have self determination about their own community spaces assert principles that are in opposition to nationwide uniformity.

Second, in Centralized Bureaucracy, the rules that are transmitted throughout the country are, in principle, 'pre-established.'   This ignores the inherent variety of local situations and offers a standardized and simplified solution to the issues, affording the local government and people no opportunity to make changes.   The rules are held to be upright, and there is almost no room for the dialogue system to be introduced into the city planning decision-making process.

Third, in Centralized Bureaucracy, the flow of planning technology is one-way. There is almost no room of any 'alternative route,' whereby local ingenuity could be applied to local problems, and these solutions then relayed back to the nation as a whole in a form of information exchange.   It is this structure that is responsible for

the stagnation of technical advancement in the Japanese planning system, particularly as compared with the American case.(5) This paper expects much of the *machizukuri* system as an 'alternative route,' as well as of the challenge from the local government.

EXPANDING-CITY IMAGE

Concept of 'Expanding-City Image'

The urban image towards which all efforts are directed as the goal of city planning, is a crucially important element in forming the character of a planning system. Modern Western planning been developed as a social technology to control relentlessly expanding cities that occurred as the result of the concentration of population and industry into urban areas. There is a strong belief that we can and should control city growth and so it is important to discuss what kind of urban images we are going to plan towards.

In Japan, however, the power of urban expansion was much stronger than that of planning for its control, thus resulting in a situation that may be described as 'strong urbanization' against 'weak planning.' When the planning means are weak, the planning ends may not be positively formulated. This is in sharp contrast to the historical reality in most of Western countries, where city planning has controlled urban development in accordance with the planned urban image to a considerable degree.

Japan's city planning has considered the existence of ever expanding cities as a given, and has worked to devise appropriate countermeasures to them. In other words, city planning has accepted expanding cities as a given condition and has developed planning technology on that premise. In this way the 'Expanding-City Image' has become the base of the Japanese planning system.

Planning for/by 'Expanding-City Image'

Two points below will illustrate the character of Japan's planning that is carried out for, and is based upon, Expanding-City Image.

First, there is the decision making logic of plan-making. This starts from a forecast of the 'increase' in the future population. Then, calculations convert this into the numerical space required (housing units, floor areas, land areas, etc.), and the required spatial arrangements considered, and the various projects and regulations required to bring this to fruition set up. Thus, the 'increase' of populations, industries and urban areas is factored in unconditionally, and fails to become the subject of planning control. Further, various visions, proposals and plans have often been developed in the interests of growth itself. In particular during the period of rapid economic growth in the 1960s and 1970s, this style of planning was widely accepted as a powerful tool for socio-economic development.

Second, there is 'development profit' (profit generated by urban development).(6) Modern city planning has attempted to resolve the issue of urban expansion by developing 'public recoupment of development profit' as a basic strategy.(7) In the case of Japan, however, the strong influence of landowner sentiment has resulted in a very strong leaning towards the 'private recoupment of development profit.' In suburban development, the 'corporate recoupment of development profit' has often been the case, which enabled the corporate developer to provide private railways

at the same time of suburban development, thus creating suburbs that are basically dependent upon mass transportation, not upon automobiles.

Additionally, the 'public-private recoupment of development profit' has been another traditional planning technique. The Land Readjustment Program counts the development profit related to land, and the Urban Redevelopment Program counts land and buildings together. Both techniques work in the social situation where Expanding-City Image is a reality. In other words, they will not work in the situation where population is decreasing and cities are not expanding, which is the case in the contemporary Japan.

CONSTRUCTION ORIENTATION

Concept of 'Construction Orientation'

As we have observed, Japan's city planning began with the Urban Improvement Program, which was basically a construction technique of infrastructure provision in already built-up areas. Subsequently, the planning system has developed a variety of such techniques as Land Readjustment, Urban Redevelopment and New Town Programs. In reviewing this series of developments, we notice that 'projects' (*jigyo*) have carried much more weight than 'regulations' (*kisei*) or 'plans' (*keikaku*), and that at times they have exercised considerable autonomy beyond the control of regulations and plans.(8) Whereas infrastructure projects ought originally to have been 'means,' they have become the 'ends' of almost all city planning. It is this kind of overwhelming superiority of construction projects that we term 'Construction Orientation.'

The motive power behind Construction Orientation is state subsidy. Even in the cash-strapped pre-war days, there was no shortage of examples of where land use controls were provided at the request of the Home Ministry, for the purposes of project promotion. The local government often accepted city planning in order to receive subsidies for urban infrastructure 'construction' projects, not land use 'regulations,' resulting in the situation that may be well described as 'strong projects' against 'weak regulations.' In fact, the concept that community space as a whole should be the subject of the master 'plan' was virtually absent until recently.

Problems of 'Construction Orientation'

If Construction Orientation is examined in the context of the Plan-Do-See cycle,(9) it is clear that the Do-phase alone is bloated, where Plan- and See-phases are compacted. There are two problems here.

First, the Plan-phase does exist, but it is merely the preparatory work for Do-phase and, often, the work of justification for it. Under these circumstances, there can be no concept of master planning that says 'the Plan-phase is the core function of city planning.' Also, once the Plan for a construction project is decided, it becomes part of the vested interests of Do-phase, so that changes in order to respond to changing circumstances are not tolerated. In fact, many streets all over Japan were planned but are left unbuilt for many years.

Second, Construction Orientation rushes single-mindedly towards current and future construction projects but shows little interests in the See-phase (review, amend, appeal, etc.) of finished construction projects. This means that there is hardly any technical mechanism of learning from the past experience. We know

that city planning is a discipline that always tries to rationalize present day actions with reference to some future point in time, and so it has a clear concept with regard to 'time.' In contrast, Construction Orientation holds that 'the future is a vested interest for the purposes of present construction, and current changes in circumstances are to be ignored and nothing is to be learned from past experience.' This way of thinking has a substantially different 'time view' from the authentic city planning. 'Strong projects' gives the impression of strongly warping the city planning's space-time.

'Weak Land Use Controls'

As was discussed before, the other side of 'strong projects' is 'weak regulations.' The root reason for it, is that landowners who had political powers perceived land use controls as restrictions on their property rights and greatly opposed them. As a result, city planning tended generally to work for 'development' rather than 'conservation.' When the economy is strong, there are calls for 'deregulation for the purposes of land supply,' and in times of economic depression, the calls are for 'deregulation for the purposes of economic vitalization.' Thus, in times of both economic boom and bust, 'weak regulations' are demanded.

These 'weak regulations' are supported by the uniquely Japanese condition of the city planning and building codes. Since the days of the Old Act system, the Zoning system provided for by the City Planning Act has basically surrendered the handling of buildings to the building code. Thus, 'regulations for group of buildings' (*shudan kitei*), which are principally policy matters, and 'regulations for single buildings' (*tantai kitei*), which are technological matters are both non-separately prescribed in the Building Standard Act.(10)

As a result, firstly the contents of the 'regulations' are more 'building regulations' rather than 'land-use regulations.' This means that the regulation of such land as open space, parking or cemetery which has no buildings on it, is impossible. Secondly, the 'building regulations' aim to 'prevent the construction of poor quality buildings' in order to preserve minimum standards, and tend to block the potential of the citizenry, who want to create a physical environment above the bare minimum standard. Thirdly, the regulations are standardized nationwide and so any flexible and detailed control that matches the richly varied land use conditions of different areas cannot be realized. All these imply that effective land use controls would require the decentralization of the system itself.

This coupling of 'weak regulations' and 'strong projects' is the very Japanese phenomenon of 'infrastructure construction in already built-up areas.' Since the Urban Improvement Program, urban areas have been able to expand in a haphazard fashion, unrestricted by effective land use controls, resulting in disorderly urban areas often with insufficient infrastructure. After the city is built this way and after the government secures sufficient funds, planning efforts start with construction of streets and other infrastructures in the name of 'City Planning Projects.' In other words, 'infrastructure construction in already built-up areas' can be understood as complementing 'weak regulation' in the past with 'strong projects' at present.

'SINGLE-TIER SYSTEM'

Concept of 'Single-Tier System'

Various planning techniques of modern city planning were created by different people in different places in Western Europe and North America in the late 19th century. In the early 20th century, however, they were organized into a legal and technological system of modern planning. Its basic structure is that firstly the plan (often called Master Plan) is set up, which serves then as the norm for regulations (most notably Zoning) and projects (including Land Readjustment, Urban Redevelopment, New Town Programs). Both of regulations and projects are often called implementation tools. So, individual planning decisions must go through the examination at the two tiers of the master plan and implementation tools. This is called the 'Two-Tier System.'

In comparison, the Japanese planning system is quite different. In the Urban Improvement Program, projects of streets and parks were decided individually, with no reference to the master plan; in the Old Act system, projects of Land Readjustment and regulations of Zoning were decided same way. All these mean that the Japanese system has basically taken a 'Single-Tier' approach.

The Old Act system established the 'City Planning Area' and the corresponding 'City Planning Map,' which showed all planned projects and regulations. This map, however, only displayed the 'results' of individual planning decisions but did not constitute a norm (master plan) that would be the 'cause' leading to the individual decisions from an overall standpoint. Until only recently, there was no systemization of the master plan.

The Municipal Master Plan(11) implemented in 1992 is not the subject of City Planning Decision; the City Planning Area Master Plan(12) implemented in 2000 cannot, in fact, be considered as a leading standard for the deciding of individual projects and regulations. There have been many self-proclaimed 'Master Plans' but most of them are simply proposals of specific visions, and, in extreme cases, are nothing more than 'pie in the sky.'

How can city planning be conducted without a master plan? In the simplest terms, it can only have been that no inconvenience was perceived even without a master plan. In fact, it was probably the case that it was more convenient not to have a master plan. Undoubtedly, the special character of the Japanese city planning system must be at the heart of it. This point will be referred to in more detail later under 'Non-Professionalism.'

Problems of 'Single-Tier System'

Single-Tier System has two meanings. Firstly it has 'no master plan'; secondly it has 'implementation tools only.' 'No master plan' leads us naturally to a serious question of how we can rationally make individual planning decisions within the overall planning framework. The more serious problem, however, is the absence of the social mechanism where people participate, debate and decide the future vision of their own community space. This is a fatal problem when people want to participate in the planning process. As such participation is not required, there was little incentive for the local government to have the idea that one of the most important public services is the planning and management (i.e. thinking, building, protecting and remaking) of its community space as a whole.

The planning system with 'implementation tools only' means that various actors try to effect partial and fragmented 'improvement' to community spaces, often ending up with 'deterioration.' When more financial resources were available, many central-government ministries poured huge amount of subsidies directly to the local-government sections for developing community spaces in an uncoordinated way, each according to their own administrative aims. Thus, individual construction projects fell from above into the laps of local government authorities, which is closely related to Construction Orientation, discussed earlier. In other words, the structure is such that individual construction projects aim to deliver partial optimal solutions, all the while ignoring overall benefit. This is entirely the opposite idea to authentic city planning and is the basic problem of Single-Tier System.

NON-PROFESSIONALISM

Concept of 'Non-Professionalism'

So far, we have discussed 5 elements that create the problems of the Japanese planning system. But what is the key concept that will relate all these elements into the entire structure of problems? My answer is, the absence of planning profession as a coherent and independent technical group of people, or, in another word, planning with 'Non-Professionalism.' This is quite contrary to Western countries, where city planning has been technically supported by a planning profession. There, it would be impossible to imagine a planning system without a planning profession. Now, let us consider the historical perspectives in more detail.

The first time professional matters were involved was at the birth of the Old Act of 1919. It was architects like Yasushi Kataoka, who were first involved in 'city planning,' which term came from Western countries and whose concept was not clear to any Japanese. Then civil engineers like Enzo Ohta got involved during the period of the Capital Reconstruction Program after the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923. Each of these approached the as-yet-unknown field of 'city planning' each from their own disciplines of architecture and civil engineering. There are no signs of any serious discussion of a professional nature of city planning, completely distinct from either architecture or civil engineering.

In pre-war Japan, the work of city planning was almost completely left to career elite bureaucrats in the fields of architecture, civil engineering and administrative affairs. They belonged to the Home Ministry and worked at the central and prefectural City Planning Committees as the bases for their activities. Those from civil engineering developed expertise in Land Readjustment and Street Construction Programs, while those from architecture backgrounds focused most of their energies on the development of Building Regulations but did not have successful technical deployment into land use controls. These Home Ministry bureaucrats possessed a fixed paradigm and technical level through '*Toshi Kenkyukai* (City Study Group)' and its journal '*Toshi Koron*,' and formed a loose group with a certain flavor of professionalism.

In the post-war era, however, this group disappeared with the dissolution of the Home Ministry. Then, planning technology was left up to a few central government, and many prefectural government bureaucrats, most of whom had received no specialist training. As a result, the professional flavor of the pre-war

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days disappeared completely and Centralized Bureaucracy with the logic of 'intra-departmental rivalry' took firm root.

Consequently, when viewed from outside, the field of city planning may appear to be a cohesive professional field, but closer inspection will reveal that it is divided into rival disciplines such as civil engineering and architecture, with each discipline having its own unique paradigm. There is a real lack of any professional logic of its own that covers city planning as a whole. In this sense, Japan is unique among the nations of the world in that it conducts city planning of Non-Professionalism.

Answering Questions

With the above premise of Non-Professionalism, we can now answer the important questions of the character of the Japanese planning system. Following, two points are discussed.

First, how and why is city planning by Non-Professionalism possible? As we have seen already in the context of Centralized Bureaucracy, the processes of identifying and solving issues in city planning are all handled by central government bureaucrats, and pre-establish rules are transmitted throughout the country. All that local governments have to do is simply to follow these procedures and standards. So this system is both convenient and efficient for local governments that lack planning expertise. As far as they properly carry out procedures, such as coordination with upper-level government departments, then city planning administration will move ahead smoothly. In other words, the 'technical work' of city planning is changed into 'administrative work,' and it is this mechanism that enables Japan's planning system work upon Non-Professionalism.

Second, how and why is city planning possible without a master plan? As is generally known, the function of a master plan is to provide the overall future image of the 'good city.' As for the way we deal technically with the 'good city,' there are two different standpoints. The first is the standpoint of 'reductionism,' which holds that 'the whole can be reduced to the sum of its parts.' This theory aims to standardize the 'good parts' of the city in advance into objective figures, and to achieve the 'good city' from the sum of these parts. The second standpoint is 'holism,' which holds that the 'whole cannot be reduced to the sum of its parts.' Here, 'good parts' are not judged according to pre-established standards. Instead, they are judged by politicians or professionals only after consideration of the whole.

Thus, it is clear that the idea of the master plan is based upon the holistic approach and that its proper management is essential to planning profession. In contrast, it is evident that Japan's city planning is in the reductionism camp. This approach agrees with the system of Centralized Bureaucracy in which each party seeks to secure 'parts' as their own spheres of authority. In that scenario, city planning without a master plan is held to be desirable.

CONCLUSIONS

In the discussion above, we have analyzed the structure of the problems of the Japanese planning system through 6 keywords. Now we have to identify the direction of its reform, which is toward the opposite direction of these keywords. Namely:

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(1) From Centralized Style to 'Decentralized Style': This means that planning powers should be decentralized basically to the local government.

(2) From Bureaucrat Initiative to 'Citizen Initiative': This means that more chances that people can participate in the planning process should be provided at the local government level.

(3) From Expanding-City Image to 'Shrinking-City Image': This means that we should accept the nation's population decrease as the basis of the planning system.

(4) From Construction Orientation to 'Management Orientation': This means that the planning system should locate land use controls as the center of its implementation tools.

(5) From One-Tier System to 'Two-Tier System': This means that the planning system should be reformed with the master plan as its center.

(6) From Non-Professionalism to 'Professionalism': This means that a genuine profession dedicated to city planning as a distinct field of discipline should be established, which may necessitate, however, the basic character of city planning may be drastically changed as well.

Notes

(1) This paper is mostly based upon Watanabe (1993) and Watanabe and Arita (2010: 182-201).

(2) For the Democratic Party's Manifesto 2009, see http://www.dpj.or.jp/english/manifesto/manifesto2009.pdf

(3) The Land Readjustment Program *(tochi kukaku seiri jigyo)* is a project technique which the Japanese planning system developed after the 1902 Lex Addickes of Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany.

(4) The 1992 subdivision of Zoning classifications into 12 types is an example of this.

(5) In the United States, where city planning is carried out by the municipality as the basic local government, various technical developments are tried by professionals and people at the local level. These experiences, as being quite tangible, are then relayed back to other communities in a form of technical exchange, thus planning techniques are advanced.

(6) The British term of 'betterment.'

(7) The Garden City theory is a good example.

(8) As for the theoretical relationship among 'projects,' 'regulations' and 'plans,' see below '5-1. Concept of 'Single-Tier System."

(9) The 'Plan-Do-See cycle' model is adopted here as the theoretical framework to describe the process of plan-making, implementation and review-evaluation respectively.

(10) *Shudan kitei* includes regulations of the use, location, size and shape of buildings in the City Planning Area, whereas *tantai kitei* those for the safety, hygiene and fire prevention in and outside the City Planning Area.

(11) City Planning Act, Article 18-2

(12) City Planning Act, Article 6-2

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THE URBAN TRANSFORMATION IN THE HISTORICAL CENTERS OF RIO DE JANEIRO AND SALVADOR FROM THE 1970s TO TODAY

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ABSTRACT

Rio de Janeiro and Salvador have similar urban histories. The urban form is much seemed. Today, the two of them are port, tourist, commercial and services cities where nature and urbanity are mixed in a singular way. Different policies, in late 1970s and early 1980s, had made that the traditional centers of both cities had antagonistic destinations. While one, Rio, always has preferred to preserve its center as main administrative and business space, beyond historical, the other one, Salvador, has decided for decentralization and introduce a new centrality.

Today, we find two different traditional centers. While in Rio, more and more the population of the city has pride of its center and also frequents by night and in weekends, occupying public and private spaces, in Salvador, the local population moves away from the center, leaving it for the tourists who enchant themselves with the thematic park that reproduces the 18th century city.

Keywords: historical center; urban revitalization; urban patrimony.

INTRODUCTION

The interest about the urban traditional centers of the great cities starts to make part of the paradigm of the sustainable development in the late 20th century. The revitalization of central areas through the reuse of the existent inheritance depends on the viability of the system. In Brazil, cities as Salvador and Rio of Janeiro invest more intensely in the revitalization of its traditional centers from the 1990s, after several attempts and projects in previous years.

Salvador and Rio de Janeiro have very close urban histories. Both are founded with the principles of colonial rule - the first was founded in 1549 and the second in 1565. Both are important fortified ports, inside bays, with good visibility so much for the protection of what it could comes from the sea and of what it could comes from the hinterland. Both are fortresses of protection of Portuguese territory. Both have been capitals of Brazil for, approximately, 200 years each – Salvador from 1549 to 1763 and the Rio from 1763 to 1960.

Both are cities that have the slaves' labor as important component of its society and its economy and in the 19th century both begin an industrialization process that is not developed. Both are port cities that have in the commerce of importing and exporting the central base of the economy. Today, both are capitals of their states, tourist cities, and both maintain local administrative and political functions, with an important port and commercial, business and services activities.

Both urban forms are very similar with a growth vector that follows the line of the bay – towards the Atlantic Ocean follows the most privileged class and towards the

inner bay, the less privileged class – in function of the topography barrier. When this is mastered, the interior is added up to the urban space of the city. The two cities mix nature and urbanity in a singular way. The principal functions are developed in their centers from its foundation up to middles of the 20th century. Both centers grow by incorporating new spaces – through bay landfills, hills dismounting or by vertical growth-, and continue as privileged areas inside the city. However, in the 1970s, the centers of both cities took opposite directions because of different policy decisions. The traditional centers become public spaces with different functions. While one, Rio, prefers to preserve its center as the main business and administrative area, besides cultural and historical, the other one, Salvador, decides to bet for decentralization and introduces a new centrality, separating the business and administrative center, from the historical center.

TWO TRADITIONAL CENTERS

SALVADOR

The city of Salvador, founded in 1549 to be the capital of the General Government of Brazil, is established in a central point of the Brazilian coast. The core of Salvador is divided in two parts: one – that is on the geological fault and where is the administrative, political, religious and residential center – is called of *Cidade Alta* (High City), and another part, which is in the sea level, with the port and its warehouses, is known as *Cidade Baixa* (Low City). Salvador was the main port of the Portuguese America, being a compulsory scale to the Pacific routes and was the most important city of the south hemisphere over two centuries while it was the capital of Brazil.

Figure 1: Salvador Traditional Center

Up to the 19th century, the *Cidade Alta* and the *Cidade Baixa* maintain the same functional division of the previous centuries, and the limits of the city are the same since the 18th century. Salvador remains as capital of the colony up to 1763, when the Capital is transferred to the Rio de Janeiro. Nevertheless, Salvador is still the capital of an important province, Bahia, and does not lose its importance.

In the *Cidade Baixa*, the constructions rise up without ordering, the streets are

narrow and without straight alignment. There are the Arsenal of the Navy, the Customs, the Commercial Association and the consulates, beside warehouses, wharfs, markets, including the slave trade, wholesale and retail commerce, offices of importers and exporters, small industries and maritime agencies.

Up to the first decades of the 20th century, Bahia's economy was focused on the agriculture around the *Todos os Santos* Bay, turned to the internal consumption and for export. The development of port and business activities stimulates the enlargement of the area with successive landfills, between 1860 and 1915. The last landfill to enlarge the port, in the early 20th century, offers a new space for the downtown area that is called *Comércio* (Commerce).

The wholesale and port activities and the establishment of a financial center reached its height in the 1970s and 1980s. The *Comércio* remains as the main business and financial center of Salvador until late 1990s, when the principal banks and enterprises offices move in a area of the city.

The *Sé* (Cathedral) District, in the *Cidade Alta*, remains the administrative, political and religious center from its foundation up to the 1980s. Around the Square Palace, now called Tomé de Souza, are the Municipal Palace, the City Hall and the Palace of the Governors.

Just as in the *Cidade Baixa*, out of the central nucleus of the *Sé* District, the constructions are raised without straight alignment. That produces an asymmetry and converts the area in a labyrinth of streets, alleys and lanes. The lotss of the private buildings are narrow and long. Such constructions have shy fronts with doors and windows open up to the street, equally narrows, which makes difficult the sunlight penetration. There are no free spaces in the central area, which is densely built.

In the 1910s, Salvador and its center suffer urban reforms that begin the transformation of the traditional center. Streets are widened and avenues are created directing more and more the city towards the Atlantic Ocean by one side and to the Peninsula of Itapagipe by the other, bordering the bay. New eclectic buildings replace old colonial houses. A new image is introduced both in *Cidade Alta* and in *Cidade Baixa*.

From the 1970s, both *Cidade Alta* and *Cidade Baixa* suffer the consequences of the formation of new commercial and business areas in the city. The development of the Iguatemi area, where were built the Iguatemi shopping center, the new bus station and the new access to the city in mid-1970s, besides the opening of the valley avenues, principally the Parallel avenue and the construction of the new Bahia Administrative Center make easy the dislocation in northern direction, moving to the new area the administrative, commercial and business functions, contributing to the process of decadence of the Traditional Center. All the new investments and the public policies are directed to the new center.

Figure 2: Salvador and its centers and valley avenues

RIO DE JANEIRO

After the expulsion of the French and the Indians Tamoios from the Guanabara bay, the Portuguese establish an urban nucleus between the Hill Cara de Cão and Sugarloaf Mountain, in 1565, strategic point, with good visibility of the Guanabara Bay. When the Portuguese dominate totally the territory, this small nucleus changes (1567) for the *Sāot Januário* Hill, later called *Morro do Castelo* (Castle Hill), where they install the House of Chamber and Chain (Casa de Câmara e Cadeia), the warehouses of the Real Treasury, the Jesuits church and the Cathedral. Also the inhabitants build theirs houses. The population is protected well by ramparts with artilleries. Rio is an important naval base during the colonial period, an important port for sugar cane exportation that comes from the fields around the bay. The city is surrounded by a swampy plain between the coastal range and the sea. Gradually, the city spreads out for the slopes of the hill towards the plain. Finally, the city is located in the quadrilateral formed by four hills: *Castelo* Hill, *Santo Antônio* Hill, *São Bento* Hill and *Conceição* Hill.

The streets layout up on the *Castelo* hill is irregular, like the medieval Portuguese cities, but below, in the plain, regularity reflects the ideas of the Renascence. The streets are drawn parallel and perpendicular to the sea, producing an irregular grid that consist by lots with a narrow front and long in the longitudinal dimension.

In mid 18th century, the struggles between Portuguese and Spaniards intensify in the River Plate (Rio da Prata). The Rio de Janeiro is closer to the Colony of Sacrament, the Brazilian base in the River Plate, besides being the nearest port of recently discovered "general mine", in the center of the Country. These two reasons take the Prime Minister of Portugal, the Marquis of Pombal, to transfer the capital from Salvador to the Rio, in 1763.

In 1808, with the installation of the Portuguese Court in Brazil – fleeing the Napoleonic wars –, the Rio de Janeiro becomes the seat of the new political structure of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and Algarve. The streets are still narrow, but the constructions improve, they are stronger and better built. The

quadrilateral core still maintains, in its structure and in its scenery, the colonial character. This area is called Old City (*Cidade Velha*). However, the urban area is extended towards the north, for the New City (*Cidade Nova*), by continuation of the Old City, up to São Cristóvão and, to the south, up to Botafogo.

Figure 3: Rio de Janeiro City

After 1850, it takes place a new and important period of expansion, not only for the annexation of new areas but also for the suburbs growth and the development of new means of transport. Coffee farmers build comfortable houses far from the Center, in Botafogo or in São Cristóvão. The city expands beyond its initial boundaries. The urban area keeps on changing its image during the whole 19th century.

The wealthy classes leave the Center, abandoning their old houses, which, after being subdivided, change into collective dwellings. It is inns or tenements, which start to rent small rooms without ventilation, bathroom or kitchen. In the Center, as well as in the new districts, a new type of popular residence appears for the low income classes, the slum tenements located in the back of ancient constructions or in lands acquired for this purpose.

The dismounting of hills in the Center contributes, with its lands, to make easy the landfills that open spaces for new divisions in lots and new streets. The process of conquest of new urban areas does not follow a preconceived plan. Meanwhile, the Center maintains its ancient functions and the colonial image. The firsts years of the Republic, proclaimed in 1889, great socioeconomic, political and cultural changes are produced in the city. The socioeconomic changes are associated with the transition of social relations type master/slave to the kind of bourgeois/capitalist. The doors open to the capital and to the civilized society and the capital of the young Republic intend to be a tropical extension of the European civilization and economy.

In the Rodrigues Alves presidency (1902-1906), with the project of modernizing Brazil and its capital, his priorities are: improvement and modernization of the port, which facilitates the trade of coffee and immigration of manpower needed for economic development. After the reforms, the new downtown Rio has no longer houses residences, except in its peripheral areas, but retains all the functions of the capital of the country in the Center.

Figure 4: Central Avenue, now Rio Branco Avenue, in 1910

In the 1920s the downtown, once more, suffers drastic surgeries like, for example, the conclusion of the dismounting of the *Castelo* Hill, which opens new spaces: an esplanade and the use of the land for the landfill of part of the bay.

Figure 5: Rio Center after dismounting of the Castelo Hill

In the 1940s, the Avenue President Vargas has been opened destroying some tracks more of the colonial city and reflects a new urban model and deals with high buildings, much more linked to the Chicago School than to Paris. Since then, the eclectic constructions start to be replaced by the representations of the Modern Movement and the International Style, converting the Rio Branco Avenue in a ravine of tall towers of glass and steel.

In 1960, the Federal Capital moves to Brasilia, transferring to the new city the federal politic and administrative functions. Such a fact brings changes in the Center, but Rio does not lose its principal functions like center of a new state: the State of Guanabara. Already in the 1970s, Rio enlarges its function of capital with the fusion of the states of Guanabara and of Rio de Janeiro. The 1980s economic crisis and the stabilization of the urban population growth lead to stagnation in the real estate industry in the Center.

Figure 6: view of Presidente Vargas Avenue

TWO POLICIES

From the 1980s, programs are prepared to rehabilitation, requalification and restoration of the architectural urban space inheritance of both centers, which are abandoned by different reasons.

Salvador municipal government bet by decentralization and a requalification of its historic center, financed by the State, funded by transforming its streets in a tourist destination, removing the residents of their buildings, once the traditional uses of the downtown had already been established elsewhere in the city. On the other side, Rio municipal government prepared a project called "Cultural Corridor", which, through interventions of cultural character, together with owners and investors, decided to attract cultural centers, theaters, cinemas, high-quality commerce and restaurants to the central area, but keeping the traditional uses.

SALVADOR

With the discovery of oil in the late 1940s and the development of Camaçari Petrochemical Complex, in the 1970s, Salvador assumes the character of metropolis, which encourages the emergence of new commercial center. In the last three decades the growth of Salvador urban area occurs in the form of islands around new consumptions centers or new housing subdivisions and private condos.

This dynamic growth and the migration of functions defaced the city. The new centers emerge under the argument of "obsolescence" of the traditional central urban structure, using the slogan "Bahia building a future without destroying its past." These new centers were built in eccentric and totally deserted areas, in the 1970s. The principals new elements are: a new bus station; a shopping mall; a new access to the city - North Access; a new avenue, Parallel Avenue, which connecting the city to the airport; a new Bahia Administrative Center; and the network of valley avenues projected in 1940s but only implemented in the 1960s and 1970s.

Figure 7: a new bus station; a shopping mall; a new access to the city - North Access – in the Iguatemi area in 1975

Figure 8: the Tancredo Neves Avenue in the Iguatemi area today

With the migration of the principal administrative, commercial and services activities and the easiness of access to the new area, the traditional center decays and becomes a residential area of very low income class, with delinquency and prostitution, and a commercial area to the lower classes – *Sete de Setembro* Avenue and *Baixa dos Sapateiros*.

In *Cidade Alta*, seeking to recover the traditional center, shopping malls are built specialized for a public transportation user. To facilitate the movement in the central areas, bus terminals are built on the urban center periphery - Lapa, Aquidabã and Barroquinha, and France in the *Cidade Baixa*.

In *Cidade Baixa*, the region named *Comércio*, until the 1980s, is very buzzing area with the banks main offices, the enterprise of importing and exporting trade, and also has some of the principal monuments-landmarks of the architectural, religious and economic development. The expansion in northern and northeast direction, to the region of Iguatemi and the avenues Tancredo Neves, Antonio Carlos Magalhães and Parallel, leads to the decadence this area of the city. The result is an accented depreciation of the urban value of the whole area, an image of degradation and deterioration of the urban landscape with most of the buildings abandoned and derelict.

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Figure 9: view of the Comércio today

Since 1965, there is a policy to the recuperation of old houses and blocks of the *Cidade Alta*, deteriorated over the centuries. The revitalization of Pelourinho, in the 1970s, had welfare character and was concentrated in the sanitation of the site and in the re-education of the poor population that had turned into slum tenements the ancient dwellings before residence of the high class, the landowners and the clergy. In the 1980s there has been an accented increase of degradation. The interventions were specific actions that seek to save one or another building without a project that considers the entire urban fabric of the 17th and 18th centuries.

Salvador has its historical center declared as heritage by IPHAN (the Brazilian historical heritage institute) in 1984 and recognized by UNESCO as World Heritage Site in 1985. After that, in the 1990s, the Bahia government plans to leverage the tourism, like economical alternative.

From this framework, the construction of a model of development through tourism was taking a hegemonic character in Salvador society, based on the idea of natural vocation for tourism. Thus, since 1991, the state government has encouraged the tourism industry so clear, and this economic activity as one of the pillars for the development of the state. (Mendes, 2006, p. 199)

In 1992, the area is inserted in a great project of restructuring called "Project of Reform and Recuperation of the Salvador Historical Center" with several expropriations under the indeterminate legal concept of "public utility". Basically, the undesirable residents are discarded by theirs social position and, instead, imposes a culture of Bahia folkloric. (Puglies, s/d)

The restoration program, divided in seven stages, involves measures that depart from an urban zoning of entire neighborhoods where recovery involves almost a thousand buildings, the basic sanitation, water supply, sewer, light, telephone, internet cables, etc. and the registration of inhabitants, about four thousand people.

The policy of the Bahia government is, until today, consistently cited as a Brazilian example of a well finished of historical heritage preservation that provoked elitism, exclusion of the poorest and reproduction of social inequalities. (Cantarino, 2005)

Since 1993, the Bahia government justified the massive intervention by the demand in attracting more tourists to the city. The State intervenes in the public space to

turn it in a shopping center and leisure area, imposing a new dynamic for use by the expulsion of the residential population and providing subsidies for the new cultural and tourist commercial functions. (Muñoz, 1999)

The new functions favor the concession of credits for shops of craftwork, boutiques, jewelry stores, restaurants, coffees, bars, among others. The State and the Local authority install banks, elementary and vocational schools as well as public institutions (IPAC, Museum of the City, and others), post office, center of health and of police officer. The traffic inside the Pelourinho limits itself after a parking of seven floors was ended for cars, accessible by the *Baixa dos Sapateiros*, giving access to the pedestrian in the Laranjeiras street. Slide-ways and the Lacerda elevator are recovered to make easy the connection between *Cidade Alta* e *Cidade Baixa*.

Figure 10: aerial view of Pelourinho

The interventions use patrimonial arrangements to answer the appeal of real state and tourism. In both cases, the maintenance of the original populations was not an interventions premise. With the compensation of 99 % of tenants in the area and making their change carried out in trucks of the Municipal government to peripheral areas, the recuperation of the Historic Center represented a doubtful operation of the social and cultural point of view.

RIO DE JANEIRO

The center of Rio has always been characterized by the business, commercial, political, administrative, banking and recreation functions. It has not a tourist character, since other areas have bigger appeal and the principal hotels are installed along the bay, in the border of the Atlantic Ocean and in the South District. Since the 19th century, the Center is no longer a residential area, except the region of Lapa and other peripheral central regions. From the 1990s, this structure begins to change with the project of revitalization of the Historic District and also the stimulation of housing construction in some areas pre-defined.

After the change of the capital to Brasilia, the Center loses vitality, which is accented by the population displacement for new areas, like the *Barra da Tijuca*, increasingly remote from the central core. Despite being an active center during the day, until the 1990s, on evenings and weekends the local population does not consider its streets attractive, becoming, in this period, an empty space.

Much are the attempts of the Municipal government to revive the Center, but

without great results up to the 1980s, when the Cultural Corridor, a project of the Municipality of Rio de Janeiro, has been developed by the Rio Art Foundation, the Municipal Department of Culture The Cultural Corridor has the objective to preserve and revitalize the Center, trying to rescue part of its ancient splendor. In an integrated way, the Project joins the preservation of the historical and cultural inheritance, the recuperation and the renovation of architectural and urban spaces together with the social and economic revitalization.

Figure 11: The Corredor Cultural areas

The project that begins to be discussed in 1979 has the local community participation as a basic point of the policy adopted. The results of the introduction of the proposal were depending on the owners' awareness of the importance of preserving the architectural and participate to make the steps of preparing and monitoring the project.

Begun through actions of the municipal government, from its origin the Cultural Corridor Project has been supported by owners, merchants and community. Considering four basic aspects in the urban re-qualification like history, memory, historical architectural models with economic and constructive viability, besides favoring the occupation of open areas with new constructions that were promoting a reinterpretation of historic buildings with a contemporary language. (Alcantara; Barbosa; Rheingantz, 2006)

The Cultural Corridor implementation was divided in two objectives: environmental preservation and urban renewal. In the first one, modifications are not admitted in facades and roofs, only internal, maintaining the architectural, artistic and decorative characteristics; constructions must obey to parameters set in the project. In the second one, the new buildings must obey integrated project in the architectural spaces and to maintain prearranged heights. For this, a manual was prepared "How to recover, rebuild or build your property in the Cultural Corridor" in 1985.

The Center revitalization makes part of the Strategic Planning aiming to revitalize stagnant urban areas, environmentally and economically. Thus, it aims to create new infrastructures to the development of the market and cultural production

through the renovation of the existent equipments. In the approach not if only prioritize the aesthetic and physical aspects, but also those of social and economic. Since 1988, around 15 historic buildings were restored, recycled and administered by federal, state and municipal organisms to be Cultural Centers and museums. The project takes new impulse after 1993, when there is introduced an extensive program of public spaces recuperation through private-public partnership.

The Project SAGAS that includes three ancient districts of the old port area – Saúde, Gamboa and Santo Cristo – is a residents' associations initiative - "Group of Communitarian and Institutional work of Protection and Increase in value of the Cultural Inheritance of the districts of the Saúde, Gamboa and Santo Cristo" - which, unlike the Cultural Corridor, focuses on setting parameters for the occupation through the elaboration of legislation to land use.

Lapa, that throughout the 20th century was the object of several urban projects, suffers a process of disarticulation on its urban layout and inheritance destruction. With the Cultural Corridor project, several houses pass by restoration and some district areas are rebuilt. In front of the Arches (the ancient aqueduct), it opens a great square that allows the presentation of shows and popular concentrations. This space, together with the *Circo Voador* (Flying Circus) and the *Fundição Progresso* (Fusing Progress), gives rise to the return of music for the Lapa streets, unleashing a movement of return of the traditional samba and the incentive to open bars and restaurants.

Figure 12: night view of Lapa and the Arches

In the housing policy, the slum tenements, which are the first type of rental housing in Rio, are now a revitalization object through the Municipal Department of Housing since 1996, mainly in the port area. After acquiring the property, the Municipal government modernizes them with more ventilation and lighting, new electrical and plumbing installations and, then, the residents start to pay a rent. The pilot Project reformed houses of Mosqueira alley, Sacadura Cabral street and Cunha Barbosa street.

In the *Cidade Nova*, the installation of the Teleport reinforces the Center vocation of a principal business area. Its implementation began in 1993 and includes

construction of 29 "intelligent buildings" interconnected by fiber optic in a territorial extension of 250 thousand m2 and a building area of 450 thousand m2. The principal objective is to turn Rio in an international tertiary center.

TWO RESULTS

Preserve and restore property does not mean "crystallize" them as pieces or museums. The point is precisely the way to make use of the property preserved without removing their meaning. By protecting the cultural assets of a society, aims to actually preserve its cultural identity, therefore, to see changed or lose significant architectural and landscape events, the individual also loses the referential systems that allow their identification with the city you live in especially when old tissues are devastated and new urbane objects start to compose the scenery, with massive alterations in the scale of the place. (Lima, 2005)

Faced with two different policies in relation to both historic centers, the results can be considered antagonistic. In Rio, more and more the population of the city, the natives of Rio, know his Center and frequent it again to attend not only in business hours, but by night and on weekends, occupying public and private spaces, and to the Center the lively life of the rest of the city. In Salvador, the population of the city more and more turns away from the Center, no longer recognizes themselves in the central streets and leaves it to the tourists who enjoy the streets as a thematic park that reproduces the 18th century town.

SALVADOR

After the initial investment to revitalize the area of Pelourinho, in 1993, which had clear intention to turn the area in essentially tourist, we start to notice an empty site by the resident population of the city, either by the difficulty of access by bus or by car either by the displacement of the population that previously lived in the restored mansions. The preference for a tourist place, recreational, which does not stimulate the presence of the people of Salvador was reflected today when only the lower classes and the intellectuals still frequent the streets of Pelourinho, especially on party days and shows, but not in their day-to-day.

In 1993, after the aesthetically intervention adopted in Pelourinho disfigures the old faces and symbols of the Center - small shopkeepers, shoemakers, prostitutes, musicians, groups of capoeira - to give it a new image: businessmen, owners of jewelry stores, concert halls, franchise boutiques, restaurants, etc. But these new uses and franchises, for a higher class, gradually withdraw and there does not remain of that first post-reforms occupation. The population to which it is these enterprises does not adopt the reformed streets of Pelourinho as their shopping and leisure space, preferring one of many malls built in other areas of the city.

Figure 13: a typical shop of Pelourinho

On the other side, the Pelourinho facades, painted with a colorful excessive, deteriorate rapidly, because of the bad quality of the rehabilitation works. The expelled residents also do not take a long time to re-circulate through the streets as beggars, hawkers, selling drugs to tourists, prostituting themselves.

After more than fifteen years of the start of implementation, divided in several stages, the Project of Reform and Recuperation of the Historical Center maintains its original outlines, aiming to attract great undertakings turned to the tourism industry in detriment of the preservation of the inhabitants.

Figure 14: a Praça da Sé view

Today there are art galleries, craftwork shops, various NGOs, museums and bars with plastic tables in the street. The resident population of Salvador when attend to the streets of Pelourinho feel tourists in their own land.

In the *Comércio* case, which already secured to Salvador the title of the most important commercial hub of the South Atlantic, streets were buzzing until the mid-1970s, with stores of household appliances, fashion, decoration, tobacconists and banks. Mixing buildings from different periods, the site allows a trip through the city's architectural past and also shows how mistaken public policies can prematurely terminate a cycle of prosperity. Today the area is no longer the financial center of the capital of the state that was moved toward the Tancredo Neves Avenue and Iguatemi region where new neighborhoods converge. In its orthogonal pattern, we find a succession of buildings destroyed by time, buildings that portray an era, most of which are half-filled or completely empty.

RIO DE JANEIRO

And the Center is revitalized. Making a parody of the famous expression that was used in the beginning of the 20th century, to illustrate the construction of the Central Avenue, the downtown is currently experiencing a new phase. There are several real estate projects such as hotels, new residential and commercial constructions, new bars and restaurants that illustrate the great economical and residential potential that the Center of the city, known by its bohemian, were now rescued. (Revitalization of the Street …)

The development of the Cultural Corridor project is divided in four periods: deployment, consolidation, organization (incorporation of the public spaces and incremental improvements) and integration. The area of the Cultural Corridor presents a user population of around two million passers-by belonging to different social groups that circulate in the avenues, streets, squares and alleys where buildings from different periods shelter different commercial and institutional uses. The public municipal power invested heavily in the works of urban requalification, re-urbanizing streets and squares and investing in the lighting of the most significant buildings. (Lima, 2005)

Figure 15: requalificated street – rua dos Mercadores

Quality commerce, principally in the area of the fashion and bookstores, has been installed again in the Center streets attracting not only the population that works in the area but also those who frequent several cultural and leisure institutions. Theaters and cinemas are reformed, modernized and reopened, besides new cinemas that open principally in many cultural centers. Many bars and restaurants, which before closed its doors at the end of the day, now maintain its activities at night, with happy hours and music, tables in the sidewalk and lots of fun. The movement in every weekend gradually grows in function of the opening of the art's galleries, cultural centers, bars, restaurants, cinemas and theaters. The Municipal government has contributed to the movement in the Center in every weekend through projects like "Weekend in the Center" that, in the first weekend of the month, develops a set of events and attractions, many of them free.

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Figure 16: requalificated street – rua da Carioca

In case of the Lapa area, a residential area, which suffered a strong process of decadence, has its daily life transformed when the public interest come back to the area, mainly linked with music projects. In 2000 the Lapa Cultural District was created and begins the process of restoring old buildings.

Figure 17: old buildings restored in Lapa

The novelty of the Lapa revitalization is that it happened by private initiative. Concert halls, bars and cultural activities attract young persons of varied ages and socioeconomic profiles different. The samba divides space with the hip-hop, the reggae, the rock roll and the electronic music. (Durães, 2007)

Another consequence of the Lapa revitalization is the turn of real estate residential developments to the middle class, attracting including businesses from other states. With that, it begins a process of requalification of the commerce, an improvement of services and public spaces

TODAY'S CHALLENGES

At present, the challenges to the two cities are concentrated in the revitalization of the port areas and encouraging the creation of downtown residences. Projects and proposals have been presented, so much for the area of the *Comércio* in Salvador, as for the port zone of Rio.

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THE PRESERVATION OF THE HISTORICAL URBAN NUCLEI THAT SUPPORTED THE RURAL ACTIVITY RELATED TO THE GOLDEN EXTRACTION CYCLES IN THE 1700's , IN THE INTERIOR OF THE STATE OF MINAS GERAIS, BRAZIL

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ABSTRACT

The present paper discusses, in the Brazilian historical heritage's context, resulting from the Portuguese colonization, the condition of the historical urban nuclei that supported the rural activity, related to the golden extraction cycles in the 1700's , in the interior of the State of Minas Gerais, in Brazilian southeast.

These historical urban nuclei, due to their isolation regarding the main Brazilian colonial urban centres and, principally, regarding the Portuguese cities, were adapted in special way as for the interpretation of the predominant architectural and urban design styles of their time. These spaces were constituted basically by religious buildings, squares and civil buildings of residential, commercials and services uses, being government buildings practically non existent.

Due to being relatively recent (original of the century XVIII), these spaces, related to the local elites, had few generations in the possession and in their use. The daily relation of his current users leads to devaluation of the architectural and urban complex as built heritage. This devaluation is accented because the preservation strategies of the architectural and historical towns in the state of Minas Gerais are principally focused in the major colonial cities: Ouro Preto, Diamantina, Tiradentes and São João Del Rei. In this way currently few original urban localities from rural base from the colonial period in the State of Minas Gerais are preserved. As only a few examples of these places are preserved it's possible to consider that the cities of Entre Rios de Minas and Santana dos Montes keep their original features preserved.

At present, the region suffers an economical transformation with the installation of great industries. This economical transformation produces a pressure that, added to the positivist idea of progress has been leading the owners to intend to get rid of the real estate in a substitution by buildings with multiple floors and limited architecture quality, whose massive insertion would destruct the historical heritage. The local governments have the same positivist attitude and have been adopting, in the strategies of urban planning and management, parameters that can cause damages to the preservation of the historical towns. The destruction of this heritage and the homogenization of these spaces would turn these places into anonymous and equal peripheries, similar to many others by the planet.

In this context the work discusses current strategies and tools of urban planning and management that seek to reconcile the preservation of the colonial architecture and historical towns with the local economical development.

DELIMITATION OF THE RESEARCH OBJECT

The research object of this work was delimited from the interest of the technical staff involved in discussing the current condition of specific urban areas developed during the 18th century in the interior of the Captaincy of Minas Geraes, Brazil, but did not have the mining as a major economic activity.

This discussion was developed through the research on the process of formation of these spaces in the 18th century, during their process of occupation in the 19th century, its valuation as heritage building and the strategies for the preservation of these cities in the actuality.

To perform this discussion a portion of territory was selected, located in the center of the current state of Minas Gerais, Brazil, which corresponded, in the 18th century, the northeastern portion of the County of Rio das Mortes and the southwest frontier of the County of Villa Rica.

Situated in the study area, the towns of Entre Rios de Minas and Santana dos Montes were highlighted for more discussions, particularly on the policies currently adopted in relation to built heritage.

The choice of these two cities is due to the fact that both have been formed in the 18th century, had not been constituted as major mining areas and their current state of preservation provides an appropriate analysis on built heritage. Additionally, the two cities have different policies about the preservation of heritage buildings, which allows a comparison between the two situations and a discussion about the strategies and tools adopted.

The development of this research occurred through a survey of current topographic maps, historical maps, field surveys, reports, images, interviews with residents, socio-spatial analysis and studies on the current urban legislation.

CONTEXT

In the 18th century, the current state of Minas Gerais, Brazil, was known as Captaincy of Minas Geraes, then Portuguese colony. This period is marked by the intense presence of the auriferous extraction, which produced an economical vigorous cycle, principally in his first five decades.

This process, of international reach, was the main organizing strength of the territory, and it was not restricted to the areas of mining, including also the flows, principally those of support to the mining and those linked to the export from the extracted gold. This condition is shown up by the fact that the four Counties that formed the Captaincy of Minas Geraes in the century XVIII (Villa Rica, Rio das Mortes, Sabará and Serro Frio) were linked to important centres of mining. In this context it is possible to infer the basic categories for the analysis of this colonial space in the century XVIII:

• localities and small towns of support to the mining;

• Routes;

• localities of support to the merchants passage (then known as "tropeiros");

• localities of support to the rural activity;

• Farmhouses.

With the exception of the urban nuclei of the daily support of the mining, in which that activity was predominating regarding the rest, in other categories exemplified in this work were common the cases of concomitance of functions. The farmhouses, referential centres of the agricultural production, belonged, generally, to families with financial favorable conditions, with significant extensions of land (typical of the agrarian structure of the time). These farmhouses were also marked by the presence of a fixed population in their spaces. Several of these farmhouses included in their construction small chapels and spaces reserved to the "tropeiros" to spend the night, characteristics of other categories here analysed.

As for the places of support to the passage of merchants and of support to the rural activity, these two situations here analized several times were concomitants. Several places of support to the rural activity were located along ways that were constituted in spaces crossed by merchants. Due to being part of this net of ways, in these urban nuclei basic informations were disseminated for the society of the time.

It is possible to be said that the location of these places regarding the net of ways was a defining element as for his predominant characteristic and his possible area of influence. If located in the most internalized and isolated extremities, more circumscribed were his characteristics as spaces of support to primary activities, being of support to the mining or to the farming activities. When the urban nuclei were located in points of confluence of routes, bigger it would be his aptitude for the commerce and the services, typical activities of support to the routes of merchants passage.

As well as in other situations in which there are activities of exchange, the routes fulfilled, in the context approached in the present work, an important role in the configuration of the space.

The occupation of the analized Counties, however, did not happen extensively and homogeneously along the territory. The rough landform and the presence of extensive portions of forests forced the occupation concentrated in determined points, mostly near by the mining regions, while extensive portions of territory remained depopulated along the century XVIII. There was, still, in the Minas Geraes, numerous native groups that were living, in his majority, remote of the mining. Beside that, the activity of mining used in wide scale labour slave from the African continent.

The major urban centres of the time related to the auriferous mining, has received more attention in the development of different studies, while many nuclei mentioned in this work were an object of less attention. Such a fact is due, in wide scale, the fact of the golden extraction occurred in the period have been important ballast of international economic processes, which detached the major urban centres of mining of the Minas Geraes in a context of first order in the western economy. In these centres was established a vigorous artistic and cultural production linked to this wealth. Besides, the isolation of these nuclei of mining guaranteed a relative autonomy and independence for their cultural and artistic

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production, facts that, in some form, justifies the privileged focus of this production related with the mining.

In the recent years the researches turned to the routes and ways that linked the principal mining centres to the kingdom and to the ports has been gaining more attention, in the academic environment and in the search for the development of the tourist activity and, as result, the nucleuses of support to the rural activity and to the merchants passage gained more attention too.

In this tendency the present work makes a contribution to the study of these urban nuclei of support to the rural activity.

This investigation began when the authors of this work acted in the approach of the territorial organization of the cities of Entre Rios de Minas, Jeceaba and São Brás do Suaçuí, situated in the Minas Gerais State, Brazil. On that occasion was identified a net of urban localities that presents aspects and reminiscences of space configurations related to a possible economical activity of the century XVIII. Throughout the development of the mentioned works it was possible to identify that great part of these urban centres were originated in the 18th century. In this way the present study gives continuity to this research, and turns his focus to the urban nuclei situated in the northeast portion of then County of the Rio das Mortes and in the south-west frontier of the County of Villa Rica (located in the central portion of the current State of Minas Gerais, Brazil). It is emphasized that the compatibility of the historical and current maps does not happen in the precise form, due principally to the considerable difference of methods and technologies available in the different periods. The imprecisions happen, principally, with regard to the name of the places and his location in the map.

As for the cartographical representation, in the current map was identified a net of local roads that links urban localities like Bituri, Faleiros, Montijo, Coelhos, Madruga da Pedra, Pedra Branca, Pedra Negra, Cayuaba, Serra do Camapuã, Camapuã de Cima, São José das Mercês to the cities of São Brás do Suaçuí and Entre Rios de Minas. In the same context, in the current map were emphasized the cities of Lagoa Dourada and Santana dos Montes.

In the historical map selected like base for comparison (dated of 1778 and prepared by José Joaquim da Rocha, one of the major cartographers of the time), were identified, in the studied area, the localities of Brumado, Olhos D'água, Suaçuí, Lagoa Dourada, Morro do Xapeo, among others.

On basis of the available historical data, was noticed that the locality of Brumado corresponds to the current city of Entre Rios de Minas, the locality of Suassuí corresponds to the current city of São Brás do Suaçuí, Morro do Xapeo corresponds to the current city of Santana dos Montes and Lagoa Dourada corresponds to the city of the same name. Regarding the locality of Olhos D'água, the chapel is today preserved, being object of recent restoration, with characteristics of the construction related to the century XVIII. The urban locality, however, was not developed and in the current days it consists, practically, in the religious construction.

With regard to the others urban localities identified in the current map, the registers referring to the beginning of these occupations are very vague. In many of these nucleuses, the religious and civil buildings were altered along the time and lost his original characteristics. However, it can be noticed that the morphology of

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the occupation and of the net of local roads repeats standards similar to the adopted ones in the 18th century.

On the other side, there are other towns identified in the current map and in the map of the 18th century that belong to the same process, but will not be analysed in the present work.

The urban nuclei of support to the rural activity and to the passage of merchants, due to their isolation regarding the principal brazilian urban centres and, principally, regarding the Portuguese metropolis, were adapted in special way as for the interpretation of the architectural and urban predominant styles of their time.

Such places were constituted basically by religious constructions, squares and civil constructions of use residential, commercial and services. Government buildings were practically non-existent in this initial occupation.

These places had the major function of weekend's dwelling of the rural owners, who used to go to their houses in the urban nuclei due to religious cults, which were the base of the local sociability. The major utility of these localities was the installation of an urban identity, still incipient, from a rural base's economy. The urban space produced is endowed of landscape beauty, as a result of a good relation with the natural site. The constructions are simple, with few ornamentation, but are endowed of rhythm and harmony.

These spaces had a predominantly functional characteristic punctuated by elements that gave a symbolic level to the places, particularly the religious constructions. The squares, more what elements of landscape composition, were also functional spaces, destined for the permanence of animals of load and mounts, commerce and services of street, among others.

These occupations were integrating chains of command and religious, political and social control, because, in spite of the absence of administrative constructions, the religious constructions were fulfilling this role, due the fact that, in the period, State and Church were linked.

THE OCCUPATION OF THE STUDY AREA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

During the 19th century, with the decline of the gold cycle, the region in study is strengthened by the growth of the farming activity. While the County of Villa Rica, predominantly linked to processes of golden extraction in the 18th century, suffer a population fall, the County of the Rio das Mortes increases its population from 82.781 for 213.617 inhabitants, in a comparison done from the population counts of 1776 and 1821 (Graça Filho, 2002). The principal products of the time were the bovine, equine, pigs, cotton, corn, bean and rice, which were not constituted in activities of monoculture. In the region of study is also emphasized the activity focused to the creation of horses, being an important event the development of the breed Campolina in the end of the 19th century (Entre Rios de Minas, 2008).

The inauguration of the Oeste de Minas Railroad in 1881 gives impulse to the farming activities of the region, due to the significant increase of the flow of the local products, principally towards the City of Rio de Janeiro, as well as the import of manufactured products (Graça Filho, 2002). The railroad stations induced

changes in the space configuration and in the hierarchy of the places, because the proximity of the places of shipment and arrival of loads and storage of products influenced the territory with a bigger degree of urbanization.

Due to the reported facts is identified, in the period, an increase in the complexity of some of these urban spaces.

The current city of Entre Rios de Minas, called, in the end of the 19th century, Brumado do Suassuí, raisin to the condition of small town (1875) and, soon, to the condition of city (1880), starting to have government buildings like the "Casa de Câmara e Cadeia" (typical historical building of Brazil) and even a small theater, which would have existed near the Municipal Palace. Some decades before, in 1832, the Chapel of "Nossa Senhora das Brotas" passes to the condition of parish, what gives to it regional importance. On basis of the data available in the municipal archives (Entre Rios de Minas, 2008), there is a description of "Brumado do Suassuí" in 1886 in which the principal constructions of the time are quoted. Besides the Church and its square, the place had six quite regular streets, two hundred and eight houses, among which ten were "sobrados" (typical constructions of the time with two floors).

Among the investigated data there was identified also a description of the space of Sta. Anna do Morro do Chapéu, current Santana dos Montes. Such a description dated from 1897 (Arquivo Público Mineiro, 1897) registers that the locality, in 1836, had, besides the Chapel and its square, 24 residences. There are, in this document, reference to two houses of business of farm in the urban nucleus, linked to the commerce of products turned to the farming activities. In Sta. Anna do Morro do Chapéu there was a considerable number of farms linked to the urban locality by a net of routes. These elements, associated to the landform, to the hydrography, to the natural vegetation and to the cultures, composed a local singular scenery.

THE RECOGNITION OF THE COLONIAL ARCHITECTURE OF MINAS GERAIS AS HISTORICAL, ARTISTIC AND CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE EARLY DECADES OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

In the first half of the century XX, principally since the decade of 20, there is in Brazil, by part of important intellectual groups involved in the Brazilian Modernist Movement, an action in the sense to exalt values and peculiarities of the country.

This action was inspired in other cultural movements, principally in Europe, that sought, beside the modernization, increase the value of specific cultural aspects of the national cultures.

Cities identified with the culture and the heritage were object of this action. Members of the Modernist group did several travels of recognition to places known as part of the national identity. An important travel of this group to the interior of Minas occured in 1924, named "Travel of the discovery of Brazil".

The city of Ouro Preto, with his cultural and artistic collection, was an object of this process, being recognized like national Monument through the Decree n° 22.928/33 (Brasil, 1933). Such a decree determines that "no alteration or modification resulting in the municipal organism of the town of Ouro Preto and, quite so, in all his relations of administrative dependence with the Government of the State of Minas Gerais" (Brasil, 1933). This decree is the first Brazilian standard

that sought to safeguard the heritage and is turned into the base of the subsequent thematic policies.

The Service of the National Historical and Artistic Heritage (SPHAN) was created in 1937 and its regulations was given through the Act nº 25 (Brazil, 1937).

Such a regulation organized the protection to the historical national heritage and defined the "Tombamento" [1] like prescriptive instrument of preservation of the heritage and its standards of application.

The city of São João Del Rey was the first one to be registered in the Book of Fine Arts, in March 04, 1938 and had more than 700 objects listed, between them, the churches of the Rosário and of the Pilar. Next, the first inscriptions were done in the Book of Fine Arts relative to Ouro Preto and Tiradentes. The relative inscription to the Ouro Preto happens through the Process nº 70-T, Inscription nº 39, Book of Fine Art, fl. 8, of April, 20, 1938.

The built heritage of Santana dos Montes and Entre Rios de Minas were not identified, at this time, like reference to the nationality, fact considered at this first moment. The built heritage of these cities consisted in urban complexes related to the quotidian activities. Although they had a harmonious space preserved almost in its totality, did not possess the characteristics of monument considered at the time.

This way, without more important economical activities, the two urban centres here focused passed by a period of relative tranquillity as regards to their space and their central areas, whose modifications were isolated and happened due to local processes of replacement of real state stocks.

The decade of 1950 and the two next ones were marked in Brazil by the positivism, in which the idea of progress to any cost was predominant. This progress, influenced by the ideas of the modernism, that had much acceptance in the country, was not only implicated in the introduction the "new", but also in the elimination of the "old", related to the delay, to the lack of organization and to the spontaneous. In the name of this modernization, spaces and urban traditional constructions were eliminated. Entre Rios de Minas and Santana dos Montes, by some form, remained out of this process, though without any regulation in this sense, because there wasn't effective local demand for this type of modification of his spaces.

THE RECOGNITION OF THE BUILT HERITAGE NON MONUMENTAL AND THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION OF 1988

The decade of 1980 and, principally, the Brazilian Constituent process of 1988 brought a new light about the vision of heritage, which reflects not only the new postures of important groups of the national society as also current thoughts in academic approaches.

Another basic concept introduced in the Federal Constitution of 1988 (Brazil, 1988) is the Diffuse Right, which refers to the indivisible rights, of which holders are indeterminate persons. Like example can be quoted the right of the consumer, to the public peace, to the public security, to the environment, among others.

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[1] "Tombamento" is the brazilian process of declaring the object as a historical heritage.

This way, though architectural examples connected with the quotidian have been relevant in the local and national politics of protection to the heritage, the explicitness of the matter in the Constitution and the constitutional recognition of the diffuse rights created new favorable condition to the protection of the built heritage not monumental.

Since the second half of the decade of 80, and principally since the decade of 90 of the century XX, the sensibility of the population regarding the preservation of the heritage have been increased, contemplating the categories connected with the quotidian and with the singularities of the local groups.

These new interests regarding the heritage have shocked with the actions come from the real state market, which acts in an optics that still does not include the preservation of the heritage.

THE CITIES OF ENTRE RIOS DE MINAS E SANTANA DOS MONTES AND THEIR CURRENT POLICIES IN THE BUILT HERITAGE PRESERVATION

Despite the good condition of preservation of heritage buildings in Santana dos Montes and Entre Rios de Minas, current policy issues relating to the subject are different for each case, resulting, therefore, on different degrees on maintaining the integrity of those complex.

In Santana dos Montes, the intention is to link the built heritage, the traditional farming practices, the waterfalls and the remarkable landscape with the development and consolidation of tourism.

Figure 1: Church of the Historical Center of Santana dos Montes (2004)

To implement this proposal the local government is promoting a work of identification and protection of the heritage associated with actions to its disclosure.

As for legal protection, the local council developed normative apparatuses that made possible the "tombamento" of buildings and collections. In this respect, it is

emphasized the delineation of urban complex as a category of preservation. Such demarcation starts from criteria such as sight lines, neighborhoods and environments, and broach the urban center as a complex whole and not only as solitaries buildings. It is considered this approach appropriate since the buildings, if individually analyzed, might not be consider relevant, which would threaten the integrity of the whole complex.

Besides the historic urban nucleus, the protection extends also to the farmhouses from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which, associated to the network of paths, allows the perception of this spatial structure and its historical process of occupation.

Figure 2: Historical farmhouse preserved in Santana dos Montes (2004)

With regard to inspection, the fact that the relatively small size of the whole complex makes such inspection happens in an immediate way. Added to that the existence of a social pact in favor of the heritage that enhances its preservation.

The consolidation of these intentions and public policy depends on the success of touristic activity, there being a need to increase the relationship with the local tourism and networks abroad. Considering that the phenomenon is very recent (begun in the last ten years), it is not possible to make a extensive analyses of the scenery. It is considered, however, that the strategy adopted in Santana dos Montes is appropriate and is distinguished from other situations in the region.

In Entre Rios de Minas strategies regarding heritage preservation are not very emphatic. Despite the presence of significant local groups seeking to preserve, in town exists other groups, some of them associated to local elites, who prefers the replacement of historic buildings for new ones. This conflict hampers the establishment of a extensive pact on the preservation of heritage buildings.

Urban studies prepared in 2008 showed that it would be possible to preserve the urban center of historic interest associated with the establishment of normative guidelines that would encourage, in a compensatory manner, the construction of buildings with multiple floors in areas surrounding the historic nucleus, in order to relieve pressure into them. These neighboring areas have been identified to not

compromise the perception of the historical complex, while would be estabilished more appropriate areas for location of business activities and services associated with residential use.

Figure 3: View of the City of Entre Rios de Minas at 1960 (Entre Rios de Minas, 2008)

Figure 4: View of the City of Entre Rios de Minas at 2008, illustrating the conflict between the new buildings and the historical buildings

Due to the interests of social actors in favor of the construction of buildings with multiple floors in the historical complex, the proposal made in 2008 was not implemented. In this context prevailed the idea that the center should be the

place of the representation of modern space, of the current standards of construction and of the concentration of activities.

Even though the intention to replace buildings prevailed , pro-conservation actors have achieved to ensure the protection of individual buildings, which ensures a level of preservation and perception of historical whole complex. Most of these preservationists actions in Entre Rios de Minas is articulated by the Municipal Council of Cultural Development - CODEC which was created within the management system established as from the recognition of diffuse rights in the Constitution of 1988.

The inspection, essential element of government's historical and cultural heritage, is precarious in the city.

As for prediction about the preservation of the historic city complex, it is considered that this is a turning point in which the main forces are present, both, of the preservation point of view such as of the replacement of the built heritage. However, it is important to stand out that the prospect of replacing buildings is enphasized by the speculation around the installation of large industrial equipment in the region of Entre Rios de Minas.

In a situation of comparison of the two cities, Santana dos Montes is not under pressure of these regional economic processes, which benefit the maintenance of the integrity of the whole complex.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The situation of Santana dos Montes and Entre Rios de Minas would have remained similar, if were not the economical context that in the last five years differentiated these two cities.

Santana dos Montes is inserted today in a process of local character, though it seeks to enlarge his participation in the regional context, driven principally by the state programs of development of the tourism. In Santana dos Montes there is, also, concerning preservation of the urban and architectural heritage of the city, a relation of protection by the population. At the moment this attitude is coherently with the public local politics.

It is not possible to say that Entre Rios de Minas is completely away of a similar attitude, though today his urban and architectural heritage suffers a potentially expressive level of threats owing to the property speculation caused by the installation and development of industrial activities in the region.

The possibility of the town be benefited or even deteriorated in function of the new economical activities caused great impact in the population, and brought the ambiguity of his posture regarding this heritage, being possible to realize that the values of the positivism and of the development to any cost are still permanent.

The existence of these collections and buildings, which start to be valued in a new cultural context, rouses different feelings in the population. On a side there is the recognition of an identity, and, on other, the idea that the progress would lead to the sacrifice of the memory on behalf of a space with more current characteristics.

The sky-scraper is the standard searched in the imaginary concerning this type of relation with the space. Though this vision permeates good part of the relation of

the communities with his urban space, there are many situations of exception that are more and more presents.

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AUTHORITARIANISM, URBAN PLANNING AND PUBLIC SPHERE SALVADOR, BAHIA (BRAZIL) 1935-1945

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This paper aims to explore the history of urbanism in Brazil in two directions: first, it seeks to articulate local history with national history, believing that the vertical analyses among the scales of government have much to contribute to an understanding of concrete design and urban development plans. Secondly, the text is interested in a particular time in Brazilian history, where, over a period of government marked by authoritarianism, institutional initiatives and legal instruments of urban management are engendered, seeking to place limits on the private action and appropriation of the city, entering the urban question in the sphere of constitution of public interest.

BRIEF INTRODUCTION

The Nova República (1930-1937) and the Estado Novo (1937-1945) are, particularly, important stages of transformation and modernization of government and Brazilian society. Strongly marked by the mobilization and the rise of new social classes to power, the two periods mean also an attempt, albeit unsuccessful, to break with oligarchic structures that dominated the political and economic power in the country[1]. It was placed on the national agenda the building of a modern nation, rooted in new forms of social and economic organization, new political forms and new legal order. Between 1930 and 1937, this search resulted in seven years of tumultuous improvisation, including a regionalist riot in Sao Paulo, a new constitution, a Popular Front movement, a fascist movement and an attempted communist coup. (SKIDMORE, 1969)

In 1937, a coup d'État establishes a civilian dictatorship in the country and has significantly reduced the bustling social and politics ambience of the period, with strict control over the possibilities of assembly, expression and organization, reinforcing the conservative and authoritarian traits[2] that characterized most of the entire process.

Basically, we can summarize this political outcome as marked by a belief that political parties and free elections were harmful to the intended construction of the modern nation and that authoritarianism, presented as a true democracy, was the way to this project. The argument that justified this reasoning was that technical competence could effectively replace parliamentary powers[3], once grounded in the objectivity and in the scientific analysis, devoid of class or political

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[1] To explore the issues of the period, see, among others, BRESCIANI (2005), FAUSTO (2001), SKIDMORE (1969) and WEFFORT (1980).
[2] For a distinction between authoritarian and totalitarian view FAUSTO (2001).
[3] FAUSTO (2001)

ideologies disputes[4], and therefore more effective in terms of social transformation. Derived from positivism that characterized part of the Brazilian elites and of the armed force, this project, against which many other social sectors went, was still associated with a radical critique of liberalism, with populism and with an exacerbated nationalism. Furthermore, it led to a reconceptualization of the role of private property[5] and to an understanding of the state as a centering and stable sphere, able to drive the transformation process.

Even in a situation where the agricultural sector was the main source of the country's economy and where somehow anti-urban ideas[6] were disseminated among the framers of the intended changes, the set of political and institutional changes of the period shows the centrality given to the cities in the sought transformation process of the Brazilian nation. The development model pursued associated industrial production and urban conditions of social reproduction. Was then needed a set of policies with their respective legal apparatus to implement the construction of a national capitalist regulated sector, in close harmony with the action of the interventionist state. The relations between state and city, therefore, are constituents of the new moment of accumulation, as well demonstrated Oliveira (1982) – particularly in terms of national regulation of the various instances of the capital-labor relationship – and, in consequence, this dimension will take a particular place in the definition of policies for the country.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF URBAN PLANNING AS STATE POLICY: A WORKING HYPOTHESIS

It is in this context and with these features that will be made an outlining of a national policy for cities, although in a piecemeal fashion and with enormous vulnerabilities to its operationalization. The initiative can be traced to the establishment, at the federal level, of institutional structures dedicated to addressing the urban issue in terms of control, proposal and management. There are then built forms of action ranging from the sphere of housing[7] - one of the most acute and pressing in the period – to the creation of new cities, to a strategy of control and development for the Brazilian health resorts and thermal spas, to the structuring of agencies for production of data and information, or even to the definition of a heritage preservation policy for buildings and historic towns.

The necessity of facing the urban issues in their complexity and totality is also defined at this moment, pointing to the need for the construction of urban planning as state policy and meeting various initiatives and experiences that happened at the local level, especially in Brazilian state capitals. The framework of structural urban transformations that characterized that moment, with large migration and investments flows, particularly in the field of real estate and infrastructure, gives rise to the need of coping with urban issues in a more

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[4] BRESCIANI (2005)

[5] Where Duguit' solidarism fulfilled important role, understanding property not as a right but as a social function.

[6] Perhaps one could say more specifically anti-metropolitan ideas. Issue addressed in RIBEIRO, CARDOSO (1996)

[7] For a specific analysis of the outlines of housing policy in the period, see BONDUKI (1994).

articulate way, surpassing cities sectoral and beautification plans, toward more comprehensive plans, which seek to equate the city in its entirety (LEME, 1999).

Two types of initiatives can be identified in this respect[8]: that relating to the administration of cities and its institutional framework and that relating to the legal framework upon which it relies.

The creation, at the federal level, of institutional structures dedicated to face, in terms of proposition and management, issues related to cities, generalize the urban issue – and the urban planning – as state policy. Already in the constitution of 1934, a strong effort was made in order to instrumentalize the public administration and to improve its efficiency, including, for instance, the possibility of creating agencies of technical assistance to local governments[9].

In 1938, this possibility is generalized by States, with the creation of the so-called Department of Municipalities, a body of technical assistance to local governments, particularly in terms of management structures and of deployment of network infrastructure, but also to the monitoring of municipal finances, one of the key points of the Estado Novo administration. Moreover, these departments also fulfilled an important role in the balance of political power of the States, having become themselves a space of articulation between the appointed intervenor in each State and municipal mayors[10].

The action of these departments, simultaneously, generates a set of experiments developed nationally, giving them unit, even in the diversity. That is why it seems to be appropriate to work with the hypothesis, for the mentioned period, of enlarging the idea of planning as a function of government[11] towards the idea of urban planning and urbanism as state policy, this arising from the process of election of cities as a strategic object of economic, social and political intervention by the national state.

Already in terms of legal framework, a series of new regulations had been adopted since the beginning of this reform period. In terms of its relationship with the urban question, and more particularly with the urban planning, four elements of the legal system seem particularly important in the period, although two of them have experienced a retraction or a redirection from the coup d'etat of 1937 on.

Firstly, the 1934 Constitution guarantees the right of property, but sets a limit to it, doctrinally understood that the property is not a right but a social function[12]. It

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[8] Other dimensions should also be investigated, like the lines of financing or a more accurate analysis of the contents of the urban policy then implemented.

[9] Article 13, § 3 – It is allowed to the Federal State to create a body of technical assistance to municipal administration and oversight of its finances." Constitution of the United States of Brazil, 07/16/1934

[10] The relationship between the intervenors and the States administrative departments is exploited in CODATO (1997).

[11] As proposed by Feldman (2005) in her rigorous study on planning and zoning in the municipality of São Paulo (1947-1972).

[12] CHAGAS (2002)

is well established that this right will not be exercised against the social or collective interest, as determined by law[13].

Secondly, this same Constitution recognizes to the State the right to tax the urban property due to the appreciation arising from public works[14], indicating the search for a more equitable equation between public investment and capture of land and real estate appreciation. Third, in 1941, the power of municipalities for the execution of expropriation in the public interest was recognized[15], achieving this legal web that instrumentalizes, in successive movements of back-and-forth, the possibilities for action on cities. Finally, the Tenancy Act, in 1942, focuses directly on the housing issue, acute problem of big cities in the period.

Even if the Constitution of the Estado Novo, in 1937, has abandoned the first two legal figures above mentioned – the principle of submission of property rights to the limits of social or collective interest[16] and the right of municipalities to impose the betterment tax – these figures are tangled up in the daily action of several local governments and will be structuring for the debates and the propositions which follow on cities.

SALVADOR'S EXPERIENCE IN THE FIELD OF URBAN PLANNING (1935-1945)

The position of Bahia in the political and economic relations which dominate Brazil from 1930 until 1945 changed substantively. The centralization of power followed by the weakening of regional structures and the loss of political prestige of the State before the new dominant compositions lead main sectors of the Bahian elite to identify the Revolution of 1930 as a "Stepmother Revolution" to the interests of Bahia (MARIANI, 1958 apud AZEVEDO, 1975). With a strong political and administrative instability in the period – 09 governors or intervenors are in charge in a period of only 15 years – the establishment of a more assertive policy for the state and its cities will be given mainly by adherence to the development guidelines issued nationally.

So, faced with a crisis of development derived from the stagnation and decline of its economy – called the Bahian enigma – the state authorities, as well as the capital and the other municipalities governments, sought, through the modernization of its infrastructure and the cities themselves, to reinsert the state

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[13] Constitution of the United States of Brazil, 07/16/1934, Chapter II, Rights and Guarantees, Article 113, item 17

[14] "Proved the valuation of property arising from public works, the concerned administration may charge the beneficiaries through the betterment tax." Constitution of the United States of Brazil 07/16/1934, Article 124.

[15] Decree nº. 3.365/41

[16] "Art 122 - The Constitution guarantees to Brazilians and foreigners residing in the country the right to liberty, to security of person and to property, as follows: (...) 14 - the right of property, execept the expropriation for public necessity or utility, by prior compensation. Its contents and its boundaries will be defined in the laws which regulate its exercise ". Constitution of the United States from Brazil in 11/10/1937.

in the most dynamic circuits of the economy[17], which had moved to the Southeast region of Brazil, led by São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais.

In the first Republic (1889-1930), this goal meant adherence to national programs to upgrade port infrastructure and the deployment of network infrastructure (expansion of regional connections, water supply and electricity, outline of a sewage system), mainly concentrated in Salvador, capital of the state. Also in Salvador, one sought the expansion of the urban transport system, enhancing flows and centrality, by opening new avenues and creating new areas of urban sprawl. The activity of urbanism and urban planning at this time has happened in an essentially sectorial way in a moment where virtually all the urban services were operated privately.

But the 30s will bring an unquestionable need of more systematic and comprehensive planning of the state and of the cities of Bahia, as well as the interest of the government to do so. The persistence of economic weakness – the crisis of the period can be exemplified with the stagnation of the population of Salvador, capital of Bahia, between 1920 and 1940[18] – tenses continually public and political life in the state. But the changes at the national level impose somehow the necessity of re-articulation of forces, including the presence of new actors in the conduct of state politics. The intervenor and subsequently appointed governor in the period between 1931 and 1937, a young lieutenant, who had participated directly in the national movement that culminated in the rupture of 1930[19], brought to the scope of the state government institutional and political principles that would beacon the new Government – modernizing, authoritarianism, centralizing role of government and heightened confidence in the technical sphere as a rational alternative to the policy – principles that have been radicalized in the coup d'etat of 1937.

We thus can observe in Bahia, and in Salvador, the principles and guidelines issued by the central government becoming empirical, combined with effective procedures and conditions of Bahian society in the period. Let us then resume the two orders of federal initiatives as outlined above as a sketch of urban politics: that related to the administration of cities and their institutional framework and that related to the legal framework upon which they rely.

BUILDING INSTITUTIONAL AND TECHNICAL SPHERE

The reference to the creation of organs of local government with technical assistance, provided by the federal constitution of 1934, is simultaneous in Bahia. In line with this perspective - the emphasis in the technical sphere as a rational way to modernization -, in the same year, 1934, Paulo Peltier de Queiroz, an

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[17]Note, for example, for that period, the absolute precariousness of the electricity service in the State (Azevedo, 1975).

[18] In 20 years, the city's population grew only 2.5%, while São Paulo increased, over the same period, 219%.

[19] This is the Captain Juracy Magalhães, born at the State of Ceará, who came to power in Bahia with 26 years of age, as intervenor between 1931 and 1935 and as governor from 1935 to 1937, when he resigned, over disagreements with the coup d'etat. He was followed by three intervenors in the period between 1937 and 1945, of which the most stable were Landulfo Alves (1938-1942) and General Pinto Aleixo (1942-1945).

engineer and urban planner of Bahia, proposes a draft bill for the creation of a technical department that could provide technical and financial assistance to municipalities in the interior of the State[20]. The following year, this position becomes reaffirmed both by reference to the Technical Councils, of undeniable preponderance in the federal, state and municipal public administration, created by the Constitution, as well as for its more technical and therefore less partisan and factious[21].

In 1936, within the state of Bahia, both the Council of Municipal Affairs as the Technical Department of Municipal Administration were already fully formed and they will have an important role in the management of cities in Bahia in the period[22].

Institutional building and outlining prospects for urban development can be also found in the need for supervision and regulation of cities classified as health and hot springs resorts[23]. Following national guidelines, several municipalities in Bahia will have plans elaborated for their territories in this period: Itaparica, Cipó, Caldas do Jorro, Dias D'Avila are among them.

Cipo's case is exemplary: it is for this territory that, in 1934, the same year of the new Federal Constitution, the civil engineer and urban planner Oscar Caetano da Silva is in charge of outlining the Plan for Expansion and Improvement of the town, requested by the Board of Public Works of the Department of Roads and Public Works. Also in 1935, Oscar Caetano is appointed mayor of the newly Cipó's municipal administration with its health and hot spring resort, undertaking the implementation of the plan and the administrative activities of the municipality[24]. It was during his administration (1935 to 1937) that the urbanization of the central area of Cipó and the construction of the first public buildings were implemented, besides the project conception for other constructions. It should also be noted that the city administration in this period was characterized by an essentially technical profile, what can be noticed in the choice of mayors among officials of the Department of Transportation and Public Works of the State, in general civil engineers[25]. Itaparica, also a health and hot spring resort, will experience a similar situation, having its plan designed in 1937 and implemented thereafter.

Other cities, like Ilhéus, the economic center of cocoa agriculture, and Pirangy, which is nearby, both in southern Bahia, will know, in a similar way, also in 1935, the development of urban plans as well as public structures for their implementation and management[26], with strong technical character.

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[20] FERNANDES in LEME (1999)
[21] OLIVEIRA (1935)
[22] APEB (1936)
[23] That will be considered as national security territories from the constitution of 1934 on.
[24] The state of Bahia constitution of 1935, following the federal constitution and its ideology of national security, states that the mayor of cities classified as health and hot springs resorts shall be appointed by the governor of the state and not through free elections (Constitution of the State of Bahia, 1935, Article 40).
[25] SANTOS NETO, 2008
[26] Urban Plans for Ilhéus and Pirangy (current city of Itajuípe) were both developed by civil engineer and urban planner Paulo Peltier de Queiroz.

The close relationship among the three levels of government policies (federal, state and municipal) is very evident in those cases, revealing the authoritarian – for instance, mayors weren't elected – and deeply nationalistic ideals – among others, the definition of strategic sectors to the nation building[27] – that will be implemented through unrestricted adhesion to the technical sphere.

Salvador, for its condition as capital city, was also closely linked to this process of urban modernization, institutionally and legally speaking, but in a more complex way. In January 1935[28], bringing together about 50 representative sectors of the city, the Plan Commission of the City of Salvador is created, responsible for forwarding the process of structuring and elaborating the urban plan. Split into 15 sub-committees, these groups had as social and political horizon the three levels of government, the business classes, associations of positivist militants, service clubs and professional associations, particularly of engineers, lawyers and journalists. In October 1935 the Week of Urbanism takes place, with a series of conferences that aim to publicize the urban planning, to debate alternative for the development of Salvador and forward the institutional building needed for these tasks[29]. In this case, two solutions were identified: firstly, the establishment of a City Affairs Council, formed by the Councils of Urban Planning, of Legislation and of Finance, which would correspond to the idea of the city as business; and secondly, the need for creation of a Department of Urban Planning within the municipal administration itself, with the rational-technical – not political – background needed to conduct the orderly growth of the city[30].

Finally, in 1942, already in a situation where the prospects of maintaining civilian dictatorship in the country began to crumble, the EPUCS - office of Urban Development Plan of the City of Salvador starts to be implemented, until today remembered as an important twentieth century experiment in Salvador's urban planning, in terms of its comprehensiveness and in terms of city's theories, concepts and design. The proposal, that is developed until 1947, differs substantially from that prevailing in the Week of Urbanism in terms of urbanism concepts. To the technical management and propaganda of the Week, the EPUCS, although still quite confident in the technical sphere, also reveals a civic humanism

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[27] Very clear limits are set to the performance of foreign companies and private companies, which should operate under strict control of the national state. In the case of health and hot springs resorts, the federalization of the concession to operating them, established by the 1934 Constitution. Formerly exercised by the states, this new rule will be accompanied, on the one hand, by the federal support for its implementation: "The Union (…), regarding the interest of collectivity, will assist the states in the studies and equipping of the resorts. "(CF 1934, Article 119, ¶ 5). On the other hand, these areas will be defined, as well as the capitals, as national security areas, prohibiting the election of their mayors (CF 1934, Article 13, ¶ 1).

[28] The Act n° 4/35 creates the Commission of the City Plan (FERREIRA, 2000).

[29] The discussions took persistently as model some urban experiences and proposals implemented in several U.S. cities, a topic that, by itself, worth a separate article.

[30] As already mentioned, in 1936, at state level, were already in place the Municipal Affairs Council and the Technical Department of Municipal Administration. The Urban Planning Department is created in 1938 as part of the management structure of the Municipality of Salvador and has an active life until the end of this period.

and a closer consideration of urban society, more interested in its welfare[31]. In this sense, the engineer and urban planner Mario Leal Ferreira, also points to the opening of the office to various social segments that might be interested in debating the urban plan[32], as well as for the implementation of various models, enabling greater ease of understanding the propositions. The very process of preparing the urban plan provided as a step to be executed its presentation to the free criticism of the most reputable agencies, between us or even abroad and, subsequently, the preparation of the urban plan publishing for popularizing it[33]. In 1945, the results were made public through an exhibition of maps and models[34].

In terms of institutional building, the EPUCS was constituted as a private office of urban planning, that brought together a multidisciplinary team - engineers, architects, lawyers, historians, geographers, topographers, doctors and biologists. The company provided services to the Municipality of Salvador, solution to the effective hiring of the professional responsible for developing the plan, due to the rigorous federal legislation then in place. The work and part of the team's office became integrated at the municipal service in 1948, incorporating the activities and needs of the routine plan administration, leading to other developments in the following period.

LEGAL FRAMEWORK AND LIMITS ON PROPERTY RIGHTS

Issues relating to the limitation of property rights, as established by the federal constitution of 1934, will be also present in discussions about urbanism in Bahia.

Two themes centered debate. First, the increasing value of private properties caused by public investment was questioned. There is, the unearned increase in real estate value or in wealth of the owner[35].

Considering that there are scant resources for the municipal administrations to tackle the problems posed for the development of the city and that the recovery of appreciation brought by public investment is unevenly distributed in space, several of the speakers at the Week of Urbanism in 1935 strongly supported the possibility of the use of the tax of betterment - approved by the constitution of 1934 - in the properties valued by public investment. Ceasing to be unconstitutional such taxation, municipal governments can rely on new inflows of funds for its operations in the city.

Even with the drop of the tax of betterment by the Constitution of 1937, EPUCS (1942-1947) continues to defend it as a tool for development of the city: in case of plots development, the office defends the payment of the betterment tax when there is increase in land values due to improvements made by the municipality. Furthermore, the office advances in some concepts of managing the city, defending

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[31] Eugenics ideals, however, were also present in the proposal, reflecting the time it was conceived.
[32] Testimonial of Mr. Fábio Vieira, on 06/18/2007, when the class of engineering students visits the office of EPUCS in 1946.
[33] Mario Leal Ferreira's Letter to Mayor Helenauro Sampaio, on 01/10/1947, apud PREFEITURA DA CIDADE DO SALVADOR/OCEPLAN (1976).
[34] PREFEITURA DA CIDADE DO SALVADOR/OCEPLAN (1976)
[35] SARAIVA (1999)

the need to require the owner of the land to be plotted another type of compensation in favor of the municipality: the donation of land for streets and public necessities or utilities[36]. The coordinator of EPUCS acutely examines the relationship between landlords and the structuring of the city, vigorously defending the role of government as the entity that must define the destinations of the city and drive its development[37]:

In fact the urban land is worth by its relationships with the community, it has no stable value, but, as all utilities, it changes its value, in time and space, at a certain speed.

The speed is a function of three coordinates, each of which, in turn, with a pace of change, of its own: the coordinate of the physical and structural order, variable with technical progress; the coordinate of social order, varying with the nature of function to which it is reserved, therefore resulting of the administrative policy of the community; the coordinate of economic order, resulting from the pressure it receives from the progress of the rest of the community.

It's not possible to subsist between us the existing practice, whereby the development of cities is promoted by the land owners, which decide to divide them as and when is more appropriate to their interests, submitting their designs to a really quick control of City Hall. For the existing legislation only what is absurd can be condemned, without any consideration for the structural lines of neighbors units, to which such plot developments are thereby seeking to incorporate themselves.

Granted, only to reason, that such projects were perfects in themselves, the result would be a patchwork, anti-economical and anti-functional, characterless, with buildings subjected, therefore, to an aging process and consequent devaluation[38].

The second theme concerns the change of scale in the use of expropriation for public interest, a state action on private property, due to works or uses that may prove relevant to the urban society. Although this figure has existed since the nineteenth century and had been widely used by the federal government, in 1941, the Federal Decree nº 3365 regulates that the expropriation by a declaration of public utility can now also be implemented by the municipal level[39]. In a period where urban growth is significant – Salvador grows 44% between 1940 and 1950 – and where the public interventions on the territory of the city are more frequent, this more flexible legislation will enable a quicker action of the municipal administration and will put the political negotiations directly into local level. During this short period, the decrees of expropriation for public interest issued by the municipality are multiplied, function of the deep processes of transformation through which the city was submitted at that time.

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[36] Corresponding to the spirit of the Constitution of 1934. FERREIRA (1945)

[37] FERREIRA (1945)

[38] FERREIRA (1945)

[39] Besides the Union, States and Territories. The Constitution of 1934 determined that the expropriation would be made only by public necessity or utility. Then, the Union can no longer exercise the absolute right on private property as in the monarchical period and the First Republic. Zerbo (2005) apud CRUZ (2008)

IN CONCLUSION

The route here presented shows, for the focused period, a strong link between a sketch of urban policy nationally defined and the principles of its empirical implementation in cities of Bahia and, more specifically, in Salvador. Even considering the small number of elements analyzed or even the low level of detailing the issues here presented, one can verify that local situations, with diverse temporalities, relate strongly to the perspective here appointed of addressing the urban question as a complex system, involving the diverse levels of government. This observation seems important because, in view of a huge monographic material produced on cities, paths for their systematic analysis need to be explored.

Moreover, the elements here referred indicate the outlining of the urban planning as state policy, where two perspectives are articulated. First, urbanism is built as a field of public interest, where the technical, rational and institutional answer to the challenges of organizing the city adds up to the facing of one of the most basic institutions of the capitalist city, the private property. The construction of limits on property rights and the ways in which the public administration implements the legal instruments point to the tension and extension of the public sphere, which is now also – and increasingly – composed of different dimensions of the urban question. The formulations and modulations of the public interest are transmuted, to a large extent, into public space itself (and vice versa).

Second – and this is clear in the period under analysis – the public interest in urban planning is strongly reinforced, with mobilization of various social subjects through mechanisms of propaganda and consultation, particularly to business and technical segments. The place of things and the process of producing and taking ownership of them becomes a given component of the new urban question that develops from there.

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TENSIONS AND TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE MASTER PLANNING PROCESS OF ISTANBUL

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INTRODUCTION

Istanbul has been described as a city on the edge, of Europe, of modernization, of fundamentalism, of the future. But it would be more accurate to describe it as a city in between: split between Europe and Asia, modernization and tradition, poverty and wealth, an industrial and post-industrial ethos and financial system, secularism and spirituality, past, present and future. It also spans one of the largest and most active tectonic plates on earth, between the Eurasian and Anatolian plates. This interstitial condition is most legible in the physical layers of city growth, clearly documented, in the modern period, in an incremental series of urban plans that convey the social, cultural and religious values of its inhabitants.

Istanbul has a unique Eurasian character due its location on two continents; the western side of Istanbul is in Europe, while the eastern side is in Asia. However, there are lots of arguments regarding the western influence in architecture, the consumption based projects around the city and the increase of gated communities in the European side, which have been invading the socio economic and the ethnic character in the city fabric. Today, Istanbul faces many challenges in its development process where global and regional influences compete with the needs and demands of diverse local groups (IMM, 2009) .

ISTANBUL UNIQUE SILHOUETTE

Istanbul is characterized by its unique relationship with water. The city's architecture is enriched with different Islamic elements past and a unique silhouette of the Ottoman capital surrounded by Roman city walls covering the hills sloping towards the water, providing amazing views (Yenen, 2001). The unique character of the city derives from its architecture as well as its natural setting. The characteristic connection of land and water make the views of the historic city an important part of its heritage. The Historic Areas of Istanbul World Heritage Site was inscribed in 1985 not including Galata and without a buffer zone to protect the surroundings. The core areas consist of: the "Archaeological Park" of Sultanahmet, the Süleymaniye area, the Zeyrek area, and the Land Walls of Theodosius. The boundaries of the core areas and the buffer zone were redefined in the mid 1990s as not all the historic walled areas of the Byzantine and Ottoman cities are included in the World Heritage Site (Michelmore, 2006). The approach now in Istanbul is in favor of preserving the historical buildings as well as the preservation of the valuable skyline views (per UNESCO standards). Structures with scale small or medium should accompany the historical preservation agenda for the sites which have an impact on the skyline (IMM, 2009).

A RAPID PACE OF CHANGE

Between the time of Sultan Suleyman and the end of the 19th century, the population of Istanbul nearly doubled, from 300,000 to 600,000. In that time, the accumulation of *kulliye* and new settlements had completely altered the axis of the Byzantine city, which had primarily been parallel to the coast of the Marmara Sea, to one along the Golden Horn. This new alignment linked the Bayezit, Suleyman and Fatih complexes together. With the opening of the first Ottoman customs office between the Sultan Ahmet and Bayezit Square near the Golden Horn, a new urban focus began to be established, but the old city walls on the west restricted further development. Because of this limitation, all new growth in the city extended along the Bosphorus, including Kadikoy and Uskudar. These were, at first, totally separate settlements which each had their own unique character, divided by wide fields and gardens. Their boundaries were originally determined by the distance that people in each village could easily walk to get water from the public fountains that served each of them (Kuban,1986).

Prior to the 16th century, more than 60 % of the mosques in Istanbul were located in the old city, with the remainder scatted among the settlements along the Bosphorus. In the 18th century, this ratio dropped to 45 % on the peninsula and 55% outside. All of the new settlements along the water's edge also helped to establish the Bosphorus as a major lane of water transport, gradually transforming the image of the entire region even further.

PRECURSORS TO FORMAL PLANNING

Along with the new axis of development along the Golden Horn, additional pines were established, from Sircige to the west and the Old City, across the Golden Horn to taksim and Harbeye, where a large influx of foreigners established a vibrant colony at the end of the 17th century. This enclave continued to grow there for nearly two centuries. The expansion of this second axis corresponded to a general move toward Westernization in Istanbul at this time, which was called the "Age of Tulips" because of all the new gardens that seemed to grow overnight. It was a period characterized by a general liberalization and social *joie de vivre*, as well as a growing governmental interest in cultural development.

A series of military setbacks prompted several successive Sultans, such as Abdulhamid I, Selim III, and Mahmut II, to make a determined effort to re-organize the Ottoman army between 1774 and 1839, despite stubborn resistance from both the elite army core of Janissaries and the *Ulema*, or clerics. One important result of these reforms, as far as the configuration of the city is concerned, was that foreign military advisors and their dependants moved into it, and a series of military schools and barracks were built along Western lines that became the focal point of expatriate compounds around them.

The best documentation of these rapid change to the city are the first scientific map, or plan, of Istanbul, drawn by engineers Francois Kauffer and Metochites Lechevalier in 1807, and a series of etchings made by Antoine Ignace Melling , who served as the architect to Sultans Selim III and Hatice Sultan. These both show that , at the beginning of the 19th century, the configuration of Istanbul was still determined by the circuit of its walls, which were maintained up through the reign of Sultan Ahmed III.

Yedikule fortress terminated the view to the west. There were no settlements outside the walls along the coast of the Marmara Sea. And the Topkapi Palace cascaded in terraces down the hill of the *Saraiburnu to* the shore. Most importantly, perhaps, the horizon of Yedikule was crowned by a line of mosques that defined the skyline, rising above a baseline of densely packed dwellings below (Ousterhout, 1983). It was one of the most beautiful cities in the world.

TANZIMAT

These changes eventually led to a series of reforms, or *Tanzimat* , enacted in 1827, which inevitably altered the predominantly eastern customs and manners of Istanbul. Factories, railroads and a Stock Exchange were introduced, followed by the publication of the first newspaper in 1831, the opening of a postal service in 1834 and the replacing of the title of Grand Vizier by that of Prime Minister in 1836. Slavery was outlawed in 1846, followed by the opening of universities, as well as schools of medicine and art. Between 1846 and 1868, Ottoman embassies were established in many foreign countries, which also gave many Turkish students the chance to study outside the country. As a final important step, the *Istahat* was passed in 1856 that guaranteed the rights and equality of all of the people in the Empire, regardless of religion or ethnic background (Borie,1987).

As a result of the prevailing governmental attitude toward *Tanzimat* , and with the advent of the industrial age at the turn of the twentieth century, the pace of Westernization quickened. New railways were built that connected Istanbul to Europe as well as to other cities in Turkey; making it a hub of industry and trade, and this had a significant impact on its economic and physical structure. New banks, attracted by this change, flocked to the city to take advantage of its increased wealth. Steamship services started in 1850, with six ships, and the Galata port opened in 1909. All of this was a great impetus to economic activity in Istanbul.

A SERIES OF CITY PLANS

This new openness to western technology and culture also led to the first of what has now become an ongoing series of city plans, following the lead of those that were then being implemented in the major cities in Europe. The first of these was prepared under the supervision of Marshal von Moltke, who, inspired by the work of Baron von Hausmann in Paris, proposed the opening of fourteen meter wide boulevards and avenues that were to be cut through the traditionally closed and dense fabric of the old city. Aside from improving transportation links from one neighborhood or district to another, one of his most important rationales for this approach, apart from it being in vogue at the time, was his wish to create broad open vistas that would highlight the mosques and other large monuments more effectively, by isolating them within wide open spaced in the European fashion. While the width of the avenues proposed by von Moltke was later substantially reduced, the basic concept of the destruction of large sections of the traditional city was firmly implanted and remained as a central feature of all of the plans that were to follow.

Istanbul was transformed under Ottoman rule according to Islamic tradition, and nearly 30 % of the buildings within it were dedicated to religion. Mosques were located according to the distance of a muezzin's voice and the practicality of

walking to them; daily routines conformed to the call to prayer (Kuban,1986). The rhythm of life was soon to inalterably change.

The last gasp of the Empire was accompanied by neglect, which allowed for the destruction of entire neighborhoods of traditional wooden houses later on.

THE PROST PLAN

With the end of the Empire in 1923, the pace of change quickened further. While there was no appreciable planning activity during the first decade of the Republican Period, Ataturk, commissioned Alfred Agache, Herman E.H. Lambert and Martin Wagner to do a report on potential transportation growth, historic preservation and zoning in the early 1930's, but it was never implemented. This led to an important Plan formulated by Henri Prost, Alfred Agache and Herman E.H. Lambert, which was implemented, and has served as the basic framework for all of those that have followed.

Henri Prost had first visited Istanbul in 1902, as the winner of the *Prix de Rome* on the Grand Tour. He advised the government on a restoration of the Hagia Sophia that was going on at that time. He worked on several plans for the French government for colonial cities in North Africa, and was contacted to be a consultant for the rebuilding of Izmir, following a fire in 1922 (Borie,1987). Based on past involvement, he was invited by Ataturk to come to Istanbul in 1936 to produce a Masterplan for Istanbul, best summarized as an epic attempt to secularize the city, to modernize it according to prevailing modern, and Modernist standards, and to adapt it to the automobile. Following von Moltke's lead, in his 1839 Plan, Prost focused first on opening up the city, on "beautification" and on highways and squares. Based on his experience in Izmir, and government concerns about fire, he implemented the Modernist concept of zoning, popularized by the *Congres Internationale Architecture Moderne*, and Le Corbusier a decade earlier, as a way of also providing fire breaks. The three main categories of the Plan are Industrial, Cultural and Tourist zones, which still remain today. The arterial plan he implemented follows the line of the Theodosian walls to the west, the sea wall, which was removed, along the Marmara coast to the south, an the "Y" shaped Cardo Maximus of the Constantine city running through the middle. The Decumaus was widened to become a link between the Marmara freeway and the Asian side across the Bosphorus, creating the Galata bridge-Beyazit connection. Parks were opened up along the Theodosian wall and the primary fork of the old Cardo Maximus, running south-east to north-west.

The Prost Plan was incrementally implemented, between 1936 and 1950, which was a critical period in the history of the city, socially and politically. Prost's concept of an "Archeological Park", tied to his third category of a Tourist zone, has left buildings like the Hagia Sophia and the Yeni Cami standing alone in the midst of vast open spaces, instead of being an integral part of their specific urban context, as they would have been in the past. This concept did yield good, lasting results, however, in the case of the Topkapi Palace and Sultanahmet, which were also included as part of the archeological park, preserving that part of the cities historical silhouette, and unique urban identity, when it is viewed from the shore. The zoning of the Golden Horn as an industrial area, which was also implemented, was originally only intended for light industry, but opened the door for heavier use. This has left a blighted visage facing the water, and now that the industrial phase

of the cities life is almost over, this will be even less attractive and hard to reverse, in the future (Kuban, 1996). This provision virtually assured the destruction of the natural beauty of the Golden Horn as that industry inevitably grew, and that segment of the city silhouette with it.

Prost also proposed a large harbor and railway station at Yenikoy, of a scale similar to earlier proposals put forward during the reign of Abdulaziz, but this was not realized. This indicates his "make no little plans" mindset, as well as offering a clue to the scale of his interventions, and their effect on the city.

All of the urban plans that have been commissioned since Prost, namely the Revision Committee Plan of 1951, Musavirler Heyeti of 1956, Hans Hogg in 1960, Luigi Piccinato and Cegis Donemi Tedbirleri of1961, the Bakanliklaraasi Commission Plan of 1966, the Greater Istanbul plan of 1967 and the Metropolitan Plan of 1972 to 1981, are all arguably predicated upon the same philosophy as the Prost precedent: revolving around the creation of wider concrete streets at the expense of human scale and pedestrian ease, the establishment of a social museum, and the denial of this conurbations singular historical role as a city on the sea. This relationship to the water, which was once an essential part of the character of Istanbul, putting it at the head of a select league of others, such as Venice, San Francisco, Hong Kong and Vancouver, has hardly been considered in any of these plans, either in the preservation of its historical profile, nor has the potential to use sea lanes as a means of transport, or parts of the shore for sustainable recreation, or entertainment (Kilincaslan, 1996).

NEGATING AN IMPORTANT APPROPRIATION OF POWER

One essential point that seems to have been missed out in each of them, in the blind rush toward development and the establishment as a world city, is that Istanbul has many layers of history, starting with it's the Greek *polis* of Byzas. When Constantine took over the Roman *castrum* of Septimus Severus, he altered the topography to replicate the Seven Hills of Rome, to make this new version a perfect physical as well as Imperial copy. Mehmet the Conqueror and subsequent Ottoman Sultans decided to dominate the crest of each of those hills with mosques, in a deliberate appropriation of power through symbolic image, just as the structural form of the Hagia Sophia was adapted by the great Ottoman architect Sinan in the mosques he built afterward the conquest.

When Ataturk made the momentous decision to move the capital of Turkey from Istanbul to Ankara for security reasons in 1923, Istanbul lost political dominance within the country virtually overnight. But, it started to find a new economic role for itself around 1950, which was a turning point for the modernizing city. In the first part of the republican Period, from 1923 to 1950, Istanbul's loss of its position as the political heart of Turkey brought able the loss of its social, economic and cultural lifeblood as well. The aristocratic and bureaucratic associations of court life that the city had enjoyed for so long diminished as quickly as the Empire it had once ruled. Prestigious residential areas, such as those around Bayezit and the Sultan Ahmet Square, which were just becoming fashionable among court officials at the time of the move, immediately lost value and were either demolished, or suffered the slow destruction of being let room by room.

The beginning of rural-urban migration brought farmers from Anatolia at this time, when the saying was "the streets of Istanbul are paved with gold". That wave was

to soon become a tsunami between 1950 and 1970, starting a critical shift in the social balance in the city. Consequently, many minorities, who have historically formed the basis of the bourgeoisie in Istanbul, and who gave the city a high degree of social texture, now found themselves pushed out. They started selling their property to avoid this human tidal wave of people moving in from the countryside. One surprising cause of this migration, with good intentions but calamitous results, was the Marshall Plan, which introduced the first mechanized tractors into Anatolia at the end of World War II. From a first grant of 1,750 tractors in 1948, the numbers shipped to Turkey steadily increased to 6,500 in 1950, to 42,000 in 1960, and 100,000 in 1970. This had the incremental effect of causing a redundancy of human labor, subsequent joblessness, and a rush to Istanbul to find work along the greatly improved roads provided by Prost and those that followed him. In a survey conducted in 1979, for example, it was found that hundreds of itinerant workers were living in one of the kiosks of a mosque in the Suleymaniye area, providing a small example of the slow takeover of many parts of historical buildings. A much more dramatic example is the large number of *gecekondu*, or squatter settlements now found around the city.

RECOVERY AND SPECTACULAR GROWTH

Following its loss of social and economic status in the Republican Period, Istanbul has entered a second phase of development, which may be seen to have started in 1950. A switch to a multi-party system and a more liberal attitude toward economic development has meant that the city has not only regained its old momentum, but today stands as one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the world. As a result of what might be called mural, dendritic growth, the rings of Istanbul's walls, like the rings of a tree, have radiated out, one after another, from the first wall around the base of the old Greek *acropolis*. This growth, when overlaid with the changes of axis in the Byzantine and Ottoman cities and the contemporary legacy of Henri Prost, has resulted in a city with totally separate, highly individual and identifiable zones. These have given Istanbul a uniquely staccato character, and are now related to the squares that have emerged from the idea of the "archaeological park".

IMP MASTER PLAN

A series of large projects took place in Istanbul as a result of the policies of the 1980's that intended to make Istanbul a "World City." Some of these projects are Anatolia-Thrace Highway, construction of a second bridge over the Bosphorus and its freeway system, international luxury hotels, skyscrapers, office buildings etc. These projects did not take place according to a master plan and their impact on the water front was not considered. This caused the city to grow further towards north threatening the forest areas and water reservoirs, causing spontaneous land-uses and densification of the shorelines (Yenen, 2001).

Later, a series of Master plans was formalized by Metropolitan Municipality of Istanbul Metropolitan Planning and Urban Design Center (IMP). In May 2006, IMP prepared Istanbul Master Plan which was shared with Academics, architects, civil society organizations and the public. In 2008, the latest plan was formulated and its main goal was to establish a balance between conservation and development and to integrate the city into the world economy to reassert its position as a major

metropolis in its region and to promote Istanbul as a site of global historical and cultural significance by the year 2023 (IMM, 2009). The major problem which served as a catalyst for the initiation of the Master Plan is that Istanbul Metropolitan area is suffering from a single center in the European side. The service area is concentrated in the European side and the center of activities is not sufficiently developed in the Anatolian Side. Most of the people working in the European Side live in the Anatolian Side due to the low value of housing in this side. This causes a blockage in the traffic in the road connecting the two sides. The service area in the European side includes: Zeytinburnu-Historical Peninsula and Ayazağa Axis, Zeytinburnu between Küçükçekmece Lake, Between the Lakes: Lake Büyükçekmece with Küçükçekmece Lake Break, and the Western Corridor. The Anatolian side includes: Kadıköy-Üsküdar, and Kartal-Pendik-Tuzla. (IMP, 2008)

As a result, a dominant planning approach in Istanbul is the importance of decentralized and polycentric growth has been introduced in 1999 in order to control the uneven development of the European Side (IMM, 2009). The 2008 master plan, stresses on the idea of polycentalism through the idea of Metropolitan sub-centers. It recommends the formation of 'central business districts' CBD (IMM, 2009). The main planning strategies accompanying Istanbul master plan focuses on five main aspects. First, it highlights the importance of Istanbul European Union accession and competing in the global system. Second, it encourages the approach towards sustainable development, ecological balance and disaster sensitive urbanism. Third, it lays emphasis on applying the standards of the World City of Culture in Istanbul metropolitan area by enhancing Istanbul cultural and natural values and most significantly conserving the Bosphorus and Historical Peninsula, cultural fabric as well as protecting the skyline. Fourth, it stresses on increasing the economic relations with countries in the region to increase competence among world metropolises, global and regional centers. This could be achieved through focusing on service sector, information and communication technology development. Finally, it draws attention to improve the quality of life in Istanbul through urban transformation projects to strengthen, improve and transform the economic and social aspects (IMP, 2008).

A four year target strategic plan was approved by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (IMM) council. This plan is prepared by the IMP with the 1/100,000 scaled Istanbul Environment Plan. It was taken into consideration the opinion of the district municipalities, universities, and non-governmental organizations. The aim of this plan is to promote public transportation, protect and develop green spaces and create a financial and tourist city in which the needs of people of Istanbul would be satisfied. The mayor of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Mr. Kadir Topbaş, stated that a major part of efficiently and effectively problem-solving is planning as he had previously indicated in the preface of the book titled "2010-2014 Strategic Plan." He stated that,

> "The 2010-2014 Strategic Plan that we have prepared includes a wide range of many services, activities, and investments which have important shares in personal life, such as planning, public works, transportation, environment, culture, disaster and risk management, services contributed towards the city, and social order as well as social municipalism to public health. As our works will be done within the framework of this plan, we will put many major projects into

practice in the future which aim to increase Istanbul's attractiveness, image, and prestige as we have done in the past."

It was determined in the plan that Bakırköy-Silivri on the European side and Kartal, Ataşehir, and Kozyatağı on the Asian side will be the primary centers of the city. Avcılar, Selimpaşa, Çanta, Ümraniye, Maltepe, Pendik, Tuzla, Orhanlı, and Şeyhli are all considered as secondary centers (IMP, 2008).

URBAN TRANSFORMATION PROJECTS

A central idea of several contemporary planning efforts has been a number of Urban Transformation projects. These projects are the components of the CONCEPT 2023 that aim to transform the city into an international center of attraction while targeting the Year 2023 for the commemoration of 100th anniversary of the Turkish Republic (Tüzin, 2003). Some of these were initiated by the central government and others by the local authority. The recent Urban Transformation Projects passed as law from the parliament in 2005 that give almost unlimited powers to the municipality to re-construct the urban space in order to turn Istanbul into a 'global city' (Tuna, 2007). Some of these projects faced a lot of criticism from the public and the key actors due to their sensitive location. The challenge in these projects is integrating them into the city design given their impact on the unique silhouette, identity and collective memory of the city.

The paper will discuss some of these projects like Haydarpasha Port Railway Station, Galata Port Urban Transformation Project, Kartal Pendik Urban Transformation Project and the Golden Horn Environment Protection Project.

Haydarpasha Port Railway Station

Transformation of Haydarpasa Port area came into agenda due to the strategies about the port areas that took place in Istanbul Master Plan. These strategies include improving port capacities of Istanbul and make them function more efficiently(Erdem Erbas,2007).

Haydarpasa port is in the Anotolian side of Istanbul and at the entrance of the Bosporus. This panorama of Haydarpasa is opposite to the Historic Peninsula and is an important visual component to the Anatolian silhouette, which is an essential part of the environment of Istanbul's World Heritage Sites. The project has a main historical feature which is the Haydarpasa Train Station. The existence of historical heritage in the area such as, Selimiye Barrack, Haydarpasa High School, Marmara University, Girl Tower, Uskudar and Kadikoy Market makes it crucial as well. The project is owned and operated by Turkish State Railways (TCDD). It is the largest container port in the region, but currently underperforming. This project is an attempt to develop an important commercial sub-center in the Anatolian Side which could lead to an economic vitalization in the city.

When the project first came into the agenda of the Municipality, it included building seven skyscrapers on 350 meters inspired by seven hills of Istanbul to shelter 240,000 people, a cruise ship port, a yacht port in the Haydarpasa Train Terminal area, and finally building five star hotels, congress centers, fairgrounds, commercial areas, shopping malls, office and residences. The project was not approved by the Regional Committee for Protecting the Natural and Cultural Assets as the population that will be brought in together with the lack of infrastructure and the density of the buildings will cause traffic problem in the region (Erdem

Erbas, 2007). Lots of criticism took place after announcing the project. It has been argued that the proposed tower blocks have a serious negative impact on the monuments and that these high buildings in the Bosporus will threat the silhouette along the whole length of the Golden Horn and therefore affects the views out from an extensive part of the Historic Peninsula. It was also criticized that Haydarpasa Train Terminal will be dwarfed by the huge towers behind (Yenen, 2001). Later, Regional Committee for Protecting the Natural and Cultural Assets declared that Haydarpasa Area is an urban and historical protected area due to its historical value. After this declaration, some content of the Haydarpasa Project changed and the plan of the seven skyscrapers is renounced (Erdem Erbas, 2007).

Galata Port Project

Galata Port Project (Salipazari- Karakoy Cruise Port Complex) which was on the agenda by 1998 is one of the urban projects which will have a vital role for the image of Istanbul. The area is almost underutilized and the public use of the shoreline is limited. According to Turkish Maritime Organization, the project aims to build a cruise port, five star hotels, shopping malls, restaurants, cafés, entertainments places like bars, cinema and theatre halls, underground car parks for the private cars and buses. The area of the project lies directly opposite Topkapý Palace, so, the Historic Peninsula needs to be taken into consideration during the process of the development of this project (Michelmore, 2006).

Furthermore, some of the historical buildings like the Turkish Maritime Organization Building which was built on 1910 and the wall tile inn (Cinili Han) that was built on 1912 and which is used as the Customary General Directorate office will be transformed into five star hotels.

According to the information given in the web page of the Tabanlıoğlu Architecture office which prepared the Galata Port Project cited in Erdem Erbas paper, Galata Port will make Istanbul more valuable as a culture, tourism and commerce center and that the present buildings will be renovated according to their original style and will gain new functions which includes an area of more than 1.2 kilometers. The Project area is 100,000 m² and the total structure area is 151,665 m². This project brought many discussions due to its critical location. The discussion focuses on the issue of loosing the historical identity, integration of the project with the rest of the city plan, building cruise ports in the areas where there is no traffic problem and finally the water connection of Kadikoy will be cut since the front side of it will be surrounded by high buildings and huge ships that anchorage (Erdem Erbas, 2007).

Kartal Pendik Project

This project is part of the development of two new city centers in Istanbul to overcome the monocentric (Eminönü, Beyoğlu, Ayazağa,Büyükdere axis) of the metropolis and solve the unbalanced distribution of the service sector between the European Side and the Anatolian Side. One is in Kartal and the other in Kucukcekmece. Kartal, is fifteen kilometers away from Istanbul, but it's still in the metropolitan district, just opposite the Princess Islands. The eastern airport of Istanbul is adjacent to the project area. The area has been occupied by some old industries. The residents of this area own large lots of land, but there was no guidance for them to invest and build. The design competitions provide a set of plans to guide development. The aim is to transform an Industrial area into a 555

hectare central business district with offices, homes, shopping, and a marina and to design an easily accessible metropolitan area of aesthetic value, with well planned cultural and public spaces with squares and pedestrian ways (Ozkan, 2006).

This project was awarded to architect Zaha Hadid as a result of an international competition. According to Ozkan, Hadid respected the urban fabric and created different land-uses. She connected and meshed the east and the west of the site with three patterns. "At the Grand Buildings scheme for Trafalgar Square in London, I used the concept of carving as a way of introducing multiple events at the ground plane," Zaha Hadid has said. Her scheme for a new city center in Kartal suggests the same earth-carving approach (Ozkan, 2006). A new architectural network of geometric shapes was created for Kartal and Pendik to connect the two sites. A new metropolis will be established, connecting roads, railways and residential areas. This area is located directly on the Marmaray and Kadıköy-Kartal Light Railway System project which can also connect to sea transportation. The Sabiha Gökçen Airport is located very close to the project area together with the Ümraniye-Üsküdar Light Railway System project planned to pass from the north further increase the opportunities of the area's integration with the whole of the metropolitan area (Özaydın, 2006).

Golden Horn Environment Protection Project:

This project started in 1984 by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and Istanbul Water and Sewerage Administration (ISKI). The main goal of this project is to recover the former identity of the Istanbul silhouette on water and add a contemporary dimension to it for the future generations. This project is the major urban cleaning and transformation project of the Golden Horn which includes removing all its unpleasant odors as well as the ugly sights and cleaning the Golden Horn by revitalizing historic and cultural features. Most of the Golden Horn Cleaning Program was completed except some urban design and landscaping projects are still under development and construction. The project gave a prompt urbanization process which made a good impact on several economic and social activities as well as on natural and environmental life. It also played a crucial role on the revitalization and transformation of the Golden Horn with its multifunctional land use characteristics in the planning approach. The municipality won an international prize by the Metropolis Association in 2002 for this project (Tüzin, 2003).

CONCLUSION

Since the Prost Plan was adopted and implemented, there has been an incessant sequence of subsequent Master Plans, which have each shared the western premise of the first. None of these have sufficiently addressed the singular character of Istanbul as a world class city which is stepped in multiple layers of history and tradition. Its most distinctive aspect has always been its silhouette and relationship to the water. By erasing this most important feature, Planners and Developers have erased the very identity of this city. This is a tragedy.

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EMERGING URBAN DYNAMICS:
THE MAKING OF PUBLIC SPACES IN BURSA

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims at exploring the 'emerging urban dynamics' of Bursa, constituting a primary example for the urban development of medium scale Anatolian towns. The study reveals the roots/streamlines re-shaping urban transformation of Bursa through the analysis of urban discourse of the social actors. Urban transformation and new housing projects and their urban scenario, their contribution to the quality of life and the city, the way the projects have interpreted the identity and how it has been reflected through social actors' discourse are the focus of the study. In the reading of Bursa, transformation roots have been re-defined within the context of the urban politics as well as politics of identity of Turkey in the third millennium. As an exemplary case for the medium scale Turkish cities, emerging urban dynamics of Bursa has been based on a series of populist rhetoric such as; 'the making of a trademark city', 'identity paranoia' and 'historisation'. For a broader understanding of the formation of architecture and the reproduction of the city, the study provides an alternative discussion platform in conceiving the relation between the city and social actors, non-governmental and governmental organizations as well as the media.

INTRODUCTION

Since the 1950s, the urban dynamics of Turkey have changed drastically due to the rise in the country's overall population and the acceleration of rural migration (TSI, 2009). This rapid and un-planned urbanization was initially accompanied by a chaotic housing crisis that led to the illegal implementation of squatters (*gecekondu*) on public lands and then an 'apartmentisation' process, driven by the development of mediocre building blocks. The establishment of metropolitan municipalities in 1985 followed by the establishment of the Housing Development Administration of Turkey (*Türkiye Toplu Konut İdaresi-TOKI*) in 1990 was the tipping point for the transformation of medium-scale Turkish cities, paving the way for the construction of a large number of mass housing projects following a similar typology. Currently, the process of housing production has been combined with a large number of architectural and urban transformation projects of the most dilapidated areas as well as post-industrial sites. During the rapid urbanisation, the cultural identity, social, economic and pyhsical layers have been ignored and the synthesis of the internal dynamics have been neglected in nationwide. All these, combined with the winds of globalisation, have become crucial factors in the physicalisation of the cities (Keyder, Öncü, 1994; Keyder, 2005), and Bursa has been no exception.

In this context, industrialized Bursa, a former imperial city with a population over a million, has been a locomotive *milieu* for the rapid development of the urban transformation projects. With its geographic location and close relations to Istanbul, the city of Bursa constitutes a primary platform of urbanization for the medium scale Anatolian towns, and it is worth to study as an exemplary case. Since the 1970s, the industrial city has welcomed the foreign investments, but, unlike Istanbul, there is no emergence of multi-national investments in the public field. In the globalizing period, it is also possible to read the dynamics of Bursa through Castell's (1997) notion on the "space of flows". With the geographic location close to Istanbul and the presence of transport alternatives, in particular, Bursa makes a difference: urban and social mobility reflecting the flow, the transfer and share of knowledge, information, finance, and people, have been primary dynamics of globalizing Bursa. On one hand, Bursa has searched for and developed an independent urban identity (independent and different from Istanbul, in particular), on the other hand, being at the periphery of Istanbul, the emergence of public spaces is very reminiscent of the metropolitan context of Istanbul. In the period of the "space of flows", factories have been developed in Bursa, whereas the headquarters have been relocated in Istanbul with their up-scale architectural language.

Within the politics of space and politics of identity in the third millennium in Turkey, in the context of the urban transformation projects at Bursa, a new discussion of spatiality - visibility of projects- emerged. Spatiality (the making visible of the space of the city of Bursa to its inhabitants) has emerged as the ideological approach of urban modernization, in which the cultural, social and physical structure has been ignored. This shift is not simply a literal translation of a Western thing. In the context of the Turkish politics and economics, urban transformation projects have paved way to new urban and architectural identities in public spaces, characterized by visibility, rapidity and the accumulation of capital, surrounded by a specific representational rhetoric. In the rapid urban transformation, it is vital to read the urban space not only in terms of globalization but also on the basis of local dynamics, urban actors and their discourse (Sassen, 2001, Öktem, 2005, Keyman, 2010).

On the reading of the urban space through the rhetoric analysis, the approach of this paper is inspired on the writings of Foucault (1969), specifically his analysis toward the "statement" (*énoncé*) which is the basic unit of discourse. In this understanding, statements themselves are not propositions, utterances, or speech acts. Rather, statements constitute a network of rules establishing what is meaningful, and these rules are the preconditions for propositions, utterances, or speech acts to have meaning. However, statements are also 'events', because, like other rules, they appear at some time. Statements depend on the conditions in which they emerge and exist within a field of discourse; the meaning of a statement is reliant on the succession of statements that precede and follow it. Foucault sets up his analysis towards a huge organized dispersion of statements, called *discursive formations* (Gutting, 1994). A discursive formation continually generates new statements, and some of these usher in changes in the discursive formation that may or may not be adopted. Therefore, to describe a discursive formation, Foucault also focuses on expelled and forgotten discourses that never happen to change the discursive formation. Their difference to the dominant discourse also describes it. In this way one can describe specific systems that determine which types of statements emerge (Jones, 1994).

Today, globalization has increased global shifts of resources, capital and people, and has intensified the competition among cities for attention, influence, markets, investments, businesses, visitors, talents and significant events. However, as a variety of urban and cultural theorists have shown, the space of the city is produced not only materially and geographically but also in the social imagination and through changing modes of cultural representation (Zukin, 1998; Donald, 1999; Harvey, 2000). Alongside with the "real" built city exists what may be called the "urban imaginary": a coherent, historically based ensemble of representations drawn from the images of and discourse on the city as seen, heard, or read in movies, on television, in magazines, and other forms of mass media. In that sense, for an extensive evaluation of urban transformation, it is vital to interrogate the urban discourse, statements and also 'forgotten discourses' as pronounced by Foucault (1969).

In this framework, this paper aims at exploring the 'urban dynamics' of Bursa, constituing a primary example for the urban development of medium scale Anatolian towns. Reading the formation of public spaces and the city through discourse analysis is an alternative discussion platform in conceiving the relation between the individual (citizen), public spaces and the city. In the reading through 'urban dynamics', social actors (urban designers, architects, administrators, citizens, etc.), non-governmental and governmental organisations as well as the media are tools in the understanding of the formation of architecture and cities. As an exemplary case for the medium scale Turkish cities, the 'urban dynamics' in Bursa has been classified into three groups such as; 'the making of a trademark city', 'identity paranoia' (endless search for a new identity), and 'historisation/historicism' (the making history as a visual source to set up an architectural stage) and has been given through visual and textural representations following a brief information about Bursa and relevant urban transformation projects in the city. The research is part of an on-going ph.d study and its findings occur within a debate that is rapidly developing at the present, and in which all conclusions appear provisional.

THE RECENT URBAN TRANSFORMATION PROJECTS

Bursa is the fourth largest city of Turkey with a population over a million, as well as one of the most industrialized and culturally charged metropolitan centers in the country. The city is the center of the Turkish automotive industry with factories of motor vehicle producers as well as automotive parts producers. The textile and food industries are equally strong, with international and national brands, as well as fresh and canned food industries. The industry makes the city attractive for migrants in the pursuit of a better life in comparison to other medium scale cities in Turkey. In the 2020 environment plan for Bursa (BOİ, 2010), industrial development has been restricted. Controlling polluting industry and to protect Bursa plain has been projected as underlined objectives. In the 2020 environment plan, future vision for the city has been defined as 'preserving the historical identity' and 'improving tourism sector'. The city is supposed to be no longer the core of a heavy industry but 'historical-touristic identity' is brought to forefront instead.

Within the search for a new identity and the attempts to improve tourism sector, numerous small and medium scale urban transformation projects have been anticipated by the initiation of local government, as well as private investors. In

this regard, the motto of 'being a trademark city' has become dominant in the discourse of the local urban actors as the main future vision for the city. In order to understand intellectual basis shaping the making of urban transformation projects in the post-1980s Turkey, current transformation projects and implementations are selected to reflect the urban dynamics of Bursa (Fig.1). In this regard, *Merinos* as 'the making of a trademark city', *Hanlar* district and small interventions in the old city core as 'identity paranoia' and *Kızyakup* as 'historisation' are addressed as exemplary transformation projects revealing the emerging urban dynamics (Fig.2).
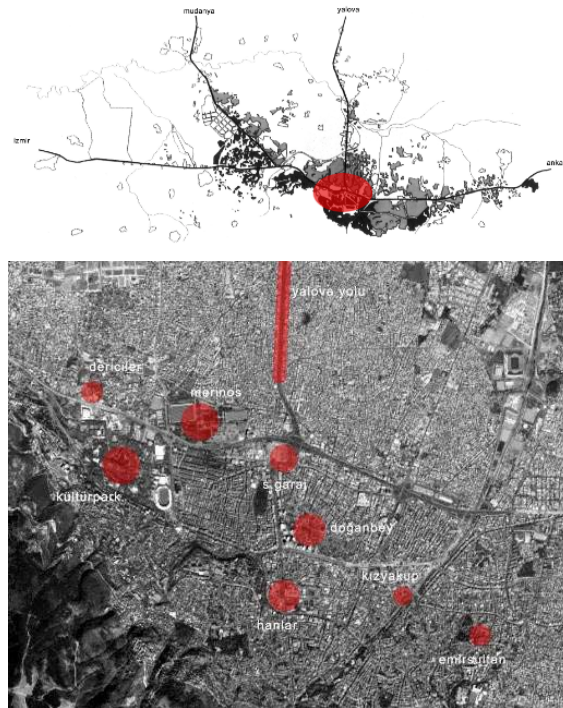
Figure 1. Inner city, areas under transformation
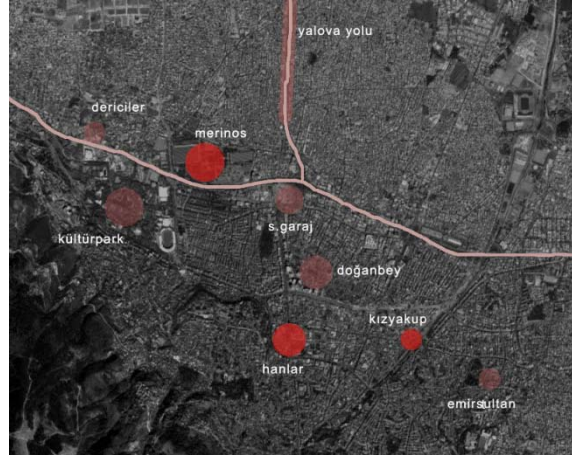
Figure 2. Inner city, Merinos, Hanlar and Kızyakup districts

THE MAKING OF A TRADEMARK CITY

City branding, which is regarded as a strategic instrument to publicize a city's competitive advantages, becomes a common practice to market the city's history, quality of place, lifestyle, and culture for opportunity, prestige or power in capital accumulation in a competitive environment. Through branding the city, local urban actors hope their city's identity will merge with its commercialized image as produced by advertising, media, and cultural industries and be repurchased as if it were real. In the process, the "real" material city is altered to conform to the idealized image of the brand-name city and to facilitate its further commodification.

In medium scale Anatolian cities, the rise of 'urban branding' efforts can be interpreted as a discursive and ideological vehicle for the transformation, over the past ten years. Being a 'trademark/brand city' or becoming attractive for foreign investment, business and tourists in other words, has been at the top of local municipal agendas for some time and, through local and national media, local politicians emphasize the need for, and the potential benefits to be gained from, such status. Meanwhile, attempts to achieve this goal often manifest themselves in the form of large investments in urban transformation projects. A recent example is Bursa, where a large number of urban transformation projects in the city centre are under implementation process. Most of them were presented by the mayor and municipality as major investments in raising the profile of Bursa as a trademark city.

The ideal of being a trademark city has been the leading motto of the municipality (*Hürriyet*, 28.09.2005, '*Bursa Marka Kent Oluyor*'). Local actors have emphasized the need and the potential profits to gain for the city with this rhetoric. In this framework Merinos factory has been one of the main transformation projects of the city, supporting the local discourse. Merinos was the first factory of the new Republic founded by Ataturk in 1938. Following the privatization of 1991, in 2004 the non-functioning factory and surrounding green areas have been allocated to the Metropolitan Municipality of Bursa. Since then, the massive plot of the factory

(270.000 sq. m.) has been transformed into Cultural and Congress Center and implementation of the project has been drawn to close recently (Fig. 2). The project is presented in the local and national media as 'Bursa, becoming the world city', 'Bursa, being a trademark city', 'being international center for congress tourism' etc. (*Türkiye*, 04.12.2008, '*Bursa Dünya Kenti Oluyor*'). The transformation of the Merinos Factory as an international congress center has also been visioned as a trigger affect for the sub-center of the city by creating demand for five star hotels and office buildings. Currently the municipality is working on the new transformation projects to supply this prospective demand for five star hotel and office buildings, such as *Dericiler* district and the second stage transformation for the *Central Garage* area (Fig. 3).

Even though not all the medium size Anatolian cities have the same big scale project investments, their urge to be one of the 'trademark cities' could be observed in project proposals prepared by local municipalities presented in the official websites or in the local media. The ultimate goal of branding the city is shifting the economic base from industry to tourism. However, not only the commissioning process but also the new consumption function reveals crucial questions on the 'making of a trademark city', which cannotates a unique focus on the economic issues, neglecting the social/cultural dynamics.
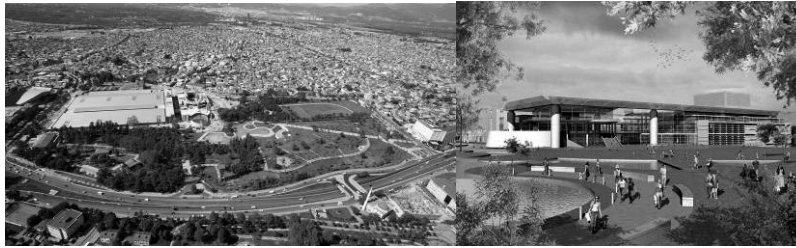
Figure 2. Former textile factory in the centre of Bursa, recently transformed into 'Merinos Congress Centre'

Figure 3. Central Garage and Dericiler district; transformation expanded after Merinos

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IDENTITY PARANOIA

In Bursa, the emergence of transformation projects is reminiscent of spatialisation of high capitalism witnessed in Western European cities, in New York in the 1980s and in London in 1990s, (Fainstein, Gordon, Harloe, 1992), and Istanbul in the late 1990s and 2000s, in particular (Keyder, Öncü, 1994). A normal interpretation of urbanisation in Bursa since the mid-1990s would be as straightforward market-led global investment attempt on a western pattern. However, while following the Western forms, they take on a particular inflection when they appear in Bursa. Within the politics of space and politics of identity in the third millennium in Turkey, in the context of urban transformation at Bursa, a new discussion of spatiality -visibility of projects- emerged. Spatiality (the making visible of the space of the city of Bursa to its inhabitants) has emerged as the ideological approach of urban modernisation, in which the cultural, social and physical structure has been ignored. This shift is not simply a literal translation of a Western thing. In the context of the Turkish politics and economics, emerging 'urban dynamics' have paved way to new urban and architectural identities in recent projects, characterised by visibility, rapidity and the accumulation of capital, surrounded by a specific representational rhetoric. In this regard, in the architectural and urban revitalisation projects, the nostalgia for the Ottoman past has been combined by a discourse of 'search of identity' has raised crucial questions on the vision of the local administrations as well as the social actors.

With a multiplicity of layers, identity changes over time and with context (Tanyeli, 2007). However, the rather overworked concept of 'identity', and/or the never-ending quest for personal identity may have different connotations in terms of architecture. In medium size Turkish cities, in general massive numbers of immigrants create a heterogeneous demographic structure. Concerned lest the emerging social identities prove problematic and jeopardize their 'trademark' status, those who push through municipal projects seek to paper over the cracks by deploying the rhetoric of 'regenerating the lost identity'. With the rise of populist and political Islam linked to Turkish ethnicity, blended since the 1980s with the invocation of a glorious Ottoman past, in most medium-scale Anatolian cities, historic buildings are presently undergoing restoration with the aim of regaining the so-called 'lost identity'.

As Jacobs stated (1998), identity construction mechanisms also operate as the logic of many more modest urban transformations such as streetscaping, place making and community arts projects. Some of these transformations assist in the selling of cities, but some may be addresing alternate agendas such as building identity or facilitating political formations among severely marginalized groups. Recently, in the middle of the main square of Bursa, 25 years old Clock Tower has been reconstructed with the decoration of Turkish flag, Ottoman arm, İznik ceramics, historic symbols for textile, automotive and finally the clock itself, reassembling the desired elements in an orchestrated pastiche. Changing colorful led lights during the night add the final layer to 'diversity' by hosting past and future together (Fig. 4).

Figure 4. Heykel Clock Tower, before and after reconstruction

In this regard, *Hanlar Bölgesi* is the center of the discourse of local actors. 'Turning the city into a living museum', 'preserving the identity of district', 'surviving the history' are the quotes relevant to *Hanlar Bölgesi* from the Mayor of the city, published in different dates in local newspapers (*Olay* 08.12.2008,*Türkiye'nin en önemli Açık Hava Müzesi*). In the web site of the Bursa Metropolitan Municipality, a projected image for the district has been published announcing expropriation of 21 hectare space surrounding the *Hanlar* which needs investment of 75 million dollars (Fig. 5). Following the local elections, the new mayor postponed the project and proposed smaller interventions throughout the area (demolishing some of the surrounding areas for parking of tourist buses, covering the bazaar with glass and wooden made structures, etc.) The *Hanlar* district project is remaining on the agenda of local actors for a longtime period as the key project for 'regaining the lost identity of Bursa'. With this objective, either small or big scale interventions will be applied to the area in near future. By cleaning the area and revealing the district, the city will be 'regaining the lost identity' and will 'become an attractive city for tourists'. The question is to what extent the locals can use the new re-use/revitalization projects. What extent the locals can be integrated with the new vision of the city? Neglecting former use of spaces and shifting the hybrid structure of city center into a touristic zone may be pushing the citizens into the isolated life style in gated communities located at the periphery of the city.
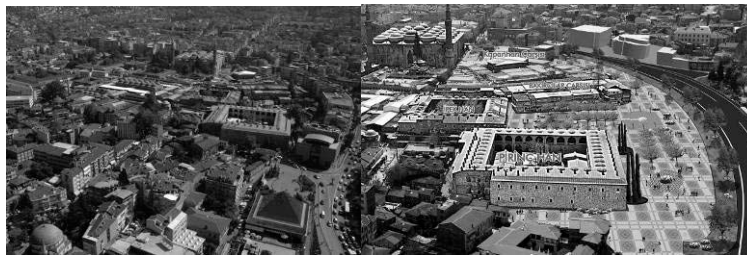
Figure 5. Hanlar District, right; existing situation, left; projected image by former local Municipality

HISTORISATION

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Having had concerns about the emerging social identities, besides 'being a trademark', municipal projects use rhetoric of 'regenerating the lost identity'. Old city centres are in the process of restoration works with the objective of regaining the lost identity and making the city attractive for tourist flow. This restoration works mainly focused on Ottoman buildings and city centres in Bursa, Gaziantep and Antalya are being reconstructed with either big or small interventions depending on the economical power of the local municipality. Besides the restoration of historic buildings, in Bursa, Kayseri and Antalya, 'City Museum's are opened demonstrating the history of the city, again with reference to Ottoman past only.

Figure 6. Restoration of city walls in the historic core

The new transformation projects, on one hand, offers new technology and a new image for the new century; on the other hand, they present the emergence of making history as a visual source to set up an architectural stage, which indicate a commercial historisation. Examples of 'nostalgia' could be observed in reconstruction of local and religious identities, often imagined from abroad, that go beyond and often against the restoration of surviving mixed urban fabric. The restoration of City Walls in the city center of Bursa for instance, (Fig. 6), is represented in the local media as "being distinctive with glorious history of the city" (*Olay*, 02.05.2008) which caused the large-scale demolishing of surrounded housing area. Another example is *Kızyakup* urban transformation project (Fig. 7), started with the intention of making recreational area in the center, turned out the be 'History Park' of the city during the implementation phase with the discourse of "making the history of the city visible to its inahbitants" (*Bursa Hakimiyet*, 21.03.2009). Many other small scale interventions are also taking place in the city center, all combined with the nostalgia of being a former imperial city.

Figure 7. Kızyakup urban transformation project turned out to be 'History Park' after implementation

However, it is crucial to consider that nostalgia produces subjective visions of afflicted imagination that tend to colonize the realm of politics, history and everday perception. The nostalgic viewpoint does not allow us to see anything beyond 'nostalgia' and is often closely linked to local and central politics.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Recent urban transformation projects of Bursa have been accompanied by a series of populist rhetorics and images for the re-making of a new identity for the former imperial city. The stated streamlines/routes are derived from the analysis of the local actors' discourse and the review of the local and national media. In this process, 'being a trademark city', 'identiy paranoia' and 'historisation' have been defined as the primary streamlines/routes of the urban discourse for re-structuring the city of Bursa. The city has witnessed the physicalisation of numerous urban transformation projects during the last ten years. However, the process of commissioning and imitating Western examples surrounded by abovementioned rhetorics has neglected the existing multi-layered cultural, social, economic and physical features. In contemporary Turkey, a similar process has been observed in nationwide.

What is critical in Bursa is the city's two distinctive characteristic which accelerates the transformation. On the one hand, being at the periphery of Istanbul, the emergence of urban transformation projects is very reminiscent of the metropolitan context of Istanbul and due to the improved industry, the city has the necessary capital for implementation of large-scale transformation projects. On the other hand, since the number of local actors in Bursa are less than the metropolitan areas, decision mechanisms are operating in a fast manner due to the lack of diverse oppositions and the only limitation for realization of projects appears to be the economical power of the local municipality. These internal dynamics makes the urban transformation of Bursa faster than the other medium-size Anatolian cities. During this rapid transformation phase, together with global and local dynamics, it is considered critical to examine the urban actors' discourse and how they influence the emergence and physicalization of urban transformation projects.

Similarly to Bursa, medium-size Anatolian cities such as Antalya, Kayseri, Eskişehir and Gaziantep, with populations of around 1.5 million, have experienced particularly rapid transformation since the 1980s because their established industries (textiles, automobile, construction and food production) and thriving economies provide local municipalities with the power and capital necessary to effect such large-scale change. While their geographical positions located in different regions of the country, their transformation demonstrates similarity in terms of physical urban environment. They also act as an accelerator for the transformation of the smaller cities in their periphery. While metropolitan cities of the country such as Istanbul, Izmir and Ankara have been going through transformation process with its own dynamics, medium size Anatolian cities have experiencing more accelarated urban transformation as exemplified in terms of Bursa.

Nevertheless, large scaled urban transformation projects are creating opportunities for cities or countries which did not or could not have fully implemented master plans in their history. Especially after 1990s, an intensive urban transformation

project phase has been started in Turkish cities, reminding the mass housing project phase (TOKİ) in 1980s. In the medium scale cities in Turkey, along with its problematic areas, this restructuring phase demonstrates a profound dynamism in the cities and creates a foundation for young architects in a future sense. In that intensive transformation period, it is considered critical to have a distance from the populist rhetorics such as the making of a trademark city, building identity or historisation. To have an objective attitude towards restructring of the cities with an awareness of the existing inner dynamics of each city and to transform it with the contemporary needs of citizens are found crucial.

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THE "GOUVÊA E CUNHA" OFFICE: AN IMPORTANT PLACE FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF MODERN CAMPINAS (1924-1936)

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ABSTRACT

Founded by the Portuguese Empire in the 18th century and later developed by the wealth of the coffee industry, Campinas grew into one of Brazil's most important political and cultural centers in the State of São Paulo. In the early 2oth century its architecture was designed by a small group of professionals who helped transform the city in two aspects: in its territory – the city grew and new neighborhoods were developed – and in its architecture, particularly in these new neighborhoods. This article elaborates on the contribution of one architectural office, Gouvêa e Cunha, and their many contributions to the architecture of Campinas between 1924 and 1936. Antonio Gouvêa and Lix da Cunha were alumni of the Rose Polytechnic Institute in Terre Haute, Indiana, in the United States where they received degrees in Architecture and Civil Engineering. Although the U.S. played a significant role in Brazilian architecture and urbanism, broad aspects of this relationship remain unexamined in Brazilian historiography. The American influence on, or references to Amercian design, in the cities of Brazil has been addressed only of late. Titles discussing this can be found in Brazil beginning in the 1990's, but these investigations have broadened in just the last five years. Fernando Atique's PhD thesis (2007) extended this discussion, and now he is examining the topic with his undergraduate students and several professionals who have also studied in the U.S. and work in Brazil. This research has revealed that certain American architectrual references were used by Gouvêa and da Cunha to shape the architecture of Campinas, and for this reason the work of their office was chosen for further investigation. This article demonstrates how the Mission Style was a constant in the office's design pallette, as well as picturesque styles such as Floreale, Fiorentini and Art Déco. This article also describes the formation of the office, and provides tables demonstrating the geographical distribution of the partner's projects in Campinas. Finally, an analysis is presented of the contribution of these two professionals in adapting and assimilating American architectural references, opening new paths to the understanding of this important city.

INTRODUCTION

Campinas is a significant Brazilian city in the Southeastern state of São Paulo. It's history originates with the Portuguese Empire when many villages were founded in the hinterlands of Colonial Brazil in the 18th Century. This expansion helped maintain Portuguese domination in this part of the South America against the will of the Spanish Crown. Campinas itself can be seen as the result of steps taken by the Portuguese Luis Antonio de Souza Botelho Mourão, better known as Morgado de Mateus. Sent in 1765 by the Marquis of Pombal, he was responsible for establishing

new means for the governance of the Province of Sao Paulo. These included the development of agriculture and agricultural commerce, and especially sugarcane and its derivatives. Military needs led to the establishment of new towns and villages, and the improvement of local troops and other matters. In the words of Paulo Eduardo Teixeira, *"The settlement of people in villages would be the only effective way, according to the Metropolis, to obtain the necessary means for strengthening of the infantry and cavalry, volunteers or paid"* (Teixeira, 2002).

These geo-political concerns resulted in the eventual expansion of an old village situated on the road known as *"Estrada dos Goyases"* into Campinas. The road was an important link beteen the village of São Paulo and the Minas Gerais region, formerly the center of gold minning in Brazil. The first name of Campinas was *"Nossa Senhora da Conceição das Campinas de Jundiaí".* In 1842 the original name of the town was changed again and Campinas was elevated to the status of city. Under the government of Morgado de Mateus the town was laid out on a regular grid, with streets intersecting at right angles in a Portuguese manner known as a "rossio". The *rossio* of Campinas was for many decades the extent of the city itself. Inside the *rossio* were located the church, the city hall and jail, the market and the houses of those who moved from other villages and cities within the Province of São Paulo to populate the town (Teixeira, 2002).

From 1822 until 1889 Brazil was an Empire, separated from Portugal by Dom Pedro I. By the time Campinas was established as city in 1842, its wealth was well known throughout country. It was home to many sugar cane planters, and then in the 19th Century to the owners of coffee plantations, the "coffee barons" as they were know among the rural inhabitants of the area. The economic resources arising from this trade provided for the construction of huge mansions on the plantations. In the city, people linked with public affairs such as priests, politicians, as well as wealthy merchants, lawyers, teachers etc., created a diverse society. In the first half of the 19th Century, the city was mostly confined to the rossio and its architecture was hardly more sophiticated than what was found on the surrounding farms. In the final decades of the 19th Century, however, transformations to the urban texture took place. The construction of railways connected the city with other regions and with the Port of Santos, the largest port exporting the coffee of São Paulo. Industrial plants and accomodations for workers sprang up around the city's train depots, centering principally on the Cia. Paulista Station. The neighborhood of Vila Industrial (Industrial Borough) is an example of this growth which extended beyond the rossio of Campinas.

While thriving in economic terms in the last decade of the 19th Century, the population had to contend with terrible epidemics of yellow fever that revealed a lack of medical care and spatial organization in the city. From 1889 to 1897, Campinas lost significant numbers due to death and fear of disease. The fleeing population settled in far-flung parts of Brazil, transforming Campinas into a ghost town.

The municipality was forced to act. Laws that defined aspects of hygiene, land use and construction codes were enacted. Professor Badaró shows that:

> *"The law n. 43, 1895, regulated in 1896, established for buildings in urban areas, hygiene standards and sound that became the first city's Building Code. Defined minimum dimensions for setbacks, areas of lighting and ventilation, rooms and windows and height of floors and floor rooms. Also*

defined the thickness of walls and determined their coats. Also prohibited the construction in wetlands and swampy land. Exhibited sewage connections and collection of rainwater, keeping the previous rules that determine the prior approval of any plans by the municipal engineer" (Badaró,1996, p.32).

From this period until 1925 there was no significant growth of urban areas. In the 1920s, the urban lot was re-configured as a commodity, and the control of urban sprawl was lost to the need for taxable sources of income (Badaró, 1996). As consequence, the limits of the *rossio* were exceeded, and the expansion of the city was in the hands of private interests that began to divide farms into lots that bordered the fringes of the urban perimeter, beginning a process of transformation of both urban and rural areas (Ferreira, 207, p.25).

In this same period, professionals such as Lix da Cunha and Antonio Dias de Gouvêa became responsible for the design of many neighborhoods that arose due to the expansion of the city.

THE ARCHITECT LIX DA CUNHA

The historical and contemporary documents of Campinas provide little information about its architecture. Given the importance of this city, research such as this article is all the more valuable. By focusing on the career of the prominent engineer and architect Lix da Cunha we found a window into understanding the construction of modern Campinas. In Campinas today, da Cunha is known by highway SP-73, by a local avenue and by a construction firm of national scope, all of which bear his name. In the spheres of urban studies and local history, however, little is known about this prominent figure.

Our survey revealed that da Cunha was born in Mogi Mirim, São Paulo, in 1896. He completed primary school in Campinas, which suggests that his family took up residence in the city in the first decade of the 20th Century. Before completing his studies at the very highly regarded "Culto à Ciência" high school, he left for the U.S. and completed his studies at the Randolph-Macon Academy in Bedford City, Virginia (Santa Casa de Campinas, 1972, p. 31).

This educational institution is affiliated with the American Methodist Church, which itself has many links with Brazil. By beginning his education at a premiere Brazilian school and graduating at another in the U.S., da Cunha took the educational route which many members of the "Paulista elite" follow. (Atique, 2007a and 2009). This study abroad, especially in the U.S., reveals links with the U.S., yet few specific details have been traced in works on Brazilian history.

Later in 1913, da Cunha attended a small, prestigious school in Indiana, the Rose Polythecnic Institute, located in Terre Haute. This institution was famous at the time for its qualified training of engineers and architects, and the numerous awards received from the U.S. government for its teaching methods (www.rose-hulman.edu. Accessed on November 25, 2009). da Cunha graduated in Engineering and Architecture from the Rose Polytechnic Institute in 1918. As with other Brazilians such as the engineer Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza (Gitahy and Atique, 2008), he worked in the U.S. building railways. One of his biographies, apocryphal, reveals that he was employed by the Louisville-Nashville railway until 1919, when he returned to Brazil (Santa Casa de Campinas, 1972, p. 31).

The biographical profile produced by Flavio Botelho for the radio program "Personagens da História", meaning roughly "Characters of History", and aired on CBN Campinas, reports that upon returning to the country in 1919 da Cunha was employed by "Standard Oil do Brazil". The company had been operating there since 1911, and for them he designed a series of warehouses in Belem, the capital of Para (www.portalcbncampinas.com.br/noticias_interna.php ?id=22899#. Access on January 05, 2010).

Some time later da Cunha worked as an engineer on the South Minas and São Paulo Railway (Santa Casa de Misericordia de Campinas, 1972, p. 32). In 1921, according to Flavio Botelho, da Cunha married Nair Valente. The couple had two sons, José Carlos Valente da Cunha and Lina Valente da Cunha (www.portalcbncampinas.com.br/ noticias_interna.php?id = 22,899 #. Access on January 05, 2010).

In 1924 da Cunha returned to Campinas and began to integrate himself into the business of the city. In that same year he began to collaborate with the engineer Antonio Dias de Gouvêa. Two years later they opened the design and construction firm "Gouvêa e Cunha". Between 1926 and 1936, the firm provided designs and important services for Campinas and other areas of São Paulo, such as the stores of "Companhia Industrial" in Cravinhos, a town near the important city of Ribeirão Preto (www.portalcbncampinas.com.br/noticias_interna.php?id=22899#. Accessed Nov 12, 2009).

Lix da Cunha maintained his partnership with Antonio Dias de Gouvêa until 1936. According to Flavio Botelho, the two came together in part because they were both alumni of Rose Polytechnic Institute, and also classmates. However, this information does not seem to be quite accurate since, according to documentation found in the Municipal Archive of Campinas, their professional information was recorded as follows:

> "Title: Engineering graduates at Rose Polytechnic Institute. Gouveia (sic) and Cunha - signature. Presented a public form of diplomas issued by the Rose Institute Polytechnic - Lix da Cunha - engineer-architect (leaf 82 verse, 83 Book of Records of degrees of Engineers in. 1, which exists in the 2nd section - File and Registry of the Department of Agriculture) - Lix da Cunha (leaf 83 verso to 85 ditto ditto) to January 14, 1926. Antonio Dias de Gouveia (sic) - Engineer Mechanica (leaf 79, back to 81 - 9 / 1926) - Electrical Engineer (sheet 81 to 82 verse 11/1926)"(Booklet Registration number Professional 19, leaf 19, c. 1926)

This record, dated in 1926 and taken from the Book of Registration of Professionals in the Municipal Archive of Campinas, reveals that Gouvêa requested and obtained registration within the sphere of engineering, while da Cunha was enabled to pursue work in the fields of architecture and urban engineering. These registrations, which gave them license to practice in Campinas even before the decree of Brazilian President Getulio Vargas in 1933 which regulated the professions of Engineer, Architect and Agronomist, proves that the partners, in association, could cover a great part of the duties inherent to the engineer and the architect in the 1920s. This broad range of abilities helps to explain the large number of projects that they become involved in.

The fact that da Cunha and Gouvêa were alumni of the same American school may be the source of the notion that they were also both architects. However, by reading the document quoted above, and by the analysis of projects signed by

Gouvêa, it can be seen that Gouvêa, despite his architectural practice, was less than ambitious in his graphic design and, in addition, with the designed aspects of the projects themselves. There is a noticeable difference in quality of designs filed from time when Antonio Dias de Gouvêa worked alone when he joined da Cunha. It is also clear that after the partnership dissolved, the quality of design and the spatial solutions improved in da Cunha's work due to his abilities as an architect.

In 1936 the small design firm was transformed into "Lix da Cunha: Buildings and Architecture". Prior to this survey, it was assumed that there was some sort of disruption between Gouvêa and da Cunha, but documents in the Municipal Archive of Campinas revealed that in 1936 Antonio Dias de Gouvêa died. Flavio Botelho's report, quoted above, corroborates this. This information was not confirmed by published documents, such as obituaries, but appears reliable nonetheless. This biographical event can be a plausible reason for the opening of this new office and shows that the solo career of da Cunha could find new means, and especially in the area of civil engineering.

During the 1920s da Cunha and his wife worked as benefactors to various charitable associations in Campinas, such as the House of Paralytic Children and the Association of Parents and Friends of the Exceptional, APAE. These activities yielded new projects, including the verticalization of downtown Campinas, for which da Cunha is regarded as a pioneer and as is shown in the Master's dissertation of Caio de Souza Ferreira (2007).

Additional data on the career of da Cunha can be helpful at this point. In 1948 his firm's range of business was expanded and it was renamed "Construtora Lix da Cunha SA". In 1960 the "Construtora e Pavimentadora Lix da Cunha SA" was created, and in 1968 a conglomerate of companies encompassing other sectors involved in the practice of the civil engineering was founded, including "Concrelix" – dedicated to the production of concrete - and "Pedralix SA" - specialized in gravel production (Santa Casa de Misericordia de Campinas, 1972, p. 32). In 1980 the company went public by listing itself on the stock market, pioneering this type of arrangement in Campinas (www.portalcbncampinas.com.br/). Accessed on 12 November 2009).

Although the career of da Cunha lasted more than 60 years it is still relatively unknown, and this research attempts in part to shed light on the early years of his professional practice in Campinas. In particular, this investigation is devoted to understanding his reception in Campinas as an engineer-architect educated in the U.S., and also the working relationship with Antonio Dias de Gouvêa, a figure completely unknown in historiography today.

THE ENGINEER ANTONIO DIAS DE GOUVÊA

Antonio Dias de Gouvêa, also identified as "de Gouveia", studied engineering at Rose Polytechnic Institute in Terre Haute, Indiana, in the U.S. He graduated in 1918, the same year as da Cunha. Little is known about his life after this point, but it is pertinent to point out that he was associated with protestant schools in Brazil that sent many students to pursue professional degrees in the U.S. (Atique, 2007).

The professional activity of Gouvêa in Campinas in the early 1920s occurred in association with an unidentified engineer named Lima. This partnership was discovered during the research process in the Municipal Archive of Campinas.

Searching the archive for projects designed by Lix da Cunha, Antonio Dias Gouvêa and Gouvêa e Cunha, it was noted that in the early years pertaining to this study, 1924 and 1925, there were no records of these professionals. However, a detail caught our attention. In a surprising number of documents from the early 1920s we found that the professionals responsible were "Lima e Gouvêa", a partnership whose existence was as yet unknown. Further research revealed that this Gouvêa was the same that we were interested in. Finally, we confirmed that before his association with da Cunha, Antonio Dias de Gouvêa had in fact formed partnerships with other professionals in Campinas.

This task was difficult because there were no records in the Book of Professional Registers, but by the comparison of signatures we reached the conclusion that Antonio Dias de Gouvêa was part of the Lima e Gouvêa office, between 1924 and 1927. Beyond a partnership with the unidentified Lima, Gouvêa also reveals himself in construction documents in which he appears as solely responsible. These documents, in which the author was always identified as Antonio Dias de Gouvêa, were dated between the years 1927 and 1936. Finally, we realized that the office of Gouvêa e Cunha was officially established in 1926, and not 1924, as previously assumed.

At this point a clarification is needed. This research presupposed, based on current literature, that the company Gouvêa e Cunha had started in 1924. As demonstrated above, the company actually started in 1926. However, it is entirely possible that da Cunha had collaborated with Lima e Gouvêa as early as 1924, when he returned to Campinas. The partnership with Antonio Dias de Gouvêa began, in fact, in 1924, but only with legal documentation beginning in 1926. This helps explain what we call the phases of the office.

THE PHASES OF THE OFFICE

The professionals studied can have their work divide into phases, namely:

Phase 1: Lima e Gouvêa (1924 to early 1927);

Phase 2: Antonio Gouvêa (1927 to 1936);

Phase 3: Gouvêa e Cunha (1926 to 1936);

Phase 4: Lix da Cunha (1936).

In the chart below we can see the number of works designed in each stage of Antonio Gouvêa and Lix da Cunha's career within the proposed period of this survey, 1924-1936.

To compile the information in this chart, we included residential, commercial, institutional, hospital, religious, educational and mixed-use buildings, including those we could not identify due to the lack of documentation, but which we knew to be individual construction projects, including renovations and miscellaneous services.

Looking at the chart, one can note the large number of works led by Antonio Gouvêa, especially in the late 1920s and early 1930s. During this period, through the analysis of designs, we realized that Antonio Gouvêa did something that was not completely legally by putting his signature and seal on projects that he effectively did not design.

The chart also shows that the firm of Gouvêa e Cunha increased production in 1935, the year before its dissolution. If the company had not been running so well at this point, it might help to confirm the possibility of a disruption among its partners. Because this was not the case, the chart instead suggests that the indicated death of Antonio Dias de Gouvêa was more likely the reason for the company's dissolution.

	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936
■ Lima e Gouvêa	23	21	30	16					1				
■ Antonio Gouvêa				11	28	48	57	52	45	69	20	23	15
■ Gouvêa e Cunha			7	10	14	7	5	8	2	7	11	17	1
■ Lix da Cunha													12
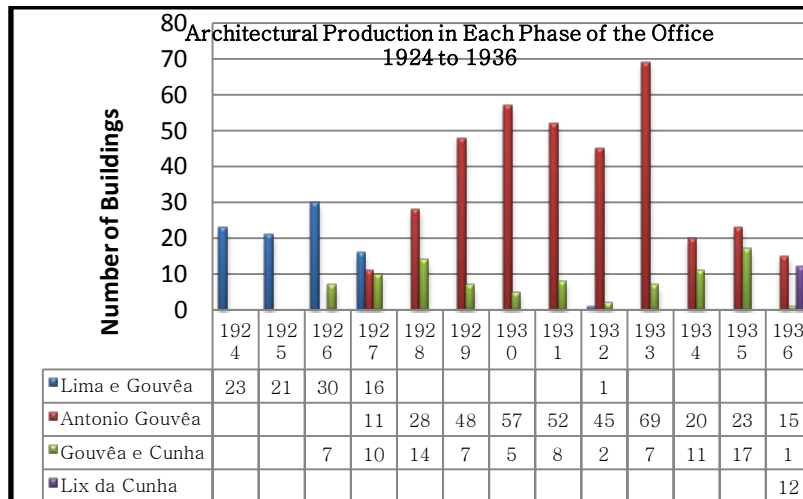
Graphic 1. Architectural Production in Each Professional Phase.
Elaborated by Montanhez, 2010.

The solo career of da Cunha came to prominence in 1936, and from what we find, only grew after this date. Analyzing the numerical coefficients of the production of these professionals shows in what regions of Campinas buildings were being erected. Based on stamps and letters of approval it was possible to map these sites. Chart 2 demonstrates these findings:
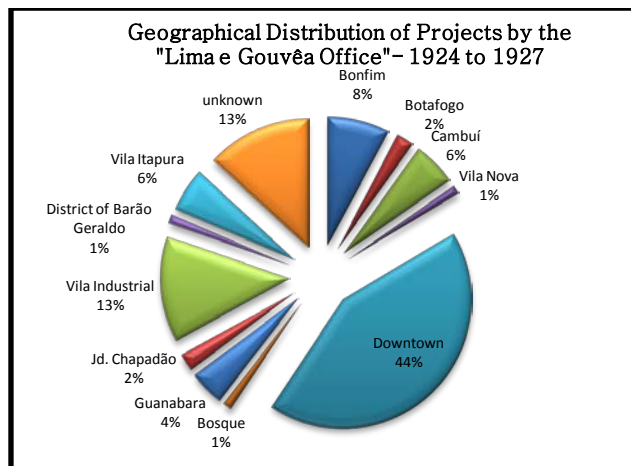
Graphic 2. Geographical Distribution of Projects by the Lima e Gouvêa office.
Elaborated by Montanhez, 2010.

What is noticeable in this second chart is that the largest number of works were erected in Downtown Campinas (44%),followed by the Vila Industrial. As discussed already, these two neighborhoods are the oldest in the city. The chart also shows that 13% of the project locations could not be identified. This was due to two factors. First, many streets names were changed in the 20th Century, and the elaboration of this toponomy will demand specific research. Second, in many cases the documents did not provide complete information.
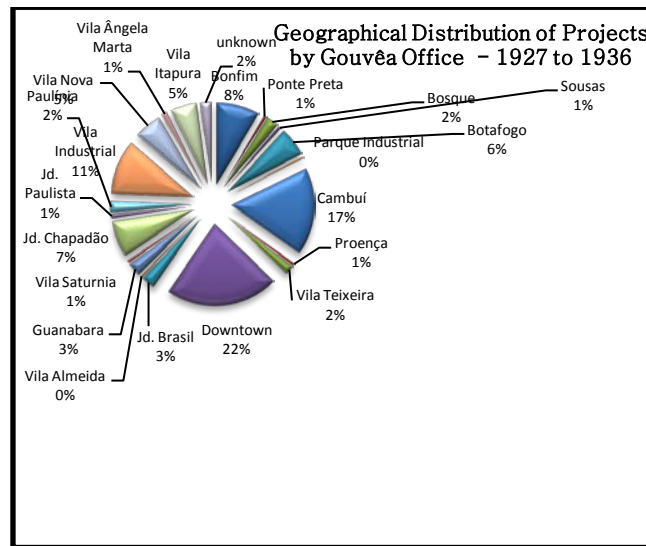
Graphic 3. Geographical Distribution of Projects by Gouvêa office.
Elaborated by Montanhez, 2010.

Chart 3 organizes the solo activity of Antonio Dias de Gouvêa in Campinas between 1927 and 1936. It is important to highlight that in this period the "detached houses", e.g., the housing units located in larger lots, in comparison with the old town, were desired by the local middle-class. The healthy aspect and the symbolic status of this type of house were discussed by Pedro Rossetto in his master's dissertation. This author showed that the Cambuí neighborhood was the main example of this "new city" in Campinas. By the chart above, we can notice that the owners in Cambuí neighborhood contracted 17% of the work done by Gouvêa, an amount exceeded only by his work in downtown Campinas which contains 22% of his residential projects.

This chart also reveals the concentration of projects in new areas of the city, like Bonfim (8%), Jardim Chapadão (7%), Botafogo (6%), Vila Itapura (5%) and Guanabara (3%), all of which are neighborhoods with a predominantly residential character, and geographically contiguous.

We may note projects in other neighborhoods of the city in smaller percentages, which helps us to understand the hypothesis that Gouvêa assumed technical responsibility for projects that he, effectively did not.

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Chart 4 summarizes the activity of the Gouvêa e Cunha partnership. It reveals the amount of detached houses in residential neighborhoods and the concentration of projects in Cambuí (22%), Bosque (12%), Vila Itapura (6%) and Jardim Proença (3%). Downtown Campinas was the locus of 43% of the buildings designed by the office.

Chart 5, which summarizes the solo architecture career of da Cunha in 1936, shows that he worked in only three areas: Cambuí (36%), Bosque (9%), and once again, downtown Campinas (55%).

Geographical Distribution of Projects by the Gouvêa e Cunha Office – 1926 to 1936

Vila Itapura 6%
Vila Industrial 2%
Bosque 12%
unknown 9%
Guanabara 1%
Vila Marieta 1%
Cambuí 22%
Downtown 44%
Proença 3%
Vila Nova 1%
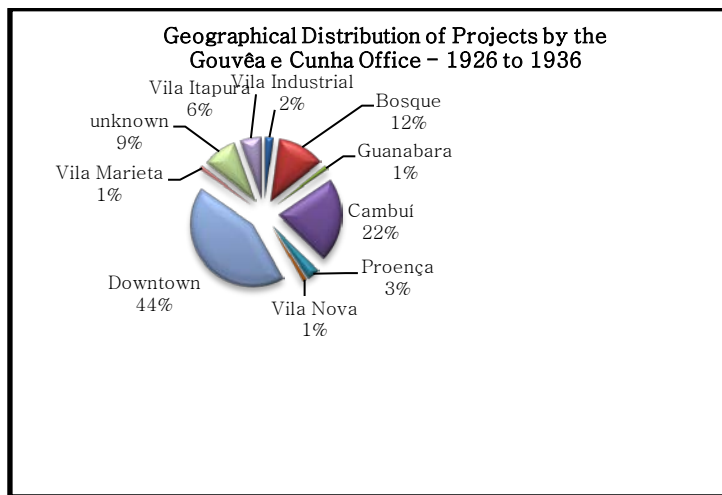
Graphic 4. Geographical Distribution of Projects by Gouvêa e Cunha office.
Elaborated by Montanhez, 2010.

The renovation of downtown Campinas by the town planner Francisco Prestes Maia, which opened the Avenida Francisco Glicério in the 1930s, partly explains the large concentration of projects found in all phases of the firm's activity. We can also point to the construction of commercial buildings in the downtown area, the center of commercial life at that time, and the desire for homes in residential neighborhoods bordering the city's core.

Geographical Distribution of Projects by Lix da Cunha – 1936

Bosque 9%
Downtown 55%
Cambuí 36%

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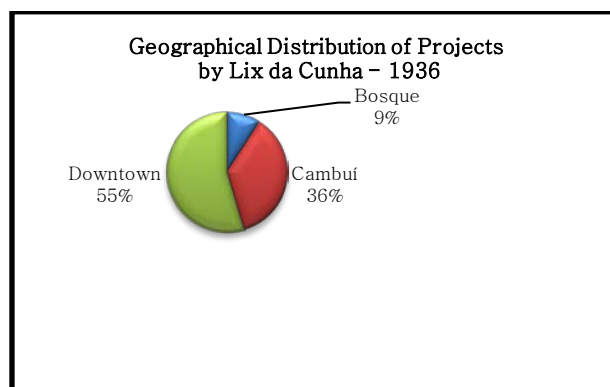
Graphic 5. Geographical Distribution of Projects by Lix da Cunha office.
Elaborated by Montanhez, 2010.

If we cross-reference the data concerning the geographical distribution of projects with their formal and stylistic aspects, it is clear that the designs of Lima e Gouvêa were grounded in Eclecticism. It is important to say that the eclectic architecture in Campinas is, in a broad analysis, a product of the Republican regime, installed in Brazil, in 1889. So, when we analyze Antonio Gouvêa's production as a designer, we find that the Mission Style typified only 1% of total output, while the Brazilian Neocolonial showed 2%, and the Art Déco, 5%. Projects that demonstrate Eclecticism and other eclectic styles accounted for 85% of Gouvêa's production.

The architectural styles practiced by Gouvêa e Cunha as a firm between 1926 and 1936 already show an increase in preference for the Mission Style (16%), while the Brazilian Neocolonial reached only 5%, which was below even the Art Déco (8%). On the other hand, Eclecticism and other eclectic styles accounted for 41% of total works.

The analysis of da Cunha's solo production proves the hypothesis that this architect designed largely in the American Mission Style. This style accounted for 33% of all his works, while Art Déco showed up in 17% and the eclectic styles and others only in 8%. In short, we can say that the picturesque styles, including Neocolonial Architecture and Mission Style were applied broadly in residential neighborhoods erected in the years under examination. They were used by the architects in bold examples of detached residences, and demonstrate a break from the town houses common to the previous period of architecture in Campinas.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Modern Campinas must be understand not only by its verticalization, as much literature describes, but also by the constitution of the neighborhoods surrounding its downtown, the old rossio. This paper is a contibution to the articulation of this concept, and an attempt to reveal social carachteres that occupied important leadership roles in this process which remains unexamined in Campinas and in Brazilian historiography. It is also important to note that the development of specific residential neighborhoods reveals one of the first procedures for the introduction of zoning in Campinas, before the law itself was enacted in the 1930s.

The division of housing into specific boroughs, as well as the industrial plants, commercial and service buildings, configured a city quite different from what is known as Old Campinas. The effect of architects and engineers on this process of metamorphosis also reveals the organization of these professionals and the need on the part of the Municipality to the register them in an attempt to professionalize their fields.

It is also interesting to find that the North American models of architecture were, decade after decade, increasingly assimilated by the architects and engineers of Campinas. This is one of the reasons for the great concentration of the American Mission Style there. This style was promoted in Brasil as an ideal form for the detached house. And with the research behind this paper it can be proven that as residential neighborhoods grew in this region, the Mission Style became linked to their identity.

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TRAVELLING IDEAS: BRITISH TOWN & COUNTRY PLANNING MODELS AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF BRAZILIAN TROPICAL HINTERLANDS

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ABSTRACT

In early twentieth century, coffee growing, migration, new urban settlements and railway lines were radically transforming the natural landscape of underdeveloped Brazilian tropical hinterlands into a somewhat urbanized setting. Within a vast transformation process, a private British land-speculation business was responsible for developing the northern region of Paraná State. However, in contrast to other regions in the country, within the boundaries of this foreign investor's territory, a systematic and comprehensive colonization process could be noticed; a deliberate urbanization policy was implemented, and the resulting cluster of new towns immediately rendered a peculiar and remarkable planning pattern to the area. Eventually, more than sixty new towns were planted due to this successful overseas colonization scheme. Ideas travel, like people, commodities and money. Circulating around the world, British planning ideas, especially those relating to town and country planning were also transferred to Northern Paraná State. Interestingly, the British enterprise in Paraná hinterlands coincided with the development and consolidation of town planning theory, ideology, legislation and professional skills in Britain. Thus, Howard's regional concept of social cities and its later transformation into London satellite towns' scheme, as well as Parker and Unwin's original features of the garden city layout can be noticed. This article seeks, therefore, to shed some light on the diffusion mechanisms of British town and country planning ideas in Northern Paraná State, as well as the extent to which those ideas and practices were changed in the diffusion process.

INTRODUCTION

Responses to three major British planning ideas can be readily spotted in Northern Paraná State urbanization process. Ebenezer Howard's social cities, Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker's tangible form for the garden city, and London satellite towns' scheme were successively taken as planning models during the development of that remote Brazilian tropical region from 1925 onwards. The implementation of these planning ideas and practices came along with a comprehensive, systematic colonization scheme carried out by an overseas land-speculation enterprise (Rego, 2009; Rego and Meneguetti, 2009).

Having bought directly from Paraná State government three million acres of forested fertile soil, Parana Plantations Ltd, a London-based private company, implemented regional development measures in order to raise land value. A cluster of towns was planted, a railway line was built, a marketing campaign was launched and migrants and immigrants were attracted not only by the highly profitable coffee-growing business, but also by the rural and urban infrastructure implemented.

This land development scheme was part of a frontier-expanding movement for the occupation of the hinterlands which transformed natural landscapes into a somewhat urbanized setting in the early twentieth-century Brazil. However, within a broader context, imperialist initiatives also backed this British enterprise in the tropic (Rego, 2009; Montagu, 1924; Lindley, 1935, p.289; Cain and Hopkins, 2002; Hobsbawm, 2006, p.53). The Empire was not but fields of possibilities (Said, 1994, p.101) and the history of town planning in England also relied upon the contacts with the colonial world and the opportunities it offered (Cherry, 1980; King, 1980; Home, 1987; Home, 1990; Howard, 1965, p.119-120, Beevers, 1988, p.77). The development of town planning theory, ideology, legislation and professional skills owed very much to exportation/importation to dependent territories through the network of colonial relationships. Besides, during the three first decades of the twentieth century, town planning in Britain became a professional organization, in order to improve the art and science of this new activity; became a university subject, taught for the very first time; and embodied a social movement that gathered the reformist aspirations of a vast group of followers (Cherry, 1981, p.17; Miller, 1989). Notably, the colonization of Northern Paraná State coincided with the massive campaign for town and country planning that was in progress throughout the United Kingdom (Hardy, 1991).

All in all, international circulation of planning ideas has been a source of seminal researches which not only have examined how and why planning ideas came to be spread worldwide, but also have sought to comprehend their influence in the shaping of local built-up environments (Ward, 2000; Miller, 2002; Home, 1990; Cherry, 1980; Almandoz, 2004; Almandoz, 2010; Leme, 2004; Rego, 2009). Following this path, this paper will trace the diffusion of British town and country planning ideas in Northern Paraná State hinterlands in an attempt to shed some light on the diffusion mechanisms and the changes that have occurred along this process.

SOCIAL CITIES

Initially, Ebenezer Howard's social cities played a central role in Northern Paraná State colonization scheme, which comprised a cluster of independent, equivalent, and regularly-spaced new towns, connected by a railway line built by the British company local subsidiary in a coordinate action. Town sites were laid out in advance of occupation and, according to the nature of this commercial enterprise, town layouts conveyed a practical, grid-like pattern, usually not exceeding one square mile – resembling the typical dimension of British colonial towns studied by Home (1987, p.9); this urban pattern, though, was cautiously adapted to site particularities, which moulded different urban forms. Small rural plots were set up, and green belts were determined (Companhia, 1975; Dozier, 1956), which, considering the proximity to the urban settlements caused to bring town and country together. Therefore, goals and practices advocated by the Garden City movement were adopted, particularly those regarding agriculture, settlement and regional planning (Howard, 1965; Adams, 1905, p.23 and 43; Hall and Ward, 1998, p.23 and 91). As elsewhere, a selective application of Howard's idea can be seen; the reformist, social aspect of the original idea was disregarded in favour of its physical planning aspect only (Ward, 2002). Thus, Howard's famous diagram was adapted to the private settlement and colonization purposes as well as to the geographical circumstances.

Up to 1944, when the British company was liquidated, nine new towns had been founded and three were under planning, according to a contemporary governmental map. This successful (Katzman, 1978), though poorly-registered, regional planning scheme set up a remarkable and peculiar landscape (Dozier, 1956; Monbeig, 1984, p.350 and 375). Northern Paraná State town and country planning and its deliberate urbanization policy soon established the contrasting aspects of this foreign colonization scheme. The regional planning scheme applied to that Brazilian tropical hinterlands' development was quite unconventional. Outside the foreign investor's property and even in other Brazilian agricultural frontiers no similar comprehensive, systematic and coordinated scheme could be found.

Figure 1. Lord Lovat in Life Guards' uniform, c. 1894.

What took place in the remote lands of Northern Paraná State was not only related to London itself, but also to the British Empire as a whole. On the one hand, strong connections linked Brazilian economy to the City of London (Cain and Hopkins, 2002, p.535; Montagu, 1924); British influence on Brazilian government was substantial at that time (Abreu, 2000; Abreu, 1989, p.76), and the thought of an informal imperialism (Darwin, 1997; Hopkins, 1994) must not be overlooked. Particularly striking was the episode in which Parana Plantations exercised their influence on local governmental taxation policies to their own benefit (see Parana Plantations' documents held at The Rothschild Archives in London, XI 111/449037).

On the other hand, Lord Lovat (Figure 1), the central character in the story of Parana Plantations' investment in Brazil, was an 'enthusiastic imperialist' (Lindley,

1935, p.112). Lovat and some other members of Parana Plantations Board of Directors had been involved in previous overseas settlement enterprises in Sudan (Gezira scheme) and in South Africa (in the territories occupied after the Boers War, where the remote position of towns and railway lines contributed to the disappointment of colonization initiatives). Undoubtedly, previous colonial experiences were determining for the Brazilian project. Besides, as an MP, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, and Chairman of the Overseas Settlement Committee, Lovat took part in several debates on town planning acts and international settlement issues.

Therefore, in the case of Parana Plantations' colonization scheme, the diffusion of planning notions and practices relied on a foreign planning tradition, as occurred in other company towns destined to settlement in the late colonial world (Home, 1990). It mirrored an externally-dependent economic and political context. British planning ideas were, so to speak, 'imposed', according to Ward's typology of international diffusion of planning (Ward, 2000, p.51). Foreign actors were responsible for this episode of planning diffusion on the practical level, which involved selection and adaption.

SATELLITE TOWNS

Later on, a shift in Northern Paraná State colonization scheme was felt just after Brazilian entrepreneurs took over the liquidated British company's assets. Howard's social cities model gave way to satellite towns' scheme. The existing equivalent, self-sufficient, connected cluster of towns became part of a greater group of hierarchically dependent urban settlements (Companhia, 1975). Thus, existing towns and new townships were to gravitate towards four major towns, which, not surprisingly, were positioned along the former British railway line. Nevertheless, it was still the case of gathering town and country together and taking people to, and keeping them in, the countryside.

As an outcome of new planning ideas and commercial policies, subsidiary urban settlements were more randomly founded within former Parana Plantations property. These towns and townships were not founded by the land company only; third parties were also responsible for town foundation. Small urban structures were cheaper and infrastructure implementation costs could be transferred to other developers rather than the land company itself. Besides, Government transportation policies shifted from railway lines to the automobile industry, which was being implemented in Brazil, and this also privileged the scattering of towns instead of their clustering along the existing Parana Plantations railway line. Moreover, the more rapidly urban facilities could be provided, the more rapidly the territory would be legally occupied, avoiding clandestine invasions.

In this case, professional milieu and the knowledge of innovative planning traditions can account for the diffusion mechanism of planning ideas. At the time, São Paulo Polytechnic School was already renowned as an agent for the national industry technological modernization process (Bonfato, 2008, p.25). Engineers trained in the Polytechnic were expected to broadly understand the recent issues of the urbanizing impulse and, in response, develop global plans regarding sanitation, transportation and town layout (Steinke, 2007, p.24).

In that State school, studies on zoning, urbanism, garden city and regional planning were exemplified by English and North-American experiences (Ficher, 2005, p.199).

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Originally, satellite towns' model was carried out to plan Greater London's development, which was somewhat an evolution on Howard's diagram. In building satellite towns, Purdom sought to assign new value to the creative idea of the garden city (Purdom, 1949). Abercrombie, in figuring out the growth of the English metropolis, also considered a planetary system with the sun and its satellites (Abercrombie, 1933, p.99). Not surprisingly, the English satellite towns' scheme had been debated as a potential solution for the problems of Greater São Paulo's development (Ficher, 2005, p.310; Leme, 2005, p.520-522; Bonfato, 2008, p.45-46).

Interestingly, one of the members of the Northern Paraná State's land company Board of Directors, originally trained as a civil engineer, graduated from São Paulo Polytechnic by that time (Steinke, 2007, p.92; Companhia, 1975, p.128 and 137). Although no formal evidences can connect studies of regional planning in São Paulo Polytechnic to Northern Paraná State satellite town scheme, the deference for British planning ideas and practices cannot be dismissed. Despite the different context, London's satellite town scheme was also selectively borrowed to re-define Northern Paraná urbanization process according to local circumstances.

According to Almandoz (1999, p.226), 'as well as in terms of physical changes and urbanistic proposals, the European influence has been pursued in relation to the urban ideas, myths and fashions that informed the ethos of the bourgeois city in Latin America'. Eager to strengthen their links with European metropolises, local elites thus played a central role in the diffusion of planning ideas and in the transformation of the backward reality of their countries.

The globalization of planning ideas has been linked to historical colonization processes (King, 1976). Moreover, the dominating and creative protagonist role of the world's modern capital cities has also provided the basis for urban globalization. During the significant period of the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, the industrial metropolis acquired special value as a modernizing laboratory for urban reforms and artistic vanguard (Almandoz, 2008). Thus, Europe's urban ideas and models were imported as a conspicuous signal of modernization, progress, civilization and national identity (Almandoz, 2010).

Thus, improvement plans for the city of São Paulo (unfortunately, none of them totally carried to term) were based on Second-Empire Paris layout (Segawa, 2004); whereas, urban sprawl of residential areas was based upon the English planning tradition, that is to say, the garden city formal principles (Almandoz, 2010, p.30; Segawa, 2004, p.107-127). The potentiality of Brazilian urban expansion had drawn the attention of foreign investors in late nineteenth century and the participation of private investments in town development was prominent (Almandoz, 2010, p.92); urban infrastructure, namely water, gas and power supply, transportation, sewerage and street lighting, proved to be a profitable investment for British capital at the beginning of the twentieth century in São Paulo; in the 1910's, though, a massive inversion of capital was driven to the implementation of new neighbourhoods, particularly in the city of São Paulo (Segawa, 1997, p.21-22), which spiralled from 240,000 inhabitants in 1900 to 579,000 in 1920, and 1,075,000 in 1930 (Almandoz, 2010, p.21). This is the case of the *City of San Paulo Land Improvements and Freehold Co. Ltd*, a London Company much responsible for transforming São Paulo into a modern capital city (Steinke, 2007, p.86). The *City Co* not only developed the first garden suburb in São Paulo but also brought Barry

Parker to work for two years in Brazil, which contributed to the rapid internationalization of local planning (Almandoz, 2010, p.95).

TROPICAL GARDEN CITIES

Two garden cities were built in Northern Paraná State: Maringá (1945-47, Figure 2), and Cianorte (1953-55), which were part of the most recent strategy of the land company new Board of Directors in a striking marketing operation. The original colonization scheme was, thus, changed, and townships and towns would now be built around four major cities. Thus, as major cities, and as the first urban settlements to be founded by the new Board of Directors, Maringá and Cianorte were meticulously laid out.

A town planner, originally trained as a civil engineer and best known for his garden-city layouts, was hired for the job. During his training at São Paulo Polytechnic, Jorge de Macedo Vieira had studied not only technical subjects like town sanitation, drainage and water supply, but also aesthetics subjects such as civil architecture and architectural composition (Ficher, 2005). His major training, however, took place when he had the opportunity to work directly with Barry Parker, the English architect who was in São Paulo and laid out a garden suburb – *Jardim América*, in the early 1917 (Wolff, 1998; Segawa, 2004; Leme, 2005). According to Vieira, it was this experience with Parker that turned him into a proper town planner (Vieira, 1972). From then on, Vieira was responsible for numerous garden suburbs layouts, in which he re-created and adapted procedures and formal principles learnt from Letchworth Garden City design and from town planning treatises as well. Regarding the transnational influences, his library also fed him with current externally-developed planning ideas and practices. As a result, contrasting influences like Camillo Sitte's ideas and the City Beautiful Movement's aesthetics can also be noticed in Vieira's layouts. Likewise, many of Raymond Unwin's (1984) recommendations for designing a town can be found in the layout of Maringá and Cianorte. In addition, influences of a national sanitary reformist movement are also present on Vieira's work (Bonfato, 2008, p.71).

Figure 2. Aerial view of Maringá, 1972. Source: Museu da Bacia do Paraná.

Maringá original layout, in particular, conveys principles of zoning; low density; a multi-nuclei urban form; an organic tissue with picturesque areas adapted to the site's conditions; urban parks, green belt and massive street arborisation; streets and avenues hierarchically laid out; a civic centre, where boulevards and the ensemble of buildings were designed to create vistas and formal perspectives; a sports ground; and secondary town centres, where public squares were surrounded by commercial and public buildings. Thus, aesthetics principles, environmental, transportation and other technical issues concurred in the design of this tropical garden city.

Therefore, the diffusion mechanism of the garden city idea in Northern Paraná resembles what Ward has called the 'borrowing' of ideas between different countries (Ward, 2000). Cultural deference and native aspirations have all laid down an encouraging scenario for the diffusion of British planning ideas (see Almandoz, 1999; Almandoz, 2010; Nars and Volait, 2003; Morley, 2009). Since Parker and Unwin designed the first garden suburb for São Paulo, the garden city model has been selectively interpreted and adapted all over the country (Leme, 2005) in new, noble and 'chic' neighbourhoods destined to the upper class urban society (Segawa, 2004, p.115). Vieira, as a key character, acted locally to grasp and develop a world-wide renowned planning model (Bonfato, 2008). Clearly, it is the case of synthetic borrowing, in which existing and imported ideas concurred in a somewhat innovative layout.

In remote Paraná hinterlands, this pioneering town layout has long since been taken as a sign of modernity. Moreover, Maringá and Cianorte are amid the few Brazilian examples of comprehensive garden city layout. They were built almost exactly as originally designed and even today they still maintain a high quality urban space, although Maringá's original townscape has considerably changed due

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to the construction of high-rise buildings and the dramatic population growth within just a few decades.

CONCLUSION

Northern Paraná State coordinated regional planning and colonization comprised deliberate urbanization policy and the foundation of new towns, whose layouts showed physically healthy environments, principles of zoning and low densities. Moreover, the social city idea, the satellite town scheme, and the garden city model were selectively adapted to this land development enterprise. Thus, British planning techniques, goals and models were applied in the urbanization process of this region.

As depicted in this paper, the diffusion of planning in Northern Paraná State was not a uniform process, and it took place in successive flows according to the different diffusion mechanisms. First, the social city idea was part of the scheme 'imposed' by the overseas colonizing company. This private land speculation enterprise followed the influx of British capital to Brazil. Town and country planning, as a step forward to raise company interests, became a somewhat public virtue. In this particular case, the political and economic context, in other words the dependence on foreign capital1, implied the dependence on foreign planning traditions.

Later on, the diffusion of planning ideas in Northern Paraná shifted from the 'imposition' to the 'borrowing' of ideas, when the role of local actors became more important. Thus, the satellite town scheme and the garden city model were adapted to local circumstances with some innovative aspects. In any case, context has assumed a significant role in the diffusion of planning in Northern Paraná State (Figure 3); although initially foreign political and economic dependence was determining, later on cultural deference prevailed – and this was a proper reflection of the diffusion process taking place in São Paulo at the time. With improved organization of planning schools and professional milieu, the 'selective appropriation' implied adaptation and transformation of externally-developed models applied in that metropolis. With head offices based in São Paulo, the new Northern Paraná State's colonization company Board of Directors was certainly acquainted with the up-to-date planning practices.

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[1] According to Almandoz (2010, p.23), dependence consisted of a 'correspondence' between the interests of the local elites and the demands of foreign groups.

Figure 3. Local people prepared to welcome the Prince of Wales and Lord Lovat at Parana Plantations' property, 1931. Source: Museu Histórico de Londrina.

British planning ideas also spread throughout Brazil, but the diffusion process basically relied on an encouraging cultural context. As an example, São Paulo – the capital city which Northern Paraná State were more closely related to – experienced an impressive urban modernization due to massive investment of foreign capital during the first decades of the twentieth century, which brought about several major developments that mirrored the garden city model. Foreign consultants like Bouvard and Parker were invited to come to São Paulo, as Alfred Agache and Le Corbusier had been to Rio. To a certain extent, the 'permeability' to imported new concepts of planning was even endorsed by the lack of local technical knowledge (Leme, 2004, p.8 and 9). However, native aspirations comprised the longing for the status of a civilized city and a general enthusiasm for European urban culture could be felt. Not surprisingly, trips and studies abroad, international conferences and the publication of technical books and treatises have all supported the diffusion of planning in an ever globalizing world.

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INFLUENCE OF INTERNATIONAL PLANNING IDEAS ON ISTANBUL'S URBAN FABRIC

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ABSTRACT

Diffusion is the process by which economical, political, and cultural experiences are shared amongst countries. The international diffusion of planning ideas is defined as borrowing and imposition at national and local levels. In the case of Turkey, these experiences are viewed within the context of modernization and westernization. The most significant arena of this process took place in Istanbul. The process of adaptation began in the second half of the nineteenth century with the Tanzimat reforms and developed parallel to the degree of influence the United States and Europe had on the changes in the political regime and identity of the country in the wake of the two world wars. The financial support of the United States and World Bank investments sped up this process. A European Union harmonization process is now under way. The objective of this study is to relate the Turkish experience of international diffusion of planning ideas and evaluate the contribution of Istanbul's spatial formation.

DIFFUSION OF PLANNING IDEAS AND TYPOLOGY OF DIFFUSION

Diffusion studies have become a major conceptual tool in assessing the impact of planning on urbanization in the twentieth century. Generally defined as "the sharing of experiences," discussions of diffusion focus in town planning have been promoted by planning historian Stephen Ward. In a 2000 work titled "*Re-examining the International Diffusion of Planning*," he defines the process of diffusion of planning ideas as the "*power relationship between the exporting and importing countries.*" This definition aptly summarizes the range of economic, geopolitical, cultural, and technological domination and interdependencies.

Studies of diffusion in planning focus on three fundamental questions (Ward, 2000): *how the diffusion mechanism develops* (key personalities influencing this development, reformists or professional milieus, intergovernmental actions, and so on); *which ideas and practices influence this process*; and *what the fundamental social, economical, political, and cultural ramifications during the diffusion process* are. What the available scholarship suggests is that diffusion needs to be assessed as a highly variable, rather than a single, uniform, process. While there may be similarities in planning experiences between places, the outcomes and resulting products differ. Changes and transformations in developing cities and countries are specifically compared.

Ward breaks down the process of international diffusion of planning ideas, depending on the power relationship between the countries originating and receiving planning models into two types, "*borrowing*" and "*imposition.*"

Borrowing refers to a developing country that is the importer having more of a say in the control and shaping of the diffusion process than the exporting country. The best-known type is "*synthetic borrowing.*" The key point here is the selection and

assessment of the foreign model by Professional experts. If the importing country utilizes the rules with no amendments, this is defined as "*selective borrowing.*" On the other hand, multiple imports leads to a multiplicity of planning traditions. If the selection is not conscious, it then falls under "*undiluted borrowing,*" where the application, rather than the concepts, is adopted (Ward, 2000).

Where the exporting country wields greater influence than the importing one, the "*imposition*" process starts. One aspect of this approach is "*negotiated imposition,*" which is the case of countries that are economically dependent. often foreign aid and investment support figure in these cases. Singapore took the Western, and specifically British, model prior to independence. In countries where democratically elected governments and reformist movements are absent, the "*congested imposition*" process prevails. If the imposition comes from a figure of authority, this becomes "*authoritarian imposition.*" The balance of power between the importer and exporter is one major factor. Additional criteria are the governance system of countries and the related political processes; official, educational,or holiday trips abroad by those in positions of power such as ambassadors or the elite, as well as official visits by experts; major wars; developments in technology and information exchange, such as the Internet; the translation and publication of major works on planning, architecture, and design; models and implementations of new movements and trends in architecture and planning (such as Garden City, City Beautiful, Modernism, Postmodernism, etc.); and major investors and their works and international investments and institutions such as the World Bank and IMF (Freestone, 2004).

As a developing country, Turkey has been subjected to many influences from without, as well as exercising its own influence on Europe, America, and the Orient. The Ottoman Empire was a major influence on the European, Asian, and North African territories under its sovereignty. This identity was clearly stamped on architecture and public works in these places. The period of decline, where the Empire lagged behind Western development, however, saw a reversal of influences. Valuable works exist on these events in the history of Turkish planning (Çelik, 1986). The main focus of these works is the planning experiences related to becoming more modern, westernized, and up to date. The most recent discourses concentrate on the European Union and the harmonization process (Bozdoğan and Kasaba, 1999). The major manifestation of this expansion is seen in Istanbul, the most populous city in the country. This is why the majority of these studies focus on Istanbul.

In this context, the purpose of this paper is to scrutinize the validity of the typology of the international diffusion of planning ideas process through the development of planning in Turkey as revealed through the case study of Istanbul. It aims to analyze the effects on the urban space of this process and its manifestation on the basis of implementations done in Istanbul.

INFLUENCE OF INTERNATIONAL PLANNING IDEAS ON ISTANBUL'S URBAN FABRIC PARALEL WITH TURKEY PERSPECTIVE..

Founded in the seventh century BC, Istanbul developed in line with its position of capital city to three empires: the Eastern Roman (AD 324-395), the Byzantine (395-1453), and the Ottoman (1453-1923). Byzantium gave way to Constantinople, which in turn gave way to Istanbul. The city enjoys a noteworthy location as the meeting

point between continents and a place of strategic importance. Istanbul is the leading socioeconomic and cultural center of Turkey. Its unique historical heritage bestows a "world city" identity on Istanbul. The most populous city in the country, with a population of 12.782.960 (Turkstat, 2010) Istanbul has traditionally been the first point of contact with, and adaptation of, Western values (Batur, 1998).

Table.1. Dominant External Influences

PERIOD	DOMINANT INFLUENCE	KEY IDEAS AND PRACTICES
Second half of the XIXth Century The Tanzimat Reforms	Great Britain and France	Laws, planning and design principles
The first years of the Turkish Republic and the 1950s	Nationalisation period; French and German experts	Administration and organisation
1950-1980	The USA	Vehicles and road network
Post-1980	Common world values- economic globalisation	Town and architectural styles
XXIst Century	EU harmonisation	Copenhagen criteria; harmonisation conditions

WESTERNIZATION OR BORROWING FROM THE WEST (1839-1923)

Istanbul was the capital of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. Both as a harbor city and as the domain of the Ottoman dynasty, it was the center of direct imports from the West. The majority of the urban settlement is set inside the city walls on the historical peninsula, with additional settlements outside the city walls and on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus. The first census of 1829 noted the number of inhabitants as 359,000. The urban fabric preserves its traditional and haphazard nature.

The main priority of the time-in-town planning is solving the issue of large areas laid waste by fires and earthquakes that frequently ravaged the city (Denel, 1982).

Town planning rose to prominence in some European countries in the nineteenth century, and the Ottoman Empire also took its share. According to Tekeli, planning activities focused on drawing up maps of the city and making urban scheme recommendations, preparing definitive regulations and creating the organization required to realize the first two items.

Sources assessing the time all agree that the main factor that drove this borrowing from the West was the admiration felt for Western ways by Ottoman envoys who served abroad. Plans outlining the existing structure of the city as well as recommendations for reconstruction were drawn up by foreign experts (Ergin, 1914; Denel, 1982; Kuban, 1996).

The first map of Istanbul based on contemporary and methodical measurements was drawn by engineer Kauffer between 1776 and 1778. The first plan that outlined traditional district layouts was done by the British planner Melling in 1802. The Building Regulation Act that defined the street-building relationships in reconstruction areas following fires was a direct result of studies of similar regulations in Europe. This first layout was deemed too alien to the existing texture. These plans recommend a grid system of roads. Plans drawn up by foreign experts also directed reconstruction work after fires; in 1856, after the Great

Aksaray Fire, the Italian engineer Luigi Storari, for example, developed an infrastructure-based plan that regulated circulation as well. Plans developed by Turks who had studied abroad were added to those designed by foreigners. Bekir Pasa, Mustafa Resit Pas¸a, and Server Efendi, who were all sent abroad to study, understand and import a planning model, returned to take up influential positions in Istanbul Municipality (Denel, 1982).

Invitations to planners who had never seen Istanbul and whose experience was limited to European work occasionally resulted in recommendations that were led mainly by aesthetic concerns, such as the "Beautiful Istanbul" plan designed by the chief architect of Paris, Joseph Antoine Bouvard, in 1902 (Çelik, 1986). Criticism aimed at these plans focused on their fragmented nature and lack of holistic concern for the entire city (Tekeli, 1994). 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. Priority was given to public areas in Taksim and its environs, where the city met the West and where the majority of Westerners congregated. Moltke drew up the first plans regulating the city's roads in 1839. This plan laid out seven straight and large arteries and three levels of roads according to width. These recommendations soon replaced the traditional Ottoman structure with an entirely new town-planning concept, developed in line with European standards from 1840 onwards (Batur,1998; Kuban, 1996).

A different planning system was implemented to revitalize areas ravaged by fires. Individual plans were developed according to the scale of the fire, the topography of the area affected, and its position in the city. This era that adopted Western scales in town planning and design is characterized by urban development and expansion, fire codes, and grids concepts. Some of the road and building codes are straight adaptations of European regulations.

The first years of the twentieth century witnessed an accelerated development and expansion in the urban space, stoked by the increase and variation in population, a new lifestyle imported from Europe, a wider choice in public transport, and new building styles. The city was divided into subsections (administrative, commercial, residential, and suburban), while the first examples of that irrepressible pioneer of unplanned expansion, the gecekondus, started to make an appearance. The borrowing process in this era developed as a result of observation of, modeling on, and designing plans

based on the Western models by contracting foreign experts. Tekeli (1994) is amongst the writers who believe that the observation process of the time is characterized by "bashfulness" and "shyness." Solutions to problems were developed in line with major European principles, but these solutions remained fragmented.

SELECTIVE BORROWING AND PLANNING IN THE CONTEXT OF MODERNIZATION (1923-1950)

The declaration of the Republic in 1923 meant the end of the capital city role, played for hundreds of years, for Istanbul. The new capital was Ankara (Tankut, 1993). These political and economic changes stopped Istanbul's development in its tracks. The dichotomy of the traditional life between the city walls and the Western in Galata and Taksim continued well after the war. The population figures declined; the census taken in 1927 noted it as 699,769. The physical boundaries of

the city remained essentially unchanged. That said, summerhouses spread along the coastline and the lands near the new railway (a very republican feature). A number of Western developments such as the increased use of open public areas within the city and variations in transport typify this time (Aru,1996).

Istanbul began to regain its importance after 1930 with its historical heritage and attractive urban spaces. This was a time when government became even more open in view of scientific progress. Work was undertaken on European municipal management models, planning implementations, and publications on these subjects. The first publications on Istanbul's municipal and urban issues emerged. Foreign experts were consulted. Herman Elgötz was invited from Germany, and Alfred Agache, J. H. Lambert, and Henri Prost were invited from France. A new formation of the Republic's modernity conceptualization for Istanbul began after 1936 with the Prost Plan and was realized (see Figure 1) through the efforts of Lütfi Kırdar, mayor of Istanbul and later governor of the Istanbul Province.

Prost's explanatory notes took their place in building codes while he was stil working on the plans. His note defining the town silhouette is still in effect: "The height of buildings to be constructed in areas that are 40 meters or more above sea level is not to exceed 12 meters in height, and that construction on lower levels is not to exceed those heights at the 40 meters level." (Prost, 1948). Many of the Prost plan decisions were in fact implemented, and some remain in force even today. He worked on the functional distribution of the city areas as well as the circulation system and motorized traffic. He based his transport scheme on the topography of Istanbul, recommending the construction of tunnels, bridges, viaducts, and connecting slopes to avoid junctions. These recommendations inspired the post-1980 governments in their transport and highways implementations (Eyice, 2002).

Figure 1: H.Prost Plan , 1936-1937.

Another import from the West at this time was the new building styles and lifestyles. The apartment block, a solution to increased urban populations and limited land availability, became more widely accepted in Istanbul too. According to one municipal study, 1,301 of the 7,377 buildings erected between 1928 and 1934 were apartment blocks. These high-rise buildings were concentrated around Taksim, Maçka, and Cihangir; however, there was opposition.

New residential models, mainly as housing estates, developed in the West after 1945, made their way toward Istanbul too. Kemal Ahmet Aru and Rebii Gordon planned the largest housing estate not only of Istanbul but also of Turkey in 1947; the Levent District was designed as a garden city between 1947 and 1950 (see **Figure 2). Emlak Bankası (Keleş, 1996).** The land known as the "Levend Farm" during the empire was purchased from the municipality, its development was plotted in line with town-planning principles, an infrastructure was created, and the Levend District Project came to life with 391 houses of one- or two stories. Encouraged by the popularity of this first development, the 2nd and 3rd district projects were then given the go (Aru and Gorbon, 1952).
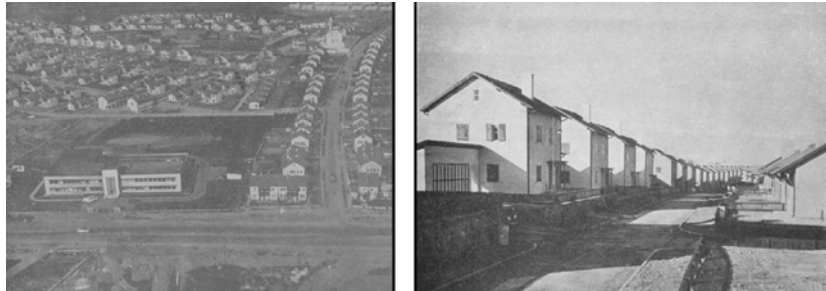
Figure 2: The Levend Housing Project
Source: Gorbon Aru, "Levend Neigbouhood," Arkitekt 253-254, no. 20 (1952): 147-48.

MARSHALL AID AND AMERICAN INFLUENCES ON PLANNING, (1950-1980)

The post–Second World War period embodied a number of milestones, increase in foreign aid and debts within the Marshall Plan of the United States, increase in investment in the economy, modernization and mechanization of agriculture, and the move to multiparty democracy. This series of changes clearly had an effect on the demographic, cultural, and spatial makeup of the country. Istanbul became the leader of this process.

In 1950, Istanbul's population was 975,000; by 1965, it had reached 2,141,000. Natural growth, internal migration, and spatial expansion are the three main features of the time. Experts and publications evaluating this period emphasize that the main issue of the time was the increasing housing demand in line with the population growth (Suher, 1994).

The number of migrants who reached the city between 1950 and 1955 was 270,000. In other words, 74 percent of the population came from outside Istanbul. Rapid mechanization in agriculture and equally rapid population rises in the rural areas have also contributed to the migration.

Technological advances and new construction methods decreased the earlier desirability of whole districts of old wooden houses, old seafront mansions, or huge dwellings set in the middle of private woods. The two convergent factors of the modern city were apartment blocks and motorized vehicles (Erman, 2001; Kıray, 1998).

Other major problems, especially prevalent in the first half of this period, were land speculation and new settlements on both coasts.

Settlement preferences according to geography are interesting; in 1950, 79.5 percent of the population was on the European side, with 20.5 percent on the Asian. By 1965, these figures changed to 77.5 and 22.5 percent, respectively. The southern shores of the city were the most popular choice (Arkitekt Journal, 1961). The third issue is the demands of the growing industrial areas. The fourth issue is the chaotic nature of traffic, caused partly by the increase in private vehicle ownership and the number of dolmus¸ etc (Tekeli and Okyay,1981) . The Beyazıt Square project (1960) is an execution in Istanbul of pedestrianization projects as implemented in Europe and America.

The main players in forming the shape of Istanbul city during this period were the personal desires of the politicians, their projects, the recommendations of foreign planning experts, and the objectives of the planned eras. The plans devised by Prof. Henri Prost were loyally followed between 1936 and 1950. Following his departure, a temporary commission was formed with members selected from eminent academicians and professionals. This commission evaluated 143 plans and wrote their reports. While the Prost plans were found wanting, they were praised all the same as containing regulation recommendations that were appropriate (The Plan Reports of Istanbul,, 2007). The commission found the plans lacking in technical, scientific, planning principles and objective factors, and in attention to local conditions; the view of the commission was that Prost was driven in the main by aesthetic concerns (Sayar, 1956; Suher, 1994).

Power was then handed over to the Municipality at the end of the temporary commission's term. The Istanbul Municipality continued to seek counsel from foreign consultants from time to time, notably Prof. Högg between 1957 and 1960 and Prof. L. Piccinato between 1960 and 1967.

1956 marks a turning point in the political development of the country as well as Istanbul. Adnan Menderes, prime minister, his plan's two main objectives are clear: to solve the traffic problems and to beautify the city (see Figure, 3). The model was the Champs-Elysées of nineteenth century Paris. He explained his vision of a contemporary city: "Essential to the needs of the residents, the roads and avenues are vitally important. This is why major junctions and squares, carrying the majority of the traffic, need to be redefined and reconstructed. We must plan and build large, handsome squares and open up wide avenues. We must greet the visitors arriving by air or land with first-class roads and decorate the city with statues reflecting its heritage." (The 75th Anniversary of the Rebuplic, 1956).

An effort to devise solutions to the country's socioeconomical problems within a planned framework is what formed the State Planning Institute (SPI) in 1960. Charged with preparing five-year development plans, the SPI's first five-year plan covered the years 1963 through 1967. This plan sought to solve Istanbul's economical and social problems and determine new settlement centers to alleviate the burden of speedy growth and over urbanization.

Another action of this period was legal regulations. Taking the right to property as a base, various rules and regulations legalized a grid system of roads, so alien to Istanbul's topography (Keleş, 1996). While Europe was prioritizing local solutions and forming town spaces in line with an urban design guide, Istanbul was led by sui generis (unique to that place) rules. This naturally led to smaller plots, overbuilding, lack of open areas, and a stereotyped apartment block style. Once more and definitively the economic capital of the country, Istanbul now is in search of new spatial preferences.
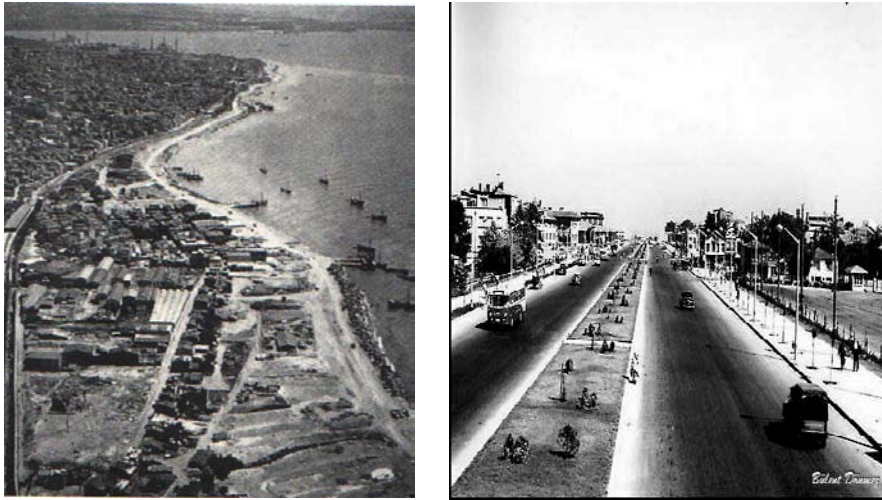
Figure 3. Adnan Menderes operation to solve the city traffic, Kenddy Avenue and Vatan Boulevar

The city started growing northwards, and the European and Asian sides were connected by the first bridge over the Bosphorus in the mid-1970s. The population balance between the two sides of the Bosphorus has now shifted; in 1970, 22 percent of Istanbul's population resided on the Asian side; this ratio rose to 28 percent in 1975 and 32 percent in 1980, reaching 36 percent in 1990. Policies favoring roads have always been a factor in the increase in private car ownership (Arkitekt Journal, 1975).

Post-1980: Urban Planning for a Mass Consumer Society (1980-1999)

Globalization is the flavor of the world at this time. Istanbul now takes its place as a "world city." Local government was made much more independent of the central with the Act numbered 3030, and greater town councils were given much more generous funding. Bedrettin Dalan, mayor of Istanbul between 1984 and 1989, leveraged these new freedoms to start up a number of "mega projects." Just like Menderes, Dalan also razed down huge areas, opened up wide avenues and green areas, and developed and implemented highway projects supporting land transport. One of the most important of these projects is the revitalization of the Haliç (or "Golden Horn"), financed by the World Bank. This project had the admirable objectives of decentralizing industry, creating an infrastructure to clean the waters of the Golden Horn, and creating wide expanses of green areas; however, it also

irrevocably ruined very important examples of historic buildings and streets. Another mega project of the time was the Tarlabası Boulevard, based on a German model from Essen. This project was finished in 1988, having demolished 368 buildings, 167 of which were listed; needless to say, it attracted scathing criticism. Yet another megaproject was the suspended road on the Bosphorus, in front of the historic waterside mansions.

Figure 4: New architectural and life model; Ataköy, Galleria Shopping Center and Gated Communities
Sources: www.mimdap.org

The second bridge over the Bosphorus and its connecting roadwork led to the development of the forest areas north of the city. The city was formed by the implementation of the Reconstruction Law numbered 3194 and the administration. The Tourism Incentive Act of 1982, attracting international investment, resulted in the construction of nearly forty projects in the city between 1984 and 1993, such as hotels and business centers (Gürsel, 1998; Keyder, 2000).

Characterized mainly by political calculations and changes in the law, this period saw Istanbul's population increase from 4,531,000 in 1980 to 7,300,000 in 1990. Internal migration continues unabated, albeit for different reasons, forming new settlements, subcultures, and identities. Consumption, communication, and globalization typify the day. The Galleria Shopping Centre (1987) is the first example of mass consumption in Istanbul. This the new model of shopping was soon followed by gross- and hyper-markets. This consumption model became a **distinct lifestyle (See Figure 4) (Bozdoğan, 1999: Keyder, 2000).** (see Table 1).

The expansion at the boundaries continued, with increasing pressure coming from the shantytowns. Acts of Parliament regulating gecekondus imbue a degree of legitimacy to these illegal buildings that are no longer confined to a single-story ramshackle building; most are now multistory apartment blocks. A new subculture has emerged in these outposts independent of Istanbul; a "threatening other" concept has entered the vernacular (Erman, 2001).

The Housing Development Act of 1981 (revised in 1984) extended the availability of high-standard, high-rise estates with their own social facilities, creating "satellite

towns" and estates. At the same time, compounds (Gülümser, 2004) (walled/gated communities) such as Kemer Country, Alkent, Atasehir, and Crown Plaza took a hold, following global architectural trends and offering a protected lifestyle. These developments in housing are obviously relevant to the formation of the current outline of the city (Hacısalihoğlu, 2000). The city is now expanding northwards, with the slogan of the day being "a comfortable lifestyle in a green setting far from the madding city."

City planning had followed some semblance of system previously under the auspices of foreign experts until the 1980s; afterwards it all became a good deal more piecemeal. The key planning activities of the 1990s included the preparation of the Istanbul Metropolitan Area Master Plan, which advocated the decentralization of industry located in the central business district and conservation areas and emphasized the need to invest in public transport (Kocabaş, 2006).

The Great Marmara Earthquake of 1999 shook more than the ground, making Istanbul's planners appreciate the need for earthquake-proofing and emergency action plans. Foreign experts on earthquakes, such as the Japanese and some EU members, were consulted on models in addition to foreign aid flowing in at this time. The Earthquake Master Plan and debates on urban transformation concepts have been the key targets of World Bank investments.

THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION'S AUTHORITARIAN IMPOSITION AND COPENHAGEN CRITERIA (2000-2010)

The country greeted the new century with an economic crisis. The Turkish lira devalued considerably and the IMF Stabilization Package brought along essential reforms. One of the mainstays of this package has been the reduction of public spending and support of private investment. This political and administrative modernization opened the doors to negotiations with the European Union for accession at the Helsinki Summit of 1999 (Table 1). The country has now entered a new era of economical, political and legal reforms. As it has demonstrated throughout its history, what the country does is first and most evidently illustrated in Istanbul. The consultative approach has been adopted. The prime minister of the time, Bülent Ecevit, and mayors of Istanbul Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Ali Talip Özdemir, and Kadir Topbas¸ have all targeted a reduction in the growth rate of the city during the harmonization process and better preparation for future earthquakes. They all support utilizing advanced information technology and investment. The new Earthquake Master Plan of 2004, the result of collaboration between four universities and led by the Japan International Cooperation Agency, aiming to improve survival rates in high-risk areas, identifying seismic areas, developing risk management systems, and determining the location of safe residential areas, was illustrative of their approach to town planning (Bayrak, 1999) Sustainable urban transformation principles will also be developed under these guidelines. The European Commission recommends not only transport and security but also spatial transformation in the development of economical, social and cultural areas. Pilot projects are already being implemented in Zeytinburnu, Galata, Fener, and Balat. These projects are supported by the World Bank and UNESCO (Zeren Gülersoy and The others, 2008).

The core problem of urban transport in Istanbul results from a lack of integration between different municipal departments dealing with transport, planning and housing. With initially each department promoting their own proposals and not communicating with the others, the Istanbul Metropolitan

Figure 5: Major urban design competitions such as the Kartal- Pendik Regeneration Masterplan that was won by Zaha Hadid Architects in 2006
Source: www.arkitera.com

Planning and Urban Design Centre IMP (Urban Age, 2009) recently founded in 2005, is now aiming to introduce a more integrated planning strategy. IMP is a privately-funded, public-functioning enterprise which works on preparing masterplans, development plans and site analyses for conservation, redevelopment purposes. They bring different practices of urban development and planning, such as transport, housing, design together under one roof and are trying to become the official body of the municipality in producing the visual and supplementary documents.

The IMP calculate a sustainable number for Istanbul's population to be 16 Million by 2023, however they estimate 22 Million given the current growth (İstanbul Strategic Plan Report, 2008). By then, it is most likely that a new third bridge will be built over the Bosporus, a project which receives special attention by Turkey's Prime Minister. The rail network will be extended across the city, and new urban centres such as Kartal-Pendik (1.5 Million), Silivri (2 Million) (İstanbul Strategic Plan Report, 2008) should establish a more polycentric Istanbul.

The planning and implementation of a series of mega-projects called "urban transformation projects," a term first coined in the early 2000s, has also come in this period (See Figure 5) . Some of the urban transformation projects of the mid-2000s involve inviting world-renowned architects like Zaha Hadid and Ken Yeang to design projects for entire districts. Zaha Hadid's project for Kartal, an industrial district on the Asian side, involves relocating industries to the outskirts of the city and designing office buildings that will accommodate service industries, five-star hotels targeted towards international visitors, and a marina catering to cruise tourism (Urban Age, 2009).

The Galataport and Haydarpaşa projects are two other highly publicized and controversial mega-projects in the making. The former refers to the construction of

a cruise ship marina surrounded by shopping centers, hotels and recreational spaces on an area of 100,000 square meters along the Marmara Sea coast on the European side. The Haydarpaşa project involves the transformation of 1,000,000 square meters, including the major historical train station on the Asian side, into a seven-star hotel surrounded by a marina, a yacht club, a cruise ship port, office buildings, and shopping centers. TCDD operates the train station and the Port of Haydarpasa. Since 2003, speculations over the future of the area have gained velocity. Towards the end of 2004, newspapers started publishing articles about development of a "new Manhattan" in Haydarpasa with construction of several skyscrapers with the area transformed into a new central business district.

These projects are highly controversial in that they foresee the destruction of the historic fabric of the city in order to specifically cater to the interests of high-income groups, severely limiting public access to these areas. Moreover, both projects have provoked serious legal disputes (Urban Age, 2009).

INTERPRETATION AND CONCLUSIONS

This paper set out to analyze the dominant external influences on the development of town planning in Istanbul based on the conceptual model of international diffusion of planning ideas defined by Ward and to evaluate its manifestation on the process of the spatial shaping. In this context, this theory has adequately explained the influences on our country and defined the criteria. The periods defined in the article have been assessed on the basis of political, economic, cultural, and social change.

Evaluations of the mechanism of the diffusion process in each period and the dominant ideas and fundamental reasons affecting change have been made. The town-planning process in Turkey has been significantly influenced by Western planning, culture, and experiences as noted in Table 1.

Istanbul, thanks to its geographical position between two continents and its nature as a gateway to Europe, as well as its historical legacy, has been the city most evidently influenced.

The experience of Turkey shows similarities with other developing countries, certainly on the economical dependency platform, while differences, mainly due to social and political formations, also abound. Ward's definition of exporting and importing identities overlaps the basis of dominance on the world's power stage. This is why, during the ascendancy of the Ottoman Empire, Turkey's influence on the territories it controlled was significant. However, once it lagged behind the rapid change that overtook Europe, this identity was replaced by that of a borrower. England, France, and later Germany, with close political relations, were the main influences on Turkey's elite. Reports following observations led the Tanzimat reforms, and town planning moved from the traditional system to a process defined by codes. The leading role the values borrowed during the reforms played on town planning accelerated, triggered by national and urban conditions. While the fabric of towns was destroyed by fires and natural disasters such as earthquakes, lasting solutions were sought in Western implementation models. The results of visits abroad and models investigated were imported and borrowed, interpreted on urban criteria. During this period a certain degree of selection was applied to determining the principles that would direct town planning.

The First World War changed the balance of power in Europe; in Turkey, its effect was to shake the country into a transformation with the War of Independence. The fountainhead of this movement was Atatürk, who observed the West but assessed and interpreted its values as applicable to Turkey. The modernization he anticipated in every field was shaped under the aegis of a new system of governance. His borrowing was not based on imitation but was, on the contrary, assimilatory. Foreign experts were consulted on basic planning principles within the context of economic and administrative self-sufficiency and self-government rules adopted by Atatürk. Town planning projects undertaken during this period, while influenced by European Garden City movements, still preserved an indigenous quality. Politicians who followed Atatürk were enticed by the economic support offered by America to Europe known as the Marshall Plan. Political ideas and personalities took centre stage with the onset of the multiparty system. Kongar divides these political identities into two main categories:

"Statist-Selectionary" and "Traditionalist-Liberal." (Kongar, 2004).

The fundamental difference between the two groups emerged in their consciousness and following of the West. The periods when Menderes, Demirel, and Özal were prime ministers and the mayors of Istanbul were Lütfi Kırdar and Bedrettin Dalan have left definitive marks on not only Turkish political history but also on economic, social, and cultural life as well as the shaping of cities.

The common trait in these political personalities is their constant admiration of the West and, specifically, the dominant power of the time, the United States. They have been instrumental in transporting these values and criteria they admired to the country and specifically to Istanbul without, sometimes, so much as a local elimination process. The destructive applications utilized in Europe in the postwar period, often causing reactions due to their lack of concern for urban conservation, were defined as new models to be adopted in the country. Wide boulevards were opened up in Istanbul, and the development of road transport was deemed to be a major modernization policy. While foreign experts were commissioned to draw up plans, the execution lagged behind the political direction.

American economic aid and directing policies started an unavoidable global dependency process. American values, not only in social and cultural life, but also in town planning, crossed the Atlantic and reached Turkey. The post-1980 period, explained as the leap into a new era and modernization, witnessed technological advances, opening up to the world in every field, and the entry of foreign investment into the country, all of which altered the nature of the diffusion process. Istanbul's urban borders spilled over geographical boundaries, and its population increased by the day. Efforts were made to meet the demands of the increasing population with new housing estates and developing transport networks. The laws became forgiving instead of problem solving. The latest position in the twenty-first century is the point where the European Union becomes the counterweight to the might of the United States on the global stage.

As an effective authoritarian power, the European Union imposes its own criteria. The country is currently making an effort to reform and codify town planning, amongst other areas, in a bid to meet these criteria. So while the main aim is to develop a model that will preserve original values, the current urban transformation phenomena demonstrate the problems related to the application of these ideas.

The processes that developed under the "Westernized, Modern, and Contemporary Turkey" definitions actually describe imitation and borrowing. A more selective approach dominated until the 1950s, and the contribution of foreign experts and planners was more definitive . Starting with specifically the second half of the 1950s, modeling and exact implementations became the order of the day. The planning executions that focused on Istanbul during this time have been criticized for the harm they have wreaked upon the topographical, spatial, and cultural aspects despite their ostensible objective of beautifying Istanbul. In addition, a holistic planning culture failed to take hold. All planning projects concentrated on selected areas of the city. The preference for the views of foreign planners over those of local planners and architects was taken to be a prestigious choice. It is possible to interpret this situation as a direct result of the imposition on space of values admired by politicians. Conspicuous here are internal imposition as well as external model borrowing. The European Union accession process aims to harmonize all countries, which, in turn, brings the country into an external imposition process.

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RESEMBLING FLORIDA: TRANSPACIFIC TRANSFER OF IDEAS FROM ONE GOLD COAST TO ANOTHER

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ABSTRACT

Despite different political structures and planning systems, striking physical similarities exist between the tourist destinations of the Gold Coasts of Queensland and Florida. Both have been fast developing sub-tropical coastal areas, subject to massive land booms, speculation, and entrepreneurs' grand visions throughout their history. As a result, both have become tourist destinations of international renown. Drawing on historical sources, the present research seeks to investigate the extent to which these similarities result from taking American cities as a model for newer development in Australia; in this case from transferring planning and marketing ideas from one Gold Coast to another, with the development of the Florida Gold Coast setting precedent for the development of the Queensland Gold Coast.

INTRODUCTION

Gold Coast City, Queensland, is one of Australia's most famous tourist destinations. Its sub-tropical climate and coastal location attract over eleven million visitors each year. Its reputation as a major holiday destination has contributed to its growing economy and its attractiveness for tourism and retirement. Over time, Gold Coast City transformed from a series of small towns and villages in the early part of the 20th century into one of the fastest growing local government areas in Australia, with a current population of 500,000 that is expected to rise to one million by 2030. It is the largest non-capital city in the country, and in some cases larger than several state capitals.

The fast pace development of Gold Coast City and the Gold Coast region began in the 1930s, at a time during which Australian planning practices started to turn away from the traditional British approaches and were looking at "new world" planning ideas inspired by the United States. Despite major differences between Australia and the United States in terms of population size and distribution, the United States was considered as a model because of its technical know-how and planning visions.

During the early phases of Gold Coast City development, the limited amount of readily-available buildable land along beaches led developers to turn towards the reclamation of floodplains and the development of canal estates on these reclaimed land. Similar practices had been employed in some parts of south Florida

in the 1920s. The property boom was fuelled by marketing campaigns advertising Gold Coast City as a man-made miracle and selling Australia's first, truly "Florida Keys' style", waterway developments ("Surfers' Paradise", 1957: 5). The parallels drawn with the American Sunshine state clearly show that Gold Coast City shares strong similarities with Florida's Gold Coast cities such as Fort Lauderdale and Hollywood. In fact, aerial photos of these cities are virtually indistinguishable in parts, despite the differences in political structures and planning regimes.

These similarities raise the following question: to which degree are these analogous outcomes coincidental or intentional, resulting from using American cities as a model for newer developments in Australia? To understand the pace and shape of development that occurred in Gold Coast City, one needs to look at the transfer and diffusion of specific ideas regarding the development of coastal resort towns, as well as the factors that contributed to these processes. To this effect, this paper explores the historical links between Gold Coast City in South East Queensland, Australia, and the Gold Coast of South Florida, U.S., using archival data and historical documents.

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

Information about the Gold Coast City development history were drawn from a variety of sources: historical accounts of Gold Coast City since the 1920s, local newspapers such as the Courier Mail, the Gold Coast Adviser, the Gold Coast Bulletin, and the South Coast Express, inter-state newspapers such as Melbourne-based The Age and the Sydney-based Morning Herald, as well as international accounts of Gold Coast City. The newspapers were reviewed for articles related to the development of Gold Coast City, for advertisements and promotion campaigns relating to the tourist resort, and for reference to American examples. The paper also used exhibition catalogues of the Gold Coast Art Centre as supporting material.

The use of historical accounts and newspapers as data source enables to develop a chronology of development and provides invaluable information on the potential links between the Floridian and Queensland Gold Coasts. To understand the context of the planning ideas transferred from South Florida to Gold Coast City, one needs to look at the links between planning in Australia and the United States.

THE DIFFUSION OF PLANNING IDEAS FROM THE UNITED STATES TO AUSTRALIA

Urbanization and planning in Australia have been influenced by foreign ideas and models for a long time. As a natural outcome of Australia's colonial history, planning ideas came from Britain in the early days. But by the 1920s, Australian planning practices started to turn away from the traditional British approaches and were amenable to planning ideas inspired by the United States and their comparable "new world" environment. America was considered a model for its technical know-how and planning visions.

Among the early themes imported from the United States were the City Beautiful movement, as well as the ideas of master planned communities and Radburn estate layout. American influence on Australian planning increased in time. In the 1970s, among imported American influences Freestone (2004: 204) included

"environmental management, landscape planning, public participation, transference of development rights, and human-scaled place-sensitive planning." This would be followed by "metropolitan area planning through urban redevelopment, systems planning and corporate planning techniques, the new urbanism, land use–transport integration, and growth management" (Freestone 2004: 205). Ward (2002: 384-385) claims that "given so much common ground between Australian and American suburbs, it was inevitable that the new urbanist philosophy would provide the design underpinning for urban consolidation."

This does not mean that Australia borrowed everything "as is" from the United States. Even by 1920s some planners such as Saxil Tuxen warned that "Australia could learn from America's good examples 'without falling prey to . . . its many faults,' such as its laissez faire organization of utilities and the 'ugly face of commercialism'" (Nichols, 1998: 66). Freestone (2004: 190) agrees that "American ideas have been demonstrably assimilated into Australian planning theory, ideology, and practice over an extended period" however "Australian responses were not uncritical, deferential, undiscretionary forms of 'undiluted borrowing'" (209) as Ward (2002) suggests. Thus he concludes by arguing that what really took place was "arguably less the Americanization of Australian planning and more the Australianization of American planning" (2004: 210).

Whether coincidental or intentional, uncritically borrowed or adapted, the similarities are gaining attention from researchers. Freestone and Murphy (1998: 295) note that an emerging theme in Australian urban studies in the 1990s has been the relative convergence and divergence of the urban development paths of Australian cities compared to those overseas, notably North American.

Similarities have been observed with the development of master planned communities and resort towns. Minnery and Bajracharya (1999: 36) note that "the initial visions for master-planned communities (MPCs) in the South East Queensland have been influenced by those in the United States particularly from Florida and California". Minnery and Bajracharya add that many developers and designers made trips to the United States to gain ideas. In addition, like the growth of MPCs in sunbelt areas of the US, interstate migration to South East Queensland contributed to the planning and development of MPCs. Freestone (2004: 207) points to "the resort town 'with old-fashioned neighbourhood values" of Seaside near Coolum on Queensland's Sunshine Coast, with the architecture a fusion of the American Seaside and traditional Queenslander homes" as "a direct American inspiration".

The rest of the paper explores the similarities of development patterns between the Queensland and Floridian Gold Coasts by looking at three main themes: the development of residential canal estates in Gold Coast City, the role of political entrepreneurs in the diffusion of planning ideas, and the power of advertisement in promoting Gold Coast City and its region. The following section considers the early phases of the Gold Coast City development, where the limited amount of readily-available buildable land along beaches led developers to turn towards practices successfully employed in some parts of Florida such as the reclamation of floodplains and the development of canal estates built on reclaimed land.

GOLD COAST CITY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF FLORIDA-LIKE WATERFRONT LIVING

Gold Coast City, one of Australia's most popular tourist destinations, is located in the South East corner of Queensland. It forms a 56 km coastal strip from Southport and Surfers' Paradise in the north to Coolangatta to the south (Figure 1). Over time, the area has become recognised and marketed as a single destination, but it started out as a collection of distinct areas and nodes with physical boundaries that blurred over time (Russell and Faulkner, 2004: 565). Until the late 1940s it was comprised of three major towns, Coolangatta, Tweed Heads and Southport, and a series of hamlets and holidays shacks. The towns developed as holiday destinations following the construction of the railway from Brisbane to Coolangatta in 1903 (Holthouse, 1982: 36; Mullins, 1984: 34). The railway line proved popular and triggered a massive influx of one-day and weekend visitors from Brisbane, (Spearitt, 2009: 97). It was a trigger that caused a wave of development in the area and provided the impetus for the emergence of mass residential development and tourism during the 1950s and 1960s, which would later be reinforced by the growth of car ownership.

In the late 1940s, Coolangatta, Southport and part of the Moreton Shire in between were amalgamated into the town of South Coast, renamed in 1958 Gold Coast City (Mullins, 1984: 35). The name change was thought to offer better marketing prospects for attracting tourists and potential investors. Despite resemblance of development patterns, one can still observe a certain polarisation in terms of development between the north and the south of Gold Coast City, epitomized by the differences between Surfers' Paradise, the international resort which development was influenced by creative entrepreneurs, and Coolangatta, whose approach to growth was more dispersed (Russell and Faulkner, 2004).

Figure 1: Map of the Gold Coast (source: www.gold-coast.info)

Surfers' Paradise, formerly called Elston, grew from a hotel, opened in 1925 by James Cavill, one of Gold Coast's most famous developers, to a successful sea resort in just few years (Holthouse, 1982: Spearitt, 2004). Cavill is credited with being the first individual to make a significant impact on the area. His initiative triggered a cycle of change and development that would take place on a greater scale years later (Russell and Faulkner, 2004: 568). During the 1950s, other real estate developers such as Laurie Wall, saw the potential of Surfers Paradise. According to Elliot (1980: 98), many holiday shacks at the time were owned by Western graziers who started to sell their land after a series of cyclones led to a decline in wool prices. Speculation took place as investors from Sydney and Melbourne purchased and sold land in frenzy. According to Elliot (1980: 98), "the new visionaries were planning on similar lines to Miami, Florida, USA".

Ironically, the Gold Coast City area was considered by architects and other professions as intrinsically unsuitable for development as a major scale holiday resort for several reasons: the narrow strip of land (one mile wide and twenty miles long) offering only ribbon type development, and with a swampy hinterland subjected to flooding, and the desirable quality of the coastline beaches, as compared with the Sunshine coast, north of Brisbane, or even the north of New South Wales (Kollar, 1959; Jones, 1986).

As rapid development was taking place along the narrow strip of sand dune immediately behind the beaches, it became clear to Gold Coast developers that further expansion needed to take place in low-lying areas adjacent to the Nerang River, subject to periodic flooding, and on the inland side of the sand strip. These locations presented drawbacks to the promoters of subdivisions. However, a local newspaper argued, "in this business a subdivision's possibilities increase in proportion to its lack of natural endowments" ("Money's been poured into Gold Coast", 1959: 13).

Residential canal estates typical of the Florida and Queensland coasts (Hudson, 1996: 102) are particularly relevant for drawing similarities. In Florida, the development of canal estates was made possible by land reclamation as early as the 1920s, when swamp lands and mangrove areas were converted to expansive residential land. According to Moore (2003: 196), Gold Coast developers created canal estates by utilising land reclamation methods first implemented at Fort Lauderdale in Florida. The techniques consisted of pumping the sand from the water to form finger-like canal estates while raising the land above flood level (Jones, 1986: 32). Local Gold Coast City newspapers were reporting on the use of suction dredges to convert swamps and sandbars into Florida-style waterways ("Money's been poured into Gold Coast", 1959: 13).

Alfred Grant, a Gold Coast developer, is credited, along with the architect Karl Langer, for pioneering the first man-made waterway estates in South-East Queensland During the 1950s, visits to Fort Lauderdale, Florida, and Hawaii convinced Grant that the Gold Coast offered excellent opportunities for canal and country club developments, and that it was possible to convert flood-prone swamps into prime building blocks by pumping water out of sand along the Nerang River. Together they created the Miami Keys and Rio Vista estates in 1957, what Jones calls "the most genuinely planned canal estates in the initial wave of waterway development in the 1950s and 1960s" (Jones, 1984: 32). The subdivisions guaranteed every home builder an absolute water frontage.

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However, it appears that Karl Langer was more influenced by Dutch reclaiming techniques than ideas from Florida in drawing the plans for the estates. Describing his work in a 1959 special edition of Architecture in Australia, Langer claimed that he used the Dutch idea of taking filling material to convert these low laying grazing lands from the site itself and using a rectangular pattern (Langer, 1959: 66). Langer also adopted the Radburn layout designed by Clarence Stein and Henry Wright, and replaced the park areas and green strips located behind the houses by waterways. According to Langer, "the Dutch pattern, together with the Radburn pattern and modern aspects planning have been welded into a canal estate layout that is now typical in this area" (Langer, 1959:67). Contradicting Langer's argument, J. H. Shaw, a senior lecturer in town planning at the University of New South Wales, commented in the same edition that the Miami Keys and Rio Vista developments, with their grid of waterways and roadways, were indeed styled on the Florida Keys estates in the United States, (1959: 83).

The idea of canal estates was also favoured by other influential figures such as Bruce Small, a Melbourne entrepreneur who later became the mayor of Gold Coast City, and Stanley Korman. Bruce Small proposed 160 km of canals, convinced that the newly created residential developments would increase property values up to 163% a year (Davidson and Spearitt, 2000). Stanley Korman pursued a similar strategy when opening the first international style hotel, the Chevron, in 1955. These projects set new standards for urban development, and promoted the Gold Coast in what Russell and Faulkner call "show business style" (2004: 571), expanding its image of glamour and leisure.

Significant in the transfer, promotion and implementation of planning visions and ideas is the fundamental role played by political entrepreneurs. Similarly to Florida and other Sunbelt states, the urbanisation of Gold Coast City can be seen as the result of the entrepreneurial activities of a small number of innovative and risk taking developers/investors (Mullins, 1984). This parallel is explored in the following section.

THE ROLE OF POLITICAL ENTREPRENEURS IN THE DIFFUSION OF PLANNING IDEAS

According to Mullins (1984: 36), it is entrepreneurship which leads to new capitalist development initiatives and distinguishes the growth of the United States sunbelt and the growth of Gold Coast City. Mullins draws parallels between the rapid development of the Gold Coast and of the Florida coast especially around Miami. Such rapid growth was fuelled by entrepreneurial visions. People like Stanley Korman and Bruce Small had a vision of large-scale, high class real estate developments in Gold Coast City (Jones, 1986: 26). It resulted in a distinctive built environment, made up of canal estates, condominiums, shops, restaurants, amusement parks and related infrastructure (Mullins, 1984: 36). Gold Coast City has been described as a "free enterprise city", similarly to cities which expanded rapidly over the last few decades, such as Houston (Mullins, 1992: 195), as well as "a millionaire's playground, a tourist resort modelled on those in Florida"(The Age, 1958: 8).

The explanations put forward to explain the rapid development of Gold Coast City clearly emphasize the role of pro-growth coalitions and entrepreneurs. Mullins (1984) identifies four main factors that played a crucial role in this process: the

role of major investors, often from Southern states such as Victoria, the presence of a pro-growth working class, the presence of "sympathetic" governments (local councils and the Queensland government), and the existence of what he qualifies as a petty bourgeoisie (self employed and small employers) who was involved in all phases of development (Mullins, 1984: 35). This is consistent with the idea that entrepreneurship prospers in an environment where social, economic and political conditions are favourable. In this sense, the relationships between local governments and entrepreneurs are essential to understand. If local planners and other regulators are relatively supportive, and if there is little tension between them and the entrepreneurs, the latter will be relatively free, and the area is likely to experience growth (Russell and Faulkner, 2004: 572).

Mullins (2003: 133) argues that the two main local governments, Gold Coast City Council and Albert Shire Council (representing an area stretching from the Brisbane City Council boundary through the rural hinterland districts to the Queensland New South Wales border) were conducting populist politics and therefore provided the conditions for easy and speedy development in the region. In effect, the area was dominated by a land-oriented regime (Mullin, 2003: 133). In 1957, the Albert Shire Council, which controlled the South Coast, allowed the developers of the "Florida Gardens" estate to build a 100 foot-wide canal, based on "proven US methods" (Spearitt, 2004: 2). In May 1958, State Parliament passed the *Queensland Canals Act*, which allowed these newly created water-frontages to be sold as freehold title, without the Brisbane Harbour Authority being able to claim land abutting the canal. It also allowed for the creation of artificial waterfront blocks on the Florida Keys style (Spearitt, 2009). The lift on building restrictions that followed WWII (Russell and Faulkner, 2004: 570) also contributed to boost development on the Gold Coast.

This land-oriented regime also focussed on promoting tourism interests and attracting tourists. The Gold Coast City Council played an important role in relation to tourism and development e.g. provision of basic infrastructure, speeding building approvals, general aid in construction and land development, promotion of tourism (Mullins, 1992: 195). During the 1960s and 1970s, entrepreneurs in the Gold Coast region co-opted local planners by infiltrating the political structures (state and local) to which they were accountable. State politicians and the councillors were, at the same time, land owners and developers. The boundaries between the roles became blurry and conflicts of interest were not questioned. Similarly, many local governments in South Florida cities were co-opted by private sector coalitions of developers and entrepreneurs favouring unrestrained growth (Turner, 1992).

Gold Coast entrepreneurs and investors were influenced by planning visions and ideas that emerged in similar contexts in the United States. They in turn influenced the development of the Gold Coast by attempting to implement their own visions. According to Spearitt (2009: 92), Gold Coast entrepreneurs owe much to Florida canal estates and theme parks as models and sources of inspiration. The Montreal Gazette's description of the Gold Coast's most famous flagship development captures this phenomenon quite clearly: "in many ways, Surfer's Paradise, its modern hotels and motels, is patterned on the Florida style." (Bantey, 1961:18). Jay Clarke, from the Miami Herald (1996), also remarks on the resemblance: "coincidence? Hardly. Though no one here admits it, it's obvious where the developers of this booming resort region go their ideas... [as] a Gold Coast tourism official observed, imitation is a form of flattery".

The use of American names was a deliberate appeal to the imagination and attraction of capital and customers. Gold Coast was considered a paradise of financial opportunities. An extract from a 1959 edition of the Gold Coast Adviser makes the claim that "there's been no development of an area to match the Coast since the days of the American development of the multi-million dollar Florida USA coastline" ("£2 Million Estates", 1959: 3). Later, this emphasis on names and lifestyle would draw criticisms by being too American. In an article published in the September 15, 1965 edition of The Age, Pamela Fox reports some of the negative comments attached to the Gold Coast, loathed for being a cheap, imitatively American Coney Island, as opposed to a second Miami (Fox, 1965: 13).

Part of the success of this financial paradise rested upon the use of innovative and powerful marketing strategies. The "biggest coastal land boom" of the 1950s and 1960s (Spearitt, 2004: 2) was fuelled by marketing campaigns orchestrated by powerful and innovative entrepreneurs advertising Gold Coast City as a man-made miracle and selling Australia's first, truly Florida Keys' style, waterway developments. The coastal blocks were the target of aggressive marketing campaigns originally directed towards investors from Queensland and from Southern states. Interestingly, these campaigns were using marketing techniques borrowed from the United States.

THE POWER OF ADVERTISEMENT IN PROMOTING GOLD COAST CITY

The "successful" decades of Gold Coast City were characterised by grand-scale development and its consolidation, with migration to the coast, capital investment and entrepreneurial visions and government cooperation. In tourism and land development, one of the main factors of change is the presence of entrepreneurs who use creativity, perceptiveness and fortuitous timing to identify and exploit new opportunities (Russell and Faulkner, 2004: 557). The Gold Coast, especially with destinations such as Surfers 'Paradise, was successful in attracting and retaining entrepreneurial investment, while maintaining itself in a constant state of alertness to development opportunities, despite financial setbacks in the 1960s.

Local newspapers were celebrating the fact that "money's been poured into Gold Coast" and that people had been known "to get subdivision fever just by lying on the beach" ("Money's been poured into Gold Coast", 1959: 13). The narrow strip of land became a property exchange, with at least 88 real estate offices between Coolangatta and Southport. The frenzy of swapping land, up to seven or eight times, is revealing of this land booming "intoxication" (Howard, 1959: 15) and speculative race.

The property boom was fuelled by marketing campaigns making use of the best of American land booming promotion strategies (Longhurst, 2006), advertising Gold Coast as a man-made miracle and selling Australia's first, truly "Florida Keys' style", waterway developments (Figure 2). The names Gold Coast and Surfers' Paradise, with their connotation of leisure and fun and the images they evoked, were an open invitation to tourists and prospective buyers that was fully exploited by entrepreneurs. As McRobbie pointed out, "Surfers' Paradise is the story of free enterprise... bold and innovative risk taking, which involved true entrepreneurial flair" (McRobbie, 1988: 19).

The attention brought to the South coast was instrumental in developing the publicity and branding of the coastal landscape. Some real estate firms were

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buying entire pages in inter-state newspapers such as The Age, and the Sydney Morning Herald, and displayed attractive real estate advertisements to promote/praise the unequalled and golden opportunities that await potential Gold Coast investors. Large full print newspaper ads and coloured notice estates with attractive features were used to attract prospective buyers, promising them glorious positions on the waterfront and more. These marketing strategies were very similar to the ones employed by South Florida developers such as Carl Fischer, who in 1920 bought a giant billboard advertisement in New York Times Square promoting the virtues of Miami's weather and beaches.

Figure 2: The development of Gold Coast "Florida style
(source: The Courier Mail, 23 December 1957)

Free return trips and transport to the particular subdivisions, as well as complimentary champagne for potential buyers, were powerful examples of these very intensive promotion campaigns. The Age reports in its January 8, 1958, edition that "Victoria residents are flying free to Coolangatta to purchase residential sites at Australia's first Florida Keys style, man-made waterway developments at Surfers' Paradise and Broadbeach" ("Free Air Travel", 1958: 4). The article emphasises the novelty of this type of development in Australia, where every house have a road and water front, and is styled along the Florida Keys and Fort Lauderdale.

Advertisement campaigns would use images and models that would appeal to prospective buyers. In the 1920s, with the development of surfing as a recreational pastime, estate developers would use images such as shapely surf girls in bathing suits and estate names such as Surfers Paradise and Pacific Ocean estate. The lands on offer would be described as offering great potential for swimming, surfing, fishing, and so on. Later on, Sunshine states like California and Florida became the new models (Longhurts, 2006: 7). Images of streetscapes lines with palm trees and bungalows were used in advertisement campaigns. Gold Coast estates were given names with direct reference to the American culture: Miami Shores, Palm Beach,

Florida Gardens, Miami Keys, Miami Gardens, etc. The use of American names was a way to inflame the imagination of the Australian public. It also reflected the fact that developers such as Korman and Small were, according to Spearitt (2009: 98), "besotted by developments in Florida".

These strategies of land promotion coincide with the existence of what Mullins calls a land-oriented regime that dominated the Gold Coast politics from 1945 until 1980 (Mullins, 2003: 133). This land oriented regime, dominated by land development interests, was focussing on attracting buyers. It was also focussing on attracting tourists, in cooperation with local tourism interests.

CONCLUSION

For the non-discriminating eye, cities such as Gold Coast and Fort Lauderdale look virtually indistinguishable in parts. Is this resemblance intentional? Based on the early evidence gathered in this paper, similarities of climate and geography made Florida a source of inspiration for Gold Coast developers and entrepreneurs in the early phases of the city's urban development. These entrepreneurs searched for and found models of development that had been successful in South Florida. The implementation of land reclamation techniques and the creation of canal estates provide a compelling argument for the transfer of ideas from one Gold Coast to another. The role of these entrepreneurs in fuelling land speculation and in infiltrating local and state politics to influence development decisions is another characteristic shared by both places. Furthermore, the use of Florida-inspired place names and marketing strategies clearly demonstrate that the example of Florida was not used only in building the image of Gold Coast City but in selling it as well. This does not mean that Gold Coast City is a copy of a particular place in Florida. Similarly to Freestone (2004), one can argue that these ideas have been assimilated, transformed and adapted to suit local conditions.

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INFLUENCE OF THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE ON THE TOWN PLANNING CONCEPT IN THE SPANISH COLONIAL LAWS

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ABSTRACT

This paper attempts a comparative study, from the viewpoint of town planning, with the commonality and the difference of the Vitruvian thoughts and Albertian thoughts in De re aedificatoria, which are both the sources of the Ideal City in the Renaissance Italy and examine the characteristic of the town planning method developed in the Spanish colonial laws, the Ordinances of Philip II. The methodology of town planning in the Ordinances follow in the fragmentary solution for the planning and arrangement of plazas, streets, municipal facilities represented in the Vitruvian thoughts described in De Architectura Libri Decem and Albertian ideas in De re aedificatoria. In the Ordinances however, the regulations on the spatial structure of plazas and those extending streets from them in good order basically control the town's layout. Moreover, those regulations apparently provide the practical guidelines for the planning of principal plazas which form the town core and for the planning and arrangement of municipal facilities. Under the strong influence of the town planning concept in the Renaissance Italy, the Ordinances of Philip II transformed those methods to further practical and concrete town planning regulations, which strongly provide the planners with the visual image and concrete solution of town planning.

INTRODUCTION

Many of town planning experiments in the Spanish Renaissance period were carried out along with the new town settlements under the oversea colonial administration. The town planning concepts illustrated there have been attracting attention not only for its practicality but also for its correlation to the ideal cities in the Italian Renaissance. Parallel to the practice of town planning, the Spanish Royal issued many colonial laws, "*Leyes de las indias*", and provided regulations on town planning. The ideas in those regulations attract much attention for its influence on the modern town planning concepts also. For example, In the Expansion Plan of Barcelona(1859) by Ildefons CERDÀ (1816-76), Gravagnuolo points

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out the similarity with the criteria for town planning in the Spanish colonies rather than past examples of town improvement in Europe.[1]

Plaza planning and town layout of grid plan are outstanding criteria in the Spanish colonial town planning. These ideas are codified in the *Ordinances of Philip II* (1573)[2] and the codification of town planning regulations gave much influence on posterity. Understanding of the *Ordinances* are based on many studies[3] but only similarity between those laws and Ideal Cities and town planning concept in Italian Renaissance has often been pointed out. Stanislawski[4] points out the similarity especially with Vitruvius' *De architectura, libri decem*[5] *(Ten Books on Architecture)*. Stanislawski put more importance on the commonality between two comparing the texts of articles in the *Ordinances* and the *Ten Books on Architecture*. Meanwhile the peculiarity of the *Ordinances of Philip II* is getting more and more identified[6].

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[1] GRAVAGNUOLO, Benedetto (1998), *HISTORIA DEL URBANISMO EN EUROPA 1750-1960*, Akal Arquitectura, Madrid, p.58.

[2] This document is preserved in the Archivo General de Indias (A.G.I.) in Seville, Spain, the Document code: Indiferente General, legajo 427, libro 29, folios 67-93; the Document title: *Ordenanzas de descubrimiento, nueva población y pacificación.* This is a manuscript document written in the sixteenth century Castilian language, which extends for 27 pages of almost A4 size on both sides. It was issued on July 13th, 1573 by the King, Philip II. This code consists of 149 articles in all widely about three themes on the colonization of the Indies; discovery (search for the territories for colonization), the population, and the pacification (the Christian missionary work), each of which respectively comprises a chapter. The documents about the code referred to in this study are the following. ICAZA DUFOUR, F. et al.(eds.): Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias (Miguel Ángel Porrúa, México, 1987), a typed version of the original manuscript and Archivo General de La Nación: "Fundación de pueblos en el Siglo XVI," BOLETÍN DEL ARCHIVO GENERAL DE LA NACIÓN, Tomo VI, No.3 (Mexico, 1935), pp.321-360, and Instituto de Cultura Hispánica (1973), *Transcripción de las Ordenanzas de Descubrimiento, Nueva Población y Pacificación de las Indias dadas por Felipe II el 13 de julio de 1573*, Ministerio de la Vivienda, Madrid, both contemporary Spanish versions.

[3] Outstanding researches out of various studies are as follows: ROUCH, Dora P.[et al.] (1982), *SPANISH CITY PLANNING IN NORTH AMERICA*, Cambridge, MIT Press, and SOLANO, F. [et al.] (1987), *HISTORIA URBANA DE IBEROAMERICA, TOMO I, LA CIUDAD IBEROAMERICANA HASTA 1573*, CONSEJO SUPERIOR DE LOS COLEGIOS DE ARQUITECTOS DE ESPAÑA, Madrid.

[4] STANISLAWSKI, Dan (1947), "Early Spanish Town Planning in the New World", *THE GEOGRAPHICAL REVIEW, Volume XXXVII* , New York, pp.94-105.

[5] This architectural treatise, *'De architectura, libri decem'*, is supposed to be written in the last half of the first century B.C. by the architect and engineer, Marcus Vitruvius Pollio. Its manuscript copies did exist during the Middle Ages and were rediscovered in the early Renaissance, when it was rapidly translated into other European languages and the Vitruvian ideas on architecture and town planning spread all over Europe and its colonies. In this study, the following version in Latin and Japanese was referred to. MORITA, Keiiti: VITRUVII DE ARCHITECTURA LIBRI DECEM IN SERMONEM IAPONICUM VERSIT, (Tokyo, JAPAN: TOKAI UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1969), a Japanese translation of the Latin version in Valentin Rose, Hermann Mu☐ller-Stru☐bing: *Vitruvii Vitruvius Pollio, De architectura libri decem*, (Teubner, 1867).

[6] KASHIMA, Akihiro(2008), "Significance of non-Vitruvian ideas: A study on the peculiarity of the town planning concept in the Spanish colonies", Papers in the 13TH International Planning History Society, Chicago conference, July 2008.

On the other hand, Zucker[7] mentions that the Vitruvian ideas dominated the ideas on architecture and town planning at the beginning of the Spanish colonial period, but the concepts of town planning shifted toward the ideas of the theorists in Renaissance Italy who were familiar with Vitruvius. Thus, Zucker suggests that the town planning concepts in the *Ordinances of Philip II* were distanced from Vitruvian philosophy. Crouch[8] also suggests the correlation between the town planning concepts drawn in the *Ordinances of Philip II* and Alberti's vision of the town planning indicated in his architectural treatise, *De re aedificatoria*[9]. A Renaissance humanist Alberti had read the *Ten Books on Architecture* by Vitruvius and re-edited his own architectural treatise, with viewpoint of studying architecture as a sociological phenomenon. Alberti's treatise, *De re aedificatoria* gave great influence on the practice and theory of architecture in the 16th and 17th centuries.

To position the *Ordinances of Philip II* as town planning vision in the Renaissance period, this paper attempts a comparative study, from the viewpoint of town planning, on the commonality and the difference between the *Ordinances* and Alberti's thoughts which provided sources of the Ideal City in the Renaissance Italy. This study also considers distance from the Vitruvian thoughts to examine the peculiarity of the *Ordinances of Philip II*.

There are not as many detailed description in the *Ordinances* as in *De re aedificatoria*, both provide geographical conditions for town construction, town layout, street planning, plaza planning, and arrangement of town facilities.

TOWN PLANNING PHILOSOPHY IN THE *TEN BOOKS ON ARCHITECTURE*

The fundamental attitude of Vitruvius on the town planning

First, in the *Ten Books on Architecture*, the town planning regulations are mainly recognized in Book I, which describes the construction of the town wall and sets out the fundamental attitude of town layout, and Book V, which describes the location of public facilities.

The town walls, towers, and town gates are extremely important, as Vitruvius interprets public buildings from the viewpoint of defense, religion, and practicality [Vitruvius' Book I, Chapter 3, Section 1, (Vit.I.iii.1)]. On the basis that the town and its public facilities are very important elements for society, the necessary regulations are drawn up. Humidity, temperature, and wind direction are all taken into consideration for selecting the land for town construction, [Vit.I.iv.1] and criteria for the selection of the healthy location are described [Vit.I.iv.9, I.iv.11, I.v.1]. A concrete image of the town shape is also described from the viewpoint of defense [Vit.I.v.2], pointing out the relation between the direction of the streets and the wind, and criteria for the positioning of the plazas [Vit.I.vi.1, 8, I.vii.1]. From the selection of the town site to its layout, the design considers all aspects of

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[7] ZUCKER, Paul(1959): *Town and Square: From the Agora to the Village Green*, (New York: Columbia University Press).

[8] CROUCH, Dora P.[et al.] (1982), *SPANISH CITY PLANNING IN NORTH AMERICA*, Cambridge, MIT Press.

[9] This architectural treatise strongly influenced by Vitruvius and representative of architectural treatises issued in the Italian Renaissance. Leon Batista Alberti, *De re aedificatoria*, Firenze, 1485.

health, climate, and environment. The planning concept for the plazas concerning shape, size, and the surrounding buildings is very practical [Vit.V.i.1, 2, 4].

With regard to the conditions of the town site, the quality of water in particular is mentioned with regard to health in Book VIII, and a remarkable sanitary viewpoint including various required conditions for the town site, town layout, and location of facilities is presented [Vit.VIII].

Architectural criteria as town planning regulations

Apart from Books I and V, some architectural regulations regarding town planning are recognized. Building materials [II], architectural planning and division [III, IV], arrangement of the temples [IV], housing architecture [VI] are also mentioned in other *Books*.   For example, the descriptions of building materials [II.iii.1], foundations of the buildings [III.iv.2, V.iii.3, VI.viii.1], arrangement of the temples [I.vii.1, IV.v.1, 2], and matters concerning water supply in the town [VIII] are very concrete.   These descriptions are apparently recognized as the basis of the regulations in the *Ordinances of Philip II*.   From this point of view, concerning conditions of location, climate, town layout, location of facilities, and materials, the *Ten Books on Architecture* by Vitruvius provides an arrangement of town planning conditions with the principles of usefulness (*utilitas*), solidity (*firmitas*), and beauty (*venustas*).

The *Ordinances* follows the aspects of safety, health, and comfort as given in the Vitruvian ideas and add new viewpoints of more practical methodology of town planning, which correspond to the expected town expansion by means of a grid pattern. This scheme of town layout shows an idea of town planning with high adjustability in case of expansion, which has not evolved from the Vitruvian ideas.

THE ORDINANCES OF PHILLIP II IN CONTRAST WITH ALBERTI'S DE RE AEDIFICATORIA

The *Ordinances of Philip II* do not include as much detailed description as *De re aedificatoria*, but viewpoints such as geographical conditions for town settlements, town's layout, street planning, plaza planning, and arrangement of town facilities are implied.   Contrasting both texts from the viewpoints on town planning, the differentiae are argued in the followings.

Geographical conditions for town settlements

There is much commonality in both views on the conditions where to construct a town. Conditions for climate are almost equal and they are also in accord with Vitruvian thoughts in *Ten Books on Architecture.* In Alberti's *De re aedificatoria,* he regards moderate sunlight, heat and cold, direction to the sea [Alberti's *De re aedificatoria,*Book I, Chapter3 (I.3. It is simply abbreviated as "I.3" to distinguish from Vit.I.3 which stands for the Book I, Chapter3, in Vitruvius' *Ten Books on Architecture.*)].   On height above sea level, warm and humid climate, and water quality [I.4, 6, IV.2] as well as a good supply of materials, conditions of local plants, animals and residents [I.5], are also stated in detail in *De re aedificatoria,* from viewpoint of selecting town establishment location.   Meanwhile, the *Ordinances* also states conditions for site selection, from sanitary point of view, such as height above sea level, temperature, distance from marshland, direction to the sea, and the conditions of the local inhabitants [the *Ordinances*, Articles 34,

40-41, 111-ii[10]] . These criteria are obviously common points and equal to the Vitruvian thoughts also.

The *Ordinances* classify the cases of inland and coastal town constructions, meanwhile Alberti argues three cases such as coastal towns, flat land towns, and mountain towns, also from sanitary point of view [IV.2].

As contrasted with Vitruvian thoughts, a peculiar attitude toward the condition for town site was pointed in the *Ordinances* which recommends to construct a town on the eastern side of the river in case of a riverside town [Article 40]. But this idea is not shown in Alberti's thought. This attitude in the *Ordinances* is conscious of creating town's dignity because the sun always rises in the direction of the town itself beyond the water surface. Alberti does not mention this condition but requires to put decoration on the town walls so that "*the enemies retreat amazedly loosing confidence*" [VII.2] and stimulates to determine a site for a shrine which is "*a rising site to show its dignity*" [VII.3]. Also the temples are to be located on "*distinguished sites with dignity and authority*" [V.6], and there is strong concern about how to decorate the town gates, the mouth of a harbor, main streets and plazas [VIII.6].

As concerned with the geographical conditions for settlements, both Alberti and the *Ordinances* have the aspects of sanitary. *De re aedificatoria* shows wide range of requirements but the *Ordinances* provide geographical requirements to build a scenery full of dignity at townscape level.

Criteria for town layout

De re aedificatoria says that a town should be located in the center of the territory with an unobstructed view toward the town's boundary [IV.2]. A town should be enclosed by walls and Alberti explains the method of constructing the town walls comparing with ancient examples on the assumption that town walls are constructed. Alberti's thoughts on town's boundary differ from Vitruvian thoughts but it is common to both that an outline of town is to be determined to obtain a town layout with plazas and streets in good order. But *the Ordinances* include no regulations on the town walls. The *Ordinances* requires well-ordered street pattern for town layout [Article 117] on condition that a town expands in the future [Article 111], and stimulate the repetition of street planning in case of town's expansion. Considering that many colonial towns were enclosed by walls, the *Ordinances* take a stance of not constructing town walls to arrange a planning system in accordance with town's future expansion.

As for town shape, *De re aedificatoria* states that it is not practical to give a circular or a rectangular shape to a town wall as stated in *Ten Books on Architecture,* but it is adequate to plan a town so as to fit for the site condition [IV.3]. Also Alberti adds construction regulations on lands for public use, plazas, streets, bridges, sewage, harbor for administration and recreation of town [IV.3,5,6,8], and on temples, administration facilities, public facilities, commercial facilities, town residence as elements of town formation[V.6,7,8,13,18].

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[10] In the original text there is an error—the article number 111 is assinged on two different articles. Here the second article 111 is numbered "Article 111-ii," and the first just "Article 111."

Meanwhile the *Ordinances of Philip II* mention town facilities such as temples, administration facilities, commercial facilities, medical facilities, town residence as elements of town planning but Alberti already provides the same viewpoint on those facilities.

Street planning

As for the street planning, Alberti classifies streets into military streets and non military streets. As Alberti mentions about the military streets, "the town gates should be constructed corresponding to the number of military streets", we can understand that the military streets mean the main streets connecting outside and inside of a town through the town gates. *De re aedificatoria* adjust necessary requirements of width and safety of the military streets inside and outside a town from defensive point of view [IV.5]. At the same time, Alberti emphasizes the effect of the decoration of streets.

Meanwhile the *Ordinances* classify the streets into the main streets extending from the central point of each side of the central plaza and the ordinary streets extending from each corner of the plaza [Article 114]. of these the main streets extend outward the town through the town gates [Article 111]. The *Ordinances* do not give a direct explanation of the military streets but the main streets mentioned in the Article 111 are likely to have a similar function to the military streets stated in *De re aedificatoria.* The *Ordinances* requires that the streets inside town, plazas and blocks should be laid regularly in a line repeatedly in good order [Articles 111, 117]. The *Ordinances* show no direct indication of grid pattern. However, considering other regulations about the relation of the rectangular main plaza and the classified streets, the *Ordinances* provide a street layout of Cartesian coordinates as illustrated in the Figure 1.

《Ordinances of Philip II, Articles 111, 112, 117》
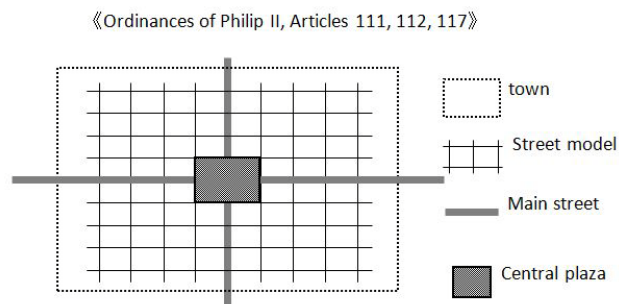
Figure 1 : Street layout according to the Ordinances

De re aedificatoria requires also a town layout in good order saying that "the town streets should be planned precisely and totally in good order", but much attention is paid on those streets from the viewpoint of town's decoration [VIII.6] , considering buildings on the streets, sidewalks, intersections and plazas. Alberti insists that the town streets should not be straight in line but planned to be curved gently [IV.5] to give impression that the streets seem to have more distant and larger scale than they actually are, and that street pattern of this type gives elegance and advantage of use to a town. Moreover Alberti points out that the scenery changes as a person takes a step forward along curved street and that

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compared with a straight street there are various merits from the viewpoints of sunlight, strong wind, usage for events and defense as well. Reproducing a street layout of this pattern at town level would be as shown in the Figure 2. There are no other regulations that suit this street system of curved streets but it is comprehensible according to Alberti's point that the town streets do not necessarily form a pattern of rectangular coordinates.

《Alberti's *De re aedificatoria, Book IV, Chapter 5*》
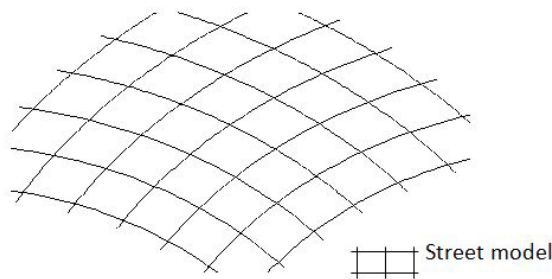
Figure 2 : Street pattern of curved streets

Plaza planning

In *De re aedificatoria,* an intersection is considered equally as a plaza, for a plaza is where streets cross one another or connect each other [VIII.6]. Alberti requires elegant decoration to the space of the plaza and recommend constructing porticoes. At the same time, the *Ordinances* provide equal ideas to construct porticoes to the buildings on four sides of the central plaza and along the main streets extending from the plaza to the town gates [Article 115]. As for the porticoes, the *Ordinances* base the construction of porticoes upon the usage of merchants' activities but this seems to be modeled on the viewpoint of town decoration described in *De re aedificatoria*. Both provide not only functional but also decoration perspective to the town planning.

As for the shape of plaza, Alberti gives concrete requirements for plaza planning such as a proportion of rectangular plaza, height of the buildings to the width of plaza. A plaza should be planned as a rectangular shape of ratio 1 to 2, consisting of two squares and the height of the buildings to the width of plaza should be with ratio of more than 2 to 7 [VIII.6]. Besides, *De re aedificatoria* states in detail about proportion of diameter and height of the columns around the plaza following the Vitruvian thoughts. Much attention is paid on the plaza planning in order. On the contrary, the *Ordinances* insist that the plaza should be rectangular with ratio of more than 1.5 to 1. This rectangular plaza stated in the *Ordinances* is likely to be the basic block of town layout. In other words, the layout of blocks depends on the dimension and shape of the central plaza. This viewpoint by the *Ordinances* is found neither in Alberti's thoughts nor in Vitruvian thoughts. Moreover the *Ordinances* provide concrete and ideal dimension for the central plaza so as to be practical and referential in actual planning of a town.

Arrangement of town facilities

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De re aedificatoria emphasizes the arrangement regulations on the public facilities such as cathedrals, monasteries, hospitals, and courts [V.6, 7, 8, 13]. Moreover, a cathedral should be located in the center of a town or at a long distance from the crowd of residents, without any unnecessary building aside to secure sufficient open space around the cathedral. The *Ordinances* also state that the religious facilities such as cathedrals should be constructed at a remarkable place and no other buildings should be constructed aside in order that it stands out [Articles 119, 120, 124]. The intention of the prestige on religious facilities and impression making for the visitors are common to both and it is remarkable that the *Ordinances* consider dignity and impression of the town itself and to develop these ideas in the arrangement requirements at town level regarding locational conditions of a river, town, and the sun [Article 40].

 De re aedificatoria also discusses the public facilities such as schools requiring to choose a fairly convenient site of school for anyone[V.8]. As for medical facilities, Alberti classifies the hospital into two categories, a hospital for infectious disease and another for non-infectious disease, to realize healthful facility arrangement. These attitudes are common to the *Ordinances*. *De re aedificatoria* argues other facilities such as granaries, treasury, armories, commercial zone, shipyards, and so on, from viewpoints of functionality and emergency [V.13]. To the town residence, a shop should be incorporated in it and the residence of this type should be constructed at the intersection or in the plaza [V.18]. Both share the hygienic viewpoint such as the facilities with garbage problems and the medical facilities categorized into one for infectious disease and another for non-infectious disease.

The *Ordinances* basically follow Alberti's attitudes on facility arrangement illustrated in *De re aedificatoria* but furthermore develop the standpoint also to the arrangement requirements of plazas. The *Ordinances* also classifies the plazas, which are the main plaza and minor plazas and insist that distribution of plazas of these types is very important for a town [Article 118]. Moreover, following the attitude of facility arrangement by Alberti, the *Ordinances* indicate a town planning distributing religious facilities together with minor plazas as a set (Figure 3). The Alberti recommends setting various functions, characters, and decoration on different plazas according to the condition of each plaza [VII.1, VIII.6]. Alberti's assertion is based on the perspective of decorating public space and building up relationship among the residents. On the other hand, the *Ordinances* establish the planning methodology of regarding the main plaza as a key block for whole town, and furthermore distribute the minor plazas dispersively which form minor town cores.

《*Ordinances of Philip II, Article 118*》

Street model   Central plaza   Minor plaza with a temple
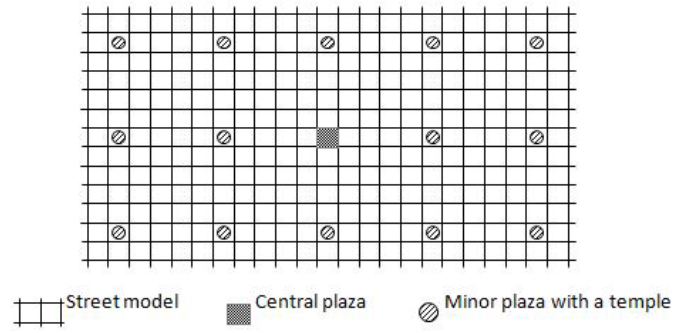
Figure 3: Dispersive distribution of minor plazas attached with temples

CONCLUSION

(1) As for the geographical conditions of a location for the town establishment, both the *Ordinances* and Alberti's ideas follow in the criteria described in the Vitruvian thoughts in *De Architectura Libri Decem*.

(2) The *Ordinances* develop its original method of town layout with arrangement of plazas and minor plazas and classified streets.

(3) As concerns the street planning, under the strong influence of Alberti's attitudes, the *Ordinances* logically lead the planners to a Cartesian coordinate system of streets.

(4) Practically developing the methodology of forming a plaza described both by Vitruvius and Alberti, the planning of a main plaza is evaluated in the *Ordinances* as the most important category that leads to a layout decision of a town.

(5) All three materials are in accord with functional and hygienic points of view in the planning and arrangement method of the municipal facilities. The *Ordinances* particularly expands the viewpoints of ornament toward the facility planning by Vitruvius and Alberti to the locational conditions in order to establish an image of town with dignity.

On the whole, the methodology of town planning in the *Ordinances* follow in the fragmentary solution for the planning and arrangement of plazas, streets, municipal facilities represented in the Vitruvius' De Architectura Libri Decem and Alberti's De re aedificatoria.

Alberti's attitudes are considered to be arrangement of ideal future on various conditions of town space. Despite this, Alberti's perspective is distant from leading concrete model of a town with town's pattern and layout possibly because a diversity of a town is intended. Rather, Alberti's perspective is considered to an arrangement of evaluation criteria of town planning.

 In the Ordinances however, the regulations on the spatial structure of plazas and those extending streets from them in good order control the town's layout. Moreover, those regulations apparently provide the practical guidelines for the planning of the principal plaza which form the core of a town and for the planning and arrangement of municipal facilities. Under the strong influence of the town planning concept in the Renaissance Italy, the *Ordinances* transformed those methods to further practical and concrete town planning regulations, which strongly provide the planners with the visual image and solution of town planning.

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PLANNING A MODEL SOVIET CITY: TRANSFORMING VLADIVOSTOK UNDER STALIN AND BREZHNEV

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the two major projects for transforming the city of Vladivostok during Soviet times. The first was to make it a Stalinist city during the 1930s, and would have resulted in an almost complete reconstruction of the historic Tsarist city into a model of socialist city planning. The second project, beginning in the 1960s and continuing on into the 1980s, did transform the city dramatically according to mature socialist planning guidelines, and succeeded in making the city more livable than at any time in its past. This paper compares the two plans and contrasts their successes and failures, their underlying goals and ideologies, and considers what the legacy of the two periods is for today's post-Soviet city.

INTRODUCTION

The eras of Stalin and Brezhnev were times of profound change for the peoples of the Soviet Union. Entirely new industrial cities were built in what had been empty steppe and uninhabited forests. Older cities were transformed into new urban conglomerations that bore the mark of socialist planning and Soviet ideological theories of urban living. Moscow was intended to be, and to a great extent did become the socialist metropolis, and its new wide streets, impressive government offices and apartment buildings, its monuments to revolutionary heroes, and its infrastructure improvements became models for other Soviet cities to follow. One city that looked to Moscow for inspiration was the USSR's principal naval, industrial, and administrative center on the Pacific Ocean, Vladivostok.

Vladivostok changed substantially during the Stalinist era, though it did not experience the wholesale reshaping called for in the centrally-approved master plans of the 1930s until the post-war era. None the less, the city experienced a fundamental transformation during the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s. Vladivostok's economic and industrial infrastructure was greatly improved, providing opportunities for economic expansion and the realization of some of the long-standing dreams of the city's population which dated back more than half a century. Vladivostok's inhabitants, from the beginning among the most cosmopolitan in the country, were subjected to significant social and political engineering during the Stalinist era. In the early 1930s, for example, Vladivostok's Koreans found themselves the recipients of a Stalinist Palace of Culture, intended to be the first step in the wholesale improvement of their section of the city. By the late 1930s, however, they were subjected to forced exile into Central Asian areas less militarily sensitive than a city located only a few dozen kilometers away from Japanese-occupied Manchuria and Korea. Ethnic Russians and Ukrainians were arrested and executed for potential treason, and the city's principal cultural institutions were purged of anyone suspected of less than perfect loyalty to the Revolution and to Stalin. Ironically, at the same time, plans were drawn up for the

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complete rebuilding of the city into a model of socialist urban planning in the Russian Far East, and the preeminent example in East Asia and along the Pacific Rim of what was seen to be superior Soviet urban planning. The architectural and planning legacy of the Tsarist past was to be modified, adaptively reused, and in many cases completely ignored in the process of creating a new Soviet city. The plans for that transformation, and their imperfect realization, within the context of Vladivostok's overall historical development as a city, will be the focus of the first part of this essay.

THE 1920s AND THE PERIOD OF THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY (NEP)

On October 25, 1922 the Bolsheviks established political and military control in Vladivostok without any serious fighting. With the exception of Red Cross workers, American military forces had left by late spring 1920, and the Japanese army was finally withdrawing from the city in October 1922. On November 14, 1922 what had been known as the Far Eastern Republic was incorporated into the RSFSR, and control of Vladivostok's military and political structure fell into the hands of Bolshevik functionaries, soldiers, and revolutionaries who had little experience in urban government or administration.

During most of the 1920s Vladivostok remained a city with an urban core and periphery that were essentially wooden and one-storied. As before, its large foreign population was reflected in the sophisticated commercial economy of the city and region. of almost fifteen hundred businesses operating in Vladivostok at the beginning of NEP, for example, two-thirds were foreign, and only one-third Russian. Most of the ships calling at the port were Japanese, with Soviet ships second in volume, and British ships third. The Bolsheviks discovered they had to operate as capitalists once they nationalized the city's hotels, restaurants, and port, and they found themselves competing with local and foreign capitalists still allowed to do business in the city because of the mixed nature of the NEP economy. Many private firms continued to exist, often in the same locations as before the Revolution, and trade with Manchuria was to be of particular importance to the city's economic health, with the Manchurian railway maintaining its significance as a transportation and communications lifeline to the outside world.

New construction was limited during the 1920s. There were few architectural or town-planning experiments of the sort envisioned or debated in Moscow, and there was no real discussion of the nature of the new Soviet city among Vladivostok's inhabitants. There was some destruction in the city during the 1920s, and there were some infrastructure improvements: the city's bus routes were expanded; additional telephone lines were made available; and radio transmission to Vladivostok and its region began on January 1, 1926. In addition, some streets were given new names (Aleutskaia Street became October 25th Street, and in 1924, the city's main street, Svetlanskaia, became Leninskaia to honor Lenin in the year of his death.) Finally, the city was reorganized into three sections, the Central District, the First River District, and the Egersheld District, in order to be administered more efficiently.

As was most of the new Soviet state, Vladivostok during the 1920s was undergoing a period of transition, a time when people still lived in many ways in the past, and were not yet prepared to create the new world the Bolsheviks had promised. The

architectural legacy of the past was reused and adapted to new purposes, and no substantial new projects were envisioned or executed. Vladivostok waited for the future as did the rest of the country. What it would be given during the next era, the age of Stalin, was a new vision of itself, and a plan for a city that even the most ambitious promoters of the pre-revolutionary era would have had difficulty imagining. As it happened, the plan's overall ambitiousness was matched only by its failure to be realized during the lifetime of the great dictator.

DESTROYING THE PAST: THE FIRST YEARS OF STALINIST TRANSFORMATION

The beginning of the Five Year Plans meant that the Soviet Union was launching a concerted effort to catch up with the industrial strength of the West and to prove that socialist techniques of economic development were superior to those of a capitalist system subject to extreme economic cycles. Industries were created and new towns established where none had existed before. At last, the old world of the past was to be replaced with a new world created according to communist precepts and ideals. In Vladivostok much was to be built as part of this process, but much was also to be destroyed, in some cases in order to provide space for the new, in others, simply to remove anything that would remind the populace of the accomplishments of their pre-revolutionary past. In the biggest city of the Russian Far East, the first impact of the new Stalinist tempo of economic and political transformation was to be felt through destruction rather than construction.

Already by the mid-1920s, the Orthodox Church of St. Nicholas had been closed. In 1930 the doors of the city's remarkable Lutheran Church were locked, with the building eventually to be reopened as the Museum of Pacific Naval History only in 1950. The city's Catholic Church was closed and used to store archival materials for the Primorye Region. A serious blow was dealt the city's architectural heritage when the Pokrovsky Cemetery Church and the principal city cemetery were destroyed on Easter 1935, to be replaced by the new Park of Culture and Rest. Various statues of sportsmen and monuments to revolutionary heroes were placed around the new park (Stalin's over the old church's altar, most notably, though statues of Lenin and Dzerzhinsky were also erected in the park), and a dance platform was built over the site of some of the graves of Vladivostok's early residents. Most importantly, Vladivostok's Cathedral, closed in 1932, was demolished in 1938, to be replaced by a residence for the head of the territory, then after the war, in 1947, by an art school and club (A. I. Poretskov, architect).

There was also some reconstruction and remodeling of the historicist buildings of the past that were in the best repair. A significant investment in capital projects was called for by the Krai executive committee in 1929, and the foundations for what would become the Primorgrazhdanproekt (Primorye Civilian Project) Institute were laid. In Vladivostok, as elsewhere in the Soviet Union during these years, certain parts of the pre-revolutionary era were felt to be usable and could be appropriated by an architectural esthetic that mixed past styles with current ideological dogma. The interior of the railroad station was repainted with suitably heroic Stalinist murals by G.A. Grigorevich. New, upper floors were added to existing buildings, and expansion into adjacent spaces took place. The former Governor's residence was made the House of Pioneers in 1939. New historicist structures helped the city take on some of the appearance of other Soviet urban centers as it lost some of the internationalist character that had helped define it in

pre-revolutionary times. The Palace of Culture of Railroad Workers, built on Partizanskii Prospekt in the First River District between 1927 and 1933, was one of the first such buildings in the city (P.A. Golosov, V.D. Kokorin, and I.Ia. Kolli, architects). New Stalinist rococo apartment blocks were put up in the central part of the city, as models for subsequent structures of similar design. One proposed project not realized was an enormous apartment complex to have been built along Leninskaia on the site of today's Monument to Civil War Heroes. Opposition to the proposal was voiced by the young architect, E.A. Vasiliev (the designer of the new Park of Culture and Rest), who wrote in the press that the project was poorly conceived because it would cut the city off from Golden Horn Bay, and that it did not consider the new principles of Soviet city planning then being developed. The structure was never built, and significantly perhaps, it was Vasiliev who was selected to head up the team putting together the plan for "Bolshoi Vladivostok" as the decade progressed.

Some new monuments appeared, and there was an enormous expansion of the number of factories and industrial plants in Vladivostok, and it changed fundamentally, from being a city of soldiers, sailors, and merchants into a city of workers. New tram lines and bus routes reached out to these new industrial regions. Construction of a new airport was begun in the Second River region in 1932, and in 1934 the first regular flights between Moscow and Vladivostok were initiated. The telephone exchange was rebuilt, for four thousand subscribers. A new water supply plant opened in 1934, and a new electrical power station began operation in 1935. And as part of the city's wholesale reorganization, Vladivostok's districts were given new names, taken from three of Soviet Russia's new revolutionary heroes: the city was now divided into the Lenin, Frunze, and Voroshilov regions.

What was most striking and most exciting about Vladivostok's urban history in the 1930s, however, was the city's new general plan, a project that was initiated in 1934, and one which promised to turn the city into a model Soviet urban center on the Pacific and to make it one of the USSR's great port cities, while at the same time confirming its position as the Soviet Union's "*forpost*" on the Pacific, the "Kronshtadt" of the Russian Far East.

PLANNING A MODEL SOVIET CITY

Evgenii Aleksandrovich Vasiliev spent much of the 1930s coordinating the creation of a general plan for Vladivostok that would transform the city, particularly the central section of its urban core, that part of Vladivostok most defined by its Tsarist past. Vasiliev had arrived in Vladivostok only in 1931, as a member of the team from Giprogor, the State Institute for the Planning of Cities. Helped by P.A. Golosov and M.N. Khazakian, Vasiliev developed a plan that would be a mirror of the planning and development decisions made for Moscow during these years and that promised to produce a city unlike any other on the shores of the Pacific. A preliminary plan was completed in 1935, and a more complete version was published in 1938.

The plan called for the creation of a central focal point for the city: at the top of Eagle's Nest hill would be erected a seventy-meter lighthouse, visible for thirty-one miles, that would dominate the city from all directions. On top of the lighthouse a statue of Lenin would be erected, and below it would be located the

city's museum of the revolutionary movement. From the lighthouse, wide stairways would lead down to the city's central water front. At strategic locations on the slopes of the hill would be placed new executive and administrative buildings for the growing bureaucracy. On Sukhanov Street, below the monument, would be located a semicircular square with the two towers of the Palace of Soviets facing downhill, toward the bay. Approximately in the middle of the complex a six-thousand seat open-air amphitheater would be constructed, in an area whose geography (between Lazo and First of May Streets) seemed to demand such use, it was felt. The hills on each side of the amphitheater would have monuments open to Leninskaia. The hillside above Pushkinskaia Street was already open, but the one above the post office building would be exposed by "moving" the post office to Suifunskaia Street (by implication, destroying the older, Tsarist building). Below Leninskaia, between Lazo and First of May Streets, would be formal open space leading down to the harbor, where two large rostral columns and a stairway with socialist realist sculptures would be placed.

Golosov was given the task of designing the central area of the city, and he ensured that every major street was given an orientation to the statue of Lenin on Eagle's Nest hill. A new Sea Station was to be constructed in a neo-classicist multi-columned Stalinist style. The station would be located at the corner of Leninskaia and Kitaiskaia Streets, at the south end of a semi-circular colonnade, facing Kitaiskaia. It would lead along a viaduct to a second station on the harbor itself, where passengers could board ships for destinations throughout the world. The area of today's Sports Harbor, the site of the former *rynok*, or market, was to be entirely redesigned as well, becoming a classically-inspired recreational and cultural complex that would take advantage of its picturesque location on the shore of the Amur Gulf. This new Palace of Culture would face a large square, from which two semi-circular moles with walkways and columns would enclose an area to be used for water-borne activities and ceremonies. Two new streets would lead from the square, one to Cape Burnyi in the south, the other to Kuperova Pad in the north. The seaside area of Kuperova Pad would be devoted to beaches and recreational facilities as part of an extension of the Central Park of Culture and Rest. The park's existing nine-hectare area (the former cemetery) was to become the children's sector of the park, while the park as a whole was to be expanded to an area of seventy-five hectares. Part of the motivation of the plan was to guarantee that Vladivostok would remember where its loyalties lay, of course. It was a long way from Russia's outpost on the Pacific to Moscow, and Soviet citizens in the Primorye needed to be reminded, it was believed, that they were participants in a great social and political experiment, and not ordinary people living in an ordinary country. Above all, they were never to forget that their cultural and political ties connected them with Moscow and Europe, not with the East Asia that was so close geographically and so dangerous from a political and strategic perspective.

While much of the project seemed focused on grandiose monuments and bureaucratic edifices, it was also decided to improve the city in more fundamental, mundane ways. Vladivostok's extraordinarily steep streets were to be reoriented and regraded in order to make them more usable. The hundreds of small private houses in the city would be replaced with apartment blocks at least four or five stories high, and a minimum of thirty per cent of the new residential areas would be devoted to open space through provisions for parks, playing fields, children's playgrounds, and public flower gardens.

The city itself was to be expanded to five regions: Central (Egersheld and the city center up to Pushkinskaia Street, with seventy-five thousand residents), Voroshilov Factory (on the north shore of Golden Horn Bay and in the valley of the Obiasneniia River, with ninety-three thousand residents), Cape Churkin (the Goldobin Peninsula, with eighty thousand residents), First River (seventy-six thousand residents), and Second River (eighty-six thousand residents). There was also to be greater rationality in the layout of streets. October 25th Street would become the city's principal western avenue, a forty-meter wide boulevard stretching from the city center north along the Amur Bay to the Sedanka railroad station. Organizing the city on the east would be Lugovaia Street, connecting Cape Churkin with the Second River region and the suburbs. A third central avenue would stretch from central Leninskaia through a tunnel to the First River region, then on to the Second River region, the Second River park, and eventually to the airport. Several tunnels would have to be bored through hills, and public transport would need to be expanded significantly. "Bolshoi Vladivostok" was to house 440,000 inhabitants. Five theaters with seats for nine thousand people were to be built. A grand central theater with 2,500 seats was to be constructed on Suifunskaia Square. Nine motion picture theaters with 8,250 seats were planned, as were nine clubs for 16,600 people. Three new libraries with a total of 900,000 volumes were planned, and a new central library of 500,000 volumes was to be built. A Central Philharmonic for two thousand spectators was envisioned, as was a circus for 2,500. A new House of the Red Army and Fleet, a House of Art, a House of the Press, and a Museum with four departments (history of the revolutionary movement, regional studies, polytechnics, and the applied arts) were all planned for the new city as well. And of course, extensive facilities were also projected for children belonging to the Young Pioneers and other related organizations. New clinics, hospitals, and public baths would be supplemented with parks and green spaces in order to make the city a healthier place for all its citizens.

Some parts of the project were realized as the 1930s progressed. The eight-story Narkompishcheprom (People's Commissariat of Fishing Industries) Building at Leninskaia and Kitaiskaia was finished in the later years of the decade, as was the Torgport (Commercial Port) Building on Kitaiskaia, and the Hotel Dalstroy at Kitaiskaia and Dzerzhinskaia Streets. N.S. Riabov designed a new five-story medical school building on October 25th Street. N.V. Sergeevskii designed the new four-story Sevmorput headquarters on the same street, as well as a new classroom building for the Far Eastern State University, and A.L. Zasedatelev built the new House of Naval officers on Svetlanskaia in 1937. Between 1937 and 1940 A.I. Poretskov and N.A. Bigachev constructed two multi-story apartment buildings on October 25th Street, on the site of the pre-revolutionary Great Northern Telegraph Company. Both were neo-classical in inspiration, and monumental in execution, including one with statues of a worker, a collective farm woman, a Red sailor, and a border guard surmounting it. Two additional multistory apartment buildings were designed by N.S. Riabov along Leninskaia, part of the plan to rebuild the street between Gaidamak Square and Lugovaia Street. A third apartment building, stretching around the corner at Pushkinskaia Street, was completed by A.I. Zasedatelev in 1939. Finally, the new Sudostroitel (Ship Builder) Stadium (now the Avangard Stadium) was constructed on the site of Maltsevskaia Square in 1938.

All in all, it was an ambitious project. Vasiliev travelled frequently to Moscow, and there certainly were intensive discussions of the project there. The plans evolved and were evaluated, reexamined and reassessed as the urban planning esthetic of

the USSR evolved during the 1930s. In the end, however, very little of the Vasiliev-Golosov plan was actually implemented. Continuing Japanese aggression in East Asia had always made the realization of the project questionable in any case, and the outbreak of war in Europe meant that the USSR's budget for building was instead redirected toward defense. The plans for a new Vladivostok were dropped for the time being.

STAGNATION DURING THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR AND AFTERWARDS

The Great Patriotic War ended most new non-essential construction projects in Vladivostok, but unlike the situation in the cities in the western part of the country, the war did little damage to Vladivostok itself. For most of the war, the city played only a rear-guard supportive role, and the minor military actions in the area during the short period of intensive Soviet-Japanese fighting had little impact there.

In the immediate post-war years, economic consolidation and the costs of rebuilding war-damaged cities in the European part of the USSR meant that the local budget of Vladivostok was directed toward the development of improved ship repair facilities, the expansion of metallurgical and chemical plants, the construction of porcelain and instrument-manufacturing factories, the growth of wood-processing facilities, and the expansion of the crab fishing and whaling industries. There appeared to be no building maintenance; what had been new apartment buildings in the 1930s now had missing doors and windows, chipped paint, overgrown lawns. What were called parks looked like abandoned vacant lots, and twenty feet up the hill from Leninskaia Street, roads turned into mud trails. The central government's priorities were the rebuilding and expansion of the economy, not housing and infrastructure devoted to improving the lives of the postwar generation of Soviet citizens, at least not in Vladivostok. And the national priorities were Vladivostok's priorities.

Only a limited number of significant new construction projects took place in the city during the late Stalinist years. In 1950 the neo-classical headquarters of the Far Eastern Fisheries Technical Institute) was completed at the intersection of Leninskaia and Okeanskaia Streets (M.S. Smirnov, architect), and in 1952 a bright blue apartment building with white columns (since 1985 the Pacific Border Guards Museum) was built on Semenovskaia Street (L.B. Butko, architect). A two-story apartment building was constructed on Pushkinskaia Street by A.I. Poretskov in 1947, its decorative vases and other ornaments showing its classical inspiration. N.S. Riabov rebuilt Sudostroitel Stadium, expanding it significantly. Beyond these projects, late Stalinism was remembered less in Vladivostok for the legacy of its built form than for the continuing political repression of those years and for the expansion of the city's industrial infrastructure. It would only be recognized in the late 1950s that the quality of life of the citizens of Vladivostok had not kept pace with the country's tremendous economic, technological, and military growth during the Stalin years. In many cities throughout the USSR, impressive plans for a significant improvement in the lives of the nation's urban population were once more being made. Vladivostok was to be one of those cities, and the plans of the thirties were to be revived in the dreams for a Great Vladivostok that began to be discussed during the Khrushchev era. Wisely, perhaps, the extraordinary Vasiliev-Golosov project of the 1930s found only the most distant reflection in the plans of

the sixties and seventies. The grandiosity of the Stalinist project for Vladivostok had little relevance for the less theatrical, less melodramatic Vladivostok envisioned in the era of "mature communism."

THE ARCHITECTURAL AND PLANNING LEGACY OF THE STALINIST ERA

To a great extent, Vladivostok today shows few physical signs of its Stalinist past. Many older Tsarist buildings no longer exist, but most of the city's new construction took place in the post-Stalin era. New streets, avenues, and residential suburbs may have been envisioned during the Stalin years, but they were realized only in the vernacular of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. While some individual buildings in the city are typical of Stalinist historicism and monumentalism, it could be argued that far more damage to Vladivostok's architectural legacy and visual integrity was done during the Brezhnev era than during the time of Stalin. Despite the megalomaniacal plans of the 1930s, Vladivostok's historic center survived remarkably well during the Stalin years. Certainly in comparison with other Russian cities, the Stalinist transformation of Vladivostok was haphazard at best, and the Stalinist buildings that remain today add some variety and historical texture of their own to the city in a way that the internationalist functionalism of late communism does not.

Had the Second World War not taken place, Vladivostok might have destroyed its historic center and become a typical new Soviet city like so many in the former Soviet Union. Because it was so far away from Moscow, however, only limited funds were available for its reconstruction at a time when other cities and towns were being completely remade. As a result, from the standpoint of architecture and planning, "Stalinist Vladivostok" was less a reality than a dream, less a physical fact than an imaginary place.

HOPES FOR BOLSHOI VLADIVOSTOK UNDER KHRUSCHEV

By the end of the fourth decade of Soviet rule, it was recognized that while Russia had recovered in many ways from the dislocations and destruction of World War II, the quality of life of Soviet citizens had not grown better. In many urban areas throughout the USSR, impressive plans were laid for a significant improvement in the lives of the nation's urban population. Vladivostok was one such area.

The main impetus for expansion in the city came after a visit to Vladivostok by Nikita Khrushchev in 1959. On his way back from his famous visit to the United States, Khrushchev had stopped in the city. Looking around him, he remarked that "Vladivostok is a fine and beautiful city, but it can and must be made better, more beautiful, more comfortable." It was this kind of encouraging signal, in essence a blessing by the Soviet leader, that made it possible for city planners to begin preparing, yet again, for the entire reconstruction of the city. It would prove to be the most ambitious plan for the city's rebuilding in Vladivostok's history.

By 1961 planners from Vladivostok and Leningrad had put together an extensive and complicated series of projects that would have an impact on every section of the port city. Because of the shortage of housing in the old, central sections of the urban area (typical of all Soviet cities at the time), rapid mass-production of suburban pre-fabricated housing was to be emphasized. One deficiency the planners noted in the city as it existed in 1960 was that there was so little green space, and their designs incorporated extensive projects that would reintroduce vegetation into the city through provision for parks, trees, and other "greening" projects. New regional recreation areas would help restore to the city some of the

native vegetation lost during the predatory expansion of the nineteenth century. A new stadium was built on the site of Vladivostok's first private land holding, and other recreational facilities were planned for and built in other sections of the city.

The city's living space was doubled, and while there came to be some criticism of the fact that the quality of construction on the new apartment buildings was not what everyone would have liked, none the less people were provided with new housing with toilets, electricity, and running water that they did not have to share with anyone but their immediate families. For the importance of all this to be appreciated, it must be remembered that until 1955 only about three or four of the main streets in the city were even paved with asphalt, and housing was deplorable at best. By the mid-1960s Vladivostok was becoming genuinely modern. By 1968 the first twelve-story buildings in the Soviet Far East were being constructed, in the area of the former Korea Town. It was a striking transformation of the city.

REALITIES OF *BOLSHOI VLADIVOSTOK* UNDER BREZHNEV

Nikita Khrushchev's forced retirement in 1964 had no significant impact on the central government's commitment to the expansion of Vladivostok. The city's development continued at a brisk pace throughout the next two decades. Much that had been planned under Khrushchev was finally completed under Brezhnev and his successors. No project symbolized this improvement better than the development of the Sports Harbor to the west and south of the new Dynamo Stadium. The stadium itself had first been built by Japanese prisoners of war, but was rebuilt twice afterward by Soviet laborers. Nearby there was to be a new oceanarium (opened only in 1991, it was the first in the Soviet Far East) and along the bay to the north, a floating *Delfinarium* for beluga whales and dolphins. A new yacht club was built on a breakwater stretching out into the bay, and an enormous Olympic sports complex was constructed adjacent to the stadium itself. The Sports Harbor was transformed into the city's principal beach, and on warm weekends the area was crowded with citizens swimming, watching sports competitions, sailing, listening to music, or simply enjoying the view or the sunshine. The beach itself was expanded to the south, and a new seashore swimming complex served the entire city as well as the residents of the new *mikroraiony* being constructed behind the coastline.

Two other significant projects were underway in the central sections of the city during the mid-1970s as well. On the square facing the railroad station a new post office building and long-distance telephone station was being constructed. The post office was functional in design and undistinguished on its exterior, though it was decorated by a massive mosaic inside. What was lost was the pre-revolutionary headquarters of the military commander of the fortress, a building that was a substantial example of late-Tsarist architecture, but one that possessed no genuine uniqueness of its own. To the east, farther along the bay, a World War II submarine was placed on a pedestal in 1975 to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of victory over the Japanese. This was to be the first component of a memorial complex that would include an eternal flame and a series of *bas reliefs* located on and around several stairways and terraces leading from Leninskaia Street down to the bay. This area would become the principal location for celebrations of military anniversaries in the city, particularly naval ones, and had a dramatic orientation to the bay and the sections of the city surrounding it. Just up the hill, on Leninskaia, a monument to merchant marine sailors lost in World War II was constructed in

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1967, with an eternal flame added in 1975. A decade later, this segment of the harbor would be expanded by the construction of a new ferry terminal intended for trips to the islands in Peter the Great Gulf and by the completion of the *Krasnyi Vympel* memorial ship complex and a new monument to the first Russian sailors who set foot on shore in 1860. This area became one of the city's principal memorial centers, its aim being to aid the residents of Vladivostok in developing a sense of belonging to the historic fabric of their city.

Vladivostok was becoming a large and important city, and from a distance the new housing complexes were impressive and ambitious. Up close, they suffered from careful examination. The quality of construction was never high, and the need to fulfill the "plan" in record time meant that quality was always less important than quantity and speed of completion, and the first residents of the new high-rise apartment complexes paid the price for the inadequacies of the Soviet planned economy. Ironically, it was those residents of the city who lived in the old historic center who were most satisfied with their living situations, not because of the comfort of their sometimes older apartments, but because of the vitality, variety, and convenience of the central city that surrounded them.

Context and size relationships were always a problem for architectural projects in the former USSR, and the ambitious plans for Vladivostok resulted in as many grandiose and out of scale structures and spaces as they did in other Soviet cities. Monuments and memorial complexes were particular temptations, and Lugovaia Square, with its memorial to Admiral S.O. Makarov, was typical of the enormous and often poorly-maintained urban spaces to be found throughout the Soviet Union on its fiftieth anniversary in 1967. The functionalist addition to the old pre-revolutionary, Siberian *moderne Churin* and Company store on Leninskaia Street, executed in the early 1970s, was a deliberate contrast to the architecture of the past in much the same way the Palace of Congresses in the center of Moscow's historic Kremlin had been. They both were intended to mark the divide between the world of the past and the idealized, scientifically rational world of the future, and they both ended up looking out of place. The decision to build in such a modernist style in Vladivostok was a significant one because of plans to redesign entirely the city's main street, Leninskaia, by connecting it more effectively to the hillside and the bay, to open it up to the water, to widen it, and to plant trees that were to give it a more pleasant, "natural" feel. It was a project that did not bode well for other sections of the city's historic center, and the new ten-story city administration building of 1977, located on Okeanskaia Street only a few blocks from Leninskaia, suggested that other larger-scale projects were in preparation.

For decades, writers and politicians had lamented the city's lack of a large open assembly area. It was argued that a central open space such as that provided by Red Square in Moscow was needed. Without it, many felt, the city seemed unfinished. The result was that the once pleasant, park-like plaza to the south of Leninskaia, facing the harbor, was converted to a large paved square lacking any vegetation. It was dominated by a monument to the heroes of the Civil War, dedicated in 1961, but expanded significantly later when statues were added to make the previously understated memorial far more dominant within the context of the empty openness of the new space.

It was this square that was to be the new center of the city, and an ensemble of huge new buildings was to be built around it. On the east side of the square a modern functionalist administrative structure for the city's shipping industry would

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be erected. To the west would be the House of Soviets, the central administrative tower for the Primorskii Krai government, with a large meeting hall adjacent to it. Designed by Moscow architect E.G. Rozanov in a typical late-Brezhnev style, and completed in 1983, this eighteen-story building would overwhelm the center of the city. Dehumanizing and intimidating, the building became a symbol of the overweening power of the Soviet state in the late communist era, and remains to this day an example of the worst of Soviet architecture and urban planning. These buildings all originated with the Khrushchev plans of 1960-61, and while the designs of the 1960s were somewhat different from those of 1980s, the spirit behind them was the same. If anything, the Brezhnev plans for the overall reconstruction of the city were more restrained than those adopted during the time of Khrushchev, probably because the later planners had a more realistic understanding of budgets and financial limitations.

DEALING WITH CULTURAL HERITAGE UNDER KHRUSHCHEV AND BREZHNEV

Many of the sketches used to illustrate the *Bolshoi Vladivostok* plan during the Khrushchev and Brezhnev eras showed little of the old city center remaining. The Stalinist plans of the 1930s anticipated the destruction of many of the city's most unusual historic structures, and the sketches of the 1960s and 1970s focused only on the new functionalist buildings to be constructed in the city, with historical structures disappearing into the mists so characteristic of the Muraviev-Amursky Peninsula.

In reality, however, architects and planners (and certainly the city's residents) felt that substantial numbers of historic, pre-revolutionary buildings and parks should be preserved. As has been noted, some of the city's neighborhoods underwent wholesale destruction, though most of the buildings demolished had little architectural value when compared to the potential use to which the sites could be put for other, generally more socially-responsive purposes. This is particularly true for the Sports Harbor area, for example (the *Milionka* district had little to recommend it in the postwar period) and for the northern shore of the Bay of the Golden Horn immediately adjacent to Leninskaia Street. Other parts of the city also saw individual historic buildings preserved, though had the most ambitious parts of the plans been executed, they too would probably have been torn down and replaced by newer buildings constructed in late-Soviet style.

By the 1970s, the inconsistencies of realizing the city's urban plans were striking. The Orthodox Cathedral and Cemetery church had been destroyed, while the Catholic and Lutheran churches remained. Structures associated with the large pre-war Korean and Chinese populations had disappeared, but the former Japanese Consulate and a Chinese businessman's house (the "Green Bricks") were two of the most striking structures in the city center. Elsewhere local traditions influenced buildings reflecting the city's maritime location: one typically Russian wooden house not far from the city center used sand dollars as design motifs incorporated into the window frame designs.

All the architects and planners appeared to recognize the uniqueness of the city's main street. Despite the grandiose House of Soviets, with its enormous square and monument to the establishment of Soviet rule, Leninskaia retained more of Vladivostok's original character than any other part of the city. To a great degree,

this was true because so little had been done to alter the street's built form since the time of Stalin. Most of the buildings situated along the street could have been recognized by someone who had left the city in 1917 and not returned until 1980. Many were in deplorable condition, but many others were well-maintained and subject to regular *remont*, or repair. The old Kunst and Albers department store remained the city's principal retail center, and the pre-revolutionary Post office continued to play that role even after construction of the new central post office near the railroad station. Certain buildings maintained something of their pre-revolutionary purposes, though others had been adapted to new uses (the Japanese Consulate, just up the street from Leninskaia on Okeanskaia Street, had become a hospital, and the red brick Lutheran Church was used as a naval museum). Even the few buildings constructed along the street in Stalinist times had taken on a quality of historical patina by the late 1970s because of their pseudo-historicist inspiration and despite some of the unsavory activities associated with them. While some unfortunate projects were executed along the street during the 1970s and 1980s (the modern addition to the Churin and Company Store and the billboards honoring local socialist heroes put up in front of the attractive and undoubtedly comfortable workers' housing built in pre-revolutionary times by Kunst and Albers are the best examples), on the whole Leninskaia was treated with respect and even affection. Leninskaia remained the street that defined what Vladivostok had been, and it shaped the vision of what the city center would continue to be. It was the place where Vladivostok's built heritage could be best appreciated.

The most important focal point of Vladivostok's preservation of its heritage was the Arseniev Museum, housed in an impressive pre-revolutionary commercial building. With its extensive holdings emphasizing the region's natural and human history, it is still visited by school groups, tourists, and residents who wish to learn more about their city's past. It is the treasury of what Vladivostok was.

Overall it can be said that during the Khrushchev and Brezhnev years, destruction of the city's architectural heritage was limited. While many new projects were initiated and completed, for the most part, they resulted in a city whose amenities for its citizens were notably improved. Better theaters, cleaner beaches, improved access to transportation, and of course mass-produced housing made life tangibly better than it had been. Cultural performances by folk dance and music groups were encouraged and promoted, thought these tended to be primarily of Slavic traditions, part of the central government's efforts at reminding citizens of their European rather than Asian cultural roots. The city's natural heritage left much to be desired, however. Most notably, natural vegetation in the city was lacking, water quality in the Bay of the Golden Horn and in the Amur Gulf was deplorable, and the air was often unpleasant to breathe. Soviet citizens were accustomed to these everyday realities, of course, but in Vladivostok there appeared to be little eagerness or ability to solve these problems by the local administration.

Despite what is commonly believed, Soviet citizens in the years before Gorbachev's *glasnost* did have opportunities to express their views about the transformation of their cities, and in Vladivostok even in the 1930s lively discussions about urban planning projects were recounted in newspapers. Citizens clearly cared about what happened around them, and valued the historical continuity signified by the exceptional buildings located in Vladivostok's center. In the end, in most cases, the authorities decided which course they wished to take, but they clearly were influenced by the strong views of citizens who wished to maintain their connections

to earlier times and periods in the city's history, even though few of them would have wanted to return to pre-revolutionary conditions of living.

THE LATE SOVIET ERA

When Mikhail Gorbachev visited Vladivostok in 1986, he found a city that had been fundamentally changed by communist rule. It had more and better housing than at any time in its history: thirty new *mikroraiony* had been built since the 1950s, with more than seven million meters of living space. The city's infrastructure, public utilities, and transportation system were much improved from what they had been in the past; a new hotel nearing completion, the "Amur Bay," would be one of the largest in the Soviet Far East, and a new Pioneer Camp to the north of the city along the Ussuri Gulf was as extensive as any elsewhere in the Soviet Union, and indeed, was considered to be one of the country's best. *Perestroika* meant that it would soon be possible for foreign firms to be hired to remodel the Sea Station (a project of the Italian firm Tegola Canadese), and the former outpost and military fortress was becoming a window to Asia and the booming economies of the Pacific Basin. Warships of the United States navy made an official visit to the city in 1990. Yet at the same time all these positive developments were taking place, as John Stephan has pointed out, there was extensive prostitution because of the large number of sailors with hard currency in the city; it could take longer waiting in line to buy an Aeroflot ticket to Moscow than the flight itself took; fresh fruits and vegetables were frustratingly difficult to find in winter; families were living on ships in the Bay of the Golden Horn because there was not enough housing for them on shore; citizens could wait decades for an apartment; and the city's sewage treatment consisted of pouring raw sewage into Peter the Great Bay. Unfortunately, conditions did not improve with the collapse of communism.

CONCLUSIONS

Despite its remarkable planning history, Vladivostok is fortunate to have as much historical texture in its city center as it does. While the city did suffer the destruction of religious sites typical of the Stalinist period, it was spared the extremes of Stalinist city planning that affected many Soviet cities. The city also avoided the fates of so many cities in the European parts of the USSR during the Second World War. Finally, it was fortunate to undergo most of its rebuilding during the Brezhnev era, a time when appreciation for the architectural heritage of the past could at times, and indeed sometimes frequently did, take precedence over the utopian plans of the Khrushchev period. The result is that while much was lost, much nonetheless remains. Many unique buildings have been saved and put to new use. Creative joint-venture projects have preserved a number of pre-revolutionary structures which might otherwise have fallen into serious disrepair. There is a general understanding that it is Vladivostok's historic center which lends the city much of its character, and that even some of its Stalinist-era structures add to its uniqueness. Vladivostok's citizens have been more sensitive to the natural heritage of their city's location, and while the environmental damage of a century and a half will be difficult to ameliorate, there is general popular desire to accomplish what can be done in an area of great natural beauty. Similarly, while the Stalinist plans for reconstruction focused on heroic and ideologically-charged buildings, squares, and public spaces, the primary energy of the Khrushchev and Brezhnev eras was directed toward improving the living standards and the quality

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of life of the city's residents. This is particularly true of the extensive subburban developments of the 1970s and 1980s.

Today the potential is great for the city to realize its possibilities as a unique architectural and planning site on Russia's Pacific Coast. How it does this will be one of Vladivostok's greatest challenges, but it will be able to build on many of the architectural and planning decisions of the communist era which in the end preserved more of the city's heritage and character than it destroyed, that left the city a set of plans that could be adapted by its post-Soviet residents, and that in the end could help Vladivostok become a city for its people rather than for its ruling elites and their ideological passions.

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HERMANN JANSEN AND HIS URBAN LEGACY IN SOUTHERN TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

Hermann Jansen was a renowned German architect and planner, whose development plans shaped several cities in Europe in the first half of the twentieth century. Furthermore, he was a particularly important figure for the newly established Republic of Turkey. As well as the development plan for the capital Ankara, he had prepared development plans for İzmit, İzmir, Gaziantep, Mersin, Tarsus, Adana and Ceyhan, of which the last four were in Çukurova (Golden Plain) Region located in southern Turkey. This paper discusses Jansen's planning values and whether they were reflected in the development plans he had prepared for these cities. The development plans Jansen had prepared for Mersin, Tarsus, Adana and Ceyhan in 1939 and 1940 are analyzed in respect to main planning principles for this paper. The analysis showed that Jansen's urban legacy in Southern Turkey consisted of conservative, environment friendly and functional design principles which were evident in zoning pattern, establishment of neighbourhood units for different social groups, large recreational areas, preservation of historic city centres and green traffic free areas connecting the city centre with nature. His planning principles were in line with Camillo Sitte's, Ebenezer Howard's and Theodor Fritsch's views; however, Jansen successfully adapted these principles to the social, financial and cultural environment in Turkey.

INTRODUCTION

The foundation of Republic of Turkey in 1923 after a war of independence was a fresh start for citizens of Turkey in the way to build and empower a modern, civilized country in Anatolia. However the newly established country required resources particularly in terms of educated men power, mostly in fields of architecture and planning in order to achieve Atatürk and his fellow statesmen's aspirations. In the early 1930s, the Turkish Government began to invite foreign experts to give advice and assistance on development issues. The German-speaking world was generally preferred, especially in the field of architecture and planning, and approximately forty German, Austrian and Swiss architects came to work in Turkey (Tümer 1998, 12). The foreign architects (for instance Bruno Taut, Martin Wagner, Ernst Egli, Martin Elsaesser, Clemens Holzmeister) were invited particularly in relation to architectural education; moreover they also designed several buildings which were representatives of modernist ideology.

European planners were also invited (such as Le Corbusier, Carl Lörcher and Paul Bonatz) to design cities which reflect Kemalist ideology and transform Ottoman cities into modern ones. Anatolian cities, which were shaped spontaneously according to Islamic principles and monarchic rules, were characterized with organic, narrow streets and compact chaotic layouts. The Republican government however envisaged Turkish cities to form an anti-thesis in their clarity to the classical Ottoman cities, and undertook an international competition in 1927 for the development plan of the newly formed capital city Ankara in order to

constitute a model for the future of the nation and give impulses to many other cities in the country (Doğramacı 2007). Amongst three planners who were invited for the competition (Joseph Brix, Hermann Jansen and Léon Jausseley) Hermann Jansen won the international competition for the Ankara master plan in 1927 (Bozdoğan 2001, 70), which was the start of an era for both Jansen and the Turkish Government, which resulted in preparation of plans for Turkish cities between 1927 and 1940.

HERMANN JANSEN AND THE ORIGINS OF HIS PLANNING PRINCIPLES

Jansen had studied architecture at Technical University of Aachen and started his professional life in Berlin in 1898. Due to being the founder and a leader of the modern town planning he had received the degree of Dr. Engineer (Dr. Ing.) in 1919 from Technical University of Stuttgart and one year later he was a professor of town planning at Technical University of Berlin (Reuther 1974, 341).

His first world wide achievement was the 1st prize he had won in the competition held for the general development plan for Greater Berlin in 1909, with the motto "within the borders of possibility" (Reuther 1974). The 1st World War prevented the implementation of his plan completely; nevertheless he was later appointed to produce new plans (with his assistant Walter Moest) for Berlin between 1938 and 1941. His award-winning design in 1909 consisted of a rapid transit railway network, large arterial roads, elongated parks, large green areas, connection of city centre with nature and settlement cells (Siedlungs) for different social groups (Reuther 1974). Jansen's initial plan for Berlin influenced urban development considerably and was used as a basis for the insistent safeguarding of open spaces. The later plan, on the other hand, included traffic improvements, a pedestrian street on the Hellweg, new settlement cells (Siedlungs) and the introduction of new green areas (Diefendorf 1997, 95).

Following the plan for Berlin, Jansen prepared development plans for almost 20 German cities (such as Dresden, Plauen, Leipzig, Emden and Dortmund) as well as plans for Bergen, Bielitz, Lodz, Pressburg, Prag, Madrid and Budapest in other European countries. However his planning activities in Turkey became most important, as he worked on the plans of Turkish cities until the end of 1939.

Hermann Jansen was a student of Camillo Sitte (Tankut 1993, 67; Reuther 1974, 341), who advocated a 'picturesque' approach to urban space design in late 19th century (Carmona et al. 2003, 142). Sitte's approach was defined as *pictorial rather than romantic which was structured like a picture and possessing the formal values of an organized canvas* (Collins & Collins 1965). Sitte strongly criticized the emphasis on broad, straight boulevards, public squares arranged primarily for the convenience of traffic, and efforts to strip major public or religious landmarks of adjoining smaller structures regarded as encumbering such monuments of the past. He developed his proposal on the basis of the analysis of the visual and aesthetic character of medieval European cities, which were shaped as a result of incremental or organic growth and advocated curved or irregular street alignments to provide ever-changing vistas. He also called for T-intersections to reduce the number of possible conflicts among streams of moving traffic and pointed out the advantages of "turbine squares" (civic spaces served by streets entering in such a way as to resemble a pin-wheel in plan (Sitte 1965).

Starting with Sitte's book 'Der Städtebau nach Seinen Künstlerischen Grundsätzen (City Planning According to Artistic Principles)' which was published in 1889, "Sittesque" planning principles were promoted in Germany between 1890 and 1910 through lectures, seminars and conferences on city planning at educational institutions (Bachelor 1969). Batchelor argues that, when Ebenezer Howard's idea of the garden city came to Germany, it was directly integrated with Sittesque planning principles (Bachelor 1969, 197). Nevertheless he also argues that *the fundamental principles of Garden City Movement were obscured and it became evident that the movement had not really established itself in Germany* (Bachelor 1969, 197).

Garden City Movement's origins lie in the conditions of the industrial cities of the nineteenth century, as garden cities were thought to be a remedy for rapid urbanization which gave cause for crime, disease and poverty. Howard's proposal was a Three Magnet diagram keeping the Central City with a population of 58.000, surrounding it with rural areas and introducing two other settlements with a population of 32.000 which were connected with the Central City and each other via transit railway system (Howard 1902) (see Figure 1A). The country magnet, as compared with the town magnet offered beauty and wealth, low rents, fresh air, sunlight and health (Madanipour 1996, 202), aiming to raise the standards of health and comfort of all true workers of whatever grade (Howard 1902, 14). The Garden City was large enough to have the benefits of concentration but small enough to remain close to the countryside (Abbott 2006, 71). Six boulevards traversed the garden city from centre to circumference, dividing it into six equal parts or wards. The garden city was also divided into zones; in the central core there was a circular garden, which was surrounded with public buildings, second zone was the Central Park, between Central Park and Grand Avenue (which was a green belt) residential areas were located which continued between Grand Avenue and the outer ring where factories, warehouses, dairies, markets, etc. were situated (see Figure 1B).

Hermann Jansen was influenced both by Sitte's planning principles and Garden City Movement which were promoted in Germany starting with the last decade of 19th century. However, it was claimed that another particular figure emerged as a possible influence on garden city concept in Germany, who was Theodor Fritsch (Bachelor 1969, 197). His book entitled "Die Stadt der Zukunft: Gartenstadt" (The City of Future: Garden City) was published at the end of 1895; however it received more attention in England than it did in Germany (Fritch 1912). Fritsch's proposal consisted of an organic fusion between the older centre of an existing city and its new suburbs by building parallel land-use bands radiating out from a basic radius (Bachelor 1969, 197).

Although Fritsch's book was published three years earlier than Howard's, there were certain similarities between their ideas. According to Fritsch's proposal, a garden city would be developed in zones (see Figure 2A); where in the central core monuments and monumental public buildings were situated. Residential areas were located between the monumental public buildings and the outer rings, where factories, court house, stock exchange building and farms were situated. Fritsch's and Howard's proposals were parallel in general; however a green belt and a central park were not included in Fritsch's plan. Collins claims that Fritsch's plan had anticipated Howard's garden cities, however Fritsch proposed unlimited

growth and did not separate garden city from the city centre (Bachelor 1969, 197) (see Figure 2B).

In summary, Camillo Sitte's people friendly and picturesque design principles and Ebenezer Howard and Theodor Fritsch's Garden City idea had most certainly influenced Hermann Jansen's planning principles (Saban Ökesli 2009), as they were both promoted in Germany during his education and early years of his career. One might argue that he had developed his own planning principles under the influence of the above-mentioned ideas. The present investigation is based on this argument and attempts to examine it through an analysis of his plans for the cities in southern Turkey. The planning principles he had developed for Ankara are briefly discussed first, because of being the earlier award winning plan in order to establish a preliminary framework for the examination of his development plans for the cities in southern Turkey.

THE MASTER PLAN OF ANKARA

In respect to Hermann Jansen's planning principles, major evidence proving that he was influenced by Camillo Sitte and Garden City Movement is the master plan of Ankara, which he had completed in 1932. The plan reflects his concern for and attention to the historical fabric of the historic city around the citadel (Bozdoğan 2001, 70). Although it was claimed that he was deeply affected by the Lörcher Plan prepared for Ankara in 1924-1925 (Cengizkan 2002), still he divided Ankara into two parts (old city and new city) and separated them with a green belt. He composed several zones (Doğramacı 2007,100), which were basically an administrative area, a quarter for foreign consulate buildings, a quarter for university, industrial areas and residential areas (see Figure 3).

Hermann Jansen's planning principles for the master plan of Ankara were summarized as follows (Tankut 1993, 79-80):

- Urban aesthetics was the primary concern and the Citadel was considered as "the city crown",

- Roads were designed short, straight, narrow and suitable for the topographical conditions in order to achieve an economical design,

- A healthy urban environment was secured through green areas, sports grounds, playgrounds for children, parks and recreational areas,

- Residential areas were divided into 18 sections (*Siedlungs*) and different development patterns were introduced for each,

- Houses were designed as either detached or attached and each house had front and rear gardens,

- The location of industrial areas was determined according to transport availability (mainly railway transport) and the dominant wind,

- A commercial area was not included in the plan, rather the old city centre was considered as the traditional commercial centre, which was considered to function as before,

- Green belts were introduced connecting the old and the new city, which created traffic free routes for pedestrians.

Jansen's motto for the master plan of Ankara was "*Cities are mirror images of the present*" (Doğramacı 2007,122), however his approach was regarded contrary to the modernist planning principles which were widely accepted throughout the world in the first half of the 20th century and therefore stood old fashioned in respect to current planning trends of the time. While modernist planning ideology aimed to construct a totally new strategy for urban planning which ignored historic urban contexts, Jansen's vision was considered *narrow within the possibilities of 20th century* (Tankut 1993, 67). As a result of such criticisms and various political reasons the master plan of Ankara was not fully implemented and was subject to intervention mostly by bureaucrats (Bademli 1994, 162), which resulted Jansen to declare that his signature could be removed from the plan in 1938 (Yavuz 1981, 29).

THE DEVELOPMENT PLANS FOR CITIES IN SOUTHERN TURKEY

Despite criticism against his planning principles, Jansen's approach was widely accepted by Turkish Government, mainly because of his concern for historic urban contexts, rational and humanistic design and most importantly the emphasis given to economical feasibility. As well as the Turkish Republic's capital city Ankara, Jansen was willing to prepare plans for the Ottoman's capital Istanbul (which was planned by Paul Bonatz), however his attempts were unsuccessful. It was claimed that Jansen tried to add a clause to his contract with the Ministry of Development which would guarantee him to prepare plans for every Turkish city, which was also unsuccessful (Tankut 1993, 105). During the period he had prepared detailed development plans for various parts of Ankara (which continued until the end of 1939), he was appointed to prepare plans for seven other Turkish cities (see Figure 4).

The selection of these cities seems interesting, as with the exception of the cities in Çukurova Region (Mersin, Tarsus, Adana and Ceyhan), other cities display differing social, geographical and topographical characters. The earliest among the plans Jansen prepared for cities except Ankara was for İzmir in 1932, which renewed an area that was burnt down during the War of Independence. The remaining plans were master plans of the cities which anticipated development patterns for the whole and therefore could be considered as representatives of Jansen's planning principles. The plans for İzmit and Gaziantep were prepared in the same year, 1938. While İzmit was a small town developed to become an industrial city adjacent to Istanbul, Gaziantep was a traditional Ottoman town to become the industrial centre in the south eastern region. Although Gaziantep was a close city to the ones in Çukurova Region, it was situated on the eastern side of Taurus Mountains which surround the plain, and therefore represented a totally different character.

The Çukurova Region is the largest and most fertile agricultural land in Turkey. It can be argued that the selection of the four cities in Çukurova Region (Mersin, Tarsus, Adana and Ceyhan) to be planned by Jansen was a result of the significance Turkish Government gave to agriculture and production of local goods for national use. In 1923 when the Republic of Turkey was founded, 80% of the population consisted of farmers and machine led agriculture was undertaken only in Çukurova and Aegean Regions (Müderrisoğlu 2007, 106). Atatürk had emphasized the

importance of agriculture for national economy,1 as agriculture was considered the most appropriate way of production which could be undertaken by the under educated and war weary citizens. Following the law (number 682) which was released in 1925, every kind of young plants and seeds were circulated to farmers free of charge, new nursery gardens were established and furthermore, farmers were educated in relation to new techniques of production, in order to develop agriculture in the country (Erkun 1998). The Çukurova Region was particularly important for agricultural progress, as Tarsus, Adana and Ceyhan were the cities producing cotton for decades and the railway line which connected these cities to the port city Mersin enabled the cotton to be transported overseas. Since the commencement of the civil war in America cotton appeared as one of the prominent items in the returns of exportation from Aleppo for the British Government and the first experiment to produce cotton in Çukurova Region (mainly in Adana) was made in 1862 (Great Britain Parliament 1866, 428-429). Initially the quantity of cotton produced was 10,000 bales, while it was raised to 70,000 bales in the following year (Great Britain Parliament 1866, 428-429). The Region had a smooth climate and was also rich in fruit and vegetable production, therefore Çukurova was considered as the main production area for agricultural goods and cities of Çukurova were to be developed accordingly.

Jansen had prepared plans for Mersin, Tarsus, Adana and Ceyhan between 1939 and 1940, following a short trip to the cities, from Berlin where he resided. Although the preparation of the plans had started as early as 1935 and there were earlier plans that were reached by the author, this paper considers only the latest approved plans for analysis. The development plans of these cities are analyzed according to their geographical order, starting from the port city Mersin which is located in the western end, for the dates of the plans, demographic and economic characteristics of the cities and their growth rates are all different from each other.

JANSEN'S PLAN FOR MERSİN

Mersin was established at the beginnings of the nineteenth century and developed as a result of the opening of Mersin-Adana road in 1873, formation of Mersin-Adana railway line (which was later connected to Baghdad) in 1886 and the construction of a port in the last decade of the nineteenth century (Develi 2001). Mersin was a small seaside town on the Mediterranean coast until the first major settlement after 1860, mainly in relation to the development of cotton trade and the use of Mersin port to transport timber for the construction of the Suez Canal (Develi 2001, 174). The population of the city increased in the first half of the twentieth century, as a result of the commercial activities and the port. Cuinet reports Mersin's population as 9000 in 1890, (Cuinet 1890) while it increased to 33782 **(including the population living within Mersin County) in 1918 (Ramazanoğlu 1920)** and to 27620 in 1935 (Develi 2001, 61).

Mersin was considered as a commercial centre for mainly agricultural goods which was highlighted by Atatürk during his visit to Mersin in 1923[2] and was developed accordingly in the following decades. Jansen's development plan for Mersin reflects

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1. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's Speech on the Occasion of the Opening of İzmir Economics Congress, 17 February 1923.
2. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's Speech in Mersin, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, 21.3.1923.

this situation, mainly with its emphasis on the port and carrying the railway line towards east, which originally ended in the city centre close to the port (see Figure 5).

Two significant elements for Mersin's future character were identified by Jansen: the commercial activities (which would be developed dependent on the port) and the sea (which gave Mersin the sea side town character) (Ünlü 2007, 428). The old city was protected with its original character reflecting a Sittesque approach (Ünlü 2007, 428), which enabled the cultural heritage to be carried until present. The proposed commercial centre was attached to the existing city, which was situated in the northern side of the port and western side of the proposed industrial area. This enabled the commercial activities and industry to be separated from the residential areas and the creation of a promenade which was prolonged along the coast until the western border of the new development (which was determined as the river).

The residential areas were composed in two separate neighbourhoods, one for the merchants or wealthy residents located in the western side of the old city, while the other was in the northern side of the old city for workers. Both of the neighbourhoods included sports grounds, schools and plots for gardens, however sports ground for wealthy residents was larger which connected the old city with the recreational area designed in the west end of the neighbourhood. It was also close to the cultural centre of the city and enabled direct connection with the sea. The workers' neighbourhood, on the other hand, was separated from the old city with the railway line, disconnected from the sea and situated between the hospital and the airport. Nevertheless, he tried to correct this through introducing large plots for gardens and a green belt which reduced the negative impact of the railway line to the neighbourhood.

JANSEN'S PLAN FOR TARSUS

Tarsus is an ancient and historically important town between Mersin and Adana, which hosted several civilizations, witnessed the romance between Mark Antony and Cleopatra and where Saint Paul was born. Despite the history of the town as a port for 3000 years, Tarsus lost its significance as a commercial centre when the delta of the River Tarsus (ancient Cydnus) became a swamp and consequently the city lost its access to the Mediterranean Sea. Tarsus regained power at the end of the 19th century as a result of the railway and highway connection to Mersin and Adana and the rehabilitation of the swamp in the 1920s. The city is located in the fertile agricultural land of Çukurova Plain and therefore is an important agricultural centre for the Turkish Republic.

In 1937 almost 25000 people lived in Tarsus (Cuda 1939, 35). Jansen's development plan for Tarsus proposes various zones leaving the old city intact, mainly consisting of residential, green and industrial areas and an airport (see Figure 6). The plan was shaped according to the railway line which was not adjacent to the old city and an industrial area, an airport and two neighbourhoods (one for the workers) were situated on the western side of the railway. The old city, which consisted of the administrative, religious, commercial and cultural buildings, was bounded with the highway connecting Tarsus to Mersin and Adana. New residential areas were introduced surrounding the old town having the intercity highway as the

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borderline, which were supported with a sports ground and a recreational area attached to the eastern side of the old town.

The workers' neighbourhood was separated from the old city and the newly established residential areas by way of locating it between the railway line and the airport (similar to the plan of Mersin), which also was adjacent to the industrial area. The neighbourhood between the railway line and the old town, adjacent to the sports ground was probably for the wealthy residents along with the residential area situated between the old town and the river, which consisted of a club house. All the residential areas were connected with the old town and each other through pedestrian routes as well as roads, which enabled a traffic free access within the city.

JANSEN'S PLAN FOR ADANA

Adana is an ancient Cilician city situated on the River Seyhan (ancient Sarus), thirty miles from the Mediterranean Sea, which was a major town during Roman times and the Ottoman Period. Because of being located at the centre of a fertile agricultural land and on trade routes, the city was home for several civilizations. Nevertheless, the development of the city of Adana started with the rehabilitation of swamps surrounding the city into agricultural land in the second half of the nineteenth century. The production of cotton and the establishment of factories which process cotton into industrial and textile goods enabled the city to become one of the major cities of Turkey in the second half of the twentieth century.

Cuinet reports the population of Adana as 15575 in 1890 (Cuinet 1890), while it rose to 102.492 (including the population living within Adana County) in 1918 (Ramazanoğlu 1920) and 105.000 in 1935 (Cuda 1939, 52).

Hermann Jansen started planning the development of Adana as early as 1935 for a limited area between the old city and the new railway station; however he later prepared a plan for the eastern side of the River Seyhan in 1938 and finally the plan which covered both sides of the river in 1940. This paper discusses Jansen's planning principles according to the latest adopted development plan. As he did in the plans for Mersin and Tarsus, Jansen preserved the old city and proposed to develop the city to every direction except south, as southern part of the city was a rich agricultural land (See Figure 7). The plan surrounds the old city with new residential areas and a green belt, which defined the southern border.

The zoning organization is clear in the plan of Adana, which consists of industrial areas at the western and north eastern ends, residential areas situated at the western, northern and eastern parts of the old city supported with social and recreational areas and an airport next to a race track. It can be argued that Jansen included a race track into the plan, as he earlier did in his plan for Ankara (see Figure 3), as Adana was well-known with stud farms around the city and races were organized traditionally.[3]

Jansen's plan presents different characteristics for western and eastern sides of the River Seyhan, while the western side (named as Seyhan) included residential, commercial, social and cultural areas, eastern side of the River (named as Yüreğir) was mostly residential with a bazaar in the centre and an industrial area covering

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3. *Yeni Adana Gazetesi* (*New Adana Newspaper*), 27 Nisan 1937

the northern part of the residential area. The urban form in the eastern side reminds Fritsch's proposal for the beginning of land development (see Figure 2B), nevertheless despite proposing a development radiating from a centre and dividing zones using parallel bands, Jansen's plan for Yüreğir did not include a social and administrative area in the central core, except for a school and an alms house.

The plan does not identify different areas for different social groups, however the largest residential area in Seyhan part includes a central park next to a school, which connects the railway station, the old city, the sports ground and the riverside with a green belt and enables pedestrians walk comfortably in the neighbourhood. The other residential areas, however, despite including a school within the neighbourhood were planned without sports grounds and common recreational or social areas. Therefore, it can be argued that those residential areas were designed for workers.

JANSEN'S PLAN FOR CEYHAN

Ceyhan is situated on the River Ceyhan in the eastern part of the large Çukurova Plain, 43 km. (27 mi) east of the city of Adana. The city of Ceyhan was not settled in the ancient times; however the history of its surrounding area goes back to 2000 BC and has been an agricultural centre since its foundation. Although Ceyhan gained importance with the construction of Istanbul-Baghdad railway line, it was the smallest of the four cities analyzed in this paper at the time Jansen prepared the plan. The population of the city was recorded as 20.000 in 1918 (Ramazanoğlu 1920) and 10.200 in 1935 (Cuda 1939, 30).

Similar to the earlier plans discussed, Jansen's development plan for Ceyhan included zoning for the old city; residential areas, industrial areas, green areas and an airport (see Figure 8). The old city was located on the eastern side of the river, while the plan developed mainly the area surrounding the old city towards south (until the railway line), east and north. The industrial area was located between the road coming from Adana to Osmaniye and the railway line which connected Adana to Fevzipaşa over Ceyhan, which defined the southern border of the plan. The workers' neighbourhood was situated next to the industrial area, and was connected to the newly introduced residential areas via a pedestrian route. All the residential areas were connected with the old city and each other through pedestrian routes and green areas, one of the two sports grounds, however was designed on the western side of the river with a low density area as a residential suburb. The plan also proposes a bazaar (similar to the plans of Mersin and Tarsus), which is located in the southern part of the airport in between the two residential areas.

CONCLUSION

Hermann Jansen's development plans for cities in Southern Turkey display similar urban attributes that reflect the designer's planning principles. The analysis revealed that Jansen did not plan for a garden city separated from the existing settlement; instead he tried to connect the old city with the proposed residential areas by means of pedestrian routes. It can be argued that this was a result of his efforts to develop cities -which were considerably small compared to the Central City proposed by Howard- through introducing the required minimum urban features. As the cities already existed, Jansen tried to complete them in order to

create high quality urban areas in line with contemporary urban standards. This is clear from his proposal for the newly established Yüreğir part of Adana, situated in the eastern side of the river, where he planned a new city in parallel bands, radiating from a green area which was accessed from Seyhan by two bridges. Jansen embraces this area as a common ground and develops the city in the light of Fritsch's proposal; however similar to the proposal of Howard, he ends the northern neighbourhood with an industrial area defined with the railway line (see Figures 1 and 2).

The analyzed plans showed that Jansen applied zoning organization in his proposals; nevertheless commercial areas were not always included in the plan as a separate zone. As the existing cities had commercial areas (bazaars or markets), new ones were proposed for the cities which required new commercial centres, such as the area introduced in Mersin adjacent to the newly established port. A similar case was observed for administrative areas, as they were kept within the borders of the existing city instead of being carried to the newly planned areas.

Jansen's *Siedlung* (settlement) approach for different social groups was acknowledged as a result of the analysis, which was in harmony with the Ankara plan (Tankut 1993, 79-80). Furthermore workers' settlements were introduced by Jansen in the analyzed plans, similar to Ankara. Although a thorough analysis is not undertaken for this paper concerning the housing types, plot ratios and densities, the examination revealed that these settlements were all located close to the railway station and mostly next to the industrial area. In terms of social attributes, a school was included in every settlement, mostly supported with a playground and shops. Nevertheless, these settlements were mostly designed without a sports ground or a hospital, probably because of being situated close to the areas which include such urban elements.

The analysis revealed that industrial areas were planned close to railway stations, which were additionally isolated from residential areas via a railway line or a green belt. Compared to the proposals of Howard and Fritsch which placed industrial areas in the outer skirts of the garden city, it is possible to argue that Jansen's plans were consistent with them; on the other hand, Jansen did not design cities in a radial form, except for the Yüreğir part in his plan for Adana.

Every city consisted of large recreational areas including sports grounds, clubs, public houses or restaurants. These areas were connected with the newly established residential areas, as well as the old city through alleys, which provided a secure and friendly environment for pedestrians. These alleys were extended in every possible direction to the countryside, as all the cities were surrounded with orchards and gardens, and the people of Çukurova had traditionally a strong bond with nature. In conclusion, it can be argued that Jansen's emphasis on nature and connecting it with the city was evident in the plans analyzed, which was also reflected in his plan Ankara.

Jansen's concern for and attention to the historical fabric of the cities was evident in the plans, as he did not propose radical changes within the city centres, instead he developed cities by way of keeping the existing city in the centre and left the administrative and commercial buildings in the old city which enabled the cities function as before. His contribution to the historical fabric was in terms of reorganizing the street system, introducing green areas, highlighting historical buildings through clearing their surroundings and connecting them with each other

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via pedestrian routes. Therefore, it can be argued that Jansen reflected a Sittesque approach in his plans for cities in Southern Turkey. The fact that Jansen organized city traffic using T intersections in newly designed areas also supports this argument.

In conclusion the analysis showed that Jansen's urban legacy in Southern Turkey consisted of conservative, environment friendly and functional design principles which were evident in the zoning pattern, establishment of neighbourhood units for different social groups, large recreational areas, preservation of historic city centres and green traffic free areas connecting the city centre with nature. His planning principles were in line with Camillo Sitte's, Ebenezer Howard's and Theodor Fritsch's views; however, he successfully adapted these principles to the social, financial and cultural environment in Turkey. Although his vision was considered *narrow within the possibilities of 20th century* compared to the modernist planners who ignored historic urban contexts, he introduced applicable, functional, aesthetic and socially successful urban environments in the cities he had planned. Jansen's conservative approach was arguably more appropriate for Turkish cities in relation to the historical importance of the cities and financial constraints which the newly established Republic faced in the 1930s.

FIGURES

| A Correct principle of a City's Growth | B Ward and Centre of Garden City |
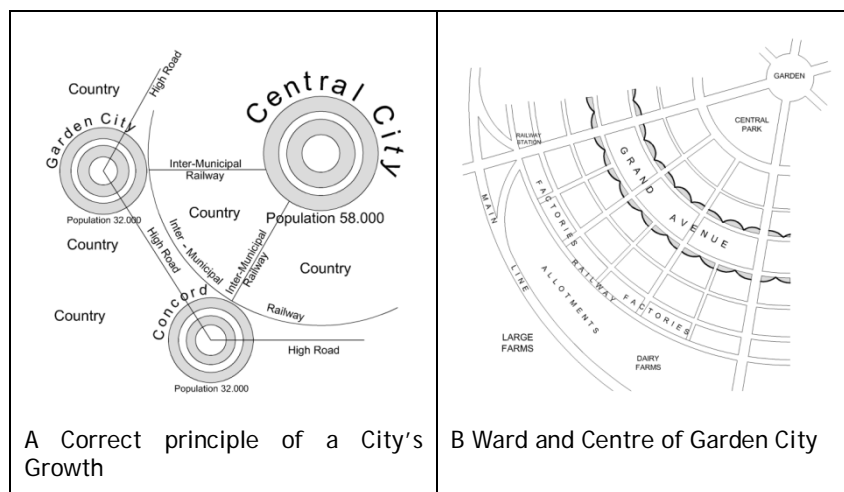
Figure 1: Ebenezer Howard's Proposals for City Development (Redrawn from Howard (1902), Garden Cities of Tomorrow, 120 and 16)

| A Zoning Organization | B Beginning of Land Development |
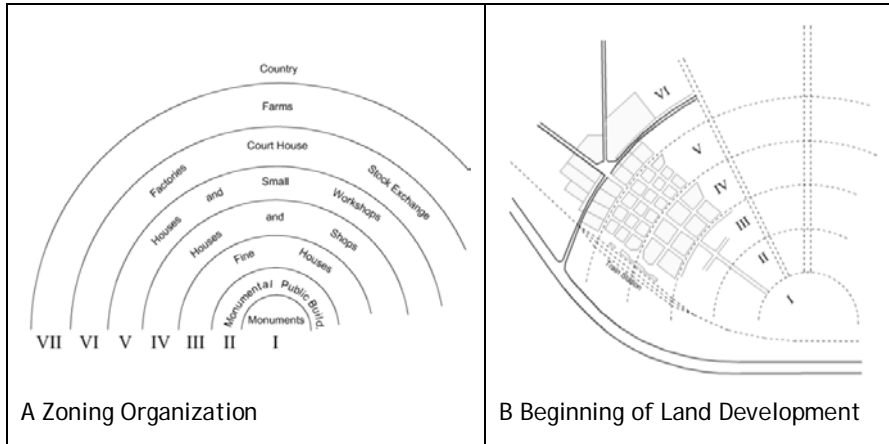
Figure 2: Theodor Fritsch's Proposals for City development (Redrawn from Fritsch (1912), Die Stadt der Zukunft: Gartenstadt, Figures 1 and 3)
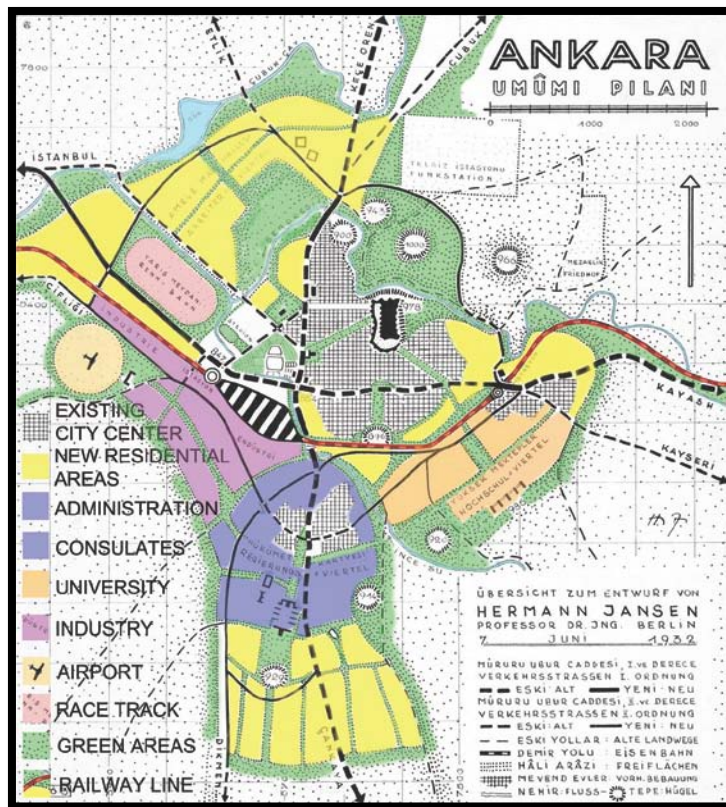
Figure 3: Hermann Jansen's Master Plan for Ankara (reproduced from the original copy held at TU Berlin Architekturmuseum, Inv. Nr. 22734)

Figure 4: Cities in Turkey that the development plans' were prepared by Jansen
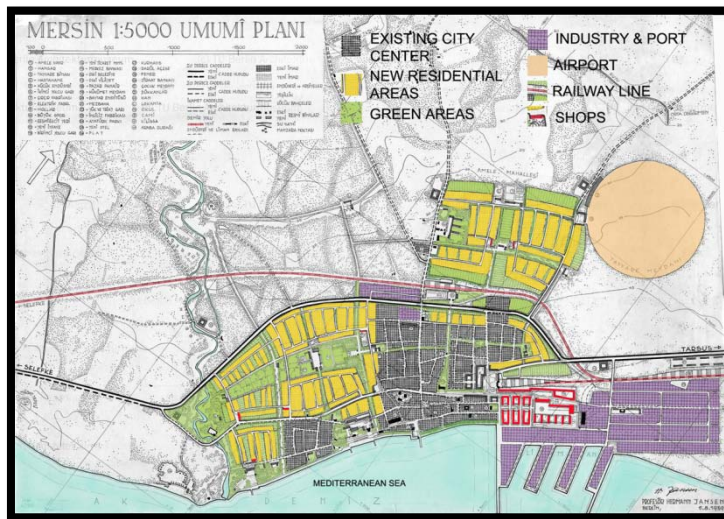
Figure 5: Hermann Jansen's Development Plan for Mersin, 1939 (reproduced from the original copy held at TU Berlin Architekturmuseum, Inv. Nr. 22455)
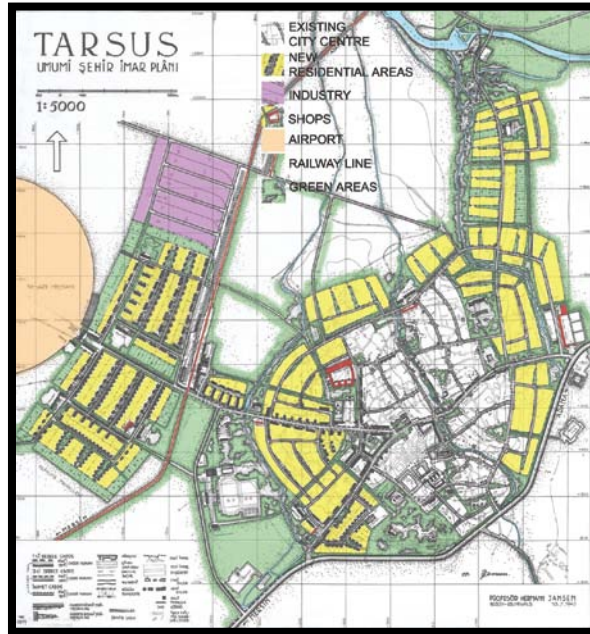
Figure 6: Hermann Jansen's Development Plan for Tarsus, 1940 (reproduced from the original copy held at TU Berlin Architekturmuseum, Inv. Nr. 23472)
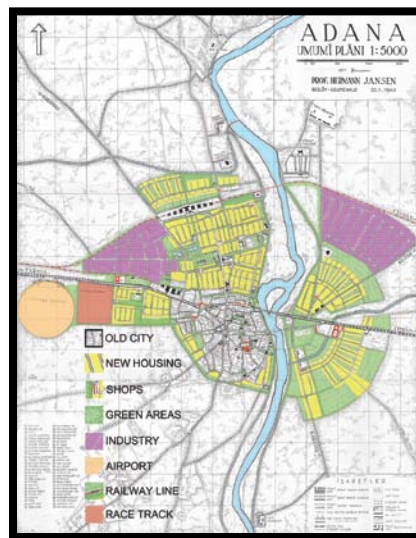
Figure 7: Hermann Jansen's Development Plan for Adana, 1940 (reproduced from the original copy held at TU Berlin Architekturmuseum, Inv. Nr. 23367, 23368 and 23369)
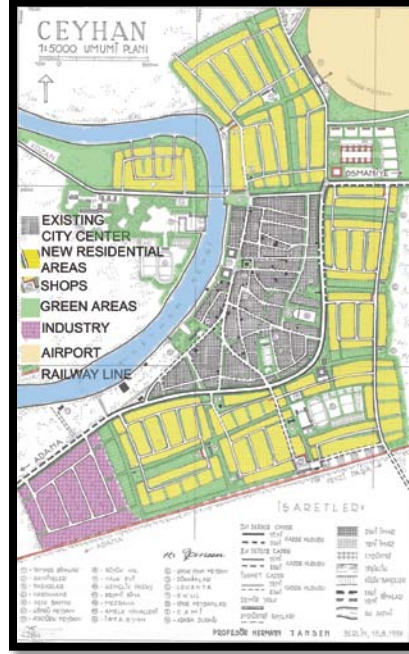
Figure 8: Hermann Jansen's Development Plan for Ceyhan, 1939 (reproduced from the original copy held at TU Berlin Architekturmuseum, Inv. Nr. 23395)

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THE CAMINHO NIEMEYER IN NITEROI: A CHALLENGE TO THE REDEVELOPMENT OF THE CITY CENTER

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ABSTRACT

The regeneration of the Aterrado Praia Grande seafront embankment area by the Caminho Niemeyer development scheme, a signature project designed by one of Brazil's most internationally renowned architects, poses questions for contemporary urban development and urban planning theory and evokes reflections on the subject of strategic planning in the post-modern era. Coastal cities facing pressure from population growth and the expansion of urban real estate, have used brownfield development as a solution to the problem of modernizing their traditional city centers, creating artificial neighborhood areas capable of satisfying the functional requirements of a different era (marinas, road access, administrative centers, parks, residential areas and services, among other uses). Schemes of this nature have in many instances been successful in enhancing the value of land in public ownership and use, during the first half of the twentieth century in particular. This paper looks at urban development schemes of this kind, in "strategic" city locations devised in isolation from the wider planning context but with the potential to have positive impact on the deteriorated urban environment around them. The Aterrado Praia Grande seafront embankment was constructed in the center of Niterói, facing the city of Rio de Janeiro, by the federal government in 1940. Most of the site consisted of derelict under-utilized space occupying part of the city's most public face. The site's development has been beset by legal disputes between various public sector bodies and private undertakings that remain unresolved after more than half a century and have left the legacy of a large semi-derelict area in the heart of the city. Limited progress despite the numerous schemes proposed resulted eventually in the adoption of the Caminho Niemeyer scheme towards the end of the 1990s (Municipal Law 1604 of 30 October 1997). This was inspired by the success of the Museum of Contemporary Art (MAC), designed by Oscar Niemeyer (1996), as a symbolic image representative of the city. The scheme was envisaged as a potential stimulus to the regeneration and revitalization of a downtown area showing increasing signs of urban decline. Anvious to reinvigorate this part of the city, the city's mayor invited Oscar Niemeyer to design a seafront complex on a 72000 m2 site that would serve as a venue for cultural events in the city. Over time the design of the Caminho Niemeyer has undergone a series of substantial modifications to the site itself and to the buildings intended to occupy it (theater, memorial center, public open space and parking facility now built, Oscar Niemeyer Foundation, Museum of Brazilian Cinema currently under construction, churches and ferry terminal as yet unstarted).

This paper aims to give a brief account of the various development proposals for the area and consider their integration with the city center from the perspective of a "strategic" urban planning approach seeking to rehabilitate the image of the city center and of the city itself.

INTRODUCTION

The cities of the Brazilian coast, facing pressure from [population] growth and the expansion of urban real estate, have turned to brownfield regeneration as a way of modernizing traditional city centers and creating urban spaces that cater to new functional needs (including marinas, road access, administrative centers, parks, residential and service areas) and increasing the provision of public open space and other public facilities. This has often proved a successful approach, during the first half of the twentieth century in particular.

The city of Niterói was laid out in 1819 in accordance with a plan drawn up by the French town planner Arnaud Julien Pallière. It stretches along the extensive shoreline of the Praia Grande beach looking out towards the city center of Rio de Janeiro and turning its back on its earliest settlements, the hillside village of São Lourenço and the more prosperous neighborhood of São Domingos. At the end of the 1920s the São Lourenço embankment was built to protect the city harbour by in-filling an inlet that formerly gave access to Aldeia de São Lourenço dos Índios, the settlement of the area's original indigenous inhabitants led by their chief Araribóia.

The Aterrrado Praia Grande seafront embankment was constructed as a Federal Government initiative in 1940. Built over the beach to the seaward side of the city's central area the reclamation work involved substantially increased the area of the existing site. The embankment's construction gave rise to legal disputes involving various public sector bodies and private undertakings that dragged on for more than half a century, leaving a substantial area in the city center significantly under-utilized. The limited progress achieved in developing the area despite numerous schemes proposed opened the way for the *Caminho Niemeyer* development scheme, still unfinished, with other new development schemes for the area in prospect.

This paper seeks to provide a brief account of the different development proposals and the extent to which they engaged with the city center, up to and including the *Caminho Niemeyer*, a "strategic" urban project intended to provide the city center and the city itself with a fresh new image.

THE CITY CENTER OF NITERÓI AND THE ATERRADO PRAIA GRANDE SEA-FRONT EMBANKMENT

Niterói occupies a unique location on the eastern shore of Guanabara Bay, significantly influenced by its proximity to the metropolitan nucleus of Rio de Janeiro. With a population of 469,451 (IBGE [Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics] Census for 2000) the city is sub-divided for administrative purposes into five planning districts and forty-eight neighborhoods, covering a very diverse area of 131 km^2. Historically the city has been overshadowed and competitively disadvantaged by its influential neighbor, although at the same time Rio has been a source of sustenance and reinvigoration.

For more than a century the ferry network provided Niterói with efficient transport connections that made the ferry terminal the gateway to the entire northern part of the state of Rio de Janeiro as well as to the former Federal capital. With a wide variety of urban services available and seen as a desirable place to live the center became identified with the city itself and so "going to Niterói" came to mean

visiting the city center. The situation changed in 1974 with the opening of the President Costa e Silva (Rio-Niterói) Bridge. The subsequent merger of the two states of Rio de Janeiro and Guanabara resulted in Niterói losing its status as state capital. The new gateway to the city had a significant impact on the structure of the city itself, with an influx of new residents into well-established neighborhoods and opened up new areas for development, accelerating the exodus from the city center which experienced a loss of jobs, prime commercial and leisure services and a considerable proportion of the resident population seeking more attractive locations and taking advantage of increased private car ownership. This was a common enough urban phenomenon, in Latin American cities in particular, but the impact in Niterói was particularly dramatic due to various historical factors as well as the administrative and infrastructural changes.

During the era of the Estado Novo or New State (the first Brazilian dictatorship), Federal Government Decree 2441 of 23 July 1940, a measure approving the "urban development and reorganization plan for the city of Niterói", transferred right of use and possession of the area of land about to be reclaimed to the State for reassignment to utility companies and licensed developers for a maximum period of 15 years, during which time newly constructed properties were exempt from basic and special taxes and other charges. The local authority was made responsible for implementing the proposals for the development of the shoreline area, over 3 km long, from the Ponta d'Areia area to the Praia das Flechas beach, representing a total of approximately 1,000,000 sq m^2. This was the beginning of a reclamation project that was under discussion for a long time before actually being put into effect.

In his 1930 doctorate thesis, "Avant Projet d'Aménagement et d'Extension de la ville Niterói" ["Outline Proposal for the Development and Expansion of the City of Niterói"], the architect Attilio Corrêa Lima re-examined the idea of land reclamation and linked it to the need for a bridge or a tunnel link connecting Rio and Niterói at the shortest point between the two cities (Calabouço and Gragoatá). He suggested relocating the existing ferry service and using it for tourism purposes.

The Federal Decree was the first stage in the development of the city's shoreline, providing a legal rather than a specific planning framework. In January 1941 the Niterói Improvement Works Company (Companhia de Melhoramentos de Niterói), was formed to undertake improvement works. After the company missed the deadline for completion, its initial license was extended for an additional 5 years subject to the same conditions. Around the same time a development scheme was commissioned from Dahne Conceição (1943) by União Territorial Fluminense SA, successors to the previous development corporation. This plan, which envisaged a grid layout of roads and blocks occupying an area of over 1,000,000 m^2, diagonally transected by two roads converging at the ferry terminal (which was to be relocated), was a simplified and impoverished version of the original scheme that Attilio Corrêa Lima had proposed.

The new development scheme, to be known as Jardim Fluminense, was approved on the basis of a plan submitted by Territorial Fluminense Co. that gave the city center a new, high-rise skyline and made no concessions to the existing street plan and pattern of use. The only elements of continuity were two roads, the Avenida Feliciano Sodré, created as part of the harbour development plan, and the Avenida Amaral Peixoto, another product of the program of works undertaken in the 1940s.

In spite of the formal progress of these land use and acquisition proposals, no progress was made on land reclamation. By 1969 the developers' licenses had been extended twice and less than 19% of the area had been reclaimed.

Finally the area was compulsorily purchased on grounds of public interest (State Decree 15553/1971) and the New Niterói Development Executive Group (Grupo Executivo de Urbanização da Nova Niterói), was created (State Decree 15554/1971) with the primary objective of putting the redevelopment plan for the reclamation site into effect. The landfill reclamation operations continued from 1971 to 1974. The government subsequently took part into public ownership on grounds of public interest (Decree 80.693/1977) in order to build the university campus of the city university (Universidade Federal Fluminense).

The various "stakeholders" and "owners" disputed the tenure of the land in the courts and have continued to do so. The abandoned area of existing landfill was seen as an undesirable intrusion in the local landscape and harmed the image of the city center. The municipal authority made various attempts to put the site to use, trying to offset some of the reclamation site's negative impact with development schemes for use by public utilities.

In 1989, the municipal administration embarked on another attempt to find a solution for the reclamation site with its "Niterói City Center Regeneration Plan", (Projeto de revitalização do centro de Niterói) whose primary object was to prepare the reclaimed area for development and develop it in a way that ensured its full integration with the rest of the city. At the same time a start was made on the process of tenure registration in preparation for the new land use proposals. The most important construction project was the new bus terminal, iniciated in December 1992 and opened in 1994 at the same time that work began on turning the existing waterfront access route, the Avenida Rio Branco, into a dual carriageway.

THE SEAFRONT EMBANKMENT AND THE *CAMINHO NIEMEYER* DEVELOPMENT SCHEME

The seafront embankment was the outcome of 60 years of discussions, planning applications and legal disputes, all conducted in the absence of a consistent planning framework. From the start it involved competing property developers proposing schemes that were inadequately formulated in every aspect, together with all three levels of government involved and obstructing one another, with glimpses of self-interest at work and many previous failures undermining the credibility of efforts to develop the site. The scheme was not consciously devised as a strategic urban planning initiative but was inspired by the desire to make better use of an under-utilized area of the city and give an identity to a highly visible space that was damaging the image of the traditional city center.

Nevertheless, the development has adopted the "strategic" approach of using individual high-profile projects to promote a positive image of the city, enhancing its "reputation". This image impacted on the local population's self-esteem and sense of involvement as they gradually came to regard these new spaces as iconic representations of their city. The phenomenon reflects the trend, that Ascher (2001) terms "neo-urbanism", for urban development in the environment of uncertainty that characterizes modern society to take the form of organizing

"options". This approach moves away from the traditional attitude in medium and long term planning.

The unprecedented transformations taking place in today's information society call for a new and different deal with urban living. Urban spaces need to be responsive and constantly evolving, on the basis of regional level planning and development schemes involving the revitalization of historic city centers and waterfront districts and an emphasis on cultural and leisure activities that provide the basis for a complex relationship between culture and consumption.

MUSEU DE ARTE CONTEMPORÂNEA (MAC) - THE MUSEUM OF CONTEMPORARY ART AS A STIMULUS FOR OTHER ICONIC DEVELOPMENTS IN NITERÓI

When the city of Niterói lost its role as state capital, a subtle change occurred in the relationship between the *cariocas* (the residents of the city of Rio de Janeiro) and the *fluminenses* (residents of the state of Rio de Janeiro). The superior attitude of *cariocas* towards *fluminenses*, and the image that *fluminenses* had of themselves had been shaped by Niterói's proximity to the cultural, political and economic center that Rio de Janeiro has always represented. The image of the city tended to be influenced by decades-old prejudices and stereotypes – "the sister city", "the looking-glass city", "the city on the periphery", "the dormitory city", the city always seen as an adjunct to Rio, through *carioca* eyes.

"For the visitor arriving or departing, or the ordinary passer-by the picturesque ill-proportioned/out of scale statue of Araribóia, looking out across the bay towards the city of Rio de Janeiro in the distance, evokes that mythical being that Niterói personifies for the city's inhabitants. Including, as far as the reactions that the figure of the Indian provokes, the way that he gazes in the direction of Rio, instead of towards his own humble village ..." (Gustavo Rocha Peixoto, 1997).

However after the merger the city, deprived of its former status as state capital, was forced to re-examine its role and discover an identity of its own that transcended its previous identities. New symbols of the city's identity, along with improvements in the quality of life, have enabled the city to transform its image. Some positive signs are already evident, for example the revival of the slogans "City of Smiles" ("Cidade-sorriso"), "the Twenty-First Century City" and "the Quality of Life City".

Urban development schemes have contributed to the process of renewal. Each in turn, in a manner in keeping with its era, has helped to promote the image of the city of Niterói. The construction of the harbour, the development of the Aterrado Praia Grande seafront embankment and the opening of the Avenida Amaral Peixoto in 1940, the construction of the Rio-Niterói Bridge and more recently, the bus terminal and the MAC have all made a significant contribution. The Museum in particular has brought the city to the international architectural map. Culture and leisure have been important strategic components of this new urban renaissance and, in order to maximize the local potential the emphasis has been on the city's image and on emblematic cultural projects, with the city's iconographic architecture a key contributor to its new image.

The Museum of Contemporary Art in Niterói, inaugurated under the Jorge Roberto Silveira administration (1989-1993, 1997-2001), plays an "iconic" role in the city

today. The MAC was originally envisaged as putting the city on the artistic map but its impact has far exceeded expectations and other factors, for example the way the building has become an integral part of the landscape of Guanabara Bay, complementing Rio's own natural icon, Sugarloaf Mountain, have contributed to the scheme's success (figure 1).

Political continuity has been another key factor. The PDT (Working Democrat Party), which held power in Niterói for over a decade used new construction projects as a way of stamping the mark of the local administration on the city. Niemeyer's Niterói building was designed during an era when cities worldwide were using branding and cultural projects to leverage their identity.

For instance in Bilbao the President of the Guggenheim Foundation persuaded the mayor of the city to construct a building that would become the symbol of the city and bring it international recognition. The result was a museum designed by the American architect Frank Gehry, an extravagant structure costing 200 million dollars (construction, licensing and collection)[i]. According to Arantes there is still some uncertainty about the museum's contribution to reversing the city's decline but the influx of tourists has exceeded expectations (Arantes 1997, p.60).

Likewise the successful efforts to alter perceptions of the quality of life in Niterói, including the vital contribution made by the powerful image of the building looking out over Guanabara Bay that became the icon of the city, Oscar Niemeyer's Museum of Contemporary Art (Vicente del Rio, 2001 - Special text 091).
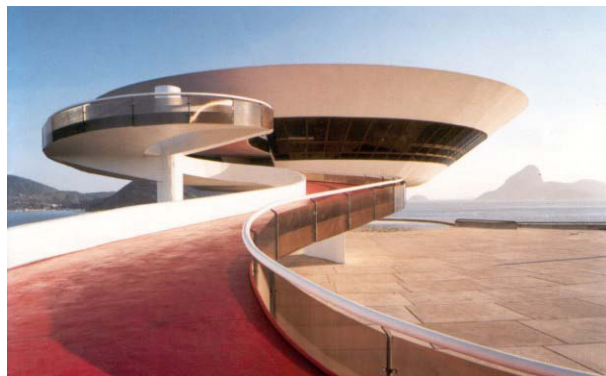
Figure 1 MAC Niterói, designed by Oscar Niemeyer, opened in 1996. Photo by of BUDL – UFF (Brazilian Urban Development Laboratory).

THE CAMINHO NIEMEYER

The municipal administration attempted to expand the impact of the great architect's work with the construction of the *Caminho Niemeyer*, a development based on a different model of urban intervention to that embodied in the MAC, encouraging further thoughts concerning the impact on the city.

The municipality took over part of the southern section of the seafront embankment area for the Caminho Niemeyer development (figure 2). The scheme received legislative approval under Law 1604 of 30 October 1997, which defined the scope of the development project as an area of special planning, landscape and tourist interest along the sea frontage extending from the MAC as far as Rua 5 in

the Jardim Fluminense development, with the same boundaries as the Aterrado Praia Grande embankment.

The Caminho scheme was proposed in the wake of the success of the MAC in providing a novel stimulus to the recovery and prosperity of a run-down area, the center of Niterói. Shortly after the Museum of Contemporary Art was completed, Niterói's then mayor Jorge Roberto Silveira invited the architect Oscar Niemeyer to design a new development to be known as the *Caminho Niemeyer* – the "Niemeyer Promenade".

Figure 2 – Location of the Caminho Niemeyer. Image by Silvio Leal Junior of BUDL - UFF (Brazilian Urban Development Laboratory).

With a view to promoting the regeneration of the city's downtown area, he opted for an architectural complex on a 72000 m^2 waterfront site that would host cultural events in the city. The original design has been revised and the overall promenade concept has been lost but as a punctual intervention it still attempts to recapture the architect's original vision and will unquestionably have a major impact on Niterói. The various features of the development are worth examining, along with the question of its eventual overall relationship to the city.

Niterói followed in the footsteps of other cities by commissioning a prestige project, as the choice of an architect of international importance emphasizes, as a means of attracting international attention to the city, a strategy previously adopted by Barcelona, Bilbao and other european cities. Over time the *Caminho Niemeyer* scheme[ii] underwent a number of modifications to the site and to the buildings intended to occupy it, as well as to the architectural design itself.

 Another factor that delayed the start of work was the high cost level compared with most other municipal investment projects, due to the complexity of the design of the buildings. The solution involved partnership schemes with private sector undertakings to carry out the work. In order to ensure adequate initial funding for the construction of all the *Caminho Niemeyer* buildings, other buildings were added to the architectural complex, including the Espaço BR de Cinema cinema museum and the Charitas ferry terminal. The original complex (figure 3) consisted of two cathedrals, one Catholic the other Baptist, a Maronite chapel on an island site surrounded by water, the Teatro Popular theater, the Oscar Niemeyer Foundation building (a venue for conferences, lectures and classes on architecture), the Roberto Silveira Memorial Center housing a collection of images of the city of Niterói, and the Praça Juscelino Kubitschek, a public plaza above a 1500-vehicle capacity underground car-parking facility.

Figure 3 Promotional material showing all the buildings comprising the complex.

The development incorporated subsequently comprised the Espaço BR de Cinema Museum of Brazilian Cinema (Figure 4), a three-storey five-screen multiplex theater, and the new Barcas ferry terminal, linked to the proposed parking area.

Figure 4 The Cinema Museum, part of the proposed development. Image from BUDL - UFF (Brazilian Urban Development Laboratory).

The entire complex (figure 5) is contained lies within the development scheme area with the exception of the Cinema Museum and the plaza and car park. The Cinema Museum, Espaço BR de Cinema, is the building that interacts most directly

with the city. Located near the university campus in an area of particular historical and cultural interest, it has a more contextually-based relationship with the city.

Figure. 5 The Caminho Niemeyer and its neighbors. Image provided by BUDL - UFF (Brazilian Urban Development Laboratory).

The project is restricted almost entirely to a single site location, bounded by the ferry and bus terminals and cut off from the city center by a busy road, making connections with the city extremely difficult and isolates the complex from the traditional city center (figure 6).
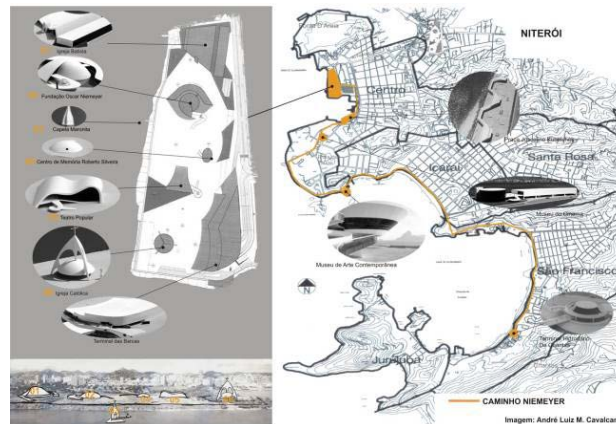
Figure 6 Caminho Niemeyer, main buildings. Image by André Cavalcanti for BUDL - UFF (Brazilian Urban Development Laboratory).

The development scheme survived the transfer of power when the Workers' Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores - PT) took control of the local authority (Godofredo Pinto, 2002-2008).   The Federal government was sympathetic to the incoming administration, belonging to the same party as President Lula, and due to Ministry of Tourism support Niterói was included in the Niemeyer Circuit as one of the Brazilian cities, along with Brasilia and Belo Horizonte, hosting the most impressive

selection of the architect's works. Inclusion enabled Federal funding to be secured for the completion of the Teatro Popular theater as well as the conclusion of a new agreement with Petrobras for the completion of Espaço BR do Cinema.

The legislation establishing the City Center Urban Conservation Area (Law 1967 of 4 April 2002) confirmed the status of the *Caminho* waterfront as an Area of Special Urban Planning Interest (Law 1779 of 5 January 2002) and included proposals for a connecting walkway with shops and other services linking the two city center areas - the *Caminho* and the traditional city center, as well as setting out guidelines for the first scheme and the setback requirements for high-rise buildings.

The "Viva Centro" ["Live, Center"] development (2006), proposed by the previous administration, was intended to bring undeveloped blocks into use in a way that aligned the development of the area with the city's existing layout and included proposals to achieve this (Law 2441/2006), however, these proposals seem to have been set aside by the new administration (figure 7).

Figure 7 Proposed Viva Centro development for the city center. Image from the Viva Centro DVD produced by the Niterói municipal authority.

Inside a modified poticial and social scene, it was noticeable that some of the proposed developments have not been left apart uncompleted, such as the religious buildings (the Baptist, Maronite and Catholic churches), others have been add-ons to the project, such as the Charitas ferry terminal (already completed and operational), and others have only recently been incorporated, for example the 60 m panoramic tower with restaurant and observation deck (figure 9, flanked by the Teatro Popular and the Roberto Silveira Memorial, as a result of an agreement between the federal, state and municipal goverments, with the support of the Ministry of Tourism. (*O Globo*, 2/12/2009).

Figure 8 – Panoramic tower, 60 m high. Image from the BUDL - UFF (Brazilian Urban Development Laboratory).

Our review of the development scheme has provided us with a brief insight into a punctual development whose impact on the city has yet to be determined. The case study provides examples of forms of intervention and urban management whose scale, together with a lack of adequate financial support, could jeopardize the urban quality of significant areas of the city whose development by a large-scale prestige project could have widespread impact depending on the way in which it interacts with the existing fabric of the city.

THE STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE *CAMINHO NIEMEYER* DEVELOPMENT

Although its origins and relevance goes back much further, strategic urban planning began to attract attention in Brazil with the plan produced by Barcelona when the city was awarded the 1992 Olympic Games. The plan aroused considerable interest worldwide and became a model for other urban development schemes in other parts of the world, including Latin America, where Rio de Janeiro was one of the first cities to produce a plan of this kind, the 1996 Rio Sempre Rio (Rio Always Rio) plan. Supporters argue that strategic planning needs to be implemented at local level because cities face the same sort of environment and competitive challenges that companies do.

Experts stress the need to analyze the distinctive features of each city and the multiplicity of marketplaces in which it operates while at the same time accurately identifying the type of consumer who is likely to be attracted by the city's specific features, which constitute a resource whose value beyond the city's boundaries can make it attractive and competitive with other cities.

The type of strategic plan that today's highly competitive world demands aims to maximize the city's attraction to investors by enabling it to adapt to the market's requirements and engage in a form of "location marketing". This means that cities now have to compete for investment outside their own boundaries.

Enthusiasts believe that the *Caminho Niemeyer* will stimulate revitalization of the central area of Niterói through the way in which the seafront architectural complex caters to the religious and cultural needs of local people.

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Adopting the "city marketing" discourse that the city authorities have used to promote the scheme, we have highlighted the attempt to provide the city of Niterói with an international profile as a center for culture and leisure, in the shape of Niterói's image as the city with the largest collection of buildings by the architect Oscar Niemeyer. We detect a competitive determination to secure a place in the network of international cities.

According to Zeca Brandão "strategically this planning model suggests the linking-up of punctual development schemes carefully sited to achieve impact outside the area of intervention." The original *Caminho Niemeyer* development proposal in fact sought to transcend the boundaries of the development area itself with so-called "center of block buildings," making use of the rear of blocks already developed, usually by buildings of historical value, to build multifamily dwellings with modern urban facilities.

One of the few specific developments proposed for the area was the creation of a walkway linking the blocks on the Avenida Visconde do Rio Branco and the *Caminho Niemeyer*. The proposal envisaged the construction of a walkway of varying heights on the land connecting these two points. Along the route of this walkway - a corridor of sorts, there were to be shops and other services, restaurants and gardens. The legislation governing hotel construction was also relaxed.

However, according to Zeca Brandão, "the strategic potential of these urban development proposals depends on the ability of the developments to interact coherently with other schemes linked by a plan of greater scope, capable of achieving benefits for the immediate environment in the form of socio-economic, physical and spatial improvements. It is precisely this capacity to benefit areas around the development itself that justifies the concentration of public investment in a few city locations of limited size."

The investment of public funds in the *Caminho Niemeyer* provides no guarantee of investment in or benefits to immediately surrounding areas (figure 3 and figure 4), as there is little linkage to other urban development proposals. The city government is not in a position to continue funding other projects of this kind and may well end up providing facilities that will serve only a limited section of the population.

It has been argued that there is an inherent contradiction in this planning model associated with the role of the urban development scheme. While on the one hand it is suggested that schemes of this kind should be less "personalized" in order to increase the possibility of linking schemes together as the Strategic Plan indicates, on the other hand they are employed as powerful "city marketing" tools.

Culture and leisure activities, the principle attractions in "city marketing", become diluted as they enter the realm of consumption, where commodified in the form of "product" they provide the context for knowledge itself to be turned into merchandise. The planning process becomes dissociated from its social content and the public are turned into spectators of a process that distances itself from their most immediate needs.

So we see the population of the city becoming distanced from the scheme, a rise in the value of real estate, particularly in areas near the MAC attracting new high-quality developments, and the Museum itself catering to local and international

visitors with more elitist interests distancing itself from the majority of the city's residents.

In conclusion, this is a development scheme still under construction, with undeniable transformative and regenerative potential. The creation of a new image for the city will depend on how successful it is and how sustainable that success is.

The *Caminho Niemeyer* development scheme poses questions with respect to concerning contemporary planning trends in which the urban development process is becoming increasingly incremental and heuristic, requiring a flexible application of urban planning rules as they become more functionally oriented and the execution of development projects becomes a process of ongoing negotiation and communication.

Notes:

[i] Some years ago Bilbao was a city in decline as a consequence of deindustrialization. A strategic plan was drawn up but encountered significant problems. Frank Gehry's bold and controversial development scheme is now a global reference point and the principal attraction for visiting tourists, with over 2.5 million visitors in its first two years.

[ii] The *Caminho Niemeyer* development scheme, currently under construction, originally comprised the following buildings:

 - the Jorge Roberto Silveira Memorial Center is funded entirely by the Universidade Salgado de Oliveira-Universo, including construction, outfitting and maintenance costs.

- the 8000 m² Baptist church's construction is being financed by an international bank, a considerable proportion of the cost being raised by the religious community itself; the church is intended to accommodate a congregation of around 5,000 and possibly a Baptist school.

- the Oscar Niemeyer Foundation's construction is being funded by Barcas SA; completion, finishing work and outfitting are still the subject of negotiations with other agencies and the city authority.

- the ferry terminal is operated by Barcas SA; the connection with the existing bus terminal enables it to handle 170,000 commuters travelling between São Gonçalo, Niterói and Rio de Janeiro.

- the theater, capable of seating 600 people, can be converted into an open-air amphitheater holding an audience of 20 thousand; it has been built with funding from the city government.

- the cinema museum, funded by BR Distribuidora, has four multiplex screens, with average capacity of 100 to 200 people each.

- the "Chapel in the Sea" has been donated by the Maronite Community; the architect has refused to allow any connection with the land.

- the Catholic cathedral, with an intended capacity of 38,000, has not so far succeeded in raising the necessary funds from the Catholic community, but the Rouanet Law [encouraging cultural investment] has enabled it to purchase cement

for the construction work; the church has negotiated the sale of some of its own land for development in order to raise funds for the cathedral's construction.

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THE PLANNING HISTORY OF TURKEY: POLICIES, PRACTICES, BREAKDOWNS

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ABSTRACT

Turkey went into social and economical regeneration process after pronouncement of the republic in 1923. Although there were many problems and constraints like limited economical sources, external debts from the Ottoman period, and the lack of technical crew the government gave importance to the planned urban development. In the single party period of 1920's-1940's, the industrial investments in particular settlements in the country came into prominence. By the beginning of the 1950's the Marshall aid started to change the economic and demographic structure of Turkey (mechanization in agriculture, migration from rural to urban etc.). In 1950's as a result of the unconsidered circumstances, immigration from rural to urban areas, unplanned urban development (squatter housing or gecekondu), land speculations, unemployment in the urban areas occurred as other problems.

In 1960's by the foundation of State Planning Organization the planned urban development was started and regional planning approach gained importance for the planning practices. The changing political order in that period also changed the status quo. The 1980's were interpreted as the time of chaos for the developing cities as a result of intricacy of the 1970's. The rapid urbanization, migration from rural to urban, unemployment, land speculations, marginal sector developments, the unsustainable uses of land and resources were the primary problems of 1980's. The military coup between 1980 and 1983, the liberal economic changes of 1984 with the political elections, the private TV channels, changes in popular culture shaped the 1980's in the context of planning discipline and social durations. After 1980's the cities were shaped bycapital flow, incremental development approach (project based development), globalisation and rapid urbanization.

In this study, urbanization practices, laws and regulations, the breakpoints for social, demographic and urban changes, economic and political processes, planning practices were evaluated in order to execute the relations between different processes.

INTRODUCTION

The examination and evaluation of the spatial planning approach of Turkey in political, economic and social content in 20th century goes beyond the scope of this paper. Within this content the purpose of this study is to define the changes in planning approach of Turkey in social, political and economic transformation periods between 1923 and 2000's.

The spatial planning in Turkey has been influenced by the paradigmatic changes in planning discipline through the history. The reflection of Turkish political history,

social transformation and economic development are also seen in the planning approach. The purpose of the paper is to define the changes in the spatial planning approaches and the evaluation of the planning practices in four periods;

- 1923-1950: the modernization and industrialization efforts, economic depression, state investments in public infrastructure, manufacturing industry and social services.

- 1950's-1960: the integration to the capitalist world, the rapid urbanization, changing approaches in modernity project.

- 1960's-1970's: changing tendencies, planning practices, State Planning organization: five-year development plans

- 1980's-2000's: transition to liberal economy, privatization of public services, dispose of public estates, foreign investments, obliteration of modernism project, improvement of communication and information technologies, globalization, incremental planning-project based development.

The research materials are the several critics on planning history of Turkey, plan reports, planning decisions, master plans, demographic data, industrialization and urbanization rates of different periods.

THE MODERNIZATION IN OTTOMAN PERIOD:

The modernity project which started in Europe -with the industrialization- in 19th century, accelerated the economic and institutional change in Ottoman Empire by 1840's. The first influences of this movement were seen in the economy, which was opened to capitalism in market mechanism and the modern reforms that were handled by the manager elites (Tekeli, 2009 p:107-108). All these alterations accelerated the public and private space differentiation in the Ottoman social structure. After the emergence of the bureaucracy that was shaped by waged civil servants in 1860's the formation of the commercial and business district in the traditional Ottoman city accelerated (Tekeli, 2009 p:107-108). The most appreciate example to that case was the development of Istanbul in 19th century.

In the 19th century Istanbul was the only city with 500.000 inhabitants. The population agglomeration was related with the industrial production rate, international commerce activities, the government agencies and official character of the city.

By the republican period the distribution of population and industrial enterprises changed through the country as a result of modernization movement and state policies (Tekeli, 2009).

1923-1950 PERIOD

Turkey went into social, economic and spatial regeneration process by the pronouncement of the republic in 1923. Although there were many problems and constraints like limited economic resources, external debts from the Ottoman period, and the lack of technical crew, the government gave importance to the planned urban development. There were two main aims of the Turkish republic in 1920's; to constitute / form a nation state space in the country and to organize the

cities as a places of modernity (Tekeli, 2009). For the modernization purpose, the Turkish government got assistance of European experts as in Ottoman period. The change of the capital city from Istanbul to Ankara -to form a new modern city in the middle of Anatolia and to constitute an efficient railway system through the country in order to provide accessibility and connection between the cities- was one of the fundamental policies of Modernization period. In this scope, in 1924 the **first development efforts (subdivisional planning) started in İzmir which was** destroyed in the First World War (Ayataç, 2000 p.108).

Between 1923 and 1933, 23 settlements were planned. However, the modern planning period started with the planning process of Ankara -new capital city of the republic- which was developed by Herman Jansen. The master plan of the city, which included green system, university neighborhood, social housing and workers' dwellings, had some social and national concerns. Beside the master plan, Jansen worked on some urban design projects as Vekaletler neighborhood, Ulus Square and Bahçelievler between 1935 and 1938.

The urban development efforts were supported with the rural development. In 1924, the government enacted the Village Law for the modernization of the rural settlements. Depending on this law in 1937 the modern republic village project was prepared. The prototype villages had generally grid plans and certain number of housing units depended on total population. The first example of the republic village "Temelli" was founded in Thrace in 1940's (www.mimarlikmuzesi.org, March 2010).

In 1930's 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 (Ayataç, 2000).

Industrialization efforts:

In ottoman period, the industrial enterprises were mostly located in and around the **capital city of Istanbul (In İzmit**-uniform and green cloth production for army, and **in İstanbul**-green cloth, blanket, textile, military supplies, glass and tile industry) (Makaleler Bildiriler, p:237)

The Turkish republic aimed to sustain the equal distribution of industrial enterprises through the country. In order to provide financial support for industrial enterprises, in 1924 and in 1925, two commercial banks were founded by the **government (İş Bank & Sanayi ve Maadin Bankası).** In 1927, the Industry encouragement law was enacted in order to provide financial support for private industrial investments.

In 1930's the urbanization approach of the republic was relied on;

- The generation of national economies (economic independence, industry-agriculture integration, cooperative basis in sectors),

- The balance between rural and urban areas,

- Regional integration,

- Central planning organization,

- Urban development on the nationalized land,

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- The industrialization and industry-city integration (Keskinok, 2006, p:26).

The macro level spatial strategies of the republic had three bases; 1) balanced regional development, 2) the creation of the connection between Anatolian settlements in order to control the national land and market, 3) the change of the capital city and the redevelopment of Ankara (Keskinok, 2006, p:26).

The small sized Anatolian cities (population: 10.000) were selected for the development of industrial enterprises in the scope of the state policies of 1930's. The urban development in these cities was supported with the state manufacturing investments, public enterprises and transportation investments. The industrial development in small sized settlements enabled the social, cultural and economic improvement. The population percentage of Marmara region compared to the country was decreased from 43% in 1927 to 36% in 1950. Between 1930's and 1950's six settlements with the population over 50.000 developed out of the Marmara region (Çalışkan, 2003). The population and development data of that period proves the success of the national policies and decisions of 1930's.

By the 1930 in order to attain the industrial development, both the state enterprises were founded and the private sector was supported. The first industrialization program which aimed to guide the -capital- investments was put into practice in 1934. In this period the "added value" in manufacturing industry grew in three times and nearly all the foreign capital investments including railways, factories, banks and insurance companies were nationalized (Tekeli, 2009).

In 1932 by the efforts of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk the "public houses" were started to operation in 14 centers (Afyon, Ankara, Bolu, Bursa, Çanakkale, Denizli, Diyarbakır, Eminönü, Eskişehir, İzmir, Konya, Malatya, Samsun). The public houses aimed the society to internalize the reforms of republic.

In 1936, Henry Prost started to planning studies of Istanbul. The plan, which proposed 800.000 population for the city, was applied until 1950. After the Second World War, the rapid population increase and deficient industrialization resulted with rapid and illegal development in the city.

In 1937 in order to provide financial support for the development plans Municipality Bank was founded. By the foundation of "İller Bankası" in 1945 the planning practices in Turkey accelerated (in 1945 Kayseri Development Plan).

One of the most important cases in 1940's was the foundation of "village institutes" that were operational between 1940 and 1954 in Turkey. The village institutes which were seen as a cornerstone of the rural development in the country were established to train teachers for each village and send them back to form new village school. The education included both practical - agriculture, construction, arts and crafts etc. - and classical - mathematics, science, literature, history etc.- courses. The project intended to trigger the enlightenment process of the rural population.

Till 1940's the native experts generally emphasized on the street layout and building blocks in development plans. However, the foreign planners proposed detailed zoning regulations and hierarchical street layouts in plans. Beside the all planning efforts in that period the planning practices were limited by the

regulations and laws, which had incremental approaches in practice (Ayataç, 2000 p:110).

The planned development and modernization movement of 1920's were interrupted in 1950's. The mechanization in agriculture as a result of Marshall aids caused the unemployment of rural population and resulted the migration to urban areas. The railway investments increased the accessibility and mobility of the rural population which caused the migration and the population agglomeration in urban areas. The squatter housing, land speculations related with private ownership, and unemployment in cities were the main problems of the period (Tekeli, 2009).

However, Bozdoğan emphasizes that the modernization process of Turkish republic which was planned and implemented is comparatively successful than the akin projects in the underdeveloped countries (cited from Çalışkan, 2003).

1950'S-1960 PERIOD

The second period covers the 1950's which was mainly shaped by the shift to multiparty democracy (in 1945) from single party democracy, changing statements in politics, Marshall aids from the USA, migration from rural areas to urban areas, mechanization in agriculture and rapid increase in urban population. The public houses and village institutions were closed down in 1950's. The American alliance subtly affected the climate of political debate in Turkey in the late 1940s and 1950s (By 1960, $3 billion of aid accepted from America, which caused the mechanization in agriculture and reorganization of Turkish army).

Ayataç (2000) emphasizes that between 1933 and 1945 the planning practices was shaped by the neighborhood planning, village planning, redevelopment of existing settlements, planning of new settlements and zoning regulations. As a result the inadequacy of existing development law no 2290, the law no 6785 was enacted in 1956. By this law;

- Master plan

- Implementary development plan

- Development and street plan were put into practice (Köroğlu & Ölmez, 2002).

The law;

- Allowed the central authority to control and legitimate the development plans,

- Put into practice the public interest approach in development plans

- Allowed the expropriation of private land (Ayataç, 2000 p.112).

In order to obtain the planned development in urban areas some legal compulsories were imposed and the international competitions were used (competition for İzmir in 1952, for Ankara in 1955). The foundation of Chamber of Turkish Engineers and Architects in 1954, the legislation of new development law no 6785 in 1956, the foundation of ministry of development and settlements in 1958 were the main institutional regulations of 1950's (Ayataç, 2000 p.111, Tekeli, 2009).

In 1958 the Ministry of development and settlements was established for the purposes of carrying out civil works and major repairs concerning public buildings, and highways as well as providing services related to physical planning, land development and housing for low income. The approval of development plans were taken under the authorization of ministry (http://www.bayindirlik.gov.tr, March 2010). The Ministry of development and settlements put emphasize on the regional planning and national planning approaches (Köroğlu & Ölmez, 2002).

In 1960, the Bursa master plan which including the CIAM principles in regional scale was developed. After 1960's Ministry of development and settlements enhanced the East Marmara Region Plan. This study was followed by Zonguldak, Antalya, Çukurova, East and southeastern Anatolia, Elazığ- Keban Regional Plans (Aru, 2001).

Despite the all planned development efforts, the illegal development was not prevented; in 1950's 67253 illegal squatter houses were built in Ankara, 8238 in Istanbul. Till 1956 the number increased to 31914 in Istanbul. Since the economic resource inadequacy, the defects in expropriation laws, legal and operational constrains and the lack of technical crew, the municipalities did not apply the 84% of the proposed development plans in 1950's.

1960'S-1970'S PERIOD (PLANNED DEVELOPMENT PERİOD)

The following 20 years which will be described as the mixed economy period, was predominated by public investments. Tekeli (2009) indicates that in 1960's there was no radical change in the implication of development plans. However, the significant development in the municipality management and urban planning approach were seen (Ayataç, 2000). The foundation of the first Urban and regional planning department in METU in 1961, the development of SPO, social issues in planning, the works of Ministry of Development and settlements show the gaining importance of urban planning process in 1960's and 1970's.

By the foundation of the State Planning Organization, the comprehensive and rational planning process started in Turkey. The quinquennial development plans which aimed the economic development depended on state economic enterprises, accelerated the industrialization in different locations. The first development plan (1963-1967) in which the industry was the primer sector, intended the 7% growth in economy per year. The organized industrial zones and small industrial estates were supplied and founded by the government in that period (Ereğli steel plant, Kütahya nitrogen enterprises started to operation and assembly industry, electrical machines, agricultural machinery, ship industry rapidly developed). During this period the first metropolitan planning studies were started in planning agencies.

In 1966, Istanbul Master Plan office was founded under the Ministry of Development and Settlement. In the following five years 1/25000 scaled Istanbul Master Plan was completed. In 1968 Izmir Master Plan office, in 1969 Ankara Master Plan office was founded (Köroğlu & Ölmez, 2002),

Till 1965, first Ministry of Public Works then Ministry of Development and settlements produced urban development plans and some national and international competitions were organized (Köroğlu & Ölmez, 2002). Between 1960's and 1970's urban planning competitions obtained the evolution of planning methods in the country. (Adana-1966, Konya-1964, Bafra -1996, Sivas-1967,

Erzurum-1968, Zonguldak-1971, İzmit-1970, G.antep-1972) (Aru, 2001; Köroğlu & Ölmez, 2002). The detailed analysis and synthesis which were prepared by "İller Bankası" in order to provide data for competitions, documented the social, economic and natural data of the settlements. In the following year Mersin promenade (1965), Edirne Selimiye Mosque and surroundings (1967), Akşehir (1973), İzmit promenade and fairground design (1977) competitions were arranged.

The regional development approach maintained its influence till the second half of the 1970's and urbanization was seen as a phenomenon that needs support in the economic and social development. In the regional development plans rather than social dimension physical and spatial dimensions were highligted.

The third development plan (1973-1977) aimed to determine the natural resources and human capital of the settlements in order to trigger the development and to solve the problem of uneven development in regions. Within this content, the state planning organization (SPO) determined the constraints, problems, opportunities and infrastructure utilities of the specific cities.

In the first two development plans the main approach was regional planning for underdeveloped regions. However the third plan put emphasize on development priority zones (Keleş, 1993).

In this period, the private sector enterprises were supported and bureaucratic formalities were reduced in order to trigger the economic and social development. Private sector was the primer investor in the manufacturing industry between 1968 and 1972. By the national policies of 1960's, between 1963 and 1972 the export revenue of the country increased from 65 million dollar to 242 million dollar (makaleler bildiriler p: 260).

In 1970's the floor area ratio and total area ratio (TAKS KAKS), plan notes, local circumstances and sub divisional planning approach gained weight in planning implications.

1980'S- 2000'S PERIOD

In 1980's the rapid urbanization, migration from rural to urban and population agglomeration in urban areas were proceeded as in 1970's. The neoliberal policies which have started to dominate the western countries in 1970's also became effective in Turkey by 1980's. The neo liberal approach and policy caused some functional changes in development plans; after 1980's development plans lost their role and power in enforcement (makaleler bildiriler p: 261). The economic stability decisions of the 24th January 1980 and military coup in the 12th September interrupted the planned development efforts. The Planning which was an economic policy tool became an inactive instrument after the SPO was neutralized. However, the SPO maintained the development planning process (Kepenek, 2002, p:33).

Depended on the elaborate researches; the SPO classified the cities in terms of socio-economic development levels and gave precedence to underdeveloped cities. The analysis and synthesis proved that while the most developed cities were located in the western part of the country, the underdeveloped settlements concentrated in the eastern part.

By the Development Law No. 3194 which was enacted in 1985, planning process gained a new aspect from regional and urban scales to building scales. The

planning stage method was also included in the process. By this law, the local municipalities gained the authority in planning practices. The regional planning, conservation planning and tourism planning approaches were also came into practice by the related laws in this period (Tourism encouragement law no: 2634, Protection of Cultural and Natural values Law No. 2863, Bosphorus Law No. 2960 etc.) (Köroğlu & Ölmez, 2002).

In 1982, the Tourism Encouragement Law No. 2634 was enacted to accelerate mass tourism development. The Law induced many private and public entrepreneurs to undertake large amounts of fixed investment in tourism by building hotels, yacht ports, swimming pools, etc and it provided a wide range of fiscal and monetary incentives. It also appropriated State-owned land for tourism development, reduced bureaucratic formalities for tourism investors, relaxed restrictions on the employment of foreigners in the tourism sector, introduced vocational education and training development projects, and gave precedence in communication services. These incentives were given to tourism investments that took place in tourism regions, tourism zones and tourism centers as determined by the Tourism Incentive Act No.2634. It is argued that the incentives that were given to the tourism sector are a result of the adoption of a liberal capitalist economic policy.

In 1980's the regional planning approach also came into prominence and the government accelerated the implementation of the first regional development project called "Southeastern Anatolia project" (GAP). The project area covers 9 administrative provinces (Adiyaman, Batman, Diyarbakir, Gaziantep, Kilis, Mardin, Siirt, Sanliurfa and Sirnak) in the basins of the Euphrates and Tigris and in Upper Mesopotamia (http://www.gap.gov.tr/28 march 2010).

The basic strategies of the project include sustainable human development, fairness in development, public participation, environmental protection, employment generation, spatial planning and infrastructure development (http://www.gap.gov.tr, March 17, 2010).

Besides the regional planning approach, in 1990 the coastal law no: 3621 aimed to regulate the urban development along the seashores by limiting the development in the first 100 meter. By this law, the coastal line was taken under protection and opened to public use.

Although the conservation and protection efforts of natural, historical and social values, 1980's was shaped by the incremental planning decision in metropolitan cities. In İstanbul, construction of Tarlabaşı Boulevard, demolition of historical buildings, modification of master plan decisions in conservation areas (Bosphorus), increase in urban density, transportation and infrastructure problems with land use changes in public -open- spaces caused the deterioration of urban pattern. Depending on the Tourism Support Law no: 2634 (in 1983) some districts, sites and parcels were declared as tourism centers without considering the master plan decisions in upper scales.

Tekeli (2009) emphasizes that the public participation approach in planning process started to discussed in 1980's and the first example was put into practice between 1977 and 1983 in Ankara municipality. In the following years the participation approach was taken into consideration in several municipalities such as Aliağa, Çeşme, İstanbul, İzmir and Bursa.

In 1980's mass housing projects were also started to develop in order to provide feasible housing for middle and low income groups.

By the beginning of 1990's, the rapid economic redevelopment movement of 1980's appeared as globalization and regional economic integration approach. In this period the urban planning concentrated on social process rather than spatial organization. On the other hand, the big scale redevelopment projects -such as Dikmen valley residential and recreational development project- were commenced in Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir and Antalya.

During the 1980's and the 1990's, the privatization of public economic enterprises and public estates affected both the industrial and agricultural production and employment levels, especially in small sized settlements, which developed through the state industrial enterprises in 1930's.

Tekeli (2009) considers the post 1980's as a distinct period in the planning history of Turkey. He indicates that, after 1980's the money and population redistributed in urban space in a different way as a result of migration, urbanization and industrialization. The redistribution of capital also strongly related with the foreign affairs and export rates of the country. Concerning the economic integration of Turkey in international level and the being a part of worldwide cyberspace, the telecommunication infrastructure was rapidly developed, new institutions such as free capital market and free zones were developed. All these reforms resulted the change in the structure of the settlements; Istanbul became more powerful in economy, population increased to 9 million and the industry decentralized in Marmara region.

Tekeli (2009) also emphasizes that at the same period Turkey also experienced the tourism development in coastal settlements and industrialisation in Anatolian cities depended on the international trade.

Related with these movements in national scale, in 1990's the number of foreign enterprises rapidly increased from 100 in 1980 to 3100 in 1995. By the effects of globalization and the devolution of central power, local governance, public participation, NGOs, privatization in public services and democratization were came into prominence (Keskinok, 2006).

The growth of central business districts related with the transportation facilities, high-rise headquarters of companies, luxury housing, the increase in car ownership were the outcomes of this globalisation process of 1990's (Tekeli, 2009).

In this period Turkey seek for sollutions to both the integration to international market and the mass housing and squatter housing issue in national level. In this process the comprehensive rational planning approach was seperated into two branches; strategic planning and flexible planning. In this sense the social processes and public participation came into prominence (Tekeli, 2009).

Beside the national political processes and the unique characteristics of Turkey, the planning practices and urban development in 2000's has been shaped by the world wide circumstances, globalization and localization, alteration in economic relations, EU adaptation process, democratization, public participation, privatization of public estates, and capital movement in metropolitan cities.

IN CONCLUSION

The planning history (from 1923 to 2000's) of Turkey exhibits the role of changing political and economic circumstances -in the national and international levels- in the formation of planning practices. The literature survey executes that, the planning approach and planning practices are strongly related with the economic, political and social circumstances of the period. The international movements also have significant effects on development process, planning practices and implications.

The influence of modernity project in Europe and the modernization policies of Turkish republic in 1930's, created significant alterations in social and spatial structure of the country. Till 1950's the approach of designing the city as an object gave way to planning in social content. The planning education also institutionalized in that period by the foundation of first city planning department in Metu. The evaluation of comprehensive and rational planning approach in Turkey was also parallel with the case in western.

Before 1980's, related with the regional planning decisions, the planning approach was concantrated on the estimation of landuse decisions of the settlements with the consideration of regional dynamics. The planning process and the planning approach mainly resisted to public interest in that process. After the 1980's the economic and political conversion in the world, caused the lose of the function of this method in the planning of large cities. The increasing complexity in the mechanism of the cities created the need for a new and flexible planning method; the public participation is included to the process. This approach is still new for both the planners and politicians in Turkey. However, the public participation will be cultivated as the citizenship consciousness increase and as the planners gain political roles in managements.

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RECOVERING IMAGES OF THE PAST: THE MEDIEVAL FORTIFICATIONS IN CONTEMPORARY PORTUGUESE CITIES DURING THE ESTADO NOVO REGIME (1933-74)

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ABSTRACT

For many centuries, castles and city walls conditioned the urban development of cities; however, the decay of those defensive systems, caused by the fact that they weren't prepared against fire arms, made them begin a slow decline. Their obsolescence made them be regarded as a physical barrier to the development of the cities and thus, there was, in many cases, a systematic demolition of those fortifications, especially in the 19th century. With the emergence of the heritage concerns, the old medieval defensive elements were gradually acquiring importance again, as part of the urban space, contributing and influencing the development of cities.

Analysing the Portuguese urban development since the middle of the 19th century until the present days, we can find an evolution in the way the city was faced, and how a patrimonial view over the urban space was developed. The contemporary images of our historic cities are also a product of what was made yesterday – and not only in the ancient times; in fact, the images that we have about the cities (or parts of cities) which are considered testimonies of the Past were, in many cases, built in the last two centuries, by deforming and rebuilding those ancestral memories. Actually, in some cases, we are presently seeing in the historic cities what people from yesterday thought the cities would be in the Past; and that image was crystallized to the Future by them, as part of their heritage concerns.

So, several principles were applied in heritage interventions involving military medieval structures in the urban space: considerable portions of cities were demolished on behalf of the value increase of military monuments, freeing them from buildings that were suffocating them, and thereby, recomposing the "original space frame", and large areas surrounding the ancient military structures were object of "beautification interventions", in order to requalify the ambience of the built sets. Nowadays, the city walls continue acting as elements that are conditioning the urban planning process (producing different urban programs), because the circumscription of historic cores by a walled perimeter set an unavoidable physical border with their inevitable consequences.

INTRODUCTION

The beginning of the 5th century marked the end of the Roman Empire dominance over the Iberian Peninsula; with that, came the instability and insecurity produced by the Germanic invasions. Because of that, cities began, over the next few centuries, a process of fortification and renewal of their defensive systems – called encastlement –, which produced a deep impact in Iberian cities. After the invasion of the Iberian Peninsula by the Muslims, new defensive elements became part of the cities, as a result of the introduction of innovative techniques and shapes in the military architecture: for instance, the new administrative system was established preferentially in the *alcáçovas* (fortified palace), a palatial system which was

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fortified in the highest point of the cities, in order to shelter the foreign Muslim court. This kind of fortified palace remained after the Christian reconquest, as well as the free building areas around the defensive walls, usually called as *devesas*.

With the reconquest of the territories which became Portugal, the urban evolution was increased, with the expansion of cities beyond its defensive walls. The 13th century brought a royal investment in defensive structures – specially the ones located in the Portuguese borders –, as part of a strategy of marking the national lands, defending it from Spanish invasions: the city walls acquired then a major importance, because to conquer a city meant to conquer their surrounding territories. So, in the end of the 14th century and beginning of the 15th century, cities' defensive requirements produced the construction of new city walls, surrounding the quarters which were built outside the ancient walls. The city walls, besides introducing discontinuities in the urban space, marked a zoning that still exists, in some cases, until our days.

PATRIMONIAL CONCERNS WITH THE DEFENSIVE STRUCTURES

However, by the beginning of the 16th century, the city walls which were built in the Medieval Age began a process of decadence: the decay of those medieval defensive systems, mainly adapted to neuroballistics, was caused essentially by the fact that those structures were not prepared to resist against firearms. Their obsolescence made them begin a slow decline; thus, they started being regarded by populations as a physical barrier to the development of cities. In fact, the inhabitants of the walled cities were feeling that the defensive walls were some kind of "force belts" restricting the city's expansion, as well as a physical barrier to the traffic, delaying the arrival of progress to those places. So, in many cases, a systematic demolition of those fortifications was produced over the times, especially in the 19th century; thus, the materials of the demolished structures were reused in public (and private) building works, such as roads.

Perhaps the most paradigmatic case was de demolition of the city walls of Vienna in order to build the *Ringstraße* (encompassing some urban facilities), which was profoundly studied by Camillo Sitte along with some other cases (SITTE, 1889). In the end of the 19th century, when the *Ministério da Guerra* (Ministry of War) of Portugal gave permission to the municipal authorities to use materials from the defensive walls, the process of demolition of the defensive structures was increased – specially the city walls –, in order to follow some functionalist and hygienist perspectives.

However, with the destructions of the fortified architectural heritage (and inherent historic values), opponents began appearing, filled with heritage concerns – which were also felt all over Europe in the 19th century. In fact, this century was the time of growth and assertion of the several nationalities all over Europe, and was also the time of the romantic new crusades, personified by the conflicts against the Ottoman Empire, which helped the Christian Greeks in achieving their independency. Needing to know the origins of the nations, history and archaeology suffered an enormous evolution; inspired by romanticist feelings, the arts brought images reflecting nationalisms and condensing signs of collective identities of the several people, such as their architecture, culture, traditions, heroes, monuments, etc.

So, medieval fortifications became a target for preservation attempts, because of their connection with the Medieval Age where the origins of nations were. Those historic and cultural elements were considered special places of juxtaposition of meanings, allowing emotional feelings that were connoted with them: the assertion of those meanings, through their aesthetic, artistic and symbolic dimensions, is part of the mental, emotional and physical organization of space by the people. On the other hand, as Kevin Lynch said, the creation of mental maps through strong images associated with an outstanding object makes easily the creation of mental images, providing the identification and structuring the spaces. The capacity to recognize those objects depends on their shape, colour and position; therefore, the castles dominating the urban landscapes became strong images. That space organization is important, because it allows the creation of cognitive maps, in order to able the orientation and location of elements with place, border and reference meanings.

The mental organization and space legibility gives a great emotional security to those who are living in that space, creating an identity feeling with that. The monuments became more and more part of people's life, not only because their physical presence, but also for their deep meaning in people's conscience, remembered every time the monuments were seen. That way, medieval castles became strong images, acting as referential urban elements and creating identity feelings for people. Due to that, several interventions were made in the medieval castles which were considered major symbols of the nations, not only to adapt them to modern conditions required at that time, but especially for their political and social symbologies.

Some of them suffered huge reconstructions or inventive interventions with creative and eclectic new elements, which cannot be considered as restorations (for instance, *Belvoir Castle* by James Wyatt, *Windsor Castle* by Jeffry Wyatville and Anthony Salvin, *Schloß Stolzenfels* by Friedrich Schinkel and Friedrich Stüler, *Schloß Hohenzollern* by Friedrich Stüler, *Castello di Pavone Canavese* by Alfredo de Andrade, and *Castillo de Butrón* by Francisco González-Montes); other ones were restored according to the ideals of the stylistic restoration (for instance, *Château de Pierrefonds*, *Château de Roquetaillade*, and *Château de Vincennes* by Viollet-le-Duc) historic restoration (for instance, *Castello Sforzesco di Milano* and *Rocca Sforzesca di Soncino* by Luca Beltrami, and *Porta Soprana di Genova* and *Castello di Fenis* by Alfredo de Andrade), or even the latest scientific restoration (for instance, *Castelvecchio di Verona* by Carlo Scarpa). Those interventions allowed the reconstruction and reintegration of castles and even part of city walls, which returned to their (sometimes just supposed) original shapes through the rebuilding of lost parts of walls, towers, roofs, battlements and fenestration.

Besides the interventions in the medieval fortified structures, some urbanistic interventions were made additionally in many cases: the ancient fortifications started to be considered as historic monuments, which needed to be emphasized from its surrounding. The isolation of monuments began to be a common practice since the 19th century, and perhaps the most drastic example of that was the Le Corbusier's *Plan Voisin*, presented in 1925, which proposed the demolition of vast parts of Paris, leaving only some isolated monuments as memories of the Past. In order to do that, a great number of small edifications, which grew attached to the fortifications through time, were demolished, liberating and producing breathing

areas around the monuments. Some of those areas turned into green areas and parks, framing the monuments and giving them a picturesque image.

It was during the *Estado Novo* (New State) regime – which ruled as a dictatorship between 1933 and 1974 – that an aggressive philosophy of intervention in historic monuments was followed in Portugal. The regime, under the guidance of Oliveira Salazar, built a political scenery mainly based on the assertion of a set of historical and ideological values, with the motto of "*restauração material, restauração moral, restauração nacional*" (material restoration, moral restoration, national restoration). The medieval monuments were able to depict a heroic past existing around the Medieval Age, which was deliberately linked to the struggles for independency and territorial consolidation; related to it, some national heroes were also praised (MEDINA, 1994).

Monuments were used as an ideological instrument by the dictatorial government, in order to rebuild a new truth based on historical believes which were intending to legitimize the regime. In order to spread easily those ideological messages, a character (supposedly) matching the original – a pure medieval shape – was considered essential to reach the people, making easier their identification with the Past. Because of that, actions were taken in order to recover the Past and to crystallize it, "removing" the progress from many places. That way, Medieval castles became a natural object of interest for the regime, not only for their artistic and historic values, but also because they turned into symbols of the origins of Portuguese nationality, as well as honourable testimonies of the birth of Portugal, which was necessary to preserve for the future generations – castles became a fundamental element to the construction of the Portuguese identity. So, those buildings were a suitable device for the ideological policy of the *Estado Novo*, not only for their dominance over the territory, but also for the symbolism that they had – at that time, the *Estado Novo* regime pretended to increase some kind of "refoundation of the Nation". The medieval military buildings, emptied from their primary functions and, in many cases, without any kind of occupation, became then one of the preferred targets to the heritage interventions during the dictatorial regime.

During the *Estado Novo* regime, the *Direcção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais* (General Bureau for the National Buildings and Monuments) – usually known as *DGEMN* – was the entity responsible for the public works, including the interventions in the architectural heritage. The *DGEMN*'s activity in the Portuguese heritage was conditioned by ideological rules, emanated by the high cupules of the regime, as well as by pragmatic criteria of efficiency, economy and easy execution. In fact, the regime imposed its own political agenda, using the architectural heritage as an important propagandistic piece; that way, a primacy of political reasons was established, over the artistic and documental interests of monuments. In many cases, *DGEMN*'s technicians were turned into mere executors of those policies. The privilege that was given to the historic and symbolic values became more visible, especially in the dramatic character attributed to the reintegration of the historic structures. The aim of giving back the original shape to the monuments by using the architectural reintegration, presupposed the sacrifice of contributions made through time; that way, as well as rewriting the History according to its own convictions, the regime also rewrote the messages transmitted by the monuments – the erased contributions of more recent times became like ripped pages of a book which suffered an ideological clean up.

The *DGEMN*'s leaders never elaborated an official methodology for the restorative interventions over the classified monuments, with principles and philosophies to be followed up by the technicians; in fact, only in a few texts, displayed between several publications, were enounced some standards used in the restoration works. Nevertheless, the director of *DGEMN*, Gomes da Silva, was the only one who expressed more explicitly the rules by which all the interventions should be guided: the monuments should be restored in order to return to its primitive shape; for that, it was necessary to repair the mutilations made by men and time, and purge later excrescences – however, if those additions had artistic value, they should be repaired and conserved (SILVA, 1935). In the *DGEMN*'s texts was implicit the understanding of the architectural object as an irreplaceable ornament of the scenery which was framing it. The *DGEMN* considered that castles and churches always constituted signs of identification and territorial control, as part of an ideology strongly stipulated by the nationalist agenda; due to that, those historic monuments had suffered, in some cases, huge restoration works, in order to put them back to their "original and pure shape", as they were supposed to be in the Medieval Age (NETO, 2001). That was the case of the castle of Leiria, which suffered a massive reconstruction remembering the stylistic restoration enunciated by Viollet-le-Duc.

Some of the most important Portuguese military buildings of Medieval Age were restored according to a cultural image which was produced in the 19th and 20th century, and which might be different from the real shape that they had in the Past. In fact, the castles of the Portuguese cultural image usually had walls with battlements and several towers distributed along it; they had also a major gate protected by defensive towers; in front of the wall usually was a barbican with cubic turrets; and dominating the building was always the main tower. This image, based on the castle of *São Mamede* in Guimarães (the supposed birthplace of the first Portuguese), but also based especially on the castles of the Portuguese borders which were depicted by Duarte d'Armas in the 16th century, became different from the cultural images of other countries' castles, like the Germanic *schloß*, the British *castle*, the Francophone *château* or the Italian *castello*. The cultural image of the Portuguese castle was passed (or emphasized) to other Portuguese castles when they were been restored in the middle of the 20th century – even when the cultural images' shape were not like the pristine shape pretended to be recovered in the restoration works, like what happened, for instance, in the castle of *São Jorge* in Lisbon.

Although the defensive buildings, the spatial context around the fortified structures was also object of attention: those spaces were understood as the formal and functional extension of the castles, because they were part of the ancient defensive system. Therefore, besides freeing the monument of the amalgam of "spurious buildings" which were suffocating it, the demolition of buildings around those military monuments was made intending to assume the purpose of recompose their original spatial frame. So, the *DGEMN*'s technicians frequently projected the demolition of buildings inside the medieval castles' surroundings, also defining a road waist around them in order to allow the visual contemplation and perception of those buildings. Beyond that, the restructuring of arboreal masses was planned to take advantage from some chosen perspective views (TOMÉ, 2002). So, between the end of the 1930 and the beginning of the 1960 decades, perhaps the most radical practices involving urban demolitions around military structures were applied in Portugal, as part of preliminary works

for some historic celebrations. In view of that, the regime could not forget living testimonies such as castles, which were authenticating the old glorious moments of the nation. For that reason, the *Estado Novo* planned their rehabilitation, in which some castles experienced huge urban interventions around and inside them.

Usually, those projects consisted in the creation of a vast green space involving the monuments, in order to recover the ancient *devesas*; that was partially produced by taking dramatic actions of raze above entire assemblages of buildings which were near the defensive structures; that way, the monuments became artificially isolated from the remaining urban mass. Consequently, some new public gardens were constituted, which were bordered by roads allowing the outside apprehension of the castles by people. These new green parks were also proposed for the enjoyment of the populations, becoming breathing areas in the middle of the dense urban masses. The arboreal masses and the pedestrian roads were meticulously studied, in order to take advantage of the better view points over the monuments, as well as allowing new mental maps; those green areas necessarily caused a strong visual impact in the urban landscape. For instance, it is possible to see it in the castles of Lisbon, Oporto, Vila Viçosa, Beja, Lagos, Trancoso or Chaves. Those kind of interventions over the medieval defensive structures produced drastic consequences in the urban morphology, particularly in the nearest urban areas.

Despite the existence of heavy interventions in the urban areas surrounding the castles, only a few cases like these were reported in Portugal. As a matter of fact, just in some circumstances the principle of inventive reintegration was used. The *DGEMN* used to condemn those practices, because they forged the true values presented by the monuments; however, when the stylistic reintegration was used, it was through formal analogies with similar buildings, historical investigations and archaeological excavations, which would allow filling the existing gaps in the castles.

RELATIONS BETWEEN DEFENSIVE STRUCTURES AND URBAN CORES

The gradual reach of consciousness about the historic centre's value (due to its character which allow settle the collective identity, the cultural memory and the social ways of life) evolved from the fragmented protection focused in the monuments to the patrimonialization of entire cities – or at least vast parts of themselves. Concerning the medieval defensive structures, the city walls kept on acting as restrictive elements in the process of urban planning – even when the walled perimeter coincide with the town limits; the circumscription of the historic urban mass by a walled perimeter turns more evident the fragmentary character of that core, comparing it to the whole city. So, that area became an island with its own specificities. In some cases, while the morphology of the enclosed areas maintain the homogeneous characteristics which were predominant in the medieval cities, the surrounding areas right outside the city walls have other ones, such as regular quarters, larger road's grid, many squares and green spaces, another cadastral system of land parcels, higher buildings, different building materials and constructive techniques, and many other aspects. More than the ancient historic areas which have not any defensive structures surrounding the ancient cores, the medieval city walls (as well as the modern fortifications around the cities) shape a physical border that cannot be forgotten. Even for the common citizen, the defensive walls appear as a physical limit of the town's ancient part, and so they

can personify a touchable border opposing the other ones (which exist, but only can be seen in plans).

Ruskin was perhaps the first who defended the urban cores as a whole, not only the monuments, but also the common architecture which characterized it. For Ruskin, the ancient cities had important values such as the religious, cultural and social ones, which should be preserved; to do that, it was necessary to conserve the picturesque physical remains from that time. The intervention made in *Carcassone*, by Viollet-le-Duc, was maybe the first time where an entire walled city was attempted to be preserved, following a plan in which the city walls and the castle acquired a major role. Alfonso Rubbiani and Giosuè Carducci were protagonists of another plan intending to preserve the picturesque ambience in Bologna, using aesthetic operations for pure beautification of façades and public spaces.

However, only with Gustavo Giovannoni was it possible to have a theory in which the concerns about urban heritage were focused. Indeed, Giovannoni was against the usual practice of *sventramento*, which use to lead entire settlements to be destroyed; denying the practice of isolation of monuments and encouraging the concept of urban environment - which was exposed in 1933 on the Charter of Athens -, Giovannoni proposed the concept of *diradamento edilizio*, which allowed the creation of breathing areas and equipments inside the ancient urban tissues and gave more substance to the ancient cores. The ancient cores inside city walls were considered monuments and historic testimonies, but also as receipt sources through their touristic potential; that way, the musealization of those cores was carried out, being valorised the existing picturesque and traditional aspects, like it was made, for instance, in Dubrovnik. All the interventions produced in those places tried to be inserted harmoniously in the whole, attempting to respect the morphological characteristics from there. The development of those planning criteria gave origin to several protection programs of the ancient cores, which could be considered as a bridge between the old planning processes and the new generation plans, in which a strong component guided to the immaterial heritage can be found.

This way, nowadays the planning criteria must imply acting beyond the cosmetic interventions, the rehabilitation of the built area or the simple creation of infrastructures. The urban renewing, based on the reconstruction and substitution of existing buildings, was gradually replaced by a complementary social and economical policy, coming along with the increase of the tourism economy; if, in the beginning, the conservation of the areas around the monuments was done in order to maintain the picturesque ambience, the functional importance of those ancient areas was progressively recognized; nevertheless, the conditions for a contemporary normal life for the original citizens from those places should also be ensured. That fact conditioned the development of the urban planning policies, and even the regional policies. With the inclusion of policies coming from other areas (such as economy, sociology, culture, history, anthropology and others) in the last decades, there was a natural repercussion in the way how the problematics of historic cores - or, more properly, ancient cores - were seen and perceived by several sectors and persons. Some paradigmatic situations of that can be seen in the plans for Bologna made by Campos Venuti and Pier Luigi Cervellati, for Urbino made by Giancarlo de Carlo or for Bérgamo made by Coppa and Angelini (VARAS, 1999).

In Portugal, during the *Estado Novo* regime, an official action of national propaganda was developed, called *Política do Espírito* – "Spirit Policy". That policy was initially dominated by an ideology that adopted traditionalist and nationalist values and images. The activities undertaken included the scenographic reappropriation of ancient traditions, laden with virtues which were important to emphasise. That way, the cult of tradition and the stimulation for national regionalism were intended to be instilled in Portuguese people. The economic potential of those sceneries based on heritage regeneration and on historical, ancestral and traditional values, was then congregated with the touristic interests. Since 1932 that the Portuguese legislation had considered a protection area around the monuments; that area usually was dimensioned with a radius from about 50m surrounding the monument, in which all the building interventions should be approved by the authorities. However, when the protection area implied medieval city walls, that fact made possible the inclusion of all the enclosed part in the protection area, allowing an integral management of the resulting patrimonial core. That was verified in the first experiences of protection of ancient cores in Portugal, which were, in fact, employed in circumscribed cities, where the villages were surrounded by city walls (TOMÉ, 2002).

These safeguarding experiences, integrating huge parts of cities, were improved in the 1950 decade, with some "improvement plans" which begun appearing in Portugal. More than mere beautification plans of façades and public spaces framing the monuments, those new plans intended to create better infrastructures, as well as recover the built space. With that, the quality of those urban areas was enhanced: interventions in the public spaces were made (like the regularization of paving of streets and squares, for instance), several buildings were rehabilitated in order to reach a formal depuration attempting to get a presumable "original shape", typologies which were considered traditional were recovered, and some elements that were regarded dissonant have also been replaced (for instance, windows and doors changed their shapes to pointed forms, plasters were removed leaving the stone visible, buildings were painted massively with white lime, etc.) – beside the effective creation of better infrastructures such as the sanitation or electrical. Nevertheless, those plans were limited by the expensive costs, and so, they were applied only in a few preserved cores with touristic potentialities, such as in the village of Óbidos or with the historic core of Guimarães (TOMÉ, 2002).

On the other hand, the rural world was considered by the *Estado Novo* regime, in a certain way, a space that had sanctuary values, where people could reconstitute their ancestry and national identity. The heritage conservation there was based on the preservation of popular virtues, which were the guardians of culture and traditions from the Past - meanwhile the cosmopolitan progress destroyed those virtues. Because of that, actions were also taken in order to recover and crystallize the Past, removing the progress from some predefined rural villages which still maintain picturesque characteristics, such as their castles and city walls. As happened in the little towns of Évoramonte, Monsanto or Monsaraz, the urban interventions tried to produce the maintenance of the picturesque characters of the ancient villages, the reconversion of the existing medieval castles and other important buildings to be cultural and tourist equipments, the development of cultural routes inside those landscapes, and preservation of ways of life in those villages, allowing to increase their specific values.

CONCLUSION

The question of the people's identity is answered by several social, geographical, cultural, historical and other issues that show common behaviours to a set of people. This "national identity" concept acquired a new meaning against the threats of de-characterization, which seem to be something from the contemporary society since the Industrial Revolution, such as the quick cultural homogenization, market globalization, abolition of borders, interbreeding, etc. The perceptible dilution of differences demanded a need to pursue the origins as a set statement of the Individual opposing the Global. Historical places and their surrounding landscapes became essential elements to contemporary society, because their meanings; it was the case of the urban landscapes, in which the Portuguese medieval castles acquired a capital importance. Deep-rooted in people's memory, the medieval castles, guardians of the Portuguese nation, became great national symbols, admired and protected. The establishment of emotional relations between those castles, the landscape where they are located, and the Portuguese society, emerged strongly during the 19th century, with the beginning of the heritage concerns. With those concerns, an ideological image was brought, which was often exploited, manipulated, reinvented through different kinds of actions and, somehow, still is a need to preserve for the future.

Figure 1 - Castle of Leiria, before and after the interventions (source: IHRU).

Figure 2 - Castle of S. Jorge in Lisbon, before and after the interventions (source: IHRU).

Figure 3 - City walls of Oporto, before and after the interventions (source: IHRU).

Figure 4 - Castle of Vila Viçosa, before and after the interventions (source: IHRU).

Figure 5 - Castle of Beja, before and after the interventions (source: IHRU).

Figure 6 - City walls of Lagos, before and after the interventions (source: IHRU).

Figure 7 - City walls of Trancoso, before and after the interventions (source: IHRU).

Figure 8 - Castle of Chaves, before and after the interventions (source: IHRU).

Figure 9 – Views over the village of Óbidos (source: IHRU).

Figure 10 – Views over the historic core of Guimarães (source: IHRU).

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Figure 11 – Views over the village of Évoramonte (source: IHRU).

Figure 12 – Views over the village of Monsanto (source: IHRU).

Figure 13 – Views over the village of Monsaraz (source: IHRU).

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SOCIAL HOUSING AND THE GARDEN CITY: THE WORK OF ULYSSES HELLMEISTER AT THE INSTITUTE OF COMMERCE WORKERS INSURANCE

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to analyze the trajectory of an ideally, which had as an achievement the low-rent housing project "Garden City for Commerce Workers", located in the neighborhood of Olaria, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. This worker's housing was built by the Institute of Commerce Workers Insurance (Instituto de Aposentadoria e Pensões dos Comerciários - IAPC), between 1944 and 1945, based in the design conceived by its Engineering Division, coordinated by engineer Ulysses Rodrigues Hellmeister. We will show how the social housing approach has changed from a technical, hygienic and spatial problem to a social and political issue, by the detailed study of the performance of this engineer. This issue will be understood by analyzing the historical context, the debates and disputes made around it, between the decades of 20's and 40's, important to comprehend the political objectives of this period. This understanding is important to substantiate conflicts and to evoke the contradictions of the period, elucidating various concepts in which housing policy was based between 1930 and 1964. Thus, to insert the "Garden City for Commerce Workers" as a historical problem is important to understand a subject so little studied. We will also briefly study other designs from the Engineering Division of IAPC to comprehend how worked the practical field of architects and engineers, specialized on social housing projects. This approach is inserted in the historiography of modern culture, which seeks to recover the performance of professionals that worked with this theme. This paper has as goal to demonstrate how this interpretation is important for the perception of a part of the history of Brazilian modern architecture and urban planning that so few know.

THE GARDEN CITY MODEL AND ITS THEORICAL AND PRATICAL APPLICATIONS AT BRAZIL

The term 'garden city' emerges in 1902, when Ebenezer Howard edits his book "Tomorrow, a Peaceful Path to Real Reform" (1898) with a new title "Garden Cities of Tomorrow". The main issue of this book was not to conceive a spatial model, but a utopia[1]: an autonomous town, with community of manageable size, surrounded by an extensive agricultural belt and with high rates of green areas. This was an alternative to overcrowding and disorders of industrial cities. This model was

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[1] The Garden City is one of the urban planning model that integrates urban and rural areas and organizes them in a network that leads to a harmonic social development is one of the utopias of the ninetieth century and the early twentieths (Fishman, 1977)

applied in Letchworth, an urban design made by two architects named Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker, which had its construction started in 1903.

In Brazil, the first applications of the garden city model occurred in the mid-1910s, at the city of São Paulo[2] by the *City of San Paulo Improvements and Freehold Land Company*'s initiative. The garden city proposal applied by, the so called, "Cia. City" was quite different from Howard's model. In fact it was more a 'garden-neighborhood' or a 'garden-suburb' for the São Paulo's rich class. The two first suburban lots – *Pacaembu* and *Jardim America* (America's Garden) – were designed by Barry Parker and were a success, followed by *Jardim Europa* (Europe's Garden) and "City Lapa". The Cia. City's initiative was contemporary to European experiences of urban design applied to residential districts in Germany, France, Belgium, Italy and the United States (BENÉVOLO, 1976, 360) However, such applications have distanced themselves from Howard's original proposal, which provide for a structural transformation of moral relations and working conditions of the urban society.

Ulysses Rodrigues Hellmeister (1898-1968), as the leader of the Engineering Division of IAPC[3] between 1940 and 1948, was responsible for the implantation of a housing model. He conceived the housing prototype that combined the hygienic and technical precepts of his training in civil engineering at Mackenzie College (1915 - 1920) with the elements of an urban planning inspired by the garden city's ideals. His model was called 'Garden City for Commerce Workers' and has been applied in three Brazilian cities: Recife, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo.

This would not be the first proposal for working-class housing based on Howard's garden city model, in Brazil. In the late 1910s, the engineer-architect Angelo Bruhns publishes, in major engineering journals, a worker's town design for those of the Navigation Company of Niterói[4].

Looking towards the housing projects of all the Institutes of Insurance (IAPs)[5], it's remarkable the adoption of garden city's model in most of them. The goal of the actions of the IAPs was to consolidate the labor rights of urban workers in Brazil, an important aspiration of the Modern National State after the 1930 revolution. In all those IAPs' housing projects, the main element of the adopted garden city model

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[2] At the beginning of the Twentieth Century, the capital of Brazil was Rio de Janeiro, known as the Federal District and São Paulo, the capital was the state called by the same name, was becoming the second large city of the country and the main industrial town.

[3] In Portuguese the 'Institute of Commerce Workers Insurance' is 'Instituto de Aposentadoria e Pensões dos Comerciários' which can be also translated as 'Institute of Retirement and Pensions for the Commerce or Trade workers' or IAPC. This Institute was created by law in 1936, by Getúlio Vargas administration, which was the first president to implement labor laws.

[4] Niteroi is the city located across the 'Baía de Guanabara', near the city of Rio de Janeiro. In 1920, there was no bridge to cross the 'baía', which was made by boat. Niteroi was the capital of the state of Rio de Janeiro.

[5] In Brazil, the Institutes of Insurance are created by division of labor, divided by the type of work. Implanted in the law 'Eloi Chaves' (1923), the first institute to be created was the 'Estivadores' (Dockers), then the Transport and cargo, the commerce workers, the industrial, the Maritimes and the bank employee. The investments in housing projects were allowed by the government after 1937. There were 3 kinds of plans: Plan A – the construction of large low-rent housing; Plan B – the loan for other building companies to built in properties owned by IAPC; Plan C – the mortgage loan plan to built any type of building or enterprise, this was the plan used to construct Brasília.

was the picturesque drawn of the streets. An example is the Waldemar Falcão Workers Village (IAPETC[6]), located in the neighborhood of Ilha do Governador (Governor's Island), Rio de Janeiro; the '*Passo D'Areia*', Porto Alegre, State of Rio Grande do Sul (IAPI[7]) and the Guiomar Village in Santo André, State of São Paulo (IAPI)

No other institute has applied the garden city model as part of its construction program as did the IAPC through its Engineering Division when leaded by the engineer Ulysses Hellmeister. He considered all the complexity of the housing issue, even when some changes happened and he was aware of the country limitations on those days. His approach to this subject occurs firstly based on hygienic, technical and spatial concepts, which in the time will show them self as underprovided to undertake all the difficulties implied in the social housing. We will try to show this transformation by analyzing two different kinds of productions: the text about the housing project and the design proposal. This is not a simple pragmatic issue since that social and political questions are implied and need to be added to make the solution work. By comparing the proposition of the "Garden City for Commerce Workers" built in Olaria to its design, which was the experience where all the precepts of Hellmeister's model were applied, we are able to verify the complexity of the social housing project.

FROM AN HYGIENIC AND TECHNICAL URBAN PLANNING TO THE MATERIALIZATION OF A SOCIAL HOUSING POLITIC

Between 1920 and 1944, the engineer Hellmeister was contemporary to some events – his training as a civil engineer, the realization of some reunions and political transformation in Brazil - that can attest an evolution of the housing idea. Different contexts that allowed him to elaborate an important model for a popular housing project, so that the financial viability of these enterprises would not compromise the excellence of conditions and the housing comfort, as well as the offer of green and collective areas. This theme was discussed during the 1st Housing Congress, held in May 1931 in São Paulo, and developed in September 1939, during the Pan-American Popular Housing Congress held in Buenos Aires, Argentina.

The sanitary approach prevailed in the 1st Housing Congress, since it was present in the training of civil engineers and architects in those years. These professionals showed housing prototypes in which the main concern was with the correct sunlight and ventilation of the units. Besides all those engineers and architects propositions, a housing typology study named "cross system" was presented by a sanitary physiologist, based on "modern hygiene" theories . For him, hygienic amenities for housing projects were sewerage provision, water supply and, streets with pavement. This is the reason why the garden city model was preferred, since it offered more space and sunlight for the individual home

These hygienic factors were added to those of economic order. There was a consensus that the solution for worker housing should be economical and healthy. This objective required the rationalization of building methods, achieved by the employment of mass production methods and standardized building materials, placing the beginning of what would be the context of a constructive approach in

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[6] The IAPETC was the Institute of loading, transports and cargos workers Insurance.
[7] IAPI was the Institute of Industrial Insurance

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the 1960s, when there was an industrial development perspective in Brazil (Freitas, 2005 and Koury, 2007)

It is remarkable the prevalence of the hygienic approach to which the garden city model corresponded efficiently. At the paper "Popular House - Garden City", Marcelo T. C. Mendonça, an engineer from Rio de Janeiro, suggested, as a dwelling alternative to slums (*favelas*), the implantation of workers "garden-neighborhood" at suburb area: "*in Rio's broad front, there are large and extensive land, that right urban planning, allows the large scale construction of individual houses for employees, workers and poor classes*" (Mendonça, 1931, 141) These neighborhoods should be a public initiative, with all amenities and close to public transport.

The garden-neighborhood model was considered ideal, since it seemed to minimize monotony of the large housing developments by avoiding the wretched and overcrowded dwellings – known as "*casas de avenidas*"[8], slums and "*cabeças de porco*"[9] - and to allow for each employee "*through the individual house(…) to have his own front garden and his own backyard…*" (Mendonça, 1931, 143) Mendonça's text represents the discussion about the popular housing in Brazil's Federal Capital by the early 1930s, especially regarding to which type of housing would be offered: one-story single-family houses or apartment buildings. The excerpt transcript below shows Mendonça's opposition to the second option:

> "*Mr. Lindolfo Collor that is indisputably up to his actual placement, certainly, will draw the attention of the committee responsible of studying this issue for suburban areas. These have vast land, which planned can allow building a large number of individual houses for workers and employees. It will be an absurd to built homes like the "Workhouses" and "Miethscasernen", and certainly, the Mr Minister will be against the building of rows of these collectives housing, which do not correspond to the poor classes manners and to our environmental conditions" (Mendonça, 1931, 147)*

In the Municipal Journal of Engineering, the official publication of the Federal District government, Hellmeister published three papers about the housing subject: "*Garden City for Commerce Workers - Olaria - Federal District*" published in April 1944; "*The large housing projects influence on the economic housing problem*" in January 1945 and "*Popular Housing*", in July 1947.

In the first paper, Hellmeister emphasized that, besides the economical aspect, the benefits of the housing units integrated to 'nature' allows the healthy for their habitants, by providing enough sunlight and ventilation. He presented the studies elaborated by relating building height with the free space of streets and squares. As Mendonça, he placed great emphasis on individual home for housing project as ideal. However, he introduced the collective property of the land, an innovation that could be achieved: "*By abstracting the classic division of the land, we consider the area as a total and divided it by the two-story high houses, but with total independence one to another*" (Hellmeister, 1944, 57) Nevertheless, he maintained some principles of the individual houses. This proposal suffered several critics by those who refused to accept the innovation that the collective property

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[8] The 'Casas de Avenidas' were small room' rows, facing a kind of narrow street that worked as a common space.
[9] This was how were called the tenements in Rio de Janeiro.

of the land represented. He had to justify it, in an objective way, by demonstrating the economical advantages of this proposal accomplish by moving away from most of the "classical methods in use":

> "… it (the Garden City for Commerce Workers housing) wasn't the result from a utopian dream; it was the consequence of a economic requirement coupled with the vital need to provide a human habitation, able to attend a class so laborious as that of Commerce workers, and the scope of their possibilities" (Hellmeister,1944, 58)

For Hellmeister, in regard of these questions, it was impossible to a commerce employee to afford an individual house. He considered the relationship between the worker's low-wage and the total design price (land + construction) He realized that the solution was the community:

> "It should also be noted that the tendency of the most progressive nations is to assist and to support the worker and the community. How would that be possible isolating it on a piece of land surrounded by fences, which invites him to stay away from this community?" (Hellmeister, 1944, 58)

The adopted urban planning standard, allowed increasing the offer of collective areas in 80%, reducing sensibly the participation of the land cost in the total cost of the unity. Besides the hygienic advantages demonstrated in the shadow study that illustrates the paper, the proposed model was mainly justified by the economics of the urban planned area achieved by the high density of the units and by the consequent green areas increase of the project. This economy was applied on the offer of communal facilities. So, the Garden City for Commerce Workers model would allow combining affordable housing, better urban planning standard and communal organization consistent with the assistance project. This model assembled in a unique way the "new concept of labor rights", as it was intended by Vargas's labor populism policy.

The second paper seeks in the housing projects well succeeded in Stockholm (Sweden), elements that could justify the 'Garden City for Commerce workers' enterprise. The Swedish case was an example of how the zoning could be employed to overcome the price of the land problem, the real state land speculation and to define limited zones for social housing, which might be undertaken by government interventions. Hellmeister imagined the "cellular cities" as: "*autonomous housing projects and villages which the location must be linked to easy transport for the working place, a main question for the large public transport companies…*" (Hellmeister, 1945, 20) The suburb configuration in Rio de Janeiro could make possible the necessary investments to achieve the housing projects enterprise, as Hellmeister forecasted: 40% for the acquisition and land planning and 60% for the houses construction.

The last paper was a description of the industrial condition in England, in which Hellmeister saw answers to the density and the house standard question. In 1947, all the Institutes of Insurance were having difficulty to expand their housing operations due to the high interest rate and the impossibility of improving the workers mensal wage. He realized that the only solution for this problem was the use of standardized constructional elements, industrial mass production and the provision of materials made by local industries.

In this case, Hellmeister presented the advantages of the soil cement technique that could make housing affordable to the worker's low-wage and implanted in all parts of the country. The technique allowed circumventing the construction materials high price, because of the World War II:

> "In the soil cement industrial proceeding, environment, commercial, economic and social elements are not problems and difficulties. It is independent from the bonds that hold the classical methods to certain and irremovable conditions. We can easily accomplish this industrialization with success in the Capital of the Republic, as we could in a small town, where the human resources are not expertise, or even more scarce. This achievement is possible because it is easy training the workers and makes them qualified to serve as good teachers and mentors anywhere in the national territory" (Hellmeister, 1947, 141)

Hellmeister elected the elements from the garden city model that could help him to achieve the building of large housing projects, provided with green spaces and a differential urban planning, employing rationalized building proceeding and by cheap materials industrialization as the soil cement. These procedures were implemented in three housing project: Recife Commerce Worker's Housing (1941), Olaria Worker's Housing, in Rio de Janeiro (1944) and Perdizes' Housing, in São Paulo (1950)

The first project that adopted Hellmeister Garden City Model was built in Recife and was, in fact, the pioneer experience of IAPC. Implanted in the neighborhood of 'Casa Amarela', it took between 1941 and 1942 to its conclusion. The Recife Worker's Housing represents the assembly of all the discussions about the housing issues during two decades. The elements that were applied on Recife project were part of his ideas and the failure of this attainment was the cause of his demission from the post of Director of the Engineering Division. In June 1941, in an interview to a daily newspaper published in Rio de Janeiro, he said:

> "to an interesting modern technology category this building will obey, under the study case in process, for Recife application, the houses of this project, which will outline the 'Commerce Workers Village', may be actually built, each one of them in a short space of eight days". (Hellmeister, 1941, 7)

The 'modern technology category' cited by Hellmeister was the use of precast concrete made with soil cement. These was not employed in Recife, but would be later used in the Olaria Garden City for Commerce Workers Housing. It was employed to make the blocks that built up the masonry structure of the units (Concrete, 1943, 27) However two innovative elements of Hellmeister garden city model were inaugurated in Recife housing project: the two-story high independent unit row and the separation between walking ways and streets.

The period separating the projects of Recife and Olaria to that in Perdizes determines Hellmeister's model to become more mature, through his own experience as the leader of Engineering Division of IAPC. In the papers published earlier, especially "How the Engineering Division of IAPC works, plans and executes" (Hellmeister, 1941, 77-85) it is demonstrated his concern with practical and hygienic aspects (sunlight and ventilation) of the units and with the best constructive solution suitable to the low-budget and to the industrialized building process. In the paper "Popular Housing", he discussed the political, social and

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economic impacts of popular housing: "*The high price of land and its urban planning intervention with the high price of labor and buildings materials make the housing unaffordable for workers in general.*" (Hellmeister, 1947, 137)
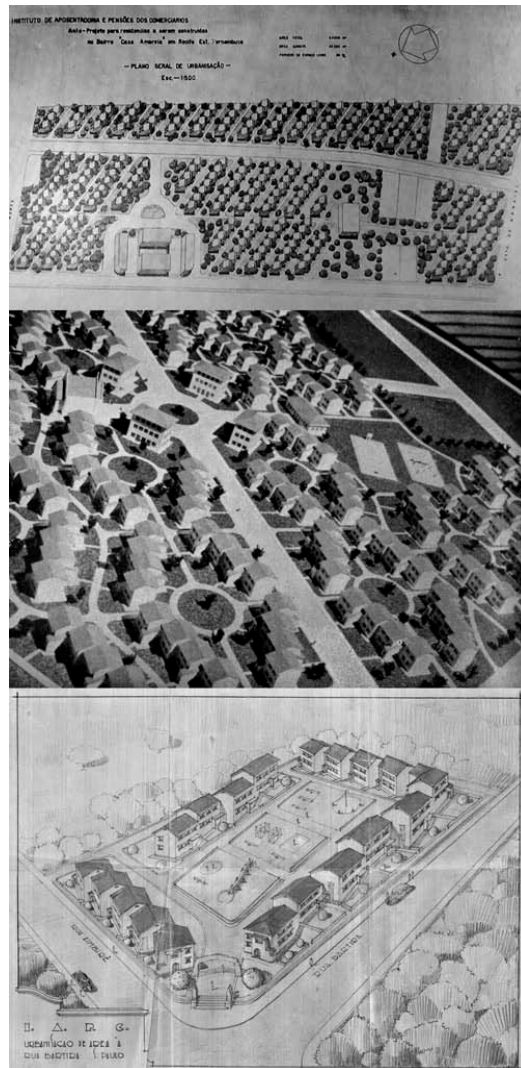
Figure 1 The urban planning design for the 3 Garden City for Commerce Workers. The first one at the top is the Recife's housing project; in the middle is Olaria's project and at the bottom Perdize's project.

Although Hellmeister's standard housing block was not an individual house neither an apartment block, it was consonant with the standard of innovation adopted by the institutes in their first years. But, in the end, he realized that besides the

technical, economical and planning issues had been solved, it was imperative a social action integrated to architecture. This aspect defined the popular housing not only as a hygienic, technical and urban planning problem, but an welfare state policy, that included "housing, food, health and education" (Hellmeister, 1947, 141)

Hellmeister's statement was a coherent assembly of ideas and models discussed in several congresses, as the Pan-American Popular Housing Congress (Buenos Aires, 1939), the Economics Housing Journey (Rio de Janeiro, 1942), and the Architecture and Urbanism Congress (São Paulo, 1945) The engineer, that became a specialist on this subject, soon realized that a housing project was not just an achievement of the best architectural or the best urban planning, but was a social, economic and political issue.

Since the 1st Housing Congress, several professionals have demonstrated awareness of a housing policy articulated to urban planning. The subject will be taken up in subsequent meetings and will be fully formulated in the Hellmeister speech made in 1947:

> *"Finally in 1947, the same author states that the housing problem is universal and that in many engineering and architecture conferences have been debated, concluding that the discussions have been evolving and that the housing issue is no longer seen as a hygienic and constructive problem, but mainly from the point of view of political, social and urban" (Rezende, 1999, 54)*

OLARIA GARDEN CITY: FROM AN IDEA TO ITS SETTLEMENT

In March 15, 1946, the second "Garden City for Commerce Workers" was inaugurated after two years of construction (IAPC's JOURNAL, 1952, 12), in the neighborhood of Olaria, near to two major roads that goes to downtown of the city of Rio de Janeiro – the Brazil Avenue and the Leopoldina Railway Transport.
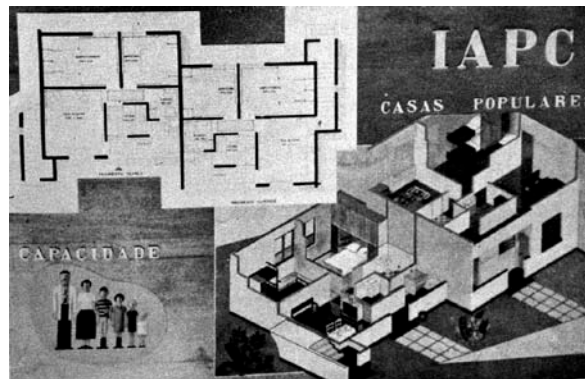

Figure 2 Olaria's housing typology, published in April 1944

The typological solution proposed was a two-story high independent unit row allowing the rationalization of hydraulic installation for each 4 units, by their common wall. The access to the ground floor unit and stairs, that access the second floor unit, were located on the each edge block. Each individual access had

the intention of avoiding the conflicts of the communal use of collective areas and to characterize the individuality of each home.

The rows were designed in such a way that the distance between them and the unlined arrangement of the units would allow the best sunlight to the rooms. This was only possible because the large dimensions of the land. Each row had 8 identical houses, grouped 4 over 4 and was symmetrically disposed to form a small square with a shape of a diamond. This square organizes the social life in successive gradations of closeness. In total, there were sixteen squares, divided into three groups, and with social facilities.

The main roads and pedestrian ways had adequate dimensions for different types of use and the greater offer of green areas, allowed an exemplary application of hygienic premises and the Hellmeister's garden city model. The design previewed only one principal street for vehicles, much wider than the others, that were designed for pedestrians only.

Figure 3 A view from the main street and the two-storyhigh independent units row in 1952

The main street surrounded Olaria Housing and goes to all the social facilities, located in the center of campus, around a circular plaza. The school, placed with great urban emphasis, marks the axis of the main street and the others facilities, as workers recreation, market, ballroom and health care define the boundaries of the square. It is remarkable the variety of facilities, in special the first collective laundry provided to a housing project in Brazil.

The housing units were rented with modern furnishings, design to be placed in the minimum spaces of the rooms, ensuring their efficiency. The Institute was the owner of the buildings and this state had guaranteed the integrity of the architectural and the urban planning. After 1964, the units were sold to their inhabitants that intensified the process of adulteration. The open space was partially occupied by the ground floor expansion, corrupting the architecture and urban planning solution and the originals qualities of the project.

The importance of Olaria Worker's Housing was several times remarked on the papers publish on the IAPC's Journal. The picturesque and suburban aspects were often valued at the time, as well as the contribution of social service work. Olaria Housing was also an example of social assistance applied in innovated housing project; it intended to integrate the workers to the urban society through the transmission of moral values (Nascimento, 2008) In this project, the worker and his family had full assistance, like, kindergarten, nursery for baby, school and playground for children, medical and dental care, manual crafts courses that

encouraged the development of skills in children on extra-class schedules and cooking, sewing, knitting and embroidery classes for women to ameliorate the family budget. There were also a nightclub and a library.

Hellmeister's garden city combines elements of the modern program of housing project - defined by the second Modern Architecture International Congress: "The minimum existence" (Existenzminimum) held in Frankfurt, Germany (1929) - which seek the rationalization of housing proceeding and a functional regard to the household chores. Howard's principle of merging urban and rural elements was applied on the planning of the open space. This paradigm inspired Hellmeister and other of the most paradigmatic architectural avant-garde proposals for social housing of the twentieth century, such as the workers housing project in Frankfurt and the *Unité d'Habitations*, proposed by Le Corbusier. In Brazil, there were some restriction to this ideas and restriction to the parameters of the modernization of the European liberal society that couldn't be accepted by the Modern Government in Brazil.

THE ENGINEERING DIVISION OF IAPC AND THE IMPASSE BETWEEN ARCHITECTURE AND ENGINEERING

One of the four sections of the Department of Retirement Funds was the Engineering Division, which was composed by three sections: urban planning, architecture, buildings and evaluations (IAPC's Journal, 1941) The Engineering Division was responsible for all projects built by the Institute (headquarters, hospitals, schools and facilities buildings), where worked engineers and architects.

Until the beginning of the 1940s, it was not a priority of the Division to build large low-rent housing. The funds were used to "empower the associated to build, to acquire or to release of dwelling house and to build the headquarters buildings (Hellmeister, 1940, 29) Between 1940 and 1948, Ulysses Hellmeister was the leader of the Engineering Division of IAPC. At the same time, others professionals worked there, as the architect Carlos Gaston Tassano - the successor of Hellmeister – and the architect Jayme da Silva Telles, Teixeira de Freitas Batista, Milton Ferreira Vianna, Francisco J. S. Werneck.

The relationship between the civil engineer Hellmeister and the architect Tassano was not always friendly. There were differences between their housing issue approaches. In 1940, there were only four architecture schools in Brazil: two in São Paulo (Polytechnique School of São Paulo and Engineering School of Mackenzie College), one in Rio de Janeiro (Fine Arts National School) and one in Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais (Architectural School of Minas Gerais) The different aspects of their training contributed for the divergence between the civil engineer, undergraduate at Mackenzie College and the architect undergraduate at the Fine Arts National School.

We can see the change of direction of the Division by comparing the two projects for the 'Single Commerce Worker Palace', both design were conceived by Tassano. The first design proposed, made in 1941; remembered some characteristics of Marcelo Piacentini monumental modernism, and the second version, published 10 years later, was a larger building with strong entrance design affiliated to the structure design proposed by Le Corbusier for the great hall of the Palace of Soviets (Moscow, 1931).

Although this newly affiliation to Le Corbusier architectural ideas, it would not be enough to Tassano implement his alternative housing model – an apartment block - to Hellmeister's Garden City for Commerce Workers. Tassano model wasn't able to ensure the architectural and urban planning quality of the housing project and, at the same time, to guarantee an increase needed in the building of economic housing. After 1948, the equation that related quality (architectural and urban) and low-cost achieved by Hellmeister's model in Recife and in Olaria, wasn't kept. At Tassano leadership of the Engineering Division, it was more important the number of unit built then this equation.
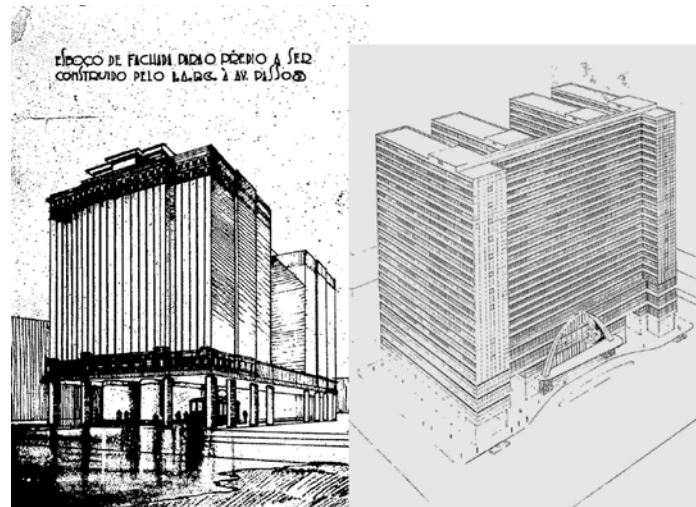
Figure 4 The 2 design proposals made by Tassano for the Single Commerce Worker Palace, the first one (in the left) was published in April 1941 and the second (in the right) in Agost 1951.

The existence of several proposals inside the Engineering Division of IAPC was an exemplary case of the transformations and maturity of some ideas, which took place in Brazil after 1930s. The social housing constituted an experimental field, which was achieved by the discussion made in several congresses and by all the housing models conceived. It was the place for architectural design experimentation: typological and technical. It would make possible the formulation of a housing policy, one of the main questions for Vargas's Government. In this matter, the Olaria Workers Housing is an important architecture and city planning national heritage. Hellmeister Garden City for Commerce Workers model represent an alternative to the Hegemonic Modern Architecture Brazilian Project, which had as landmark the building of the Ministry of Education and Health, designed by the architect Lucio Costa, Niemeyer and team in 1936.

THE ACTUALITY OF HELLMEISTER'S MODEL

Olaria Garden City for Commerce Workers model is, today, a pleasant and safe neighborhood. The absence of streets is an obstacle to the penetration of vehicles inside the project, allowing the maintenance of open spaces and the safety of children, which can play ball in the squares and the sports fields.

The vulnerability of the model is the architectural design. The limit of the proposal lies in the vulnerability of the architectonic. The dubious typology, between an individual house and an apartment block, helped to accelerate the private appropriation of collective open spaces by the inhabitants of the ground units, who wished to expand the property. The maintenance of the original architectural and urban planning depended on the control of the project by IAPC. This condition collapsed along with the sale of units to their residents. In this case, the lack of demarcation of the limits of each property and an expansion plan or effective limitation for the units, would have helped to avoid this transformations. Some facilities building as the school, the health clinic and the collective laundry were closed. There are still working the Inhabitants Association, the market and gymnasium.

It is remarkable the variety of perspectives of housing models, which had implications in the field of urban planning, building techniques and in facing a housing policy. The architects and engineer protagonists of the social housing debates in Brazil - leaders of the engineering divisions of the institutes – were aware of the European debates about the renewal of architecture and urban planning. Each professional was influenced by a different modern thought when he conceived his own housing model. All this models are part of the discussion of architectural modernity understood as a plurality of orientations that composed the Modern Architecture International Congresses. There are others factors that determine this plurality and it is related to environmental facts, as particularities of national problems. Olaria Garden City for Commerce Workers is an exemplary case.

Hellmeister's model was part of initiatives that tried to harmonize the contradictions of Brazilian urban society, when the industrialization process and the urban growth were becoming problems. The government assumes the task of providing welfare to assure the reproduction and maintenance of the labor force. He acted with discipline, overseeing and dominating the workers. These actions are to be of great importance in implementing the assistance program for urban workers in contrast to their autonomy in political mobilization, particularly the Communist Party (Mavigner, 1948)

Although, Hellmeister's garden city model is different from Howard' garden city, it fulfills the role of harmonizing the social emerging contradictions, trying to join the housing demand with the quality of the architectural and urban planning design. The public nature of the initiative, its character as a residential district for commerce workers and the integrated in the country's development context differ Ulysses Hellmeister's model from Ebenezer Howard's one.

Hellmeister was aware of all the complexity of the housing problem. He paid attention to all the possibilities of the country in those years and he faced with great objectivity the challenge of reconciling economic resources with architectural and urban planning quality. That did permit to overcome factors such as workers low wages and the incipient building industrialization condition, when he was working in the IAPC. He set the building technical innovation in service to the overcoming of the social conflicts and solving the housing problem. The rational, objective and pragmatic approach was able to take a broad view on a large scale housing policy. In the housing project there was included the provision of public amenities and social services, characteristics of the labor populism action on the urban housing. Hellmeister let the leadership of the Engineering Division of

IAPC because his ideas failed. In the late 1940s, the quantity of dwellings units built was more important than their quality to the Federal Government. Hellmeister's ideas became utopia, confronted to the new political interests and to the increasingly growing need for housing.

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL PARKS AND THEIR INTEGRATION TO URBAN LAYOUT OF ISTANBUL

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to evaluate the archaeological sites of Istanbul from the perspective of landscape architecture, and provide a new approach to the concept of heritage preservation with regards to landscape planning and urban design principles. In order for our heritage values to remain preserved and be accessible to contemporary and future generations, it is imperative to develop and advance an integrated planning concept.

Istanbul is a multi-layered city, harboring the remains of different eras within its contemporary urban layout. Throughout history, this land has been referred to by three distinct titles: Byzantium, Constantinople, and lastly Istanbul. Urban development therein has been shaped by the influences of Roman, Byzantine, Ottoman and Turkish cultures.

This paper begins by examining the historical characteristics of Istanbul and later focuses on the 'archaeological park' as an emerging developmental concept, in the preservation of historical and cultural heritage sites. An archaeological park is a medium by which the 'past' is presented to the public. The development of such a park not only preserves ancient and historical landscapes within an open space setting, but also promotes local heritage, increases tourism, and creates economic growth. The actual and potential conflicts that may arise from the use of heritage sites in Istanbul for such purpose can be diminished by identifying and setting criteria for defining archaeological parks.

In conveying the spatial and visual connection between the archaeological setting and its contemporary urban form, Landscape Architecture transpires as a vital approach to Urban Archaeology. Since the visibility of archaeological heritage is strongly related to the integration of the archaeological site with its urban landscape (such as in preservation and site landscaping); the use of space syntax methodology will be helpful in exploring such an integration of a site to the urban layout. Hence, the analysis of the selected archaeological park will provide knowledge about the dynamic interrelation between urban layers.

The results of this study will provide a general understanding of archaeological parks as an interrelated concept between archaeological heritage and urban archaeology. Moreover, it will set the criteria in defining archaeological parks. Finally, it will examine the integration of selected archaeological sites to Istanbul's contemporary urban form.

INTRODUCTION

The term 'archaeological park' arises with conservation of the archaeological heritage in urban space. 'Urban' and 'archaeology' terms are used together after

by the reconstruction period after the 2nd World War. This made the term "Urban archaeology" to come out and provide studies on this field. The preservation of archaeological heritage in urban areas and to carry them forward for the next generations; archaeological parks undertake the fundamental role by combining different disciplines such as architecture, urban design, landscape architecture and archaeology. As the studies related to archaeological parks are limited, the development of this concept requires detailed research. In preserving and presenting the heritage, archaeological parks show difference from the urban parks. The continuity of these public parks can be achieved only when they are associated with education, recreation and tourism.

The purpose of this study is to examine the role of archaeological parks in conserving the archaeological heritage and by defining the criteria for the planning and design process of these parks, to evaluate the spatial integration potentials of the area. Moreover, the mission of landscape architect in designing the archaeological parks will be questioned while obtaining a source for the future literature surveys on archaeological parks. In this study in order to determine the criteria of archaeological parks and to evaluate the integration of these areas to urban layout; Küçükyalı and Saraçhane, which show differences in their environmental conditions, usage cases and the user profiles, archaeological areas are selected (Figure 1).

Figure 1 Location of the study area

ARCHAEOLOGICAL PARKS

Archaeological parks are preserved and public archaeological areas. Although they are archaeological areas, in order to achieve the purpose of an archaeological park, they should be treated differently than urban parks. These parks take role in the conservation of historical areas and historical landscapes while being a park or a museum at the same time. These varieties are essential components of archaeological parks. As Kwas stated, when these components are associated with

education, recreation and tourism functions; archaeological park concept emerges as a dynamic public urban space (Kwas, 1986).

Archaeological Parks- Education: Education and the archaeological parks should be highly interrelated with each other since it is needed to provide sustainability of the presented culture. The theory based studies in schools could be made practical via these educational programs. Thus the existence of these parks and the related educational activities can be way of teaching puplic more about the archaelogy and achieving sustainability.

Archaeological Parks-Recreation: An archaeological park becomes more than a static museum when it is associated with recreation. These parks should also offer comfortable recreational areas. The inside and outside spaces within a park should be linked to each other with the crucial landscape design and planning principles.

Archaeological Parks- Tourism: The interaction between Archaeological parks and tourism gets more important day by day. By this approach, which can be classified under the 'heritage tourism' notion, archaeology and public interrelation is provided. The strategical interrelation of culture and tourism points out the sustainability concept in planning and managing areas. In managing process it is highly needed to be meticulous in the conservation of heritage and also in decision making. Archaeological parks require utterly consideration not only for heritage tourism in local and regional level but also for forming a basis for national identity.

The role of landscape architect in archaeological park planning and design process: planning and design program of archaeological parks should be considered together with the local settlements. In the proposed plan, the historical remains should take both recreational and educational role. In this stage there are various architectural typologies that shape the functionality of the park. Landscape design comes out as a focus that both soft and hard landscapes propound importance. In the archaeological park there should be structures such as visitor centre and research center in order to serve public. Landscape architect put forward a proposal on linkage system, tourist places, and vista points within the whole system of park.

The Importance of Archaeological Parks in Istanbul

"Throughout the history Istanbul has been a capital of empires, a sprawling city adorned with architectural monuments of grand and enduring nature" (Özdoğan, 1996). To provide information on today's settlements in Istanbul, the history of the city should be researched. Istanbul, with its long and complicated history, had been the center of different civilizations. Therefore, the different urban planning concepts of these different civilizations had affected the formation of Istanbul (Belge, 2003). Because of the fact that this city had been shaped under various cultures, it shows richness in urban archaeology. When the development of Istanbul's urban pattern is examined, three different periods are encountered. These are Byzantium, Constantinople and Istanbul. Istanbul reflects a cultural mosaic within these development and transformation periods. Anonymous structures from different periods are an evidence of this fact. According to Kuban; "Istanbul has substructures of the remains from Constantine's New Rome, remains from the capital of thousand years Byzantine Empire, remains of 500 year Ottoman capitals (Kuban,1996). All these remains can be seen via cultural and archaeological heritage of Istanbul. Archaeological parks are a way to conserve and present the heritage of this city to the public.

Küçükyalı and Saraçhane Archaeological Sites as Case Study

Küçükyalı archaeological site is located in Anatolian side of Istanbul, with in the Maltepe district, Küçükyalı vicinity, Çınar quarter. As most of the remains dating back to Byzantine period are located on European side of Istanbul, this archaeological area propounds importance for Anatolian part. Stated in TAY Project website (database of Archaeological Settlements of Turkey), J. von Hammer discussed these remains in 1822 and called the place as Satyros monastery dating back to 9th century. On the other hand S. Eyice called these remains as Bryas Palace and supported his idea by stating that the remains of a wide structure having no apses cannot be a monastery. In 2000 Alessandra Ricci worked on these remains and called the place as Satyros Monastry. In 2008 excavations headed by Archaeology Museums and supervised by Alessandra Ricci got started (TAY Project). Today the area can be seen with its rectangular formed soil mass (Figure 2). Inside the archaeological area, remains belong to a huge cistern are seen. This archaeological area is an urban open space used by inhabitants. It is surrounded by Çınar Mosque, children playground and the surrounding residential building pattern. In order to make this area a place for urban development, archaeological park works are being carried out.

Figure 2 Küçükyalı Archaeological Site

Saraçhane archaeological site is located in European side of Istanbul, within the Fatih district and Saraçhane vicinity. These remains are on southwest of Valens Aqueduct. The remains of Ayios Polyeuktos Church, which is the Istanbul's biggest church after Hagia Sofia, take place within the area. The basis of the church was found in 1960 during a subway excavation. Today, various structural unites and a domed cellar with its strong basis stays. These remains are located in an urban open space and surrounded by park and playgrounds (Figure 3). Up to near future this place was used by homeless people and got vandalized, till the area got fenced. Therefore, today the archaeological site is not accessible and it is disordered.

Figure 3 Saraçhane Archaeological Site

THE METHOD

The method of this study contains three main parts. First of all literature survey is carried out. In this extend, basic principles such as archaeological heritage, urban archaeology, valuing the archaeological remains are observed. With the information gained from this survey, archaeological park concept is discussed in detail. The methodology used in this study- indicating the criteria of archaeological park as environmental, functional, formal and technological criteria[1]- is derived after the survey. Secondly; survey and observations are carried out in field and documented as photos. The evaluations of environmental, functional, formal and technological criteria are examined with their sub-topics. In addition to these, interviews with the authorities in municipalities and design offices are made to get documents of the fields. Thirdly; as the environmental, functional, formal and technological criteria are evaluated, being a sub-subject of environmental criteria, the integration value is observed via generating spatial model by using space syntax.

Archaeological Park Criteria

The archaeological park criteria are grouped under four main subjects. These are considered as following:

A. Environmental criteria: Environmental criteria contain the sub-topics such as security, recycling, revelation, integration, the current situations of green areas, and linkage system, nearness to urban center, land use and building density. The integration of areas to urban layout is evaluated via using space syntax methodology.

B. Function criteria: Function criteria is set up with educational, recreational functions of the area, public awareness, research-

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[1] These criteria is developed from the study called "Heritage, Tourism and Sustainability: An Archaeological Park as a Tool for Local Sustainable Development" written by Luciana Inés Repiso in 2007.

interpretation studies, tourism potential of the area, the interrelation with local people, management of the area, presentation of the area and presentation of the remains.

C. Formal criteria: Formal criteria contain the rearrangement of the place, the guiding elements like signs, the use of topography, vegetation, service units, parking, entrances, vista points and lighting system of the area.

D. Technological criteria: Technological criteria reflect the use of local sources, proper material usage, providing comfort level in design, the integration of natural and man-made landscapes and the damage fact on remains.

In order to examine the areas according to archaeological park criteria, a dichotomous questioned survey is carried on. In this survey the following questions are searched (Table 1):

Table 1. Archaeological Park Criteria Survey

A. Environmental Criteria	B. Functional Criteria
1. Is the area near to urban center?	1. Is the area protected under laws?
2. Can the area be reached via public transportation?	2. Are there any universities working on area?
3. Is the land use mixed in near surroundings?	3. Is the area used by pedestrians in daily life?
4. Is the building density low in near surroundings?	4. Is the area used as an urban open space within daily life?
5. Are there any green spaces near the area?	5. Is there a visitor center?
6. Are there any parks near to the place?	6. Is there a cultural activity center?
7. Is there a school nearer to the area?	7. Are there any tourist tours to the area?
8. Is the area integrated to the urban layout? (will be evaluated via space syntax)	
C. Formal Criteria	D. Technological Criteria
1. Are the entrance and exit points distinctive?	1. Are there any arrangement works carried out on the land?
2. Is the area surrounded by a wall or is it fenced?	2. Is there an excavation on field?
3. Is the site well-cared and clean?	3. Are the remains protected adequately?
4. Are there any signs orientating the visitors?	4. Does the area have a website/brochure?
5. Are there any information boards?	
6. Is the lighting system sufficient?	
7. Is there car parking area?	
8. Is the planting density high?	
9. Are there seating elements on site?	
10. Are there service units like Cafe/WC?	

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Integration to Urban Layout

The study has adopted the basic concepts and methods of Space Syntax to calculate the integration of the case study areas to the urban layout. As a set of techniques for the morphological analyses of buildings as well as urban areas, and an associated body of theories linking space and society, Space Syntax is now one of the most influential scientific movements in the field of architecture and urban design (Hillier et al., 1992; Hillier, 1996). Space Syntax focuses on 'integration'. Integration is calculated from the axial map by calculating how many lines must be used to reach every other line in the whole axial map (Kubat et al. 2007). The integration of space is a function of the mean number of lines and changes of direction that needs to be taken to go from that space to all other spaces in the settlement system (Eyupoglu et al. 2007). In this research, Küçükyalı Archaeological Area is examined firstly by its existing situation as an archaeological area, and secondly by its potential situation as an archaeological park whereas, Saraçhane archaeological area is only examined with its existing archaeological park situation. Axial maps for each situation and place are drawn and spatial models got generated. According to the computerized results, archaeological sites' integration levels are discussed.

THE EVALUATION OF KÜÇÜKYALI AND SARAÇHANE ARCHAEOLOGICAL PARKS VIA PROPOSED METHODOLOGY

In this section, Küçükyalı and Saraçhane archaeological sites are evaluated according to the criteria obtained from literature survey. In this direction, the remains in Küçükyalı archaeological site are analyzed in two situations. Firstly the existing situation as an archaeological area is analyzed and after that the proposed situation with the archaeological park plan is analyzed. The second case study area, Saraçhane archaeological site, is analyzed with its existing situation as an archaeological park already. The selected sites are evaluated via archaeological park criteria and their integration to urban layout is observed. Finally the two sites are compared to each other.

Analysis of Küçükyalı Archaeological Site's Existing Situation

As a result of the environmental criteria observation, it is evaluated that Küçükyalı archaeological site is near to urban center and can be reached easily via public transportation. Because of the fact that the residential and commercial uses, which together shape the mixed land use feature of the site, makes the place vivid all day. There is no distinction between active and passive green spaces nearer to the site, whereas, the area comes out with its urban open space property that is used by public via children playground and mosque functions. Despite the importance of schools in interrelating the archaeological remains and education, there is no educational unit near to the area. According to spatial integration analysis it's observed that integration level is highest on the main street called "Eski Bağdat" street and then on the Atatürk street, whereas the integration of the archaeological site and the roads surrounding the site are low. This makes the Küçükyalı archaeological site a segregated place within the urban environment (Figure 4).
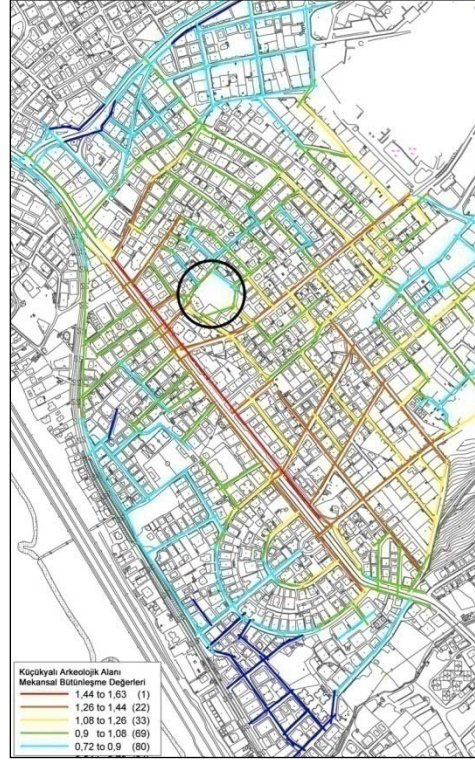
Figure 4 Küçükyalı Archaeological Site Spatial Integration Analysis (Existing Situation)

The function criteria come out with a fact that the area is a protected site. Koç University's Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations has studies for the area. The site is used by pedestrians in daily life, this results in public awareness and makes the space livable. On the other hand, the absence of a center for visitors and cultural activities and the lack of guided tours for heritage tourism limit the site's contribution to local development.

According to formal criteria evaluation, it's seen that the entrance and exit points are not clearly identified in the area. As the remains are not totally accessible to public, the formal arrangements are unaccomplished. There are no surrounding elements like fences or walls except a fenced door opening to the cistern part. Parking is only available on street and there are few vegetation elements. Moreover, there are no service units such as café and WC. On the other hand, the seating elements are provided by the mosque and playground landscaping opportunities and the site is protected well by the public while representing a clean urban space with the care of local people. Orientation elements such as signs start from the main street called Eski Bağdat Street, and there are information panels located within the site in order to increase public awareness.

The continuing development process requires works on field and technological criteria analysis shows that the excavation- research studies are to be carried out in order to improve existing situation and present the remain to public but the lack

of publicity, such as website or brochures, is limiting the potential of area to reach public.

Analysis of Küçükyalı Archaeological Site's Proposed Situation: Archaeological Park

In observing the potential situation of Küçükyalı Archaeological site, the archaeological park plan, which reflects the current regulations on land, is taken into consideration.

As a result of the environmental criteria observation, by the proposed plan the archaeological site continues its characteristics by being a vivid place within an accessible urban area. The proposed plan makes up distinction between active and passive green spaces nearer to the site and puts forward its urban open space property that have integrated to children playground and mosque functions. Despite the importance of schools in interrelating the archaeological remains and education, there is still no educational unit near to the site. According to spatial integration analysis it's observed that integration level is highest on the main street called "Eski Bağdat" street but now moves to Karayollari Street, which is the main road to reach the park, and the integration of the roads surrounding the site has thus been increased. Although with the proposed park plan the remains got accessibility, the integration of area decreases because of the design proposal's fragmented road structure. Yet, the integration value of the proposed park decreases when compared to the existing situation (Figure 5).
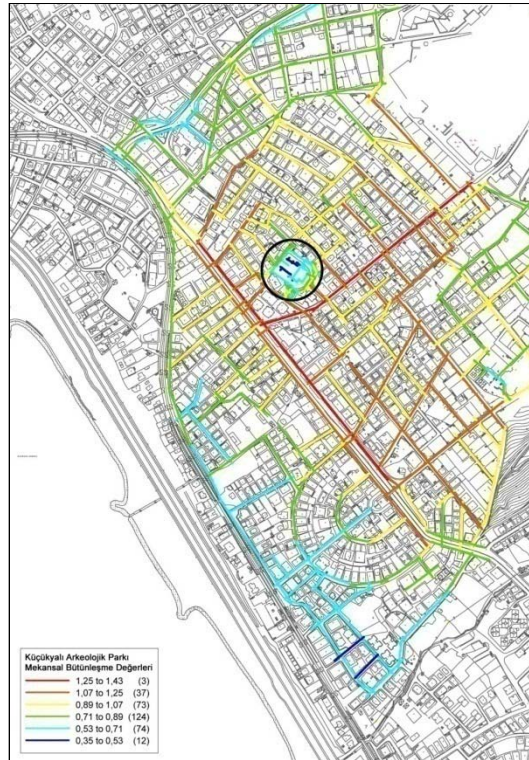
Figure 5 Küçükyalı Archaeological Park Spatial Integration Analysis (Proposed Situation)

The function criteria show that the project is supported by the municipality and Istanbul European Capital of Culture Agency. The site promotes public awareness. Moreover a center for visitors and cultural activities and the guided tours for heritage tourism will increase the site's contribution to local development.

According to formal criteria evaluation, it's seen that the entrance and exit points are clearly identified and the site becomes totally accessible to public with the formal arrangements that confirms the cistern as a part of the archaeological park. There are no surrounding elements like fences or walls except a fenced door opening to the cistern part. Park is well protected by the public while representing a clean urban space with the care of local people. The increase in the number of orientation elements such as signs information panels will result in the increase of public awareness. By the parking spaces the park's comfort level and accessibility will increase. Service units and seating elements are located within the park whereas vegetation elements used to provide places with shadow. Soft landscape elements providing access limitation to the park is provided by using plants.

Technological criteria analysis shows that the excavation- research studies will be carried out in order to present remains to public and publications, such as website or brochures, will be used to reach public.

Analysis of Saraçhane Archaeological Park

According to the environmental criteria observation, it is evaluated that Saraçhane archaeological park is near to urban center and can be reached easily via public transportation. Because of the fact that the land use is dominated by commercial usage, the site becomes a disused area at night. Active and passive green spaces surrounding the park make up a multifunctional urban open space. Despite the importance of schools in interrelating the archaeological remains and education, there is no educational unit near to the site. According to spatial integration analysis it's observed that the archaeological park is not integrated to urban layout. The axial showing the highest integration is the main street called **"Şehzadebaşı"** street. As the archaeological remains are fenced, they are not accessible. This makes Saraçhane archaeological park an isolated space within the urban environment (Figure 6).

Archaeological park evaluation via function criteria comes out with a fact that the area is a protected site. The development of the site is inaccurate as there are no organizations working on field. Because of the fact that the archaeological area is fenced, there is no accessibility to the remains. Although this strategy is a way to protect the remains against vandalism, site cannot be used by pedestrians in daily life. Therefore it has negative effects on public awareness and the livability of space. Moreover a center for visitors and cultural activities and the guided tours for heritage tourism will increase the site's contribution to local development. The absence of visitor and cultural activity center, and the lack of guided tours to the area limit the archaeological park's contribution to local development and put downs the archaeological park functions.

According to formal criteria evaluation, it's seen that the entrance and exit points are not clearly identified in the area. As the area is fenced, remains are not accessible to public and the formal arrangements are unaccomplished. Being a squalid place decreases the comfort level and results in being open to damages.

There are no orientation elements or signboards therefore the public awareness is not provided. On the other hand, as the archaeological park is surrounded by active green areas, there are service units which can be possible for servicing the archaeological park. Within the green space urban furniture such as seating and lighting elements are located. Moreover the planting in these areas provide shadow that increases the visitor comfort in near surrounding spaces. Parking is available via the garage provided by the municipality.
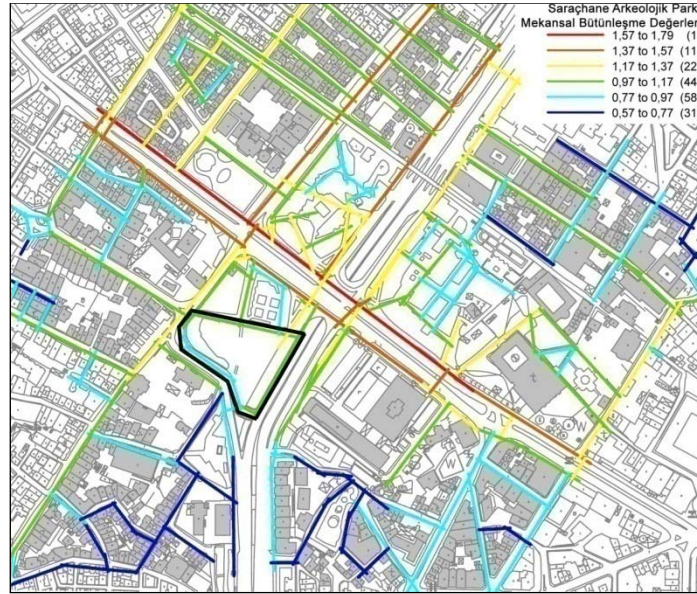
Figure 6 Saraçhane Archaeological Park Spatial Integration Analysis

For the development of the park, works on field are required but according to the technological criteria analysis there are no excavation- research studies in the area. The lack of improvement operations results in the lack of presenting the remains to public. As there are no publications, such as website or brochures, the potential of area in reaching the public is limited.

Comparison via Evaluation Data

After the evaluation of archaeological sites, results can be compared. As the sites are analyzed via 29 questions according to the proposed methodology, each site shows different responses to criteria (Figure 7).

Küçükyalı Archaeological Site comes up with 15 positive and 14 negative responses. The reason for getting high positive response is that the site gets its criteria via mutual functions provided by the mosque and children playground areas. According to the syntactic evaluation, site shows low integration with its existing situation and cannot use its full potential in order to be a focus point. Moreover, the site does not support the educational, recreational and tourism functions of an archaeological park.

Küçükyalı Archaeological Park with its proposed plan comes up with 26 positive and 3 negative responses. The park proposal supports criteria while putting forward the education, recreation and tourism functions of an archaeological park. The park proposal affects its near surroundings' integration to urban layout. By this proposal the spatial integration of the site to urban layout decreases (Table 2) but the integration of main roads that accesses the park increases.
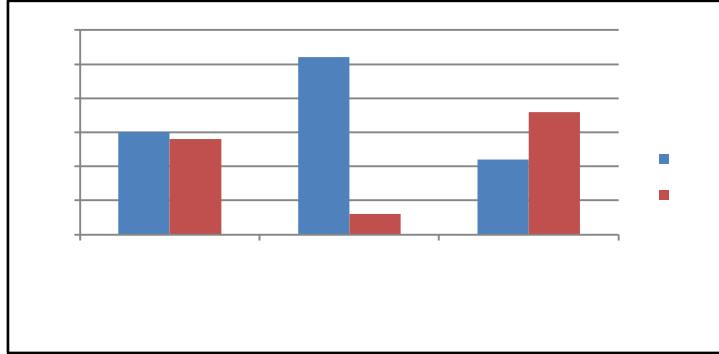
Figure 7 Results of Survey (Site Responses to Archaeological Park Criteria)

Table 2. Change in Spatial Integration Values of Küçükyalı Archaeological Site

Case Study Area, Integration Values	Minimum	Average	Maximum
Küçükyalı Archaeological Site (Existing Situation)	0,662012	0,969393	1,4474
Küçükyalı Archaeological Park (Proposed Situation)	0,336612	0,729466	1,11539

Saraçhane Archaeological Park comes up with 11 positive and 18 negative responses. These results show that the park is not integrated to the urban layout and however it is surrounded by actively used green areas, the archaeological park cannot fullfill its potential and it does not support the educational, recreational and tourism functions of an archaeological park.

CONCLUSION

In this study archaeological parks were introduced and criteria for archaeological parks were identified. Küçükyalı archaeological site and Saraçhane archaeological site were analyzed through the proposed methodology. Using Space Syntax inorder to analyze the integration of the case study areas to urban layout, was a part of archaeological park criteria. Evaluation of the sites with their existing and proposed situations showed that the archaeological park is a solution to protect and present the heritage while creating public awareness. This study has indicated the contributions of archaeological parks to urban space.

As Istanbul is a multi-layered city, harboring the remains of different eras within its contemporary urban layout, these remains can be experienced via cultural and archaeological heritage of Istanbul. Archaeological park, as a way to present the past to public, is an emerging concept to preserve and protect the heritage, to

provide interpretive and educational opportunities on site and to provide recreational opportunities.

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http://www.tayproject.org

PARALLEL ROUTES: PROPOSALS FOR LARGE SCALE PROJECTS IN THE CENTRES OF ATHENS AND ISTANBUL AT THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT

In the beginning of the twentieth century the governments of the two neighbors' countries, the Ottoman Empire and the Kingdom of Greece, proceeded in planning Large Scale Modernization projects in the centres of their capital cities.

These projects never materialized due to the dramatic change of the general historical and political circumstances that followed the First World War.

In Athens under the framework of two commissioned Urban Plans to the German town planner Hoffmann (1910), as well as to the British one Mawson (1914), large scale interventions were proposed aiming at the 'westernization' of the Greek capital.

In juxtaposition, in Istanbul Sultan Abdul Hamit II asks for plans to reform and beautify the capital the first decade of the twentieth century from the following architects and engineers: Ferdinand Arnondin, "the Strom, Lindman & Hilliker company", and the architect of Paris Town Hall, J. A. Bouvard. The objective was the construction of bridges, a subway, and the reformation of central city squares.

Aim of this paper is to reveal the similarities and differences between these two parallel government actions.

INTRODUCTION

The cities of Athens and Istanbul present a different historical background. Athens was planned when the Greek State was founded in 1834, being a small town of ten thousand inhabitants. On the other hand, Istanbul was a big city from its foundation date. The evolution of both of them during the nineteenth century had also followed different routes, which had as a common feature the revival of classical style, the dominant architectural trend in Europe. In the Ottoman Empire case, it was introduced during Selim III's reign in the first decade of nineteenth century, while, in the Greek one it started after King Otto's ascent to the throne and the foundation of the capital Athens in the 1830s. This development was imposed by the ruling establishment contradicting the traditional modes in both countries. Although the two countries had a common cultural background referring to the formation of the built environment during the previous centuries, the new western models were implemented in such a way to manifest their differences. This was achieved by selecting Ottoman or ancient Greek characteristics, leading to neo-Ottoman and neo-classical styles respectively in the eve of the twentieth century.

However, at the same time, one could recognize attempts which had as an objective the modernization according to "western" planning standards; this latter development makes the two cases similar and comparable. As a result, their modification during the two first decades of the twentieth century could be characterized as parallel. As a matter of fact, the two neighbours' countries, the Ottoman Empire and the Kingdom of Greece, proceeded in planning Large Scale Modernization projects in the centres of their capital cities. But, these projects never materialized due to the dramatic change of the general historical and political circumstances that followed the First World War. In Athens under the framework of two commissioned Urban Plans to the German town planner Hoffmann (1910), as well as to the British one Mawson (1914), large scale interventions were proposed aiming at the 'westernization' of the Greek capital. In juxtaposition, in Istanbul Sultan Abdul Hamit II asks for plans to reform and beautify the capital the first decade of the twentieth century from the following architects and engineers: Ferdinand Arnondin, "the Strom, Lindman & Hilliker company", and the architect of Paris Town Hall, J. A. Bouvard. The objective was the construction of bridges, a subway, and the reformation of central city squares.

A GENERAL OUTLINE OF THE ATHENS PLANNING PROCEDURE

After 31 March 1833, when the town of Athens was officially handed over by Osman Efendi -head of the Ottoman garrison- to a company of the Bavarian army, and especially after 29 June 1833, when Athens was finally designated capital of the newly established state, newcomers began to pour into the town to settle there and the site began gradually to acquire the characteristics of an urban community. At that period Athens was small in area, covering only 77,2 hectares of the total of 116,3 hectares that were enclosed within the city walls [1] (fig. 1 & 2).
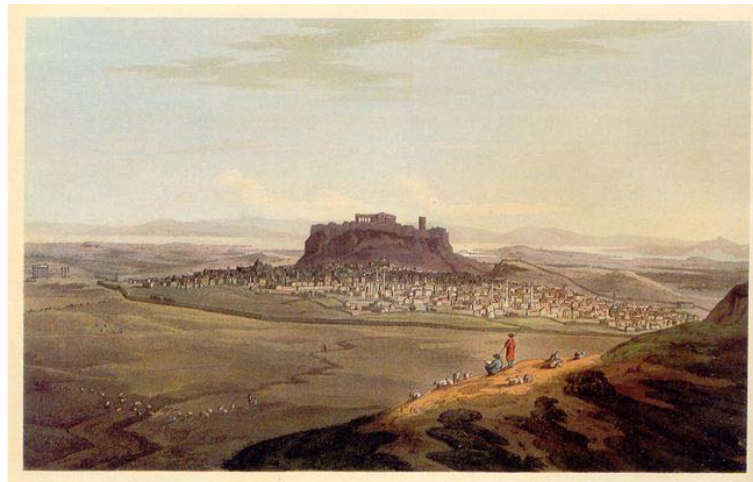
Figure 1: View of Athens from Lycabettus Hill in the eve of nineteenth century
Source: Athens, Cultural Capital of Europe 1985, Athens, from the end of the ancient world till the foundation of the Greek State, Athens: Ministry of Culture, p.31 (in Greek).
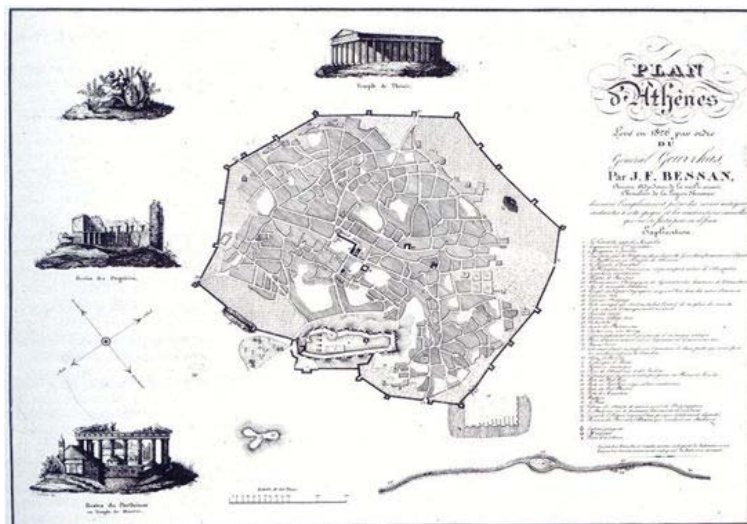
Figure 2: J.F. Bessan, Plan of Athens (1826)
Source: Athens, Cultural Capital of Europe 1985, Athens, A European Case, Athens: Ministry of Culture, p. 131 (in Greek).

Among the first to have conceived the idea of Athens as the future capital of Greece were two young architects, Stamatios Kleanthis and Eduard Schaubert. In May 1832 they were commissioned by the provisional government of the time to work out a plan for "the new Athens, bearing in mind the splendour and the beauty of the Ancients" [2]. At the end of the same year they submitted their proposal for new Athens (fig. 3). The inspiration for the Kleanthis-Schaubert plan was derived from the prevalent morphological tendency of the time, known as Romantic Classicism, which general favoured the revival of the spirit of classical Greek antiquity. More specifically, the unifying concept was a right angled isosceles triangle formed by the present-day Ermou, Piraeos and Stadiou streets. The Kleanthis-Schaubert town plan covered an area of 289 hectares. of these 57,1 were given over to squares and parks [3]. The area covered by streets represented 18% of the aggregate area of the town [4]. The projected total population of the new capital was set at between 35 and 40 thousand inhabitants [5].

For revision of the initial town plan, assistance was sought from Ludwig of Bavaria, the father of Otto, the Greek king. Ludwig sent his trusted architect Leo von Klenze to find solutions to the problems that had arisen. He drew up a plan which was approved by the decree of 18 September 1834. Klenze's plan retained the basic morphological characteristics of the previous Kleanthis-Schaubert plan, but proposed changes, first in the dimensions of the open areas, secondly in the positioning of the public buildings within the overall layout, and thirdly in the extent of the area covered by the official town plan.

In the years that followed, up to the end of the century, no significant urban planning initiatives were taken relative to the Athens town plan, nor were there any real changes in the way the town was organized. Interventions which were promoted were mainly small-scale local actions of a corrective type and extensions of the official town plan.
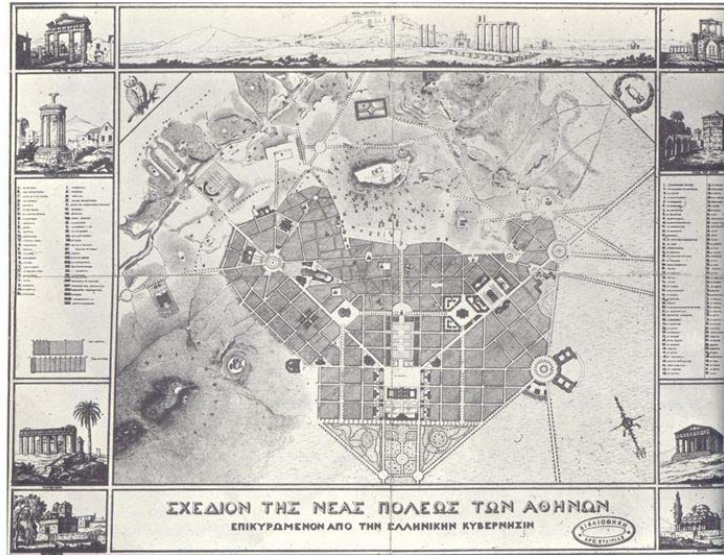
Figure 3: The Kleathis-Schaubert Plan of Athens, 1934
Source: Athens, Cultural Capital of Europe 1985, Athens, A European Case, Athens: Ministry of Culture, p. 22-3 (in Greek).

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY'S TOWN PLANNING EVOLUTIONS OF ATHENS

If we take into account the historical circumstances at the beginning of the twentieth century in the Balkan peninsula, it should not be considered in any way surprising that the first half of it was particularly critical for the urban developments of Athens. In the realm of ideas, a great deal has been written about the two orientations –Greek-centred and Western-style- which people either opposed or tried reconcile. The pioneers here were the authors Pericles Giannopoulos (1869-1910) and Ion Dragoumis (1879-1920). The problem of "Greekness", as the issue of self-knowledge and self-determination was inaptly labelled, was of concern to the architect Aristotelis Zachos (1871 or 1872?-1939), who even before 1908, drew from both the Byzantine heritage and the vernacular architectural tradition to resolve it [6]. Despite the attempts of the previous years, Athens at the dawn of the twentieth century was suffering from the absence of basic infrastructure works. The roads were in a deplorable state as most of them were gravel. Only a few main streets were paved. At the same time the population suffered from a chronic lack of water, while the lack of a sewered system, in conjunction with the very limited extend of street lighting, inadequate public transport connections between the centre and the outlying districts, and the virtual non-existence of a proper urban green belt suggest the dimensions of the capital's shortcomings in terms of basic utilities and services [7].

Nevertheless, the advent of the twentieth century was accompanied by the introduction of a plethora of innovations into the daily life of the average Greek, innovations which brought him closer to the Western model of living. The first automobile had been put on the road as early as 1896. In 1902 an electric power-

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generating station commenced operations at Neo Faliro, capable not only of serving the power requirements of Athens and Piraeus but also of meeting the demands of industry and public transport. As a result, in 1903 the Athens-Piraeus railway, until then steam-powered, was electrified and from 1910 on, Omonoia and Syntagma squares as well as Panepistimiou, Amalias, Piraeos and Ayiou Konstantinou streets acquired electric street lighting. In 1905, saw the first asphalting of a street in Athens, Aiolou Street [8]. In 1906, proposals were submitted for the improvement of the traffic system in the surrounding area of the Acropolis Hill. This led subsequently to the formation of the Ayiou Pavlou Avenue as an extension of the already existing Dionysiou Areopagitou Avenue. In 1908, architect Athanasios Georgiadis -who was also the official engineer of the Prefecture- having as a basic argument the increasing use of the automobile as a mean of transport, he supported the view of opening new road arteries inside the urban tissue. As a result, he suggested the construction of a new avenue of 40 metres width -under the name Aspasia and Pericles Avenue-, that would connect the University area with Monastiraki Square and its extension to the peripheral avenue of the Acropolis Hill - under the name of Parthenon Avenue [9].

Regarding the extensions of the town plan, suffice it to say that those approved in the first decade of the twentieth century represented about 30% of the area covered by the town plan hitherto in force. Nevertheless, the decade after 1910 saw the capital becoming the object of new planning policies. In contrast with the recent past, the attempted modernization of the town was systematic and dynamic.

On the one hand, unprogrammed extensions of the town plan virtually ceased. Since only five extensions took place of totally 24,7 hectares. The principal one was in Kolokynthous area covering 17 hectares [10]. On the other hand, a scheme began to take shape for drawing up a master plan for the capital as a unified whole, not broken up into smaller urban formations. This development was unique in the history of new Athens. It could only be compared to the period that Athens became the capital of the Greek State, when the plans of Kleanthes-Schaubert and Klenche were formulated. Chronologically, it was preceded by the urban planning schemes of the German Ludwig Hoffmann [11] and the Briton Thomas Mawson [12], and followed by the proposals of the Greeks Aristeides Balanos [13], Stylianos Leloudas [14] and Petros Kalligas [15].

The Hoffmann's plan was commissioned by Mayor of Athens Spyros Merkouris in 1908. In his plan for Athens, Hoffmann's conception was inspired by the eclectic Wilhelmist style of urban planning and attached great importance to the flow of traffic and to upgrading the town architecturally [16]. As regards the former issue, Hoffmann proposed the construction of a ring road to supplement the roads that already radiated out from the centre. This ring road contained the following streets: Ioulianou, Alexandras, Filolaou, Hamosternas and Konstantinoupoleos (fig. 4). As for the latter, Hoffmann proposed a series of cosmetic architectural interventions in the town blocks that would result from his traffic measures, in such a way that the capital would acquire the desired visual profile [17] (fig. 5).
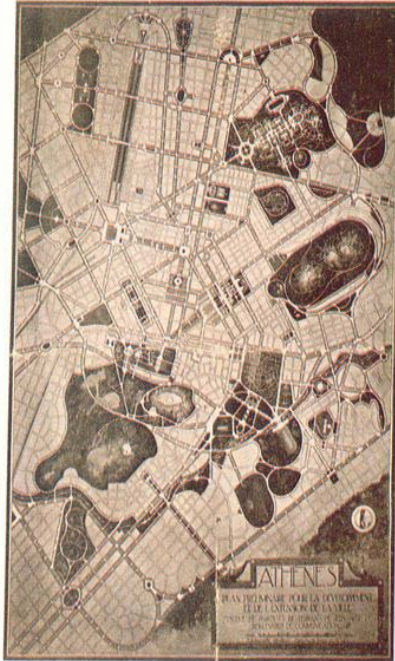
Figure4: The Hoffmann Master Plan of Athens, 1910
Source: Athens, Cultural Capital of Europe 1985, Athens in the 20th century, 1900-1940:
Athens Greek Capital, Athens: Ministry of Culture, p. 38 (in Greek).
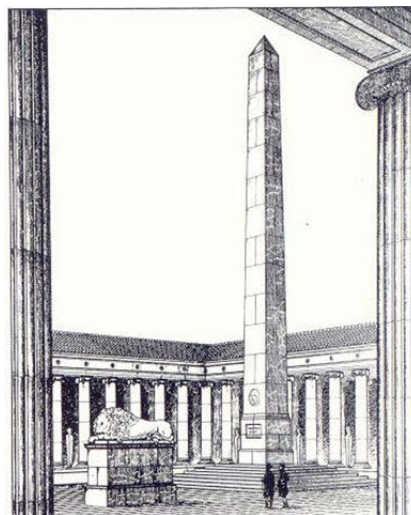
Figure 5: The formation of Omonoia Square of Athens, according the Hoffmann Plan, 1910
Source: Athens, Cultural Capital of Europe 1985, Athens in the 20th century, 1900-1940:
Athens Greek Capital, Athens: Ministry of Culture, p. 49 (in Greek).

The Hoffmann scheme was never implemented, probably because of intense objections to it by segments of the bureaucracy [18]. Nevertheless, the Hoffmann proposals seem to ignore the real problems and the financial conditions of the country, implementing pure and sterile Wilhelmist aspects of town planning, instead of more realistic criteria [19].

The Mawson's plan was commissioned by the Mayor of Athens Spyros Merkouris after a recommendation of Queen Sophia in 1914. Mawson submitted two plans for Athens. His final plan was presented in the form of an exhibition at Zappeion Hall on 17 February 1918 (fig. 6). The chief points were the following proposals [20]:

- Concentration of similar town functions in particular areas.

- Construction of housing estates for workers.

- Environmental upgrading of the area around the Acropolis.

- Measures for dealing with traffic problems, such as the extension of Korai Street as far as Monastiraki Square.

- Creation of an economic body to implement and manage the proposals.

Figure 6: "New Athens", The formation of central Athens, according the Mawson Plan, 1918
Source: Athens, Cultural Capital of Europe 1985, Athens in the 20th century, 1900-1940:
Athens Greek Capital, Athens: Ministry of Culture, p. 51 (in Greek).

The Mawson Plan faced criticism, accused of containing several weaknesses and simplifications concerning urban problems. However, as Mawson himself clarified, his suggestions had not reached yet their final form at that stage, but they were indicative of the principals to be followed in the future development of the Greek Capital [21].

The proposals of Greek town planners, which came chronologically later than those of the non-Greeks, were clearly closer to the real problems facing Athens and the country's economic potential. In July 1917, Balanos proposed that the official town plan be extended to the districts of Kolonos, Sepolia, Kolokynthou and the Iera Odos. In the designs he drew up to illustrate his proposal, he had shown a clear preference for planning that aspired to realization of the "garden city idea", systematically avoiding rectangular grids of streets and including generous areas of parkland [22]. In March 1918 and again in July 1921, Leloudas published proposals

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that covered the entire Athens basin. In other words, he dealt for the first time with the Athens-Piraeus axis and the surrounding neighbourhoods as a uniform planning entity, a fact which made his views particularly innovative [23]. Finally, in 1918 Kalligas submitted his own Plan for Athens [24].

This "plethora" of town plans for Athens in such a short time was accompanied by changes in organization matters concerning technical issues of Greece. Specifically, the Ministry of Transport was established in 1914 -the first ministry- with a clear technical orientation. It held seventh place in the government hierarchy, which comprised eight ministry. Its first minister was D.A. Diamantidis. The new ministry was effectively formed from responsibilities detached from the Ministry of the Interior [25]. The School of Architecture in the National Technical University of Athens opened in 1917 -the first architects graduated in 1921- and finally the Higher Technical Council was established in 1919, members of which were such technical personalities, as the following: Petros Kalligas, Kostas Kitsikis, Anastasios Orlandos, Ioannis Axelos and Ernest Hebrard.

This "reformation" atmosphere of the 1910s was followed by the dismal situation of the 1920s. A decade marked by the unfortunate results of the War between Turkey and Greece. The immediate need for housing the refugees led to a radical change of urban planning policy, which had started to develop a few years before. The new policy gave priority to quickly shelter the newcomers, instead of making middle-long term town plans.

It is characteristic of the above development, that during the whole Inter-War period only two town planning proposals were submitted for Athens, one by Petros Kalligas in 1924, which actually was the continuation of his 1918 proposal, and the other by the General Directorate of Technical Services of the Municipality of Athens in 1935, signed by Mayor K. Kotzias and the Director of Technical Services E. Krimpas. Furthermore, two contributions were submitted, the first by Spilios Agapitos in 1928, under the title The City (in Greek), and the second by Stylianos Leloudas in 1929, under the title The Greater Athens (in Greek).

A GENERAL OUTLINE OF ISTANBUL (THE OLD CONSTANTINOPLE) CITY HISTORY

The old City within the walls was built on the right-hand cove of the narrow gulf of the Golden Horn, on an irregular triangular cape, the mouth of which faced in a westerly direction, with the Propontis, or Sea of Marmara, to the south, the tip of Galata to the north and the Bosphorus Strait, which divides the two continents, to the east. Continuous inhabitation of this section exceeds fifteen centuries, with the uninterrupted presence of the different ethnicities that composed the mosaic of two global empires, the predominant group being the Muslim one. At the end of the eighteenth century, the north coast of the Golden Horn -symbolised by the Genoese tower of Galata- was a wasteland dominated by cemeteries belonging to all the faiths. In less than fifty years, this area had become the most heavily-populated part of the capital, with much construction work going on. It became the "West End of the European colony, the city of elegance and pleasure". Foreign architects, such as the Fossati brothers, d' Aronco, Vallaury, Mongeri and many others transformed this picture. Taksim Square was created by demolishing the barracks and expanding Pera to the north, i.e. in the direction of the **neighbourhood of Pangaltı, where the district around Kurtuluş** evolved from being

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the neighbourhood of the workers at the Imperial naval yards at Kasımpaşa, to the area where the middle classes of all the minorities settled. And the region of Galata continues to play a leading role in the economic life of Istanbul, thanks to the extension of the port in the 1890s and the location of industrial activities in the area between the two bridges that link the banks of the Golden Horn.

The transfer of the palace in 1856 from the Topkapi in the old part of the city to the Dolmabahce on the banks of the Bosphorus -a work by Garabet and Nikogos of the distinguished Balyan family of Armenian architects- was important enough in its symbolism alone. This was accompanied a year later by the reform of local government. In 1857, Constantinople was divided into 14 self-governing districts, something like the regiones of the Byzantine Empire. The difference here was that the system followed the French model of arrondissements. The biggest of them was the 6th district, which included the areas of Pera and Galata as far as Yıldız, site of Abdulhamid II's summer palace. Among the responsibilities of the local authorities, we can mention the issuing of licences for building roads, the management of markets and health services, land registry and public sanitation. The building which housed the 6th district of Pera was built in 1879-1883 by the Italian architect Barborini when the Englishman Edward Blacque was mayor. of course, just like the earlier examples of Paris and Vienna, the walls of Galata had been demolished prior to the creation of Şişhane Square, after the fire of 1870 (fig. 7).

Figure 7. Pera - Tarlabasi area of 1870 fire
Source: Zeynep Celik (1993), The Remaking of Istanbul. Portrait of an Ottoman city in the Nineteenth Century, Berkley-Los Angeles-London: University of California Press, p. 64.

The frequent fires, resulting from the wooden buildings, played a definitive role in shaping the new town, as well as in the change from the picture of the traditional lattice-work houses to stone-built structures and the obligatory intermediary wall

for protection against fires. The great fire [1], which "burnt to cinders almost all of Pera. and in which hundreds of people encountered death", according to the historian Osman Nuri Engin, destroyed over 3.000 buildings, leaving large empty spaces in the urban fabric. The lack of open space for recreational purposes led to the creation of Tepebaşı Park. On this site, where the exhibition centre is today, in between the Pera Palace and the British Embassy, once stood the celebrated theatre of Petit Chams and the French-style cafes of Stambul[2].

In 1885, after a period of stability when the population stood at around 400,000, it suddenly jumped to 873,500 residents. Apartment blocks made their appearance a little later, buildings with apartments arranged either vertically or horizontally and which communicated with the entrance by means of at least one stairwell, usually in the centre of the ground plan, and lit with the help of a light well through the roof of the building. These buildings were provided with utilities such as water, gas, electricity and later telephones, and also with auxiliary areas that were quite new to the then traditional, predominantly rural, architectural style: a bathroom, kitchen (with or without fireplace), servants room, store room[3]. They determined a new way of life that was made acceptable as something "Western", oriented towards the wealthy middle and higher income groups of the minorities and foreign residents. A variation on this theme can be seen in the celebrated buildings with arcades on the ground floor, such as the Afrika Pasajı[4] which united two parallel

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[1] This fire had been preceded by the great fire of Hocapasa and the surrounding area in 1865. It started to the west of Eminönü from the neighbourhood of Hocapaşa on the Golden Horn, reaching the shores of Marmara sea near to Kumkapi. In the west it touched upon the complex of the Bayezid mosque, whilst to the east it spread as for as Ayia Sofia. It was then that the Commission for Road Reform *(Islahat-i Turuk Komisyonu)* was established, carrying out its work until 1869, with the right of intervention in other areas. From the Commission's reports for the years 1866, 1868 and 1869 we learn that the monuments of Ayia Sofia, the Süleymaniye and Constantine's Column (Çemberlitaş) were cleared of the wooden houses that surrounded them and displayed on the basis of the principles laid down by the French town planner Haussmann. Unfortunately, fires and earthquakes continued to damage Istanbul, such as the fire of 1878 which did away with the Fener, the fire of 1913 which removed a large zone from the Fatih mosque as far as Sultan Ahmet and Laleli from the map, and finally the earthquake of 1894, which destroyed many buildings on the Princes Islands as well as in the old city.
[2] In her book, Zeynep Çelik presents one of the first plans (1870) for redesigning the area from Galatasaray to Taksim Square. According to this plan, which was never realised, a large four-sided square was to be built for the first time at Tarlabaşı, from which eight roads were to radiate. The road areas to be rebuilt were planned on the basis of the Hippodamean model, in contrast to neighbourhoods such as the Fener, Balata, Eyüp or Sülemaniye, where the labyrinthine little roads still exist today. In accordance with the 1867 regulations for road and building construction, houses were to built in stone or at least to have internal stone walls, whilst the ground floors were to have stone or brick walls. This led to a change in both traditional architecture and the layout of the town, leading to the rise of "popular neo-classicism", also known by other theorists as historicism, the eclecticism of the late 19th century. The main characteristic of this style was die row housing, such as the famous Akaretler, which was addressed to die middle classes. The most famous are those between Beşiktaş and Maçka. These began to be built in January 1875 by Sarkis Balyan, the Armenian chief court architect, as part of the renovation of the areas which had been destroyed by fire and of those areas which were communal properties (Vaqifs).
[3] The first apartment block to be built in Pera was that of Seferoglou in 1882.
[4] Of interest is the information provided by the 1920 register of inhabitants, according to which the Afrika Pasajı housed 34 Greek families, eleven Levantine, seven Armenian, three Jewish and two Muslim families.

Pera roads (Büyük and Küçük Parmakkapı), and contained sixty apartments. Multi-storey buildings with arcades on their ground floors were more often designed for offices or workshops. Examples of these along the Grand Rue de Pera were the arcades of Rumeli, Anatolia, Syria, etc.

The widening and straightening of the roads, the construction of a sewage system and of other kinds of infrastructure (clean water, natural gas and telephone), presaged the coming of the Western way of life to the heart of the East. Although, the horse drawn tram was introduced in Istanbul in the 1860s, the electric tram operated in 1914. Meanwhile, the first car appeared in 1895 and the general use of it began after 1910. The empty spaces within the old walls of the city, where there had previously been small holdings and vegetable gardens, now began to be built upon. "It is the great city at the moment of its transformation, the product of old cities now shedding their swaddling-clothes, of new constructions that were built only yesterday and of others which are still being built. Everything is topsy-turvy. The signs of great construction work can be seen all over, with tunnelled mountains, hewn hills, demolished suburbs, great roads planned, a boundless pile of ruins and rubble from the fires scattered all over the ground that is being tortured by the people" said an Italian journalist Edmondo d' Amicis, who visited the City at decade of 1870. It is quite clear that these pertinent observations are still valid today[5].

To return to the mid-nineteenth century, we can observe a significant change in the structure and landscape of Constantinople since the period of the conquest, apart from the regular fires. This was the increasing influence of the Western way of life on the built environment in an area where the greatest proportion of the Turkish Muslim ruling class, military and bureaucrats lived. A movement of the population to the coasts of the Bosphorus and also to the area above Dolmabahçe and Yıldız (Maçka, Nişantaşı, Pangaltı, Şişli) can be observed. The same holds for the coastal zone on the Asian side from Kadıköy (Chalcedon) as far as Bostanci. Small chalets, summer houses constructed on the sea shore (the famous yalı), country villas and retreats and cottages with gardens were built in all architectural styles, but mainly art nouveau and rustic. The railway line was extended, facilitating the settlement of privileged dwellers in the suburbs, the fashionable districts of Bakırköy (former Makrochori), Yeşilköy (former Aya Stefanos), and the baths of Floria (Florya) on the European coast of Propontis (Sea of Marmara). The cosmopolitan image of Constantinople was complemented by the summer houses of foreign inhabitants on the Princes Islands, which were a match for the Cote d'Azur or the spa towns of Switzerland and Germany.

The basic difference with Europe was that this image was a reflection of the indebtedness of the state, the court in particular, to the bankers of Galata. As regards the flourishing of businesses and credit banks, it must be emphasised that

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[5] The map drawn by A.D. Mordman, most likely in the 1890s, indicates the walls which were demolished along the coast of the Propontis and the Golden Horn and shows the railway line as terminating at Sirkeci Station. This building had been designed by the German professor Jasmund (1889) and is characterised by the basic design principles of the orientalist architecture of north Africa. The architect most likely wished to symbolise the terminal point of the Orient Express with the "classical" Ottoman order, in harmony with the aspect of the city at the time. The Haydarpaşa (1909) station on the railway to Baghdad does not appear on the map. This was a work of the German architects Helmet Cuno and Otto Ritter, with allusions to the design of neo-Renaissance style Central European towers.

this was not the result of a large domestic accumulation of capital, but was primarily due to a high level of borrowing from abroad, a consequence of the great demand for capital to support the substantial needs of the Ottoman state6.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY'S TOWN PLANNING EVOLUTIONS OF ISTANBUL

At the beginning of the twentieth century, certain grandiose proposals for creating three squares to improve the Old City began to be heard. In 1902, during the reign of Abdulhamid II, the chief inspector of the Architectural Section of the Municipality of Paris, Joseph Antoine Bouvard, was invited over to suggest ways of creating central areas along French prototypes (fig. 8). We can thus observe the districts of the Hippodrome, the At Meydani (Hippodrome) (fig. 9) and the area around the monuments of Ayia Sofia and the Sultan Ahmed mosque being "cleared" of the surrounding buildings. The second major intervention was planned for Bayezid Square (fig. 10), where the University of Istanbul and the mosque of the same name now stand. The third proposal was that for the new Bridge of Galata (fig. 11) and that for Valide Sultan Square in Eminonu area (1902). Financial straits and the reaction of the public, who viewed the Sultan's efforts at westernisation with some reservations, did not permit anything more than the creation of an artificial lake. The proposal of the French engineer Arnodin is also worth mentioning.

In March 1900, he presented, for the first time in the history of the city, a transport system and town plan which would unite the banks of the Bosphorus with two suspension bridges and create a regional line for the railway company Companie International de Chemin de Fer de Bosphore (fig. 12). This proposal suggested bridging the coasts for the passage of the railway at two points: the edge of Sarayburnu with the opposite coast of Üsküdar (former Scutari) and Rumeli Hisar with Kandili. The second bridge, known as the Fatih, was built at this latter point almost a century later, although without railway tracks. The proposal foresaw the positioning of encased double piers in the sea every 130 metres. At the crown of each, a shrine would be constructed, built in the Cairo Mameluke mosque style. The bridges were called Hamidiye, and they symbolised the political and religious power of the Caliph of the Muslims, Sultan Abdulhamid II. The decade between 1900-1910 was the era of the "first national architecture", and the architect Kemalletin created apartment blocks and public buildings with Ottoman motifs and with a stylistic morphology that included references to the mosques of the classical era. The "neo-Ottoman" architectural order was born (fig. 13).

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[6] The Italian traveller Edmondo d' Amicis wonderfully portrays the contrasts and social conflicts that had begun to pervade the area: *"Galata is the city of Constantinople. Almost all the roads are narrow and winding, each having its wine stores, patisseries, barbers, butchers, Greek and Armenian coffee houses, retail stores, workshops and shacks. Everything is murky, damp, muddy, slimy, like the lower-class neighbourhoods of London. Almost all the trade of Constantinople comes through this suburb. The stock exchange is here, the customs house, the branches of Austrian Lloyd, the French ferry boat companies, churches, hospitals, monasteries, warehouses. An underground railway connects Galata with Pera. If turbans and fezzes were not to be seen on the streets, one would not think that one was in the East".*

Figure 8. Bouvard's three proposals for the Hippodrome (At Meydani), Beyazit Square and
Valide sultan Square (Eminonu)
Source: Celik, Zeynep (1984), "Bouvard's Boulevards: Beaux-Arts Planning in Istanbul", JSAH
XLIII (December), p. 355.

Figure 9. At Meydani, proposal of Joseph Antoine Bouvard (1902
Source: Celik (1993), op. cit., back-cover.

Figure 10. Bayezid Square, proposal of Joseph Antoine Bouvard (1902)
Source: Celik (1993), op. cit., front-page.
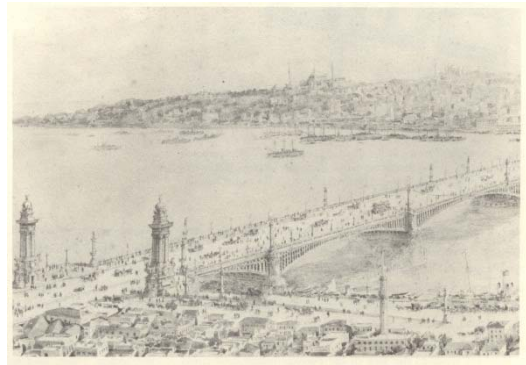
Figure 11. New Galata Bridge, proposal of Joseph Antoine Bouvard (detail), (1902)
Source: Celik (1984), op. cit., p. 350.

Figure 12. F. Arnaudin proposal of ring roads for Istanbul (1900)
Source: Istanbul journal.

Figure 13. 4th Vakif Han (office building) in Eminonu by architect Kemalletin Bey, founder of neo-Ottoman architectural style.
Source: E. Yenal (2001), Bir Kent: Istanbul, 101 Yapi (A City: Istanbul, 101 Buildings), Istanbul: YKY, p. 95.

Yet if, as the celebrated architect and university professor Sedat Hakkı Eldem writes, until the middle of the 19th century the traditional style of vernacular architecture based on a wooden frame and balconies (şahnisin) was practised by Greek and Armenian architects, known as "kalfas," the subsequent opening up to the West and extreme mimicry did away with such methods that had been handed down from the past. The architecture, which had lost all notion of individual contribution and had reached the level which we today know as "anonymous", turned to affectation and a mannered search for singularity. The attitude of the architects also changed, and they turned to innovation and experimentation, aiming to break away from the old, established principles. Slowly but surely, these attempts disrupted the old professions and obliterated the guilds. This was a necessary price to pay for modernization. From this point on, mass and organized education and the participation of the elders in communal affairs were to define the development of the field. And, as has been shrewdly observed, "Architecture is not the expression of a society but of those in power who run if".

Istanbul today, with its population of 15 million, plays a significant geo-strategic role in the Balkan Peninsula, influencing the link between the countries of the Black Sea and the wider Mediterranean. Even though around a century ago its population barely exceeded one million[7], the city played a more important political role as the capital of an empire and as a religious centre for the largest religions of the Middle East. The era of great disturbances and ethnic conflicts resulted in the concentration of Muslim refugee populations after the Balkan Wars.

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[7] According to the historian Kemal Karpat, who processed the data from the 1881/2-1893 census.

CONCLUSIONS

Concluding, one should summarise the following. The common point, which contributed to the similarity between urban policies in Athens and Istanbul at the beginning of the twentieth century -even for a short period- could be explained in the terms of adopting parallel ideological perspectives, that of modernization of the urban environment in the central districts of the two capital cities by both neighbour central or local governments. The so called policy of "westernization" changed many things in Athens and Istanbul in urban terms. However, it should be stressed that, that phase of capitalism in Europe and even more in the East, either concerning the Kingdom of Greece or the Ottoman Empire, did not induce the dramatic changes of modern capitalism. This influence was superficial since it was imported and not a result of internal proceedings. Therefore it was short-lived.

The import of "western" models in Greece by Hofmann and Mawson coincided with the neoclassic morphology and ideology, which were also the coping-stone of the upcoming -progressive at the time- bourgeois class. A neoclassic style, based on eclecticism, was created in architecture but also in urban planning for central city districts. At the same time, Istanbul went through a season of relatively big changes for its scale -after the Tanzimat-, and the invasion of European "innovators", like Bouvard, who provided the central city area large scale projects, based on eclectic ideas and neo-Ottoman aesthetic aspects regarding the architecture of the new buildings.

The same town planning procedures which were implemented had as an outcome the similarities met in Athens and Istanbul at the beginning of the twentieth century. As a final conclusion, one should stress that the urban interventions in the two cities had as a base the international town planning evolutions at that period which led to analogous choices, while the demonstration of differences was accomplished through aesthetic elements mainly in civic architecture.

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[2] Biris (1933), *op. cit.*, pp. 22-3.

[3] Biris, Kostas (1964), *Athens from the 19th to the 20th century*, Athens: Foundation for Athenian History and Town Planning (in Greek), p. 30.

[4] Biris (1933), *op. cit.*, p. 12.

[5] Biris (1964), *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[6] Fessas-Emmanouil, Helen & Marmaras, Emmanuel V., *12 Greek Architects of the Interwar Period*, Herakleion: Crete University Press, p. xxi.

[7] Manoudi, Maria (1986), "The Hoffmann and Mawson proposals and the Athens Press" in *Ministry of Culture, Athens in the 20th century, 1900-1940: Athens, Greek Capital*, pp. 47-54 (in Greek), p. 47.

[8] Biris (1964), *op. cit.*, pp. 250-3.

[9] Polyzos, Giannis (1986), "Reformers' dreams and planning reforms", *in Ministry of Culture, Athens in the 20th century, 1900-1940: Athens, Greek Capital*, pp. 36-46 (in Greek), p. 38.

[10] Biris (1964), *op. cit.*, p. 318.

[11] Ludwig Hoffmann was an architect who had served as a General Director of Structural Works in the Municipality of Berlin. His plans for Athens, 44 in all, were submitted to the Municipality of Athens in May 1910, without being especially publicized. See in: Manoudi (1986), *op. cit.*, p. 48.

[12] Thomas Mawson was a professional town planner and had an organized technical office that had realized several town plans in various countries (See in: Manoudi (1986), *op. cit.*, p. 51). The Town Plan of Athens was appointed to Mawson by Mayor Spiros Merkouris in 1914, after a recommendation by Queen Sophia under the euphoria following the victorious Balkan Wars of 1912-13.

[13] Aristeides Balanos was an engineer and municipal councillor of Athens.

[14] Stylianos Leloudas was a solicitor and self-educated town planner. He published planning proposals concerning the entire Athens Basin. In other words, he tackled for the first time the double system of Athens-Piraeus and the surrounding settlements as a unified urban entity, which makes his suggestions pioneering.

[15] Petros Kalligas was an architect and town planner.

[16] Schmidt, H. (1980), "Wilhelmine Athens, Ludwig Hoffmann's town plan for Athens", in *Themata Horou kai Technon*, no 11, pp. 50-6 (in Greek).

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[23] Leloudas, Stylianos (1918), *Athens-Piraeus, Study of a new plan for the town of Athens and environs*, Athens (in Greek).

[24] Kalligas, Petros (1919), *Plan of Athens*, Athens (in Greek).

[25] The Ministry of Transport held seventh place in the government hierarchy, which comprised eighth ministry. The first minister was D.A. Diamantidis. The new ministry was effectively formed from responsibilities detached from the Ministry of the Interior, see: Marmaras, Emmanuel V. (2009), "The Greek City and Modernism, 1900-1940", pp. 327-37, in Lagopoulos, Alexandros Ph. (edit.), *A History of the Greek City*, Oxford: Publishers of British Archaeological Reports, p. 329.

[26] This fire had been preceded by the great fire of Hocapasa and the surrounding area in 1865. It started to the west of Eminönü from the neighbourhood of Hocapaşa on the Golden Horn, reaching the shores of Marmara sea near to Kumkapi. In the west it touched upon the complex of the Bayezid mosque, whilst to the east it spread as for as Ayia Sofia. It was then that the Commission for Road Reform *(Islahat-i Turuk Komisyonu)* was established, carrying out its work until 1869, with the right of intervention in other areas. From the Commission's reports for the years 1866, 1868 and 1869 we learn that the monuments of Ayia Sofia, the Süleymaniye and Constantine's Column (Çemberlitaş) were cleared of the wooden houses that surrounded them and displayed on the basis of the principles laid down by the French town planner Haussmann. Unfortunately, fires and earthquakes continued to damage Istanbul, such as the fire of 1878 which did away with the Fener, the fire of 1913 which removed a large zone from the Fatih mosque as far as Sultan Ahmet and Laleli from the map, and finally the earthquake of 1894, which destroyed many buildings on the Princes Islands as well as in the old city.

[27] In her book, Zeynep Çelik presents one of the first plans (1870) for redesigning the area from Galatasaray to Taksim Square. According to this plan, which was never realised, a large four-sided square was to be built for the first time at Tarlabaşı, from which eight roads were to radiate. The road areas to be rebuilt were planned on the basis of the Hippodamean model, in contrast to neighbourhoods such as the Fener, Balata, Eyüp or Sülemaniye, where the labyrinthine little roads still exist today. In accordance with the 1867 regulations for road and building construction, houses were to built in stone or at least to have internal stone walls, whilst the ground floors were to have stone or brick walls. This led to a change in both traditional architecture and the layout of the town, leading to the rise of "popular neo-classicism", also known by other theorists as historicism, the eclecticism of the late 19th century. The main characteristic of this style was die row housing, such as the famous Akaretler, which was addressed to die middle classes. The most famous are those between Beşiktaş and Maçka. These began to be built in January 1875 by Sarkis Balyan, the Armenian chief court architect, as part of the renovation of the areas which had been destroyed by fire and of those areas which were communal properties (Vaqifs).

[28] The first apartment block to be built in Pera was that of Seferoglou in 1882.

[29] of interest is the information provided by the 1920 register of inhabitants, according to which the Afrika Pasajı housed 34 Greek families, eleven Levantine, seven Armenian, three Jewish and two Muslim families.

[30] The map drawn by A.D. Mordman, most likely in the 1890s, indicates the walls which were demolished along the coast of the Propontis and the Golden Horn and shows the railway line as terminating at Sirkeci Station. This building had been designed by the German professor Jasmund (1889) and is characterised by the basic design principles of the orientalist architecture of north Africa. The architect most likely wished to symbolise the terminal point of the Orient Express with the "classical" Ottoman order, in harmony with the aspect of the city at the time. The Haydarpaşa (1909) station on the railway to Baghdad does not appear on the map. This was a work of the

German architects Helmet Cuno and Otto Ritter, with allusions to the design of neo-Renaissance style Central European towers.

[31] The Italian traveller Edmondo d' Amicis wonderfully portrays the contrasts and social conflicts that had begun to pervade the area: *"Galata is the city of Constantinople. Almost all the roads are narrow and winding, each having its wine stores, patisseries, barbers, butchers, Greek and Armenian coffee houses, retail stores, workshops and shacks. Everything is murky, damp, muddy, slimy, like the lower-class neighbourhoods of London. Almost all the trade of Constantinople comes through this suburb. The stock exchange is here, the customs house, the branches of Austrian Lloyd, the French ferry boat companies, churches, hospitals, monasteries, warehouses. An underground railway connects Galata with Pera. If turbans and fezzes were not to be seen on the streets, one would not think that one was in the East"*.

[32] According to the historian Kemal Karpat, who processed the data from the 1881/2-1893 census.

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PRONAF PLAN FOR CIUDAD JUAREZ: INTERNATIONAL CROSSING OF PLANNING MODELS AND URBAN TRANSFORMATION

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ABSTRACT

In the 1960s, the Mexican government promoted, through the National Border Program – ProNaF (Programa Nacional Fronterizo), a regional and urban planning iniciative to face an economic openness in the northern border cities which aimed to detonate an integrated development model. Mexican architect Mario Pani and Taller de Urbanismo, drawing on the ideas of major interventions already operated in Mexico City, especially the Mexico's National University urban project (UNAM), developed the urban plans. As part of this program, was proposed the first urban plan for Ciudad Juarez that incorporated a global economic vision, and was built between 1962-1963 a modern urban center known as Zona ProNaF, which proposed to lay out the foundations for the modern city. A particularly interesting aspect is the developers concern to work with an "urban border proposal", considering it as a transitional space between the American city and the Mexican city, an urban center that will establish the primary gateway to a new international border crossing between the two countries. Based on emerging international planning concepts, the ProNaF plan introduced three main elements of urban transformation. The establishment of a modern urban aggregation system, which consists of a superblock and a specialized and efficient road system, was the main element in the process of morphological transformation. From here, there will be two basic strategies for shaping the city: the introduction of a civic center and an interpretation of the neighborhood units, defined by the "fraccionamientos" (neighborhood divisions). These two urban elements do not necessarily correspond to the fundamentals and principles established by the Modern Movement, but to the Anglo-Saxon urban tradition. The introduction of the superblock profoundly influenced the city's urban form, dominated by the traditional street grid, and implied the efficient city elements arrangement for a new urban life scale. The construction of a civic center, figured as the main component for community life. This neighborhood planning proposes a residential area, predominantly pedestrian, with a small central core. Thus, the city consists of the union of small and complete parts, seeking, at another scale, for the repetition of the city urban structure. The discussion submitted proposes a ProNaF – Ciudad Juarez study, analyzing three main elements of urban transformation in the planning history: the attempt to introduce the superblock, the civic center and the neighborhood unit.

INTRODUCTION

During the first half of the 20th century there were established the conditions that allowed the emergency and institutionalization of urban planning in Mexico. The Mexican urban history is very antique and characterized by the juxtaposition of visions of the world and society of pre-Hispanic and Hispanic cultures. However,

the modern urban planning, understood as the urbanism practice originated in Europe and the United States in the 19th century as an answer to the necessities imposed by the industrialization, began to develop in Mexico in the first half of the 20th century. The modernity models of the more industrialized nations began to be used in order to promote the economic development of the country and construct the image of a modern republic. In the 1940s, the growth and diversification of the Mexican economy, resulting from increased industrial activity exacerbated during the Second World War, promoted an economic dynamism that transformed the face of the country, changing from predominantly rural to urban in a few years (Meyer, 2000: 883).

The 1950s were marked by the growing importance of the the United States as a cultural and economic reference. The American modernity, considered the fourth major cultural revolution in Western civilization, which identifies the 20th century as the "American century" emerged as a new paradigm of modernity that unlike earlier, did not emerge in European culture (Cantor, 1997). On the other hand, through the policy of "Good Neighbour" the attempt to establish strong ties with Latin America opened the possibility of a number of governmental and private initiatives in several fields. Mexico, after estrangements due to historical, geographic and cultural conflicts, began to focus on the economic development reached by its northern neighbor, as well as its image of urban modernity.

The practice of urban planning began to arrive in Mexico with regional economic development strategies similar to those used in the United States since 1930s. In particular, the ones promoted by the Tennessee Valley Authority, which expressed the attempt to improve the living conditions of one of the poorest areas of that country through a set of strategies focused on potentiate the characteristics of the region and articulate industrial and rural development. To face the phenomenon of urbanization and regional disparities, in the 1950s, the Mexican government began to promote the use of regional planning as a modern and internationally accepted instrument to foster the economic development not only for the central area, but also in the south and north regions of the country. The need to improve port and tourism infrastructure was a priority for the development of regional planning studies such as the Regional Plan for Yucatan (1951) and the Regional Plan of Acapulco (1952). Under the same development strategy was created in the 1960s the National Border Program (Programa Nacional Fronterizo, known by its acronym ProNaF).

On January 10, 1961, was instituted this program during the Presidente Adolfo Lopez Mateos government (1958-1964) to improve the development of the northern states, different from the rest of the country by its borderland condition with the United States. The ProNaF's iniciative can be understood as an effort to transfer to Mexico the model of the American modernity. This was expressed in 1966 by Antonio Bermudez, the Director of the program: "the way the United States has reached its economic greatness, on which depends its military strength and its social and cultural development, is precisely what we Mexicans should bear in mind as an example, we should imitate" (Bermudez, 1966: 19). The federal government sought to establish a regional planning proposal to potentiate the economic advantages of being neighbor to the country with the highest purchasing power, especially seeking the development of tourism and the increase in Mexican exports. Since the 1940s, the tourism became a very important economic activity in Mexico, accounting for more than fifty percent of the value of goods exports (Meyer, 2000:

889). The northern border states represented the region with greatest impact on the growth of tourism activity. Through those states arrived at the country 68 million people in 1959, and in 1960, of the 670 million US Dollars of national income from tourism, 520 million were related to the border region (Programa Nacional Fronterizo, n.d.[1960s]: n.p.).

At the same time, urban problems and social contradiction became more acute in these border cities. Therefore, it was urgent to establish direct and modern connections with the neighboring American cities and consolidate a production and trade network able to absorb the purchase power of that country. Two factors were key: tourism and industrialization. The border cities were seen as the best showroom where could be display the Mexican goods and a strategic point to establish modern amenities to attract family tourism. As part of the ProNaF, was instituted the Mixed Committee on Border Urban Development (*Comisión Mixta de Desarrollo Urbano Fronterizo*), through which were elaborated the so called Regulatory Plans (*Planes Reguladores*), master urban development plans for several cities in the northern Mexican border: Ensenada, Tijuana, Nogales, Mexicali, Piedras Negras and Ciudad Juarez.

Renowned Mexican architect Mario Pani (1911-1993) was the chief architect of the National Border Program (ProNaF) and Domingo Garcia Ramos (1911-1978) participated as a member of the Technical Council of Regional Planning (*Consejo Técnico de Planeación Regional*). Garcia Ramos was also chief of the ProNaF's plans of Ciudad Juarez, being the main author of the Draft Regulatory Plan (1958) and the final Regulatory Plan (1962). Pani and Garcia Ramos are considered as one of the first Mexican urban planners, as well as pioneers in the transfer of CIAM's ideas of modern urban planning to the Mexican planning practice. Both were members of *Taller de Urbanismo*, a group of architects and planners founded in 1945 that introduced in Mexico new planning ideas through major urban projects: Nonoalco-Tlatelolco residential complex, the Ciudad Satelite neighborhood unit, the UNAM's University City Complex; as well as in several regional studies.

Ciudad Juarez was the city that received more technical and financial attention under the ProNaF and where the urban solutions had a symbolic meaning of national dimensions. Those proposals incorporated to the city a portion of land, known as El Chamizal, that the United States returned to Mexico in 1963 (it was in legal dispute over a century). This portion of urban land received great attention in the ProNaF's Regulatory Plans and the propositions began to be effective in 1962, materializing a new urban nuclei and an international crossing that established the most significant morphological transformation on the city's urban history in the 20th century. The urban intervention in ProNaF Zone, as it is known, lay out the foundations for a modern city, defining the first transition step from monocentric towards multicentric city, establishing a new urban life scale and a transcultural urban form.

In terms of the Mexican's planning history, these plans are notable examples of what can be considered as the first generation of Mexican modern urban planning, characterized by the transfer of international models and theories that deeply influenced the definition of the possible modernity in the Mexican conditions. The transfer of ideas and urban models is an area of urban planning history that address the need of understanding the circumstances in which an idea is applied in a different context from the one it emerged (Hall, 1996). In the case discussed in this paper, that is to say, the ProNaF's Regulatory Plan for Ciudad Juarez (1958-1962),

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this issue is relevant for three particular reasons. First, it is a Latin American city located in the United States-Mexico border and the plans were developed when that neighbor country was a great reference of urban and economic modernity. Second, it is a turning point in the history of urban planning characterized by the international crossing of theories and also by the dissolution of CIAM and the inauguration of Brazilia. Thirdly, the plans were elaborated by renowned Mexican architects that belonged to a generation inspired by the CIAM's urban ideas and also Anglo-Saxon theories, which they used to build a vision of the future Mexican cities. In that sense, this paper addresses the impact of the transfer or circulation of urban planning models in the urban transformation of Ciudad Juarez under the ProNaF plans. To study the issue of transfer or circulation of planning ideas, we rely on the understanding of urban plans as representations of the city, notion that refers to the concepts and systems of ideas utilized to define, design and make the city by the several social actor like the dominant classes, professional elites, inhabitants (Roncayolo, 1990: 160-162 and 2001: 268-269). This notion underlies to the possibility of study the representations of the city from those who make the city and from those who inhabit the city, what has been indicated as an approach for urban cultural history that invites to consider the urban proposals, ideals and also the imaginaries and desires of the society (Pesavento, 1995).

SUPERBLOCK VERSUS AMERICAN FREEWAY, THE URBAN CELLS AND THE REDEVELOPMENT OF THE CITY

The introduction of the superblock as a new urban aggregation system was one of the main elements of urban transformation on ProNaF's Regulatory Plans of Ciudad Juarez. The implementation of a metropolitan unit between the Mexican Ciudad Juarez and the American El Paso[1] was a fundamental point in the solutions proposed by the ProNaF's urban plans (1958, 1962). As in the first Ciudad Juarez's master plan developed by architect Rafael Mijarez in early 1950s – antecedent of ProNaF plans –, road connectivity between the two cities was essential to achieve this unity, based on an international circuit connected to the border bridges. This become more important in 1958 when was proposed a freeway for the American city of El Paso that would allow to incorporate the neighborhood units, often dispersed from each other. In the Mijarez's plan of Ciudad Juarez, the introduction of a direct freeway to the United States was more important than the rearrangement of Ciudad Juarez, limited to an indication of functional areas, evidencing a denial of the city. However, in the plans developed by Domingo Garcia Ramos under ProNaF, the zonning and the freeway were not the core elements. The circulatory system was a connector element between the parts of the existing cities and sought the hierarchy of roads (pedestrian and vehicular) as defined by CIAM, but never seeking to incorporate the American freeway. The challenge of an Integration Plan of Ciudad Juarez - El Paso Metropolitan Area demanded the joint of the Ciudad Juarez's compact and monocentric fabric with the extended urban development of El Paso city (occurred throughout the border). The 1958 Ciudad Juarez Draft Regulatory Plan, proposed the city extension over the Juarez Valley' agricultural fields, using neighborhood units distanced 1.5 to 2 km between each other, leaving agricultural areas among them (Figure 1).

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[1] In the late 1950s, Ciudad Juarez, founded in 1659, and El Paso founded in 1850s, had virtually the same population, however, El Paso was more extensive in size.
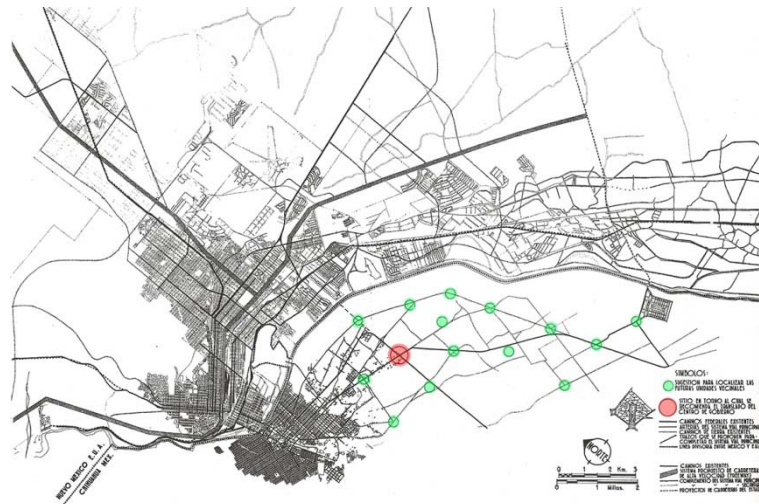
Figure 1. Draft Regulatory Plan, 1958. In green the future neighborhood units, in red a government center. Municipio de Ciudad Juarez. (1958) (colors added by the authors).

In the final Regulating Plan (1962), this proposal was replicated through the new residential zones over agricultural fields to the east in "self-sufficient neighborhoods units" conformed by superblocks (1600 to 2000 inhabitants by superblocks), with communal services in civic and comercial centers: elementary school, daily commerce, green areas (Figure 2). The emphasis was on defining the possible modern city in Ciudad Juarez and the roadways were a part of the aggregation system. These concept guides the urban expansion and transformation and is based on the idea of "urban cells" defended by Pani and Taller de Urbanismo. The most significant elements in term of morphological transformation, is the crossing between urban planning models introduced in the CIAM's superblock and the Anglo-Saxon neighborhood unit. The "urban cells" sought to establish a new model that could be apply to both, the transformation of existing urban areas and the urban expansion.

Basis of many of the Taller de Urbanismo's projets in other Mexican cities, the "urban cells" sought to transform, through the superblock, the traditional block 100 meters long (with plots between 200 and 500 square meters) that characterized the historical growth of Mexican cities. It proposed the aggregation of all plots of a traditional block in a large plot of 10.000 square meters (one hectare), which articulated with others, reaching a maximum of six plots, will shape an urban cell. Pani explained it this way: "...the aggregation of plots of 10.000 square meters, would allow with a maximum intensity of six times, building 60.000 square meters, so we would get 3.000 square meters of gardens in each plot of one hectare..." (Pani, cited in Iannini, 1999: 31). It shares with the CIAM's superblock the proposal to reduce the number of vehicular crossing and to separate vehicular and pedestrian circulation, an idea that Le Corbusier advocated since 1925, in his book *Urbanisme*.

The CIAM's superblock was a fundamental element in the design of Brazilia, Brazil's new capital city inaugurated in 1960, at the end of Juscelino Kubitschek's

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presidential government (1956-1961), that may have been an example of modernization and public development for the Mexican President Adolfo López Mateos (1958-1964). In Brazilia, the superblock established a new urban form and way of life, although on a different strategy, which sought the creation of a new city, not the reorganization of existing cities as in the case of the ProNaF Plans. The CIAM's proposal to reduce the number of vehicle crossing and the separation of pedestrian and vehicular traffic was a central element, present in both cases.
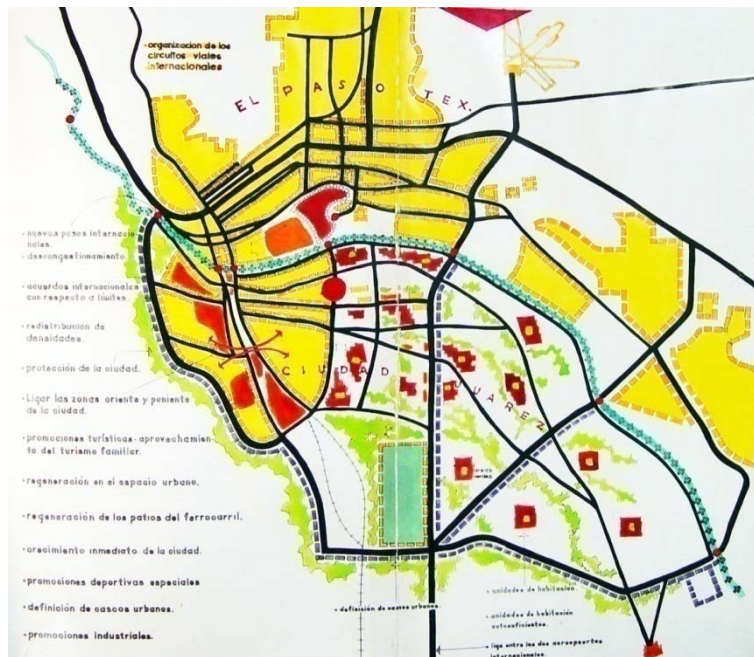
Figure 2. Ciudad Juarez-El Paso Integration Plan, 1962. In red the urban cells associated to the 1958's neighborhood units. COMDUF, 1962.

In the ProNaF plan for Ciudad Juárez, the superblock as the morphological basis of the "urban cells", ensures the growth of the city in complete and projectable parts, dense and free of conflicts between car and pedestrian roads, connected through the circulatory system of high speed. If the superblock of the American neighborhood unit is essentially for housing, continuing with the center-periphery relationship, the CIAM's superblock is self-sufficient and so independent, it tries to be a part to add. The use of the modern methods of architectural composition would overcome the importance of the extensions in the nineteenth century city. The street, understood by Le Corbusier as the nineteenth century rue-corridor, was a symbol of "circulatory disorder". He proposed in 1946: "Replace the word (and the thing) by pedestrian ways and cars highways. And organize these two elements, one in relation to the other" (Le Corbusier, 2003: 86). Garcia Ramos explained that "in the [traditional] block, all movement is propulsive, centrifugal, apart from housing, all other functions are carried out outside of the block", however, "the superblock is centripetal, 60 % of people meet their daily functions within it without crossing the path of cars" (Garcia Ramos, 1973: 213). The superblock was going to be the constant in the Taller de Urbanismo's urban projects, no matter if

for housing, commercial or educational use, becoming, as Garcia Ramos said, their urban thesis for contemporary city. The Regulatory Plan of 1962 sought to transform the existing city through the aggregation of "repeatable units" naturally arranged, articulated with each other and the existing ones through the road system. In the residential zones, a new interaction with nature intents to take place from the green routes or parkways following, where possible, the historical Juarez Valley *Acequias*[2] (Figure 3).
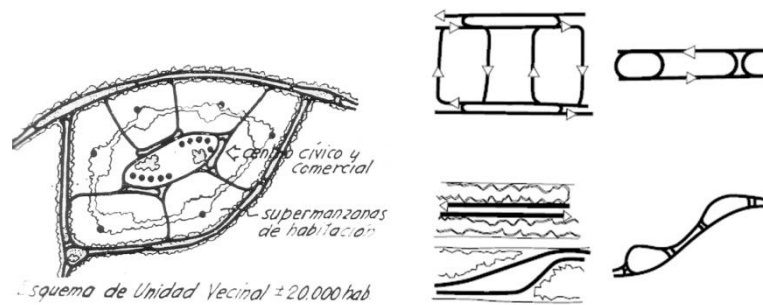
Figure 3. Garcia Ramos's outlines of the neighborhood unit (left) and Herrey's road system (right), showing the incorporation of Acequias with winding streets.

A housing superblock is equivalent to 400 meters side square (optimal distance proposed by Le Corbusier's Plan Voisin between bus stops), with an area of sixteen hectares and a perimeter of one mile. The "neighborhood units" will be surrounded by a road system ensuring the smooth flow of vehicles, based on the continuous and rotary Herrey system of Viennese architect Herman Herrey (1944), that will also shape the urban unit. (Figure 4).

The residential areas called *fraccionamientos* (divisions), as the neighborhood unit, are the "urbanization element" that will operate in Ciudad Juarez since the establishment of the 1962 Regulating Plan. Mario Pani introduced in Mexico a condominium law proposal in 1956, precedent of the idea of the "*fraccionamientos*"[3]. This is the Taller de Urbanismo's reading of the neighborhood unit as the American's garden city interpretation, especially of Radburn, Clarence Stein and Henry Wright's New Jersey 1928 project. As in Radburn, *Taller de Urbanismo* uses the superblock, the parks as the project backbone and the specialized circulations with the separation between pedestrian and automobiles traffic.

If modernity arrives to Mexico with the transfer of an economic model, it also arrives with another daily life, a new *Life Style*, related mainly to the American city features, among them the suburb and the automobile. *Ciudad Satélite* (Estado de México, 1954), is the *Taller de Urbanismo's* "city outside the city" proposal, and represents the Mexico's change of paradigm, from the "barrio" to the American

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[2] Historical water channels from the colony period, to conduct the Rio Grande water to the Juarez Valley agricultural fields. The *acequias* winding forms extend thru the city, from the more consolidated to the agricultural valley.

[3] In Guadalajara "the Urban fraccionamientos law" appears in 1953, in the Estado de Mexico appears in 1958.

suburb, "is the promise of a modern consumer society, that receives its cultural standards from the United States" (Krieger, 2006: 211). The ProNaF's urban plans for the border cities within the United States, express the search for another life style. Outside the compact and dense traditional city, another city is considered; a new extended, blurred and flexible city.
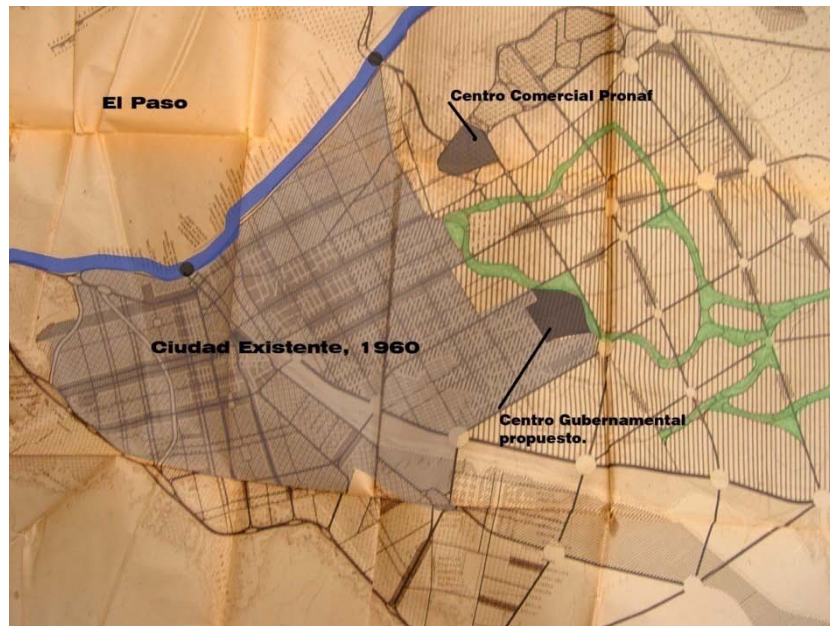
Figure 4. Ciudad Juarez - El Paso Integration Plan, 1962. In green the urban cells associated to the 1958's neighborhood units surrounded by parways along the Acequias. In dark gray the governmental center and ProNaF Commercial Center. COMDUF, 1962.

The idea of "urban cells" proposed the possibility of reproduction and transformation of the urban fabric from neighborhoods in a biological analogy that underlies the definition of two characteristic areas: a peripheral zone and a core or inner zone. These aggregation units will allow a greater functional autonomy for the development of community life, and in this sense, expresses a relation with the proposal from earlier decades of the neighborhood units. The neighborhood becomes the unity of urban transformation that allow the construction and transformation of the modern city. In this sense, the proposal moves away from the functional conception of the Athen's Chart and can be placed on the theoretical line of post-war CIAM, characterized by the criticism of the rigidity and abstraction of the functional city and the crossing of CIAM's and Anglo-Saxon urban theories to the possibilities of the modern city.

A NEW URBAN CENTER, THE TRANSFORMATION TOWARDS A TRANSCULTURAL URBAN MORPHOLOGY

The ProNaF Ciudad Juarez Regulating Plan attempt to separate or negate the existing old city, understood as complex, declining and nonfunctional. In the ProNaF, "other" spaces for political and cultural representation and "other"

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centrality system are considered. These are one of the most significant proposals of the 1958 and 1962 plans. The necessity to establish a direct connection with El Paso, the American neighbor, is a main element of the Ciudad Juarez-El Paso Metropolitan Area Integration Plan and justifies the city functional displacement to the east of the existing center, towards not developed lands. The 1962 Regulating Plan proposed the location of a new and modern international border crossing to which it is associated the creation of a new tourist and commercial urban center (services, commerce, hotels and tourist facilities). Also proposed the transfer of the political functions, from the existing center to a new civic and government center, locating in the intermediate geographic point between the new and the old city (see Figure 3). This new center must be a formally significant space. For Garcia Ramos and Pani, "the monumental character is what makes the differences between the public administration buildings from those other destined to private offices" (Garcia Ramos, 1973: 187).

The tourist and commercial urban center constructed in 1962 gave rise to a new centrality that brought out the Ciudad Juarez greater 20th century urban transformation, establishing the first step in the transition from a monocentric to a multi-centre urban structure, process already consolidated. The emphasis was put in another type of "center", a "commercial center", different from the CIAM civic center, which is justified considering two particular aspects. First, the privileged position, next to the new city and country front door, transforming the new center into the ideal showroom for the Mexican product exhibition and tourism attraction. Second, the ProNaF policy of concentrate the economic resources in the construction of "commercial centers", as the main transformation detonators of the existing cities. The ProNaF Commercial Center finaly constructed is a group of buildings with a pedestrian path, set in a superblock surrounded by the Herrey system road, and connected with other future city "cells". It is assumed that the modern city is made up of the addition of functionally complete and well done parts.

The new representative nucleus of the modern Ciudad Juarez is far from every slum and obsolete structure of the traditional city and near from the new façade for Mexico, toward the United States. There is clear intention to leave out the street-commerce scheme and the mixture of uses of the old city. All-type services are concentrated in a single "urban cell", surrounded by a parking lot. The tourists will not visit the "old city". The objective is to create a new scene of modernity, a new urban life scale (Figure 5). The buildings in this commercial center constitute the city's representative landscape and is understood as the most important instrument of the city transformation. Antonio Bermudez, ProNaF's Main Director, comments in 1966: "Now it feels a big spirit, a safe consciousness and a legitimate pride, since those buildings, example of our architecture, message of our border population's overcoming and dignity, are a permanent, solid example, of actual Mexico: progressive, dynamic, working, with faith in itself" (Bermudez, 1966: 136).

Nevertheless, as in UNAM's University City (Mexico 1946-1953), the important elements of the project are not only "the parts", but also "the group impression", the group is a collective fact. In the project's extreme west, the cultural zone settles down with subtle reminiscences of the region's pre-Hispanic architecture, like the ones used in the Pedro Ramirez Vazquez's Art and History Museum building (Figure 6), or in the Enrique de Moral's Crafts Market building. In the east part of the project, the Camino Real hotel was inspired by the convent and *haciendas*

(farms) architecture, first of many Ricardo Legorreta's hotels. To the center is represented the most modern Mexico, with an exhibitions and convention hall that retakes Felix Candela's parabolic building forms. All the strolls generated between these buldings are accompanied by a linear commerce development and green spaces, designed by the Mario Pani's architecture office. Within this commercial infrastructure, the first and greater border supermarket was constructed. The new urban form defined by the superblock established the deeper morphological transformation processed in Ciudad Juarez during the 20th century (Figure 7).

Figure 5. Aereal imagen of ProNaF's Commercial Center in construction in the 1960s. Anonymous author.

Figure 6. Exhibitions and convention hall. ProNaF's Commercial Center in construction in the 1960s. Anonymous author.

Figure 7. Aereal imagen of Ciudad Juarez, 2007. In red the ProNaF superblocks, showing the morphological change compared to the traditional urban fabric. Note the road direct connection with El Paso city. Scheme made by author from Google Earth's Digital Image.

PRONAF PLAN OF CIUDAD JUAREZ (1958-1964) AND THE ORIGINS OF MEXICAN URBAN PLANNING

In the ProNaF's Regulatory Plans of Ciudad Juarez, two city visions coexist: the modern functional perspective, in which the city is hierarchically organized; and the American city planning practice in which the city disperses. Two urban practices or intervention strategies also coexist: the modern city one, focused in finding the model's implantation mechanisms, and the Anglo-Saxon urban planning, where the city is a part of a region. The international crossing of urban planning models is present in the urban transformations operated with the construction of ProNaF Commercial Center in the 1960s, the only materialized fragment of the ProNaF's plans – the new 1964 Mexican government did not assign resources to continue this program. The "shopping center" of the American culture is used for the sale of Mexican goods, but not as part of an anonymous suburb; it is self-contained in a superblock, isolated from other uses and "polluting" factors, with free automobile transit nucleus as the CIAM modernist urbanism defined. The emphasis given to the urban center expresses the debate that characterized the CIAM in the 1950s. Nevertheless, the integration of this subject in the CIAM's agenda is an expression of the presence of Anglo-Saxon theories and ideas. As noted by Eric Mumford, from the American vision, in 1940 Lewis Mumford mentioned the lack of consideration in CIAM's theories of the political, educational and cultural functions, what was a detonator to regard the importance of the center in the CIAM's modern city program (Mumford, 2000: 133, 142). Also important was the role of the MARS English group in defining the importance of the theme of the core of the city for the discussions at 8th CIAM (Mumford, 2000: 203).

The ProNaF Regulating Plans analysis confirms that the Mexican urban planning arises in a complex context, where three main aspects seem to have greater

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relevance. First, the presence of a favorable atmosphere for architecture and urban planning after Second World War, which promoted urban planning as a strategy for the economic development and modernization of Mexico. Secondly, coincided with the consolidation of the United States as a western world power, associated to a new life model spread through the cultural construction of "the American way of life". Thirdly, it is associated with the 1940s thru 1960s period, in which the transfer of CIAM's theories to Latin America experienced its greater effervescence. It is in this context, that the Mexico's early urban planning experiences is understood, as well as the Ciudad Juarez Regulating Plans under ProNaF. They must be considered not only as an important chapter of the beginnings of urban planning in Mexico, but also as an indelible mark in the city's urban transformation[4].

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A SUBURBAN NEIGHBORHOOD IN VITÓRIA AS THE NEW DOWNTOWN

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ABSTRACT

This paper shows aspects of the urbanization process in Vitória, the main city of Espírito Santo, Brazil, in order to specially debate two periods related to its urban modernization. As method, the research was based on documents such as urban projects, studies about the local economy and the data on the evolution of the urban infrastructure. The first period begins in 1896, when Saturnino de Brito, a then remarkable sanitarian engineer, designed a new suburban neighborhood in Vitória, called "Novo Arrabalde". It was five or six times bigger than the existing city and intended to change the ancient and small village appearance of Vitória. This project would allow urban growth without sanitary problems. The period ends in the 1920's when the tram system was installed to better connect the new neighborhood and Vitória. The second period begins in the 1950's when the suburbian neighborhood was already completely urbanized and started to lose its suburb's character. At that time four-storey buildings began to be part of the "Novo Arrabalde's" landscape. In the 1970's, at the end of the second period, it was the favorite place to construct skyscrapers in Vitória. Emphasizing the urban and landscape's transformations it is also worth mentioning the enormous landfill added to the east, at that time. The urban process occurred during the two periods, 1896-1920's and 1950's-1970's, is related to modernization. At the first one, the modern landmark was the sanitary neighborhood, with large avenues and all the urban infra-structure, built in the same rhythm as that of coffee exportations. The second one shows its modern face in the height of buildings, attracting downtown's functions. The economic activity was no longer the coffee business, but the iron industry exportation. It is interesting to notice that in both cases the port maintained its place as a modern urban element. Keywords: urbanization, modernization, land use.

INTRODUCTION

The urbanization process associated to modernization is a constant theme in studies of a city's history and urbanism, considering several different approaches – economic, social, demographic, among others – and allowing the emergence of different elements of characterization, which can be recognized as landmarks or urban modernization (such as a *boulevard*, a urban park, a building)in general, related to a certain period of time or place. Time in this context may include not only some years, but also decades or centuries, while place may include a wide variation, from region to international environment.

This study aims to examine the urbanization process of Vitória, Espírito Santo's main city, highlighting two significant periods in the relation between urbanization and modernization, focusing on the transformation of the garden suburb into a new metropolitan center. While researches on urban history of Vitoria have made considerable progress, the study about the meaning of this new metroplitan center constitues a work in process. Thus, this paper adopts a rather descriptive

approach, offering contribution to the understanding of Vitoria's and Brazil's urban history.

The time mentioned here refers initially to the period between 1896 and the 1920's, beginning with the creation of the project of this new neighborhood to the tram rail extension, including the implementation of the infrastructure of the streets and water supply. In this context, the period characterizes the full establishment of the garden suburb: from the project to the full realization of its installations and operation. The second period happens between the 1950's and 1970's, beginning when the new suburb really consolidated itself as a residential neighborhood and received its first buildings until it became the favorite place of the real estate market for constructing buildings in the city. This second period, that involves in itself the passage of the garden suburb to the function of residential neighborhood, announced at its end the hints of another passage, this time to the condition of the new commercial and services' center.

So, the time approach presented in this study involves, even if it is a specific case, problems related to urban issues of the XIX and XX centuries. This happens due to the sanitarist principles that guided the garden suburb project to the metropolitan expansion, verticalization of the buildings and the site condition of new center. These aspects among others, characterized the changes in the urban dynamic during the last centuries in several regions, not only extended the reach of the periods established for this study but also confirmed their validity in this investigation of Vitória.

The area object of this study, although humble in importance in the Country and not well known internationally, is inserted and articulated in the urbanization process and similar to the ones happening in the world, according to the technical, esthetic and urbanistic solutions included in urbanist projects, as well as in the elements that signaled this modern urbanization.

It is in this context that this study will show, examining each of the mentioned periods, the characteristics of urbanization of Vitória and its relations with modernization.

CONSOLIDATON OF A SUBURBAN NEIGHBORHOOD IN VITÓRIA: 1896-1920'S

When proposing a garden suburb for Vitória, as the first great expansion project designed for the city, the sanitarian engineer Francisco Saturnino Rodrigues de Brito evokes and anticipates what would have become in the first decades of the XX century, according to Andrade (1992), *one of the fundamental paradigms of modern urbanization.* Andrade (1992) refers to the diffusion of this model of residential neighborhood, from the spread of the idea of a garden-city gathered in Ebenezer Howard's work, named - *Tomorrow: A peaceful Path to real reform* published in 1898. For Andrade(1992) the model would be comparable, in terms of importance, to two other paradigm of similar worth: *Le Corbusier's radiant city and the Germans' 'siedlungen'.*

Besides showing a privileged vision about the most adequate urbanistic solutions for the place in discussion, Saturnino de Brito also presented himself as a fully updated professional. This can be seen in the idea of garden suburb that although already tried in the United States and some European countries, only received wide

publicity in the first decades of the following century. Other aspects of his modernity are also seen in the accuracy of the sanitarian techniques and in the esthetic sensibility of his urbanistic proposals (Andrade, 1992).

For Saturnino de Brito's career ,the project developed for the city of Vitória has the special role of being the first urbanistic project from a wide series of projects developed for Brazil. As an engineer Brito had already shown his professional competence in building railroads. In the urbanistic field, his experience prior to the "Novo Arrabalde" for Vitória, send us ,as pointed in Andrade (1992), to a short participation in Aarão Reis' team, in Belo Horizonte's project, just a short time before Vitória's. Thus and considering that Brito had already showed in this garden suburb project for Vitoria innovating and important principles, perfected along his career, it highlights the project's value and consequently the study about it.

As already pointed, it was the first expansion proposal projected for the city of Vitória, outlined in a historic moment, linked to the beginning of the republic system in Brazil in 1889.This period also corresponds to the economic development resumed by Espírito Santo, state located southeast of Brazil. This development consequently doubled up its capital urban development. For a short historical information it is worth mentioning that Vitória was one of Brazil's first colonial villages whose foundation goes back to 1551. It is noted that until the Jesuits left Brazilian soil in the XVIII century, the city of Vitória had an important position of economic and regional headquarter due to this religious group activities. From then on Vitória and Espirito Santo submerged in a long period of economic stagnation, process that began to revert in the beginning of the XIX century, with the insertion of the immigrants' occupation of the countryside and more specifically in the coffee plantations (Novaes, s.d.; Oliveira, 1975; Bittencourt, 1984).

The high price for coffee in the foreign market gave the state governor of that time, 1892 to 1896, Muniz Freire , the idea for an audacious government plan. His goal was to transform Vitória in the State's economic center, empowering its already existing political-administrative function (Campos Júnior, 1996). To reach this goal, the government guidelines were aimed at three main elements from the project: the railway, the harbor and the garden suburb. Thus it is important to highlight that although the state capital, Vitória was not the only and main gateway for products, only being responsible for the output of production generated in the central region of Espirito Santo. The south region production was exported through Itapemirim's port while the production from the north was exported through São Mateus' harbor. So, Muniz Freire's program designed the building of a railway to bring to Vitória the state's and part of Minas Gerais', a neighboring state, agriculture production. Continuing with the idea of a state economic centralization in Vitória, the proposition of re-equipping the port aimed to create condition for outputting compatible with the volume production expected (Campos Júnior, 1996).

Therefore, the idea of a garden suburb acquired then, a complementary character to the physical modernization demonstration of the city of Vitória, from an urbanist project point of view. The new neighborhood is then proposed taking into account the sanitarian principals of the time, in flagrant contrast to the sanitarian context of the existing urban nucleus (Mendonça et alii, 2009). The "Novo Arrabalde", in project (figure 1), included five or six times the urbanized area of the city of Vitória at that time, comprehending three nucleuses: a working class, a vegetable garden and a residential, that since that time is foreseen as the prime part of the

city (Brito, 1996). To start the new neighborhood it was necessary to undertake a great engineering work, due to the necessity to build a road that kept it connected to the city. Along this road three nucleuses were developed, being the residential the largest. Its outline included the superposition of two long avenues (in sharp angle, diagonally) to a screen system, to provide picturesque sights because the paths of these avenues were proposed directed to prominent scenarios (Mendonça et alii, 2009).

Figure 1 Vitória and city expansion by Saturnino de Brito. Vitória, 1896.
Arquivo Público Estadual do Espírito Santo

Although a lot could still be told about the project, its urban characteristics and its technical value, this is not the aim of this paper. There are many studies that have already dealt with this issue in an adequate way (Andrade, 1992; Mendonça et alii, 2009). What we have tried to demonstrate here, with the brief description of the project, is that it was an enterprise of great value, well conceived in the technical and urbanist aspect and that consequently needed great financial resources.

As already mentioned the urban development of the state's capital mainly depended on the success of the coffee exporting market (Novaes, s.d., Oliveira, 1975, Campos Júnior, 1996; Bittencourt, 1984; Derenzi, 1995). The so called improvements and the modernization elements of the urbanization implanted in Vitória along the first half of the XX century were directly related to the periods of

high value of the product. Thus, the great difficulty in carrying out the project in question was due to the big economic crisis that happened at the end of the XIX century related to the low value to the coffee price in international markets (Campos Júnior, 1996). Even so, it is remarkable that the project has always been used as reference for urbanizing the east region of Vitória, following a slow but constant implantation (Mendonça et alii, 2009). As part of the economic overturn that happened, Torrens Company, at the time owner of the area and in charge of installing the infrastructure work, lost its ownership because it didn't meet the established deadlines for accomplishing the job (Campos Júnior, 1996). So the State repossessed the area installing, in a slow but constant flow, the urban infrastructure that in the future would favor the occupation of the site (Mendonça et alii, 2009).

The effort spent in the gradual venture of the road, sometimes demanding the extraction and breaking rocks, sometimes requiring grounding soil at the shore allowed, during the first years of the XX century (1905), the implantation of a tram line, east of Vitória and as far as Praia do Suá making the access and consequently the occupation of the created neighborhood easy (Campos Júnior, 1996; Mendonça et alii, 2009).

Another stimulus to the new neighborhood urbanization was the succeeding allotment ,officially granting not only for the acquisition of plots but also for building houses. Between 1910 and 1927 these grants were significant including among others, taxes reductions and reduction on the public transportation fare not only for neighborhood residents but also for swimmers that came to the site (Campos Júnior, 1996; Mendonça et alii, 2009). Although still not expressive, the measures described had an effect on the development and occupation of the site. The contrast between the urban infrastructure of the new neighborhood and the city of Vitória justified the sparse occupation (Mendonça et alii, 2009).

However, in the second part of the 1920s, the implantation of the infrastructure related to the opening and paving of streets, as well as the ones related to water supply contributed decisively for the growth, in the next decade, in the interest in building in the area (Campos Júnior, 1996; Mendonça et alii, 2009).

It is in this context that it became viable along the analysed period, from 1896 to the 1920s, the configuration of the projected garden suburb project. The straight and large paths and the buildings in the middle of the plots generated a new urban atmosphere (figure 2), similar to the hygienist principals and differentiated from the ones that characterized the urban environment of Vitória with narrow plots and intense occupation. These aspects as well as the beginning of the tram services, which favored the occupation of the site, constituted the characteristic elements of modern urbanization, present in the area studied, and an example of what happened in other cities in the passage of the XIX century to the XX century. We can still observe the gradual configuration of this garden suburb, as a health-resort, favored by a special attribute, which was its location by the sea. This same attribute later on, together with the other elements, also contributed for the change of function of the region as it can be seen in the approach shown next.

Figure 2: Moacyr Avidos' Street. Novo Arrabalde. Vitória, 1930's.
Arquivo Geral do Município de Vitória

THE GRADUAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE NEW DOWNTOWN – 1950'S - 1970'S

The strengthening of this garden suburb as a health resort is also present in the studies of Pimentel (2006), who analysed architectural projects approved by the municipality in the first decades of the XX century, for ground plots in the new neighborhood. There were several mentions in the project to the consignment of buildings direct to maritime recreation built or not. Reinforcing this characterization, concomitantly, the colonial urban nucleus developed its centrality. This was labeled, since the beginning of the XX century ,by assimilation of the characteristic elements of modern urbanization, as it was happening in the main cities of the world, besides the diversity of functions : residential, commercial, institutional, port.

Among these elements, we can find the urban park represented by the construction in 1912 of Parque Moscoso (Muniz, 1985), as a privileged place for visits and public expositions, stimulating the development of new social habits in the city. At the same time the park built on landfill area, in a drenched plot and considered insalubrious by diagnosis of the urban medicine of that time, became also a solution for some serious urban epidemiologic problems, besides becoming a new option for socializing. Other public spaces of similar nature were built in this urban nucleus. One of them, built even before Parque Moscoso was the João Clímaco square, in the high city, near the most important religious and civic space of Vitória. Another example, built in the 1920s was Costa Pereira square. This even in a smaller dimension, followed orientation similar to Parque Moscoso's in reference to the recreational and contemplative use and on the over position of a drenched plot.

Around this square, that already sheltered cultural activities, became an even better place for these functions, with the opening, in this same decade, of two theaters. The opening of the *boulevard* touching the square and the construction of the city first buildings, with five and seven storeys, also in the square scope, were with the other aspects, decisive to characterize Vitória's modernization and at the same time, the centrality of its original urban nucleus.

At that time, the building as a landmark of urban modernity already characterized Chicago and Nova York (Hitchcock, 1970; Porteous, 1996) and it wouldn't take long to be seen in Brazil, associated to big cities like Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo (Vaz, 1994; Somekh, 1994; Feldman, 1996). In this aspect, with the development of the verticalization process in buildings in Vitória, from the second half of the 1940s on, the building reached an outstanding position before the other elements, strongly conveying modernization and centrality.

Other element allusive to this same context of modernization and centrality and that can not be forgotten, comprehended the conclusion of the harbor work between 1940 and 1950 (Siqueira, 1994) achieving the end of the XIX century , the project of outputting through Vitória the goods produced in the state. Besides its own function in the regional economy, it was observed that the port, as well as the park, the squares and the *boulevard*, already mentioned as icons of modern urbanization, became in Victoria, promising addresses for the construction of buildings, highlighting their symbolic character as well as their location.

The preference of placing buildings in the city's original urban nucleus characterized the verticalization process of the constructions not only in Vitória but also in several Latin American cities. This situation was kept in Vitória until the 1970s when the city reached expansion in its own territory to the east and northeast and on the neighboring towns in a conurbation process. But before this happened, while the city original nucleus was kept predominant in its central function, the "Novo Arrabalde", whose modernity was expressed by its wide and straight avenues, was constantly and slowly fed of urban infrastructure. Thus there are the public transportation and the social equipments, such as clubs and schools, in a way that along the 1950s and 1960s it was possible to perceive how minimized the idea of garden suburb was and at the same time it strengthened the notion of the place as a neighborhood (figure 3).

It is interesting to observe that in 1950s when the transition from garden suburb to neighborhood was incipient in the "Novo Arrabalde", the presence of some buildings could be seen. It was a small amount of low buildings located scattered in a complete different situation from what happened in the then downtown. There, the buildings were higher and concentrated, forming a true focus of verticalization in places which urban attributes, as already mentioned, were considered attractive (square, park, *boulevard* and port). Anyway, this prognostic of verticalization tested the new environment and allowed to foresee the possibilities that only came to be true in the future (Mendonça, 2001). For Campos Júnior (1993), the expansion of verticalization of constructions in Vitória, to the east, was stopped by the landfilling of a wide esplanade nearby downtown. In fact, there ,it was set the best urban conditions, be for infrastructure or for urban improvements or beautification. So it seems logic to say that the creation of an area from the landfilling immediately close to this place would have contributed for maintaining for more than two decades, from the 1950s to the 1970s, the preference for verticalization in Vitória's own downtown area.
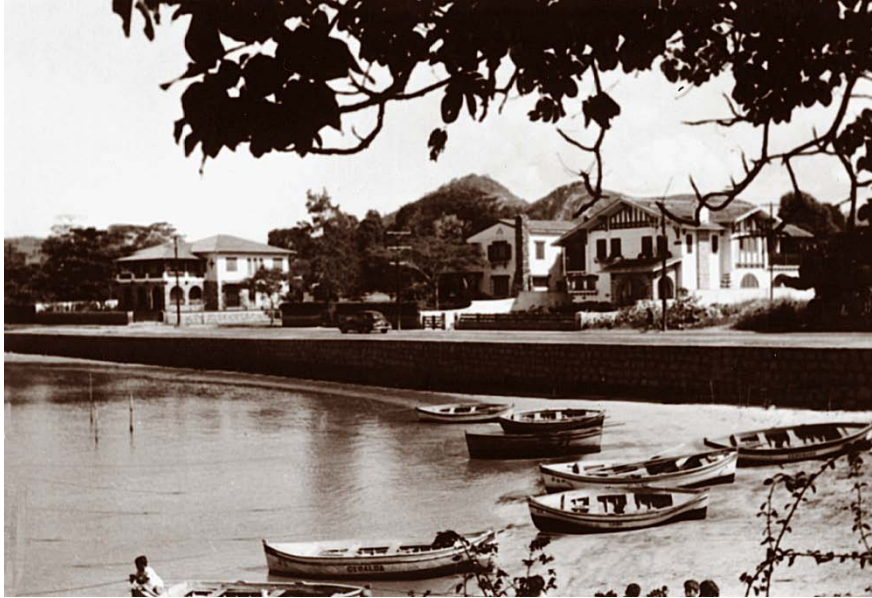
Figure 3: The "Novo Arrabalde". Vitória, 1950's. Acervo Francisco Moraes

So, the 1970s was period of transition of the real estate interest between downtown and the area east of Vitória. During this period, downtown was still a favorite place, while the new area became more attractive. Beside the constant improvements in the urban infrastructure which capacitated more and more the market interest, this area had a special attribute that the downtown area lacked: the beach. It is interesting to point out the late real estate interest in Vitória for verticalization of the beach (Mendonça, 2001), aspect found and consolidated in Rio de Janeiro, with the verticalization of Copacabana beach since the 1920s (Vaz, 1994; Ribeiro, 1997). It is possible to associate this late interest to the also late action of the real estate incorporator, what in Vitória refers to the same occasion – the 1970s. There are many studies about the verticalization of the constructions that confirm the real estate boom since the insertion of the incorporators to the market (Vaz, 1994; Ribeiro, 1997, Somekh, 1994, Campos Júnior, 1993; Souza, 1994). Thus, the new area in Vitória verticalized under the action of a new and dynamic real estate, more lucrative and nimble.

Since the second half of the 1960s, great entrepreneurships began to set up in Vitoria's continental area. Among them there is Espirito Santo Federal University Campus, Tubarão port, 'Companhia Vale do Rio Doce' and during the 1970s, 'Companhia Siderúrgica de Tubarão'. These equipments when locating themselves farther from downtown, to the east and northeast of the new neighborhood, attracted the expansion of improvements and public investments, consequently considering the new neighborhood.

The transition of the real estate interest from downtown to the new neighborhood in the east, already named Praia do Canto, during the 1970s, resulted during the second half of the 1980s in the transference of interest for the location of buildings to this area (figure 4). After 1984 it became rare and isolated the construction of

buildings downtown. On the other hand it was possible to see a kind of path outlined by the construction of buildings, rapidly occupying the territory, in the east-northeast extension, along the coast, reaching the continental area.

Figure 4: The "Novo Arrabalde" as Praia do Canto. Vitória, 1988. Acervo A Gazeta

The industrial and port enterprises already mentioned, among others installed in towns near Vitória, as well as the agriculture economic crisis that happened in the state country side, stimulated the population migration to the capital and its surroundings, forming a metropolitan agglomeration. As a consequence of the metropolitan development, downtown gradually lost its predominance with the emergence of new centrers in Vitória and in the other metropolitan towns.

It is in this context that the old garden suburb, now a neighborhood began its transformation process of a new metropolitan center. The slow migration of institutions, from the historic center to the new area and the real estate interest in constructing new buildings contributed to this process, stimulated by the 'discovery 'of the sea shore. In addition and complementation there was the set up of commercial activities and offices, mingling with the residential context of the neighborhood. As it happened in the central area, this new area also received in the 1970s an extensive landfill that it is still under a process of occupation, keeping the real estate interest alive on the vast region polarized by this new centrality.

THE EFFORT FOR MODERNIZATION IN TWO ACTS

Analyzing the two periods approached it is possible to highlight aspects that can be considered inductors of the urban development process and the changes of the functions of the area in question.

In the first period, from 1896 to the 1920s, the value of coffee in the foreign market, although oscillating made it possible to establish the urban infrastructure, allowing to set up in Vitória a garden suburb, idealized in hygienist patterns, whose wide paths and construction in the middle of the plots, besides the sanitary

apparatus, corresponded to what was planned in urban terms based on the technological advances of the time.

The tram, the park, the square, the *boulevard* were characterizing elements of modernization. Since then, the urban expansion, verified in a stronger way decades later, was signaled with the garden suburb project and prepared with the continuous, although slow set up of the urban infrastructure. All these elements and proceedings characterized the effort for modernization undergone in the city of Vitória, as it was happening in all major cities of the world at that time. The link that somehow contributed to match Vitória's limited urban environment to the great world centers, referred to the possibilities opened by the port operation. This has always been an important element in the insertion of Vitória in the international ambiance. This insertion happened in the assimilation of epidemics from far away places as well as in the assimilation of ideas from abroad, which became technical solutions, completely usable in the local reality, contributing to adaptation of a modern suburb environment.

During the second period, between 1950 and 1970, the transition in the state of Espírito Santo, from agro-exporting industry to the one related to big industry (Rocha e Morandi, 1991) marked a new order of development in which the port once more had a fundamental role. In the beginning of this period, the port restructured operated in Vitória's central area as a magnificent gateway for the outputting of the products of the wide hinterland, already articulated to it by the railway. Naturally it was through this channel that Vitória's contact with the world happened, receiving all kinds of news.

Although the park, the square and the *boulevard*, characterized urban Vitória in the previous period, and were still elements of prominence in the urban modernity, this modernity became more expressive by the buildings that used this ambiences and also the port as address.

While in the first moment here studied, the urban distances began to be traveled by tram, in this second period, the urban road transport is what began to have the role of reducing time and distance in traveling. In this new urban context expansion was replaced by metropolization, favoring the formation of several centers. The garden suburb studied was still on top in accordance to local urban modernity in becoming, in this second period ,a neighborhood and receiving the connotation of the new metropolitan center.

It is also noted that, the landfilling in the beginning of the second period, right by the downtown area , and in the end of this period ,in continuity of the new neighborhood, allowed in each moment the restraint of the most valuable areas to real estate interests for the construction of buildings. Consequently, this proceeding also allowed the perception of the sense of transition and later transfer of interest, from downtown to the new neighborhood. It is observed that a new port built in Vitória's continental areas, east of the new neighborhood, attracted the interest for industrial entrepreneurships. These, along the other big equipments, installed in intermediary positions, contributed for the urban infrastructure expansion. This situation, as well as the others already mentioned ,also favored the creation of a urban metropolitan structure.

Thus it is worth mentioning that although the economic functions have modified, the port stays highlighting Vitória's greatest function and naturally relating the modernity of a new era.

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ADELAIDE: THE GARDEN CITY ON STEROIDS

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ABSTRACT

Adelaide is the original garden city. Uniquely in the world its metropolitan area extends around the original settlement at a uniform low density and retains its central parkland belt. Whilst Colonel Light's original design for the square mile of Adelaide was an inspiration for Howard's garden city, over 150 years later the wider city is a massively inflated version of the garden city measuring 90 kilometres from north to south and home to 1.3 million people. It has long since outgrown the walkable, population constrained model of its founding fathers. For a century Adelaide has represented the egalitarian Australian dream of a single family home on a quarter acre block for all, irrespective of income or class. But rising house prices and the imperatives of urban sustainability now demand that the city consolidates its density, restricts further outward sprawl and shifts towards linear, public transit oriented development. A new metropolitan planning strategy presages a significant change to the urban form. However, there is significant resistance to urban consolidation particularly in the historic eastern suburbs. Many Adelaide residents perceive a threat to the garden city lifestyle in the new planning strategy. The paper addresses the implications of the planned changes and questions whether quality of life in Adelaide will be improved as a result of the new strategy. In the context of its gradual development as a spatially extensive low density garden city the 2010 Planning Strategy for Greater Adelaide is assessed. The strengths and weaknesses of the twentieth century development of Adelaide are examined against the ideas set out in the new strategy. The key questions addressed include whether it is time for a twenty first century revamp of its founding principles and whether Adelaide can and should attempt to retain its garden city heritage. Crucially, is it physically possible to redraw the map and reinvent the garden city as the sustainable city? The paper concludes that Howard's social city concept remains a valid model for a revised metropolitan planning strategy.

ADELAIDE AS THE GARDEN CITY

South Australia holds the distinction of being the only state which does not have a history blighted by the practice of transportation of convicts from Britain. It was settled in 1836 mainly by English Christian non-conformists as a conscious social experiment (Hutchings, 2007). As such it has developed a distinctive social character, a curious mix of radical and conservative and jealously guards its reputation as a deliberately planned city, a civilised place which seeks to maintain its founding standards and does not readily buy into the frenetic develop at all costs mentality of the larger Australian state capitals.

Adelaide is the original garden city. Bunker (2007) suggests that Colonel Light's original design for the square mile of Adelaide probably owes its inspiration to the ideas of TJ Maslen's 1830 *The Friend of Australia.* Its distinctive parkland belt certainly appears in that publication and Bunker further cites Matthew Davenport Hill, brother of Rowland Hill, the secretary to the Board of Colonisation Commissioners as recommending the idea of parklands as providers of both beauty

and health. Whatever its origins the distinctive square mile grid of the city, surrounded on all sides by extensive parklands has become an icon of South Australia. As the city grew this basic layout has remained intact and the grid based suburban expansion of the twentieth century mirrors the rectilinear urban core. Ebenezer Howard is cited as pointing to Adelaide as an exemplar for the development of the Social City concept, where urban expansion is achieved by leap frogging over parklands (Rockey, 1983). Entering the twentieth century the designation in 1917of the Mitcham garden suburb later named Colonel Light Gardens, some 8 kilometres south of the city re-emphasised the influence of the garden city movement as did the designation of the much larger new town of Elizabeth 27 kilometres north of the city in 1949. Beyond the square mile of the original foundation Greater Adelaide developed as the epitome of suburbia. Hutchings (2007: 41) notes that "*a key feature put forward for the colony and its capital was that its town-country mix afforded a decent alternative to the slums of the old world*". In the years between settlement and the start of the twentieth century small villages such as Unley, Mitcham, Hindmarsh and Prospect developed across the Adelaide plain. As the villages closer to the city began to coalesce, Charles Reade, appointed Adelaide's first Town Planner in 1918, presented a plan which included an outer belt of parklands some 10 kilometres distance from the CBD completely encircling the city, brushing the coast at West Beach and the foothills of the Mount Lofty ranges in the east. Hutchings (2007: 72) notes *"this second parklands ring…. obviously reflects the Social City's core and satellites that have become so familiar in town planning lore. Howard used Colonel Light's plan for Adelaide to illustrate this idea. Thus Light, influenced Howard who influenced Reade, who in turn was building upon Light's original work"*.

From a population of around 140,000 in 1900, Adelaide grew to 382,000 in the first postwar census in 1947. By this time the limits of Reade's unrealised outer parklands ring had been reached. Public transport rendered most suburbs accessible within 20 minutes of the central core. The consolidated urban area, roughly triangular in shape, measured some 20 kilometres from its base in the north to its apex in the south. Though a vastly inflated version of Howard's garden ideal city both spatially and in population, it was still capable of functioning along garden city lines. Local service centres provided for immediate needs and the journey from side to side or suburb to city, though achieved by locomotive means rather than on foot, was achievable in under an hour. Living conditions were generally good with a uniform low density of dwellings with ample public and private open space. The new city of Elizabeth was a separate entity, designed along garden city lines as a self sufficient community, which drew inspiration from the British New Towns and was clearly envisaged as a satellite after Howard's Social City model. So for the 120 years following its foundation Adelaide maintained key attributes of the garden city, accessibility, decent housing standards exemplified by low density and ample open space, social opportunity, and decent economic opportunities.

From the late 1950s onwards the interpretation of Adelaide as the garden city in anything but the form of its housing layouts begins to stretch credibility. Private car ownership was rising to the point where it facilitated commuting to work across the metropolitan area. Half the resident workforce of Elizabeth which by the early 1960s had a population of over 40,000 travelled to jobs elsewhere in metropolitan Adelaide (Forster & McCaskill, 2007: 87). As the suburban reach extended to north and south, Elizabeth became amalgamated into the greater metropolitan area and

the existing train and tram network failed to serve many of the new dormitory suburbs. The new metropolitan plan of 1962, the first attempt since Charles Reade's 1917 review, took a bold approach to addressing this trend. The new plan recognised the inevitability of Adelaide developing into the linear city of today, stretching from Gawler in the north to Aldinga in the south. At the same time it noted the predilection of Adelaide residents for low density detached dwellings (Town Planning Committee: South Australia, 1962: 125). Thus it put forward the concept of grouping new development into self- contained metropolitan districts of 80-150,000 population each with its own district centre and industrial area. These would be separated from each other by buffer strips of open land. Thus the plan sought to channel the future growth of the city, which by now had far outstripped the garden city ideal, into de facto satellite towns and reconfigure the sprawling metropolis as the social city. (Town Planning Committee: South Australia, 1962:131) Over the last 50 years these centres have consolidated but mainly as retail service centres. The global trend towards large enclosed shopping malls, generously provided with free car parking is evident in the design of all the major Adelaide regional centres at Marion, Noarlunga, Modbury, Elizabeth and West Lakes . Employment on a large scale has not followed the planned development of regional centres and the concentration of industry in Playford and Port Adelaide in the north and Lonsdale in the south, plus a widely dispersed scatter of small employment zones, means commuting is largely car based. Whilst some of the buffer strips remain visible most have been eroded or completely disappeared, swallowed by suburban housing. Despite a further strategic plan in the early 1990s which attempted to reinforce this 1960s vision for the greater metropolitan area as a hierarchy of regional centres, it has failed to materialise as intended (Bunker & Hutchings, 1996).

In 2010 Adelaide represents the garden city on steroids. It is a vast sprawl of low density dwellings which provides at the household level a form of housing which represents the garden city ideal. But the accessibility of former years is now only possible through the private motor vehicle. The CBD attracts around 30% of its daily commuters by public transport, mainly because of its central location as a destination for all train lines and many bus services. But this represents 70% of all public transport commuters in the city. Public transport usage to all other employment destinations is 5% or less (Department of Transport & Urban Planning, 2004). The median daily commute by Adelaide workers is around 7.5k whilst by public transport the median commute is 11.4 k. Services are for the most part only conveniently accessed by car and as the retail drawing power of the city and designated regional centres has consolidated, smaller centres, especially the local centres within residential areas struggle to compete and face closure.

THE 2010 PLAN

In his Forward to the consultation draft of the 2010 Plan for Greater Adelaide the State Premier Mike Rann notes that "the vision and foresight that Colonel William Light brought to his design for Adelaide- Australia's first planned city – remains a defining feature of our capital" (Government of South Australia, 2010: vi). It is a measure of the high regard in which Adelaide's first surveyor general is still held by its current citizens that Rann should choose to reassure them with such anodyne comment. But is it really possible to compare the vision of a small colonial settlement of the 1830s with the 2010 strategy for metropolitan Adelaide? The 2010 plan for Greater Adelaide, which sets a development strategy for the next 30

years to 2040 is a significant departure from all of its predecessors and clearly represents planning on a scale and complexity not capable of being envisaged by Light. To begin, its spatial extent is considerably greater than the previous Planning Strategy for Metropolitan Adelaide (Government of South Australia, 2005). The enhanced coverage of the new plan, which takes in the Fleurieu peninsula to the south, extends north into the Barossa valley and east to include the Adelaide hills region. The context for the plan is one of high projected growth. Population is forecast to grow by 560,000 over 30 years representing a 40% increase on the current metropolitan population of 1.3 million with a projected requirement for 258,000 new dwellings over the plan period. Inevitably much of this increase will be achieved through inward migration, driven by the projected economic success of the state especially in the mining, ICT and defence sectors as well as food and wine industries. The plan sets out its key objectives in terms of three broad aims namely Liveability, Competitiveness and Sustainability & Climate Change Resilience. Each of these is broadly defined as in Table 1 below.

Table 1: The Objectives of the Plan for Greater Adelaide

Liveability	Competitiveness	Sustainability & Climate Change Resilience
Spending less time in cars and having more leisure time	Attract jobs & investment	Re-engineer urban growth towards sustainability & climate change resilience
Vibrant arts, culture and sporting life	Keep people in South Australia	Massively improve water & energy efficiency
Affordable housing and living costs	Welcomes international & interstate migrants	Preserve natural environment
Urban form and design which represents best elements of past & present	Excellent education facilities	Maximise competitive advantage in renewable and clean energy

Source: Government of South Australia (2010) p56

Flowing from the Plan objectives set out above are 12 principles which seek to underpin the new urban form, respond to challenges and opportunities and achieve the three interlocking objectives. These are set out below:

1. A compact and carbon efficient city

2. Housing diversity and choice

3. Accessibility

4. Transit focused & connected city

5. World class design and vibrancy

6. Social inclusion and fairness

7. Heritage and character

8. A healthy and safe city

9. Affordable living

10. Economic growth and competitiveness

11. Climate change resilience

12. Environmental protection

Each of these principles is supported and promoted by a range of detailed policies which are designed to provide clear guidance for land use at local and regional levels. The plan states that Greater Adelaide will have "*a new, modern and efficient urban form*" but immediately follows this statement with the somewhat conflicting observation that "*the vast majority of the existing built form will remain unchanged*" (Government of South Australia, 2010:60). In practical terms this latter comment is probably correct given the inertia inherent in all urban systems. Over the next thirty years the majority of the built form of Adelaide is likely to remain much as it is today. A good deal of retrofit of existing buildings will be needed to achieve a number of the principles set out above (notably 8, 9 &11) But it is at this point that we begin to observe the inherent tension in the plan emerging. This is a plan which seeks to radically alter the form, layout and lifestyle of the Australian city, which perhaps most clearly represents the national dream of freedom space and prosperity. The vast majority of residential areas in Adelaide range between 5 and 15 dwellings per hectare (dph) net, producing a characteristic suburban landscape. International comparison of residential density on a city wide basis consistently show that Australian cities rank in the lowest quartile (Demographia, 2008) with Adelaide as the classic example. The Plan itself recognises Adelaide's relative low density when set in an international context, noting that currently average gross density is in the range 8 -11 dph. Future policy sets a standard for new transit oriented developments at 25-35 gross which is designed to "*take Greater Adelaide closer to the international standard for sustainable densities, which is 35 dph*" (Government of South Australia, 2010:65). The culture of Adelaide , perhaps more than any other major Australian city can be argued to be suburban. The plan's intentions to focus 70% of new development on infill with much of this located on upgraded public transit r corridors in order to create a transit connected city appears to threaten both the established primacy of the private family car, the availability of large suburban blocks and the apparent equality of housing provision, where to the untutored eye, it is difficult to distinguish between areas of wealth and deprivation on the basis of housing and space standards.

THE EXISTING CITY AND THE NEW PLAN

There can be no doubt that despite attempts of reassurance to the contrary the new plan, if strictly implemented over the next thirty years, will set in train policies and changes which will significantly affect the urban form and future growth of the greater Adelaide metropolitan area. The logic for bringing about such change rests on the imperatives of climate change and peak oil. The city is extremely resource inefficient, especially in respect of private car usage. A recent study reveals that the more distant suburbs on the urban fringe, which traditionally offer cheaper house prices are vulnerable to rising oil prices (Dodson & Sipe, 2008:32) and the Plan notes increasing strain on energy and water resources (Government of South Australia, 2010:44). The consultation stage of the plan elicited over 500 submissions from individuals, local councils and the private sector. Many of these were supportive of the need for the plan and its broad intentions, but there was significant criticism on a number of grounds. This paper confines itself to reporting the consultation process in respect of those aspects which are perceived to be relevant to Adelaide's garden city stature and which made positive suggestions relevant to re-establishing the garden city principles

which were so evident for much of Adelaide's history. A number of representations on the plan address the projected 70/30% split between infill and suburban fringe residential development. Compared to other Australian metropolitan strategies which mostly settle on a 60/40% split (Hamnett & Kellett, 2007), this target may appear ambitious, but the observation contained in the plan that this apportionment of development is a long term goal with an early years concentration on fringe development allied to a 15 year land bank allocation is suggested by some observers as a licence for continued sprawl (City of West Torrens Council, 2010). A fundamental lack of ambition in terms of transport infrastructure links (Adelaide Hills Council, 2010), the lack of existing or proposed links between regional centres (Tea Tree Gully Council, 2010) and a range of problems related to the intensification of transit corridors instead of nodes (City of Marion Council, 2010) are also common themes. Hutchings (2010) also notes the apparent disregard of neighbourhood planning principles resulting from the plans espousal of the concept of super schools which will increase the commuting distance for school children across the metropolitan area.

Given the diversity of opinion regarding the provisions of the new plan it is a useful exercise to attempt to evaluate the two cities, the present day Adelaide and the possible future Adelaide of the new plan. The first step in this process is to use the plan's objectives and the results of the public consultation process on the plan's provisions to identify likely trends and outcomes. This analysis is set out in Table 2 below.

Table 2: The two cities compared against the Plan Objectives

	Adelaide 2010	Adelaide 2040
A compact and carbon efficient city	NO	Improved
Housing diversity and choice	NO	YES
Accessibility	Predominantly by car	Improved modal choice
Transit focused & connected city	NO	Improved
World class design and vibrancy	NO	?
Social inclusion and fairness	YES	Diminished
Heritage and character	YES	?
A healthy and safe city	YES	YES
Affordable living	Moderate	?
Economic growth and competitiveness	YES	?
Climate change resilience	NO	Improved
Environmental protection	?	?

This initial analysis demonstrates that the implementation of the new plan is likely to diversify the housing stock and provide more choice. The future city may also demonstrate a trend to be more compact and carbon efficient, but given the inertia inherent in all urban systems it is unlikely to be dramatically less energy hungry than it is now. This observation is not made as an argument against pursuing this policy aim. The planned improvements to the transport infrastructure should also improve accessibility and allow greater modal choice. However the infrastructure improvements will predominantly give better access to the city centre and are likely do little to improve inter suburban journeys or fundamentally improve access to regional centres. The issues of promoting a trend towards world class design and heritage and environmental protection are positive aims of the new plan but are neither highly dependant on its fundamental principles of liveability, competitiveness and sustainability, nor are they capable of prediction. Indeed many of the consultation comments on the new plan argued that the

consolidation of urban density is likely to be prejudicial to the retention of heritage. More problematic are economic growth, social inclusion and affordability. Whilst the plan can exercise some influence over these aspects they are likely to be much more powerfully affected by global economic trends, federal government policies on issues such as immigration and taxation and inter state rivalries.

TWENTY FIRST CENTURY MAGNETS

In the same way that Howard used his celebrated three magnets diagram to identify the strengths and weaknesses of town and country, before suggesting the possibility of a third and more attractive magnet, the next step in this analysis is to take the results of Table 2 which tabulate the relative strengths and weaknesses of two magnets and postulate the possibility of a third more effective magnet. If modern day Adelaide can be viewed as a vastly inflated version of the garden city, the garden city on steroids, containing some elements of the original form of the garden city but now lacking its functionality (magnet 1), and the Adelaide portrayed in the new plan represents a twenty first century variant on the existing city redesigned to be less car dependant and resource intensive (magnet 2), is there a an alternative which represents a better, even more attractive solution? Specifically, can the new plan retain the cherished attributes of Adelaide's environment, namely its low density garden city type housing and heritage interest that in many citizens' minds set it apart from most other cities in the world, whilst reviving the other key garden city characteristics of accessibility social and economic opportunity which held good for the first 120 years of the city's existence. And can it achieve these ends whilst addressing the key twenty first century concerns of sustainability and climate protection? In essence is it physically possible to redraw the map and reinvent the garden city as the sustainable city? The analysis of these questions (see Table 3) is best achieved using the consultation review of the plan's policies to interrogate its robustness.

Table 3: Adelaide 2040, Citizen Response and the Garden City Ideal

	Adelaide 2040	Consultation response	The Sustainable 21st century Garden City Ideal
A compact and carbon efficient city	Improved	Concern	YES
Housing diversity and choice	YES	Positive	YES
Accessibility	Improved modal choice	Positive	YES
Transit focused & connected city	Improved	Positive	YES
World class design and vibrancy	?	?	?
Social inclusion and fairness	Diminished	Concern	YES
Heritage and character	?	Concern	?
A healthy and safe city	YES	Concern	YES
Affordable living	?	Concern	YES
Economic growth and competitiveness	?	?	YES
Climate change resilience	Improved	?	YES
Environmental protection	?	Concern	YES

An ideal city for the twenty first century which encompasses both the defining characteristics of the garden city ideal and performs in a more sustainable, less environmentally harmful and less resource intensive manner than twentieth century urban areas would likely display many of the characteristics set out in Table 3, column 1, which represents the key objectives of the new plan for Adelaide. Column 3 confirms these attributes but raises doubts about the necessity, likelihood and inclusion in this ideal of two particular objectives, namely *world class design and vibrancy* and *heritage and character.* Neither are viewed in the current analysis as key components of either the original garden city ideal or as vital to future sustainability, desirable though they may both be to future quality of urban life. Thus column 3 represents the desirable third magnet, an ideal expressed more in terms of performance than form, as befits a twenty first century analysis which seeks a vision of an ideal city. Column 2 attempts to summarise the majority view expressed by respondents to the consultation process on the new plan. This sheds doubt on the potential of the new plan to attain the ideals expressed in column 3 for a range of reasons that are worthy of further comment. For present day Adelaide to become compact and carbon efficient, both a significant overall residential density increase and a switch from everyday reliance on the private car to public transit are seen as required prerequisites. The plan's envisaged transit corridors appear insufficient in themselves to achieve change on the scale required. Many of the envisaged transit corridors remain essentially road based. Whilst these corridors may encourage a higher incidence of bus trips, they are likely to continue as major arterials for car borne commuters. The distribution of employment opportunities remains heavily skewed towards the City of Adelaide (The original square mile as set out by Colonel Light) and a small number of other local government areas such as Port Adelaide Enfield and Salisbury in the northern metropolitan area, with large numbers commuting necessarily by car between suburban local government areas because of the lack of current (and planned) inter suburb area public transit links (Department of Transport & Urban Planning, 2004). Council areas such as Onkaparinga in the south and Tea Tree Gully in the North display a marked population to jobs imbalance with large numbers of outgoing daily commuters. Accessibility is no doubt improved in the new plan, but not sufficiently to merit the garden city characteristic claims that Adelaide could justifiably make in the 1950s before it physically outgrew its transit infrastructure. It is likely to remain car focused, albeit with an improved ridership on the upgraded tram and train network with some of this ridership resulting from higher residential densities in the transit corridors. But this density consolidation too is problematic. It is often cited in the consultation responses to the plan as an issue in terms of loss of amenity and heritage, worsening air pollution and increasing social division. That the new transit format and associated residential intensification will increase housing choice and shift the city away from a preponderance of 3-4 bedroomed detached family homes is likely and probably to be welcomed as the demographics shift towards smaller households, but the affordability of these dwellings remains questionable, as multi storey forms increase and land values from urban consolidation escalate. So issues of social inclusion and access to housing and facilities remain a central concern for many objectors to the plan. The fundamental issue which is the subject of substantial adverse comment on the plan is the concentration on transit corridors most of which link suburbs with the city centre. Apart from the paucity of transit corridors which rely on non road based travel, the lack of inter suburban transit links implies that most public transit trips will require a journey into the CBD and then out

again. Faced with this choice many commuters are likely to remain faithful to their cars.

But could the Sustainable 21st century Garden City Ideal be achieved given the current steroid fuelled situation? It was suggested above that the key attributes of the garden city are accessibility, decent housing standards exemplified by low density and ample open space, social opportunity, and decent economic opportunities. Add to these the twenty first century imperatives of sustainability and climate resilience and it could seem that the 1826 square kilometres of Adelaide housing only 1.3 million people is a poor starting point. But many of the basic building blocks and attributes are already in place. A radial network of public transit exists. Quality of life as defined by housing density and open space provision is high. Social and economic opportunity is not as even as it could be, but compared to many other cities Adelaide cannot be considered a serious problem case. Improving accessibility in a way that significantly reduces, firstly the need to travel and secondly, the attraction of travelling by car, seems to be the key to unlocking the potential offered by the existing city. But in choosing the corridor approach to solving this problem the State government may be guilty of a serious miscalculation. This approach contrasts with the previous strategy of attempting to define and reinforce regional centres within the metropolitan area. The better solution may lie more readily in Howard's social city concept. Both the 1962 and 1990 metropolitan strategies attempted to build on this strategy. Neither were wholly successful, but that is not a reason to switch tack at this point. The social city network exists in the form of the existing CBD and the designated regional centres at Noarlunga, Marion, Elizabeth, Modbury and West Lakes and there is potential for additional centres as population increases, principally at Gawler, and Mount Barker. These need to be the focus of policy which strengthens both their service attributes and particularly their employment focus. They should also be the main areas for consolidation of density and diversity of housing opportunity, including affordable housing. Crucially the metropolitan transit infrastructure network needs to be augmented to link these to each other without the necessity for a journey through the CBD. This significant but straightforward approach could re-establish the garden city qualities of Adelaide, which every public consultation on a major new strategy has shown are its citizens' prime concern, whilst adapting the city to meet the challenges of the current century. An effectively networked hierarchical system of regional centres with good quality pubic transit links between them would provide the basic framework. Greater emphasis on concentrating industry and employment in close proximity to these centres would reduce the need for inter suburban travel by car and in some instances allow walking and cycling to work. A renewed focus on the neighbourhood as service provider, clustering a hierarchy of smaller centres around each regional node with a modest increase in residential density resulting largely from the provision of a greater share of smaller housing units to balance the current over supply of family homes complete the strategy. The third magnet is achievable but it remains in stark contract to both the existing city and that envisaged in the new 30 year plan for Adelaide

CONCLUSION

As one of the primary international examples of the garden city Adelaide has developed a reputation as a good place to live. Its low density suburbs and planned structure are regarded by its citizens as its key strength. As the metropolitan area

outgrew its garden city origins it has become an inflated parody of its founder's original intentions, highly reliant on the private car, inadequately serviced by public transit and profligate in its resource demands on its environment. The 2010 30 Year Plan for Greater Adelaide seeks to alter the city's structure, focussing on intensified public transit corridors with numerous transit oriented developments along these. Further corridors of intensification are envisaged along existing arterial routes. A comparison of the existing city with the city envisaged in this plan, incorporating a critique derived from public representations made on the plan, suggests that neither offers a satisfactory future which addresses the key concerns of low density sprawl, social isolation, resource intensity and climate change adaptation. Following the garden city model of three magnets, an alternative, largely derived from the strategies of the 1962 and 1992 plans, is presented. It is argued that this model, investing resources and policy on a networked city of regional centres, following Howard's social city model, is capable of retaining the low density lifestyle so valued by many of its citizens, whilst also addressing changing demographics, reducing car dependency, improving social connections and adapting to a climate threatened future.

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RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRANSFORMATION OF CIVIC CENTER AND RECLAMATION OF MOAT IN CASE OF 7 CITIES BASED ON JAPANESE CASTLE-TOWNS

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to clarify how to form civic center and how to break castles in the castle districts from the Meiji era to the present day, analyzing cases of 7 prefectural capital cities of the Chubu region based on Japanese castle-towns where civic center was formed in the castle districts in the present day. Findings are as follows. First, about reclaimed rate of moat, average reclaimed rate of moat is 28.6% (1910), 52.7%(1940), 74.0%(1970) and 69.1%(2000). Second, as a result of analyzing changes of land use, as time goes on, ratios of cultural facilities and educational facilities are higher. I mention specially that there is a great difference after that whether land use of the castle districts in 1910 is military installations or private land. That is to say, if land use of the castle districts in 1910 is military installations, reclaimed rate of moat is low and land use of the ruins of a castle is cultural facilities and educational facilities, and if land use is private land, reclaimed rate of moat is high and land use of the ruins of a castle is private land. Third, as a result of analyzing area of civic center, area of civic center was expanding after World War II. Fourth,there are two turning points from feudal space to modern space.

INTRODUCTION

In the early Meiji era (about 1870) in Japan, government and municipal offices were built one after another in prefectural capital cities by "abolition of the Han system". Many Japanese castle-towns were selected as prefectural capital cities. In the castle districts of Japanese Castle-Towns, government and municipal offices gathered each other to form civic center, and castles were broken at the same time. After World War II, People were interested in protection of cultural properties, and the ruins of a castle were recognized as precious cultural properties. After this it is important to face urban renewal as to harmonize with civic center and the ruins of a castle.

This paper aims to clarify how to form civic center and how to break castles in the castle districts from the Meiji era to the present day, analyzing cases of 7 prefectural capital cities of the Chubu region based on Japanese castle-towns where civic centers were formed in the castle districts in the present day (Figure 1). Castle district in this paper is defined as "castle and samurai district where are enclosed by natural features such as river and mountain, and man-made features such as moat and earthwork fortification" and civic center as "public districts where public facilities such as city offices, prefectural offices, libraries and parks, were concentrated ". I pay attention to reclaimed rate of moat as the state of broken castles. Yamori K. (1978) analyzes how to use sites of castles after Meiji era about some case studies. Yoshimura T. (1990,1991) pay attention to water areas and

analyzes transformation of them in castle cities. I analyze change of moats and surroundings by numerical and diagrammatical analysis.

About method of study, first I draw castle district maps by city maps of four periods (table 1), and I calculate reclaimed rate of moat of each four periods (1910,1940,1970,2000). Second, I measure area of military installations, government and municipal offices, cultural facilities, educational facilities, private lands and roads in the castle districts to grasp changes of land use. Third, I measure area of civic center of each four period in the castle districts to grasp changing process of civic center.

Figure 1: The location of case study cities

Table 1: List of materials to draw maps

	circa 1850	circa 1910	circa 1940	circa 1970	circa 2000
Kofu	Kaihou Kofu Ezu	Revised map of Kofu	Map of Kofu	Detailed map of Kofu	
	1849	1902	1940	1966	
	owned by Yamanashi Prefectural Library	*1	*2	*3	
Shizuoka	Sunpu and environs map	Detailed map of Shizuoka	Detailed map of urban area in Shizuoka	Detailed map of Shizuoka	
	1868	1903	1938	1966	
	owner unknown	*1	*2	*3	
Toyama	Toyama castle map	The newest complete map of Toyama	The complete map of Toyama	Detailed map of Toyama	
	1831	1908	1936	1966	
	owned by Toyama Municipal History Museum	*1	*2	*3	
Kanazawa	Map of Kanazawa	The complete map of Kanazawa	The map of urban area in Kanazawa	Detailed map of Kanazawa	Google map 2007 *4
	1828	1898	1937	1966	
	owned by Toyama Susumu Nanpo	*1	*2	*3	
Fukui	Fukui castle map	The map of Fukui	The map of urban area in Fukui	Detailed map of Fukui	
	1865-1868	1908	1933	1966	
	owned by Fukui Prefectural Library	*1	*2	*3	
Nagoya	Map of Nagoya and Atsuta	The surveyed Map of Nagoya and Atsuta	The complete map of Nagoya	The complete map of Nagoya	
	middle of 18 century	1896	1940	1966	
	owned by Tokugawa Museum	*1	*2	*3	
Tsu	Toutsu castle map	The newest complete map of Tsu	The ground plan of Tsu and environs	Detailed map of Tsu	
	Last of Edo period	1918	1931	1966	
	owned by Keio University Library	*1	*2	*3	

*1 The source : "Compilation of Japanese city map in Meiji and Taisho era" (1986),Kashiwashobo Publishing Co., Ltd
*2 The source : "Compilation of Japanese city map in early Showa era" (1986),Kashiwashobo Publishing Co., Ltd
*3 The source : "Catalogue of Japanese city map- a part of prefectural capital cities" (1966),Jinbu-nsha Publishing Co., Ltd
*4 The source : http://maps.google.co.jp/

RECLAIMED RATE OF MOAT

Average reclaimed rate of moat is 28.6% (1910), 52.7%(1940), 74.0%(1970) and 69.1%(2000)(figure 2). At present, there are two cities (Shizuoka and Nagoya) where many moats are kept (reclaimed rates of moat are below 50.0%) and five cities (Tsu, Kanazawa, Toyama, Fukui and Kofu) where many moats are broken (reclaimed rate of moat are more than 70.0%). In Nagoya, reclaimed rate of moat in 2000 are smaller than 1970. Because Seto electric railway that run along outside moat was abolished in 1976, and outside moat was preserved now.

About reclaimed time of moats, there are 5/7 cities where moats were reclaimed in 1910. As to two cities where moats were not reclaimed in 1910, moats were reclaimed between 1940-1970 in Nagoya, and between 1940-1970 in Kanazawa. There are 6/7 cities where inside moats are kept in 2000. In Shizuoka where inside moat was reclaimed in 2000, inside moat was reclaimed in putting military installation in 1896, but middle moat that is located at the edge of military installation is kept in 2000. From these results, inside moats tend to be kept.

Kanazawa is the only not afflicted city in 7 case study cities. In Kanazawa, 100 kens of moats were reclaimed in the end of the Meiji Period (about 1910), Swan moat and Harpoon moat were reclaimed in the beginning of the Showa Period (about 1930). These moats were changed to roads. Reclaimed rate of moat in 2000 is 76.9% in Kanazawa and are below 50.0% in Shizuoka and Nagoya. From these results, we can't mention that afflicted or not have influence on reclaimed rate of moats.
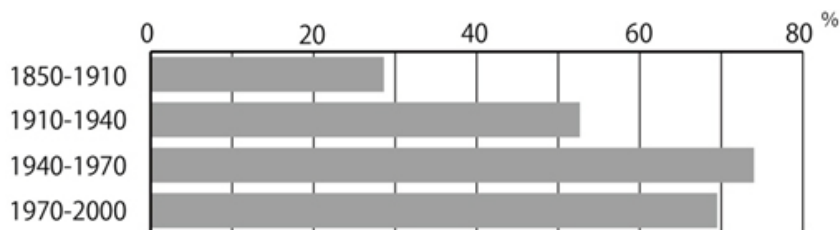
Figure 2: Reclaimed rate of moat (average of 7 cities)

TRANSFORMATION OF LAND USE IN CASTLE DISTRICTS

In 1910 and 1940, high ratio of land use was military installation (25.7%), private land (26.1%)(figure 3). In 1970 composition of land use was changed and increasing land use were public facilities (47.3%). As a result of analyzing breakdown of public facilities from 1970 to 2000, ratio of cultural facilities is rise (31.7%) and educational facilities is fall off (figure 4). Ratio of roads is increasing steadily between 1910-2000.

The trend of land use change are different between 3 cities where main land use was military installation in 1910 (Shizuoka, Nagoya and Kanazawa, I call military installation type) and 4 cities where main land use were private lands in 1910 (Kofu, Fukui, Toyama and Tsu, I call private land type) (figure 5,6). In military installation type, main land use changes to public facilities from military installation in 1970. Many military installations were established first of all in castle districts where there were vast lands at the center of cities. Because

necessary castles as military installation were kept and the others were abolished and controlled by the Ministry of Finance by "castle abolition law" in 1873. In castle districts in military installation type, many moat were not reclaimed. Military installations made use of closing character to protect military secrets. On the other hand, in private land type, main land use is private land from 1910 to 2000. There are 3/4 cities in private land type where ratios of cultural facilities are increasing from 1940-1970. From these results, castle districts are changed from closed to open.

As the result I analyze land use of the site of moats, ratio of private land was decreasing (51.4%(1910), 41.7%(1940), 20.0%(1970)) (figure 7). Conversely, ratio of public facilities was increasing (5.9%(1910), 17.4%(1940), 56.7%(1970)).

There are 6/7 cities where ratios of civic center were increasing from 1940-1970 and there are 5/6 cities among them where the ruins of castles were changed to parks. Military installations were changed to public facilities in all 3 cities of military installation type.
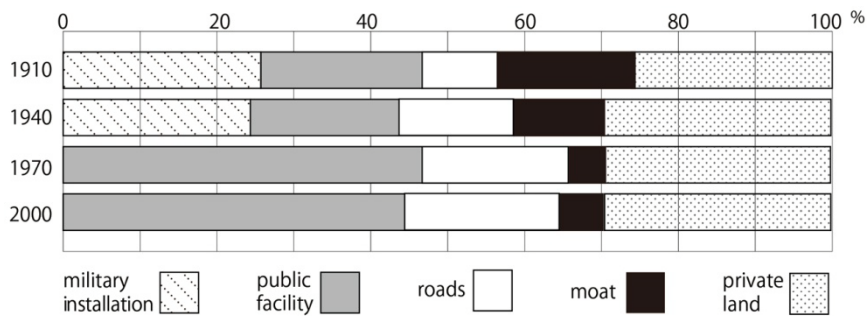

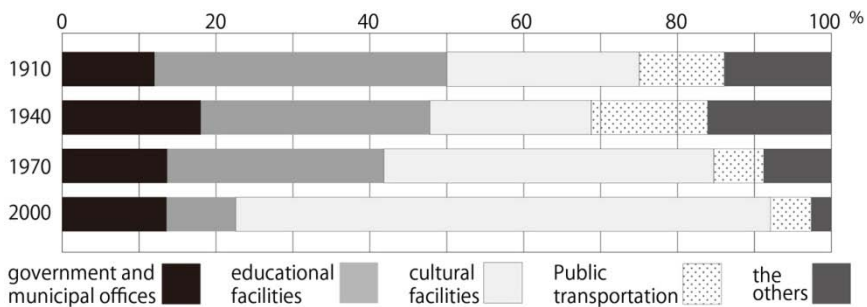*Figure 3: Land use in castle districts (average of 7 cities)*

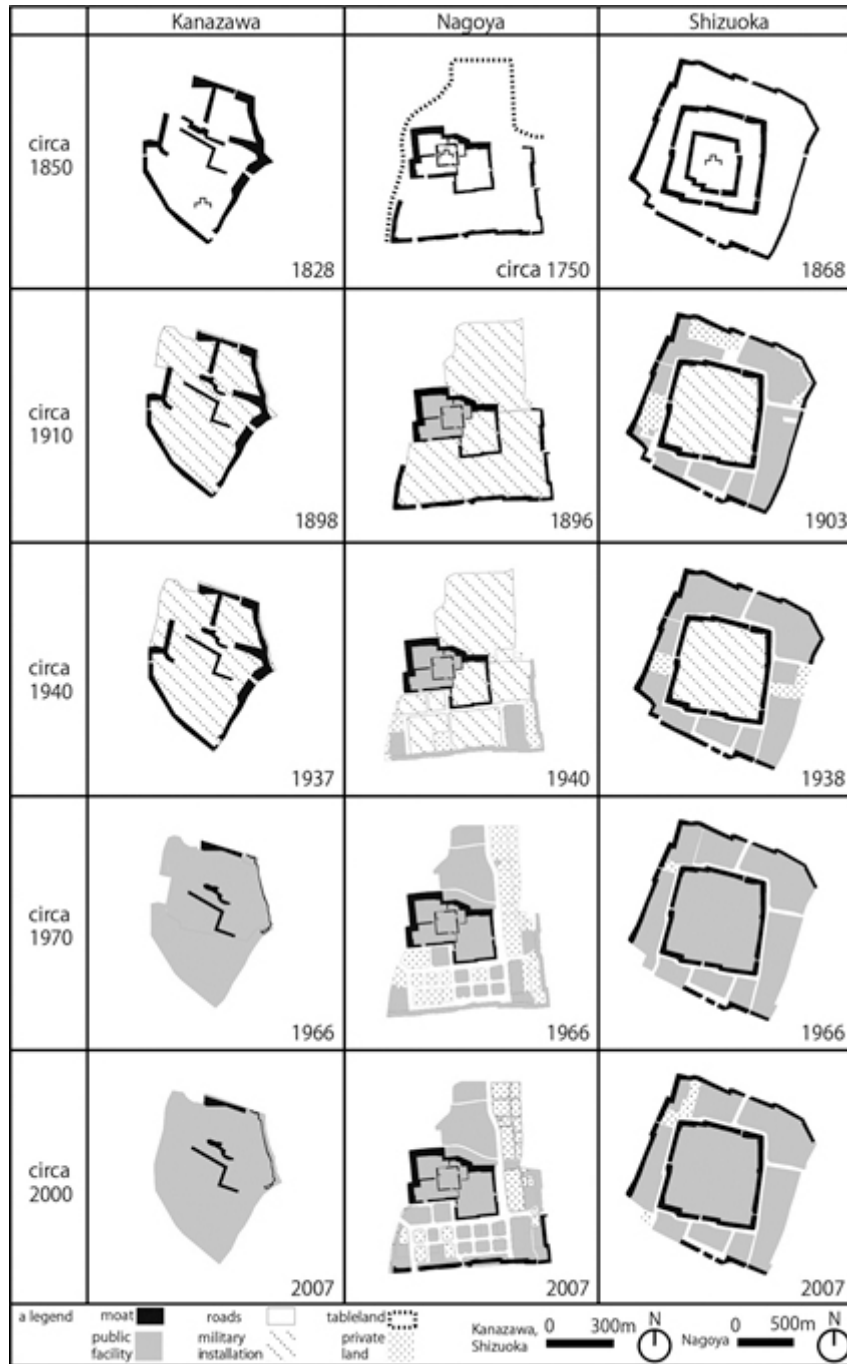*Figure 4: Breakdown of public facilities (average of 7 cities)*

Figure 5: Transformation of land use in military installation type cities
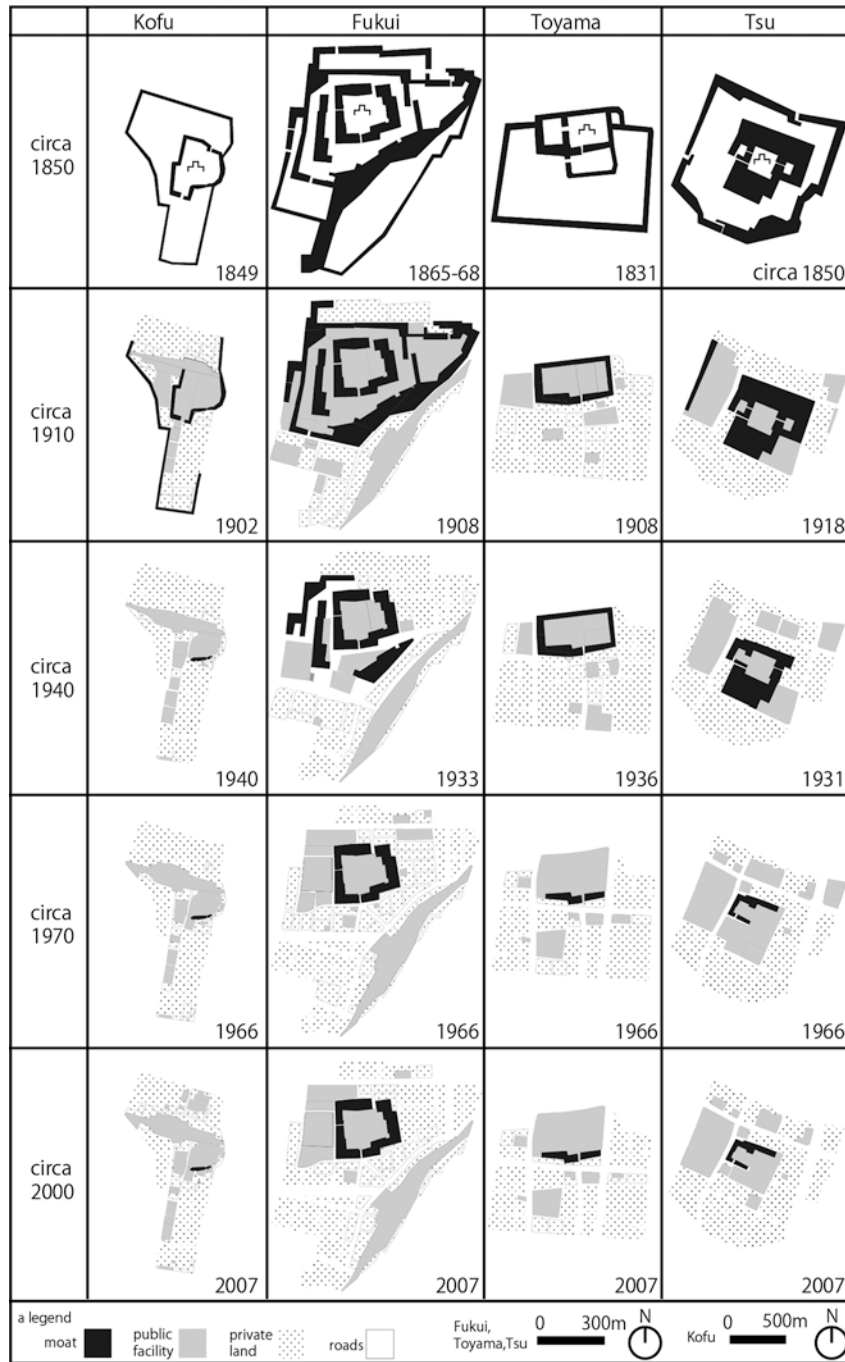
Figure 6: Transformation of land use in private land type cities
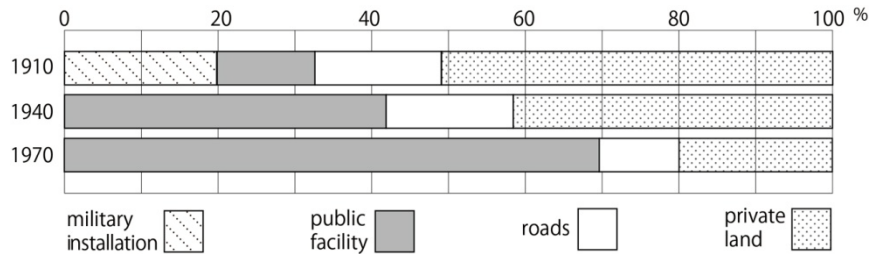
Figure 7: Land use of the site of moats (average of 7 cities)

CONCLUSION

Findings are as follows.

First, about reclaimed rate of moat, average reclaimed rate of moat is 28.6% (1910), 52.7%(1940) ,74.0%(1970) and 69.1%(2000). At present, there are two cities (Shizuoka and Nagoya) where many moats are kept (reclaimed rate of moat is below 50.0%) and five cities (Tsu, Kanazawa, Toyama, Fukui and Kofu) where many moats are broken (reclaimed rate of moat is more than 70.0%).

Second, as a result of analyzing changes of land use, as time goes on, ratios of cultural facilities and educational facilities are higher. I mention specially that there is a great difference after that whether land use of the castle districts in 1910 is military installations or private land. That is to say, if land use of the castle districts in 1910 is military installations, reclaimed rate of moat is low and land use of the ruins of a castle is cultural facilities and educational facilities, and if land use is private land, reclaimed rate of moat is high and land use of the ruins of a castle is private land. Further more; in the cities where reclaimed rate of moat is high, civic center was formed taking advantage of constructing cultural facilities and educational facilities at 1970.

Third, as a result of analyzing area of civic center, area of civic center was expanding after World War II.

Fourth,there are two turning points from feudal space to modern space. First turning point is Meiji and Taisho era after abolition of the Han system. In Meiji and Taisho era, many moats were reclaimed, and castles were changed to military installations, public facilities and private lands. Second turning point is 1970 after World War II. After World War II, military installations were changed to public facilities such as cultural facilities and educational facilities and many moats were reclaimed.

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TRANSFORMATION OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY URBAN FABRIC IN ISTANBUL'S HISTORICAL PENINSULA: STORARI GRID LAYOUTS

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ABSTRACT

Urban transformation in the nineteenth century Istanbul is under the effects of westernization. Westernization was the modernization project of the Ottoman government. It begins with the declaration of Tanzimat (Ottoman Reform) in 1839 and spreads to lots of fields of the society. Urban planning decisions and the architecture of the period were also affected from the Tanzimat project by referring to western urban planning models – grid and radial plan – and architecture. Many foreign engineers and architects were invited to the Capital for applying the new planning models commonly after the great fires occurred in the Historical Peninsula. Luigi Storari was one of them who became known with application of first grid layouts and subdivision systems in the urban fabric of Istanbul. His grid layouts had different characteristics than others, which applied after him. Regions such as Aksaray, Imrahor, Salma Tomruk, Küçük Mustafa Paşa and Boyacıköy have certain typo-morphological features in its own: grid layout, the square with the beveled corners and the widened main arteries. This study will focus on the morphological characteristics of the Storari grid layouts in the Historical Peninsula.

INTRODUCTION

Eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are known as westernization periods in Ottoman Empire. Steps taken in this regard loomed large in many areas. The most important of these steps were taken on urban planning. This attempt was reorganization of complex urban fabric of Istanbul in accordance with rational principles as parallel to the changes in the structure of the state. Small and great fires occurred in these centuries also enabled realization of new planning models. This study focuses on both the morphological characteristics of Storari layouts, which represents the beginning of the grid-planning models implemented after the fires mainly in historical peninsula in Istanbul as a part of westernization project and his difference in approaches to the grid plan.

URBAN PLANNING TRADITIONS IN WESTERNIZATION PERIOD

Tanzimat period, declared in 1839, was the beginning of westernization movement in the Ottoman Empire. The main principles of the process called Ottoman Reform focused on secular law, systematization, control and central government (Çelik, 1996). The impacts of the movement proposed radical changes not only in juridical field but also in economic, military, educational and industrialization fields. The

Tanzimat was the end of pre-industrial era for Ottoman, even though the effects were felt predominantly in Istanbul (Kuban, 1996).

Centralist modern paradigm, which was created by the Reforms, denoted itself in two ways concerning the reorganization of urban space: The first was related with administrative decisions on urban issues, could not be made by qadis (an Islamic judge). Thus, by moving beyond the boundaries of religious jurisdiction, decisions on urban planning were taken centrally by municipalities (Kuban, 1996).

The second contribution was application of the Western planning models. Mustafa Reşit Pasha, who visited London in 1836, underlined the need to comply with these models because of its scientific and geometric layout (Ortaylı, 1985). The observations of Ottoman ambassadors who had stayed in Europe in eighteenth century before Mustafa Reşit Pasha were also full of emphasis about the cities with the grid plans, large and tree-lined streets and high buildings (Yerasimos, 1999).

Geometric order almost was the dominant planning system in all-modern capitals of Europe. The new arrangements of Haussmann had attracted great attention in the Napoleon Paris. Haussmann's practiced design was the radial plan in Paris and it was a model for other countries (Ardaman, 2007). Therefore, there were two models of urban planning in nineteenth century in Istanbul: *Grid and radial planning system.*

The great fires in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries provided a basis for western planning models. There were ninety fires between 1701-1800, some of them were huge fires from Haliç to Marmara coastline, ten thousands of houses destroyed in these fires. Buildings made by timber and barracks seemed to be directly related with the fires (Yerasimos, 1996). George Wheler mentioned the "small and ruined houses most of timber and soil" in the early 18th century. Pertusier's observation was the same even a century later: "All the houses of Istanbul is ruined, stone wall rises five-foot on a base and a wooden structure not more than two floors being put onto stone wall. All the houses in the same height and their roofs aligned" (Pertusier, 1820).

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, spatial structure of the city was the same: consisting of timber houses built very closely and full of many cul-de-sacs. 1/25000-scaled map drawn by engineer Kauffer in 1776, member of the French Embassy in Istanbul, exhibits this complex street pattern – neighborhood structure with cul-de-sacs (Ayverdi, 1978). The planning activities in nineteenth century were mostly focusing on improvement of the streets. According to certificate of 17 May 1839, a new urban plan was created and timber buildings without "drawings" were prohibited in Istanbul. This plan declared that the new roads as major arteries would be 15.20-meter width and planted, pavements would be 3.04-meter width and 9.12-meter width road would be for the horses and cars. The other roads would be 11.40, 9.12 and at least 7.60 meter width and cul-de-sacs never be made. In consideration of heavy charge on the budget, it was decided that the new buildings and roads would be built primarily in the post-fire areas (Yerasimos, 1996). These suggested ideas inevitably reminds of Haussmann's works in Paris.

Planning in the post-fire areas was the grid plan. Explicitly, the grid plan turned into a model, which was implemented in the new settling areas. It can be seen on the maps made at the end of the nineteenth and in the early twentieth century that the old urban fabric was broken with the grid planning in patches. The grid meant geometry and order due to its orthogonal structure and was assumed as a

reflection of the central government. It also meant approaching to blocks from all directions and fire fighting easily to possible fires. Italian engineer Luigi Storari planned the first grid subdivision in 1856 after a fire in Aksaray, which occurred in 1854 – 748 buildings were destroyed. In 1848-49, Ebniye Nizamnameleri –The Building Regulations, were better than the receipt of 1839 on reorganization of the post-fire areas. A fire in Hocapaşa in 1864 was the greatest one with which the Ottoman faced and it caused to burn very large area ranges from Haliç (Golden Horn) to the Marmara Sea. The fire enabled renewal of administrative center and implementation of Ebniye and Turuk Nizamnameleri in 1863 – The Building and The Road Regulation. The roads in this area were widened and the use of masonry system regarded in buildings (Tekeli, 1999).

The grid plan was also implemented in small-scale fires occurred out of the main arteries like Aksaray and Hocapaşa. After the fires in Ayvansaray of 1861 and in Samatya of 1866 the grid plan was also applied. Designing of Samatya was described "with chessboard style, a good example for the best designed countries in the world" in Rehabilitation of Roads Commission's 1868 Report (Çelik, 1996). The grid plan was the model for the post-fire areas in Salma Tomruk, Imrahor, Kucuk Mustafa Pahsa and Balat regions as well. Application of the grid in these areas was not perfect due to topography, the size of land in pre-fired and property rights.

The areas in which the *radial plan* was applied were lesser than the grid ones. The plan was used in landscape design such as parks, new developing and post-fire areas. This planning could not create a systematic hierarchy in urban space due to the fact that it had not clear rules in practice, the number of the roads – five or seven – meeting in the centre seemed to be arbitrary. "The applied examples of the radial plan did not convey the sense of having a centre and also their main spaces were not literally square although many were given that name" (Ardaman, 2007).

Şişhane Square (1865) is one of the important squares, which was designed with radial plan method. Although its situation on a steep slope which causes perceptual problems, one of the street of the square arrives at the Sixth Division which is one of the symbol municipalities in westernization period (Ardaman, 2007). The square has lost his form today due to the changes in road network. A similar application is in the intersection of Kazancı Slope and Mebusan Slope. The radial planning, implemented in 1910 after a fire, was situated on a steep slope, thus it doesn't give the sense of centre. After a fire of 1870, which destroyed more than 300 houses in Pera, a radial planning was produced comprising the area between the British Embassy and Taksim (Figure 1). This plan was containing a large square in the centre and some of the streets were designed in a radial method. But this plan has never been applied (Kuban, 1996). According to Ardaman, the reason was not topography but the inhabitants' objection to the plan. Because, a lot of landowners who live near the centre would lose too much space. Instead of the radial plan, the grid one was applied in this area again (Ardaman, 2007).

Grid planning system left its mark on Capital's urban fabric in the nineteenth century. The plan vindicated the rights of the owners better and ensured a standard order. That's why it was appropriated easily. The radial planning did not find much range of application but the grid plan had been kept in the twentieth century and in the new settlement areas. The first application of the grid plan was the planning of Luigi Storari after a fire in Aksaray. He applied this model in

Imrahor, Salma Tomruk, Küçük Mustafa Pasha and **Boyacıköy** in the Bosphorus. Although, most of them are post-fire applications, **Boyacıköy** is a new settlement.
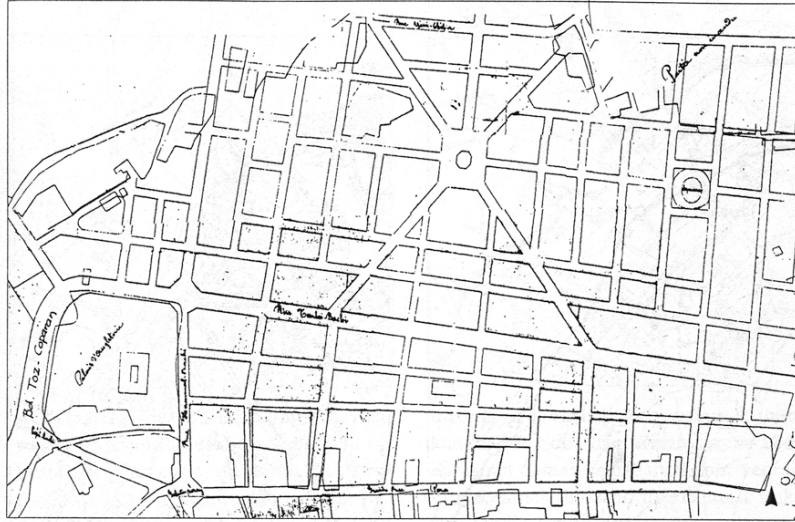
Figure 1. Radial plan project comprise from British Embassy to Taksim in Pera (Çelik, 1996)

LUIGI STORARI AND THE GRID LAYOUTS

Luigi Storari is known as a first engineer who planned the first grid layout after Aksaray conflagration in 1856 (Çelik, 1996). By his efforts first subdivision system has appeared in the city of Istanbul. Indeed, subdivision phenomenon was the major instrument that reshaped the urban fabric of the Ottoman Capital and the other cities from nineteenth century to the end of the Empire (Yerasimos, 1995).

Luigi Storari who was born in 1822, arrived to Smyrna (Izmir) in March 1850 from Corfu. In 1851 he applied to French Embassy to go to Istanbul and stayed in the city from April 1851 to the May of 1854. Due to inadequate knowledge about the cadastral system in Ottoman Empire, he prepared the detailed map of Smyrna at 1/5000 scale between 1854 and 1856. He published the map in 1856 in Paris dedicating to the Sultan Abdülmecit. One year later he also published a guide accompanied to the map in Turin. After his success in Smyrna, he was invited to the Capital to realize the first subdivision plan after a fire. The subdivision based on grid layout for Aksaray region was prepared in 1855 but related statements about plan were published in 1856 in Journal de Constantinople. (Yerasimos, 1995).

In the conflagration areas subdivision works certainly have a number of rules. Absences of any plot plan information before the fire, properties could be distributed according to pre-fired existing condition. But the potentials for the subdivision activity in the city blocks were limited. There was no way for engineers to draw a plot within blocks, but they could distribute parts of the islets to former owners in proportion to their size earlier, and taking into account the privileges they had in the old tissue: frontage, position angle, or even provision of a well in the garden (Yerasimos, 1995)

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One remarkable characteristic in the grid layouts is related with the typology of them. Widening the main streets that are connected to the existing ones and beveling the corners of the junction of the main arteries – like in many Roman grid layouts – by creating a kind of square are the distinctive properties of the subdivision planning. He used this typology also in five other grids planning in the capital city. The grid planning initiated by Storari, had spread to other neighborhoods of the city: Aksaray Horhor, Fatih Kıztaşı, Beşiktaş Old Market Square, in the Anatolian side, Kadıköy Old Market area and Yeldeğirmeni region.

THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE STORARI LAYOUTS

The first grid plan application by Storari is for Aksaray settlement in 1856. A big fire in 1854 had destroyed more than seven hundred buildings in Aksaray. This was the "major turning point in the history of the Istanbul's urban form" (Çelik, 1990). In Storari's plan, north-south – from Unkapanı to Yenikapı – and east-west directions – from Beyazıt Square to Topkapı, which is the continuation of the Divanyolu – were connected to each other and widened as main arteries (Figure 2). Intersection of arteries also forms Aksaray Square that was known in Byzantium time as Bovis Forum. Storari emphasized the connection of the arteries and beveled the corners of the crossroads that turns it to the octagonal shape. This also accentuated the importance of the Aksaray Square that's why are described as "belle place" in January 1856 by the Journal de Constantinople (Çelik 1990). Roads constitute four edge of the octagonal shape but in the other edges buildings are taken place. Together with the Storari plan many cul-de-sacs in the environment are eliminated.

Figure 2. Changing morphology of Aksaray Square between 1850-1870. First map shows the pre-fired area of Aksaray (Mühendishane-I Berri-i Hümayun, 1847), (Kayra, 1990); Second map shows the post-fired condition of Aksaray with the grid layout (Ayverdi, 1978).

Another district with grid plan designed by Storari is Imrahor, located in vicinity of Yedikule and Samatya. After a fire in 1856 five or six blocks were destroyed. Storari, by using orthogonal grid layout system, reorganized the burned areas and widened the Imrahor street and the one which was perpendicular to it (Figure 3). In the junction point of these arteries, corners are beveled again to give a square

view. Çelik (1990) points out another contribution of Storari to the area by opening the north-south artery that connects the neighborhood to the coastline. Nevertheless, connection of the region to the coastline is limited because of the railway and coastal road in current condition.

Storari replanned the Küçük Mustafa Paşa neighborhood in 1862 after a fire, which destroyed the 242 buildings from golden horn to the north hill of the city (Ergin, 1914-22). Post-fire planning system was grid one and lots of cul-de-sacs were eliminated. While block sizes were suitable with the existing conditions, Kara Sarıklı Street was widened because of its connection with the Fatih Mosque complex (Figure 4). At the intersection of the Kara Sarıklı Street with the Aşık Ali Paşa Street corners were beveled according to rule of his typology (Çelik, 1990).

Figure 3. Changing morphology of the İmrahor neighborhood between 1850-1870. First map shows the pre-fired area of Imrahor (Mühendishane-I Berri-i Hümayun, 1847), (Kayra, 1990); Second map shows the post-fired condition Imrahor with the grid layout (Ayverdi, 1978).

Figure 4. Changing morphology of the Küçük Mustafa Paşa region between 1850-1870. First map shows the pre-fired area of Küçük Mustafa Paşa (Mühendishane-I Berri-i Hümayun, 1847), (Kayra, 1990); Second map shows the post-fired condition Küçük Mustafa Paşa with the grid layout (Ayverdi, 1978).

Luigi Storari also designed Boyacıköy as a new settlement area at the hillside of the Emirgan with the same idea (Figure 5). Name of the village comes from the family of Kafrariyofi whose task was painting the serge and fez in the period of Sultan Selim III. After the Storari planning some of the Armenian and Rum neighborhoods were appeared in the region (Artan, 1994). Typology of the village has same characteristics with the designs of the burned areas in the Historical Peninsula: grid layout, square with the beveled corners. Design includes forty-five blocks, which have approximately a size of seventy meters to seventy meters (Çelik, 1990).

Figure 5. Morphology of the Boyacıköy village, 1918. (Kayra, 1990)

In 1856, a fire destroyed 111 building in Salma Tomruk neighborhood close to Edirnekapı. A document which bears a seal in Arab characters and the title of Storari denotes the condition of the house and retail buildings in the environment as topographically (Figure 6). Planning probably designed by Storari and the pre-fired and post-fired conditions of the neighborhood are drawn side by side in the document. Plans are drawn in color on the same plate, left side has the record of the previous state and the right side has the state of current project. It is mainly composed of rectangles very close to the edge, divided into four equal rectangles. Design goes to the periphery of the area. In junction of the main two arteries, corners are beveled again to emphasize the square function. Some streets are ended with the cul-de-sacs and some of them are opened to very narrow passages (Yerasimos, 1995).
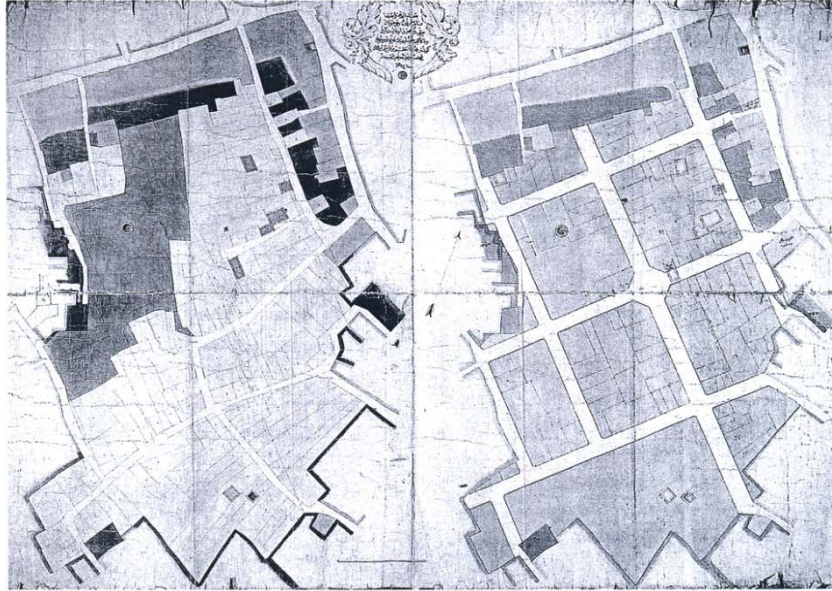
Figure 6. Changing morphology of the Salma Tomruk neighborhood between 1850-1870. Left side of the map shows pre-fired area of Salma Tomruk, Right side of the map shows post-fired condition Salma Tomruk with the grid layout (Kayra, 1990).

CONCLUSIONS

Two important facts structured the nineteenth century urban transformation in Istanbul. One of these is westernization activity that began with the Tanzimat philosophy and the other is the huge fires that occurred in the nineteenth century. These facts, which constitute a cause to each other, found its correspondence in western planning models in the urban fabric. At the beginning, conceptualization and the application of the projects were experienced by foreign architect and engineers.

Storari applied the first grid layout system in Ottoman Istanbul in nineteenth century. He also introduced first subdivision system in urban planning. Grid layouts designed by him have some differences from the others practiced by Turkish planners after him. His designs resemble the Roman Grid: two main arteries are widened – like in Cardo and Documanus – and the junction of these arteries is converted to square by beveling the corners – like a Roman Forum. His grid planning system even can be supported by the concepts of centrality, orientation and landmark, its importance also lies in the social life brought to the city: geometrical planning, standardization, subdivision system, gathering place and extrovert life.

According to the morphology of planning, Storari's designs commonly settle down to the sloping areas but the squares with the beveled corners are placed to the flat areas as possible. Blocks sizes vary from forty meter to seventy and fifty meter to one hundred meter. Admittedly sizes are related with the pre-fired privileges of

the property owners. But in all occasions block sizes in the planning of Luigi Storari are in the humane limits (Siksna, 1997).

Storari plans still maintain its existence in the urban fabric of the Historical Peninsula of Istanbul as an urban memory. Altering life conditions also act on these layouts in a different ways. First effect is the changing of lot sizes. Amalgamation of the lots according to the current requirements of the inhabitants, have dramatically affected the size of the lots and scale of the environment. Increase in the number of stories of the buildings is approximately one hundred percent in many areas of the Storari layouts which cause loses of characteristics of the streets (Figure 7). In certain neighborhoods such as Imrahor and Salma Tomruk, deformations in the square corners can be observed. In former, two corners are turned to right angels and the latter, incomplete corners can be seen. Above all, Aksaray square is beyond recognition (Gurer and Gozek, 2009).

Figure 7. Increased number of stories in the Aksaray and Imrahor had caused to deformation of the urban fabric dramatically (Gürer and Gözek, 2009)

Transformation of the cities can only be understood with their historical past. Historical awareness in urban planning often remains in individual features. There is little sense of how they fit together in cityscape and relate to one another and are part of a process of change. We experience the results of a lack of this kind of awareness in last fifty years in the historical areas of Istanbul. In this process Storari grid layouts has also been affected in negative way.

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SHAPING THE BUND: PUBLIC SPACES AND PLANNING PROCESS IN THE SHANGHAI INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENT, 1843-1943

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ABSTRACT

The Shanghai Bund is the classic symbol of Chinese economic strength and vigor in the early twentieth century. It was one of the most attractive waterfront public open spaces in Asia, and constituted the heart of communal life for both foreign and Chinese communities. This paper investigates the history of the public space of the Shanghai Bund, in terms of its shaping, representing and using. It unveils the four major social parties which had involved in shaping the street gridiron, the public buildings, the public parks, and the waterfront promenade. First to be the British colonial authority that had occasionally compromised to the demands of the Chinese to secure the trade profit. Second is the Chinese authority that had struggled for it conceptual and instrumental control over the foreign settlement. Third is the small group of powerful people called the "Bund Lot Holders" that had demanded the exclusive rights over the Bund. Finally is the ordinary Foreign Land Renters, with the Municipal Council has their Trustee, who had sought to make the Bund into an orderly public spaces for recreation amenity. The paper concludes that the landscape of the Shanghai Bund should not simply be considered as a symbol of "Western modernity". It also reflected the complicated processes of conflict and compromise among various social parties, in which each party must be seen as participants in the same historical trajectory.

INTRODUCTION

The Shanghai Bund, stretching along the waterfront of the Huangpu River, is the prime icon of Chinese economic strength and vigor in the early twentieth century. Initially, it was a British Settlement established in 1843 when Shanghai was first opened to foreign trade, which lied north of the old, walled city of Shanghai, started at Yan'an Road (formerly Yang-king-pang Creek) in the south and ended at Suzhou Creek in the north. By the 1940s the Shanghai Bund had come to house numerous banks and trading houses from the United Kingdom, France, the United States, Russia, Germany, Japan, the Netherlands and Belgium, as well as the consulates of Russia and Britain, the North China Herald Newspaper, the Shanghai Club and the Masonic Club. This Site of towering buildings, known as the "Museum of Global Architecture", had become the subject of fiction and the backdrop to many a film, and was listed as a Modern Heritage Site at a UNESCO experts meeting in Chandigargh in 2003.

Although "The Bund" almost invariably refers to the Shanghai Bund in the present literature, the idea of building the "Bund", or the waterfront area, into the foremost urban center was not begotten in Shanghai. Rather, it has roots deep in the practice of British colonial town planning (Home, 1997). The term "bund",

derived from the Hindi word "band" which means an embankment, levee or dam, began to be widely used to refer to the waterfront area in the British colonial port cities. Many of these bunds, as is the case in Bombay, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Yokohama, developed into the financial and commercial centers of their cities, upon which wide avenues, civic squares, government buildings, and headquarters of financial institutions were erected. However, The Shanghai Bund was distinguished from all the other "Bunds" by its most attractive public open space (Fig. 1). With the beautiful Crescent-shaped Bund Line, and the historical trees, margin lawns and public parks alongside it, it constituted the heart of communal life for both foreign (especially British) and Chinese communities.

Predictably, a great amount of literature and number of documents depicted the Shanghai Bund, highlighting its general history and its spatial features (Qian, 2005; Hibbard, 2007; Zhang, 2008). However, there had not been sufficient explanation as to its origin and formation as a modern public space. It is of particular interest to us just how the Bund, with a spacious waterfront area, had been set aside for public use in such a mercantile-dominated port city like Shanghai? And, more importantly, how was it identified and used as a "public" space amidst the colonial social-political predicament? In this paper, with these two major questions in mind, we unveil a much more complex and multi-layered history of the public space of the Shanghai Bund, in terms of its shaping, representing and using.
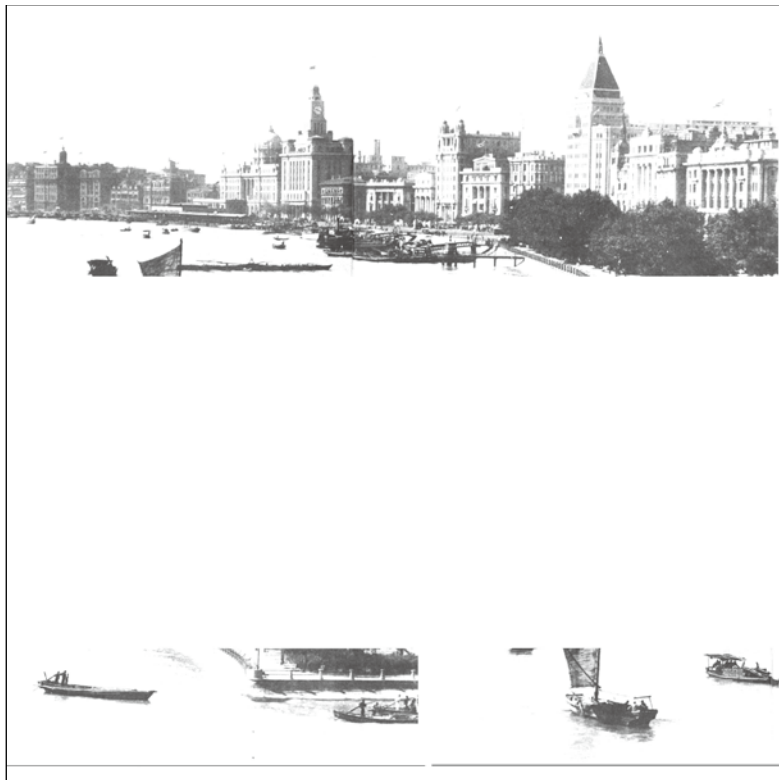

Figure 1 The Shanghai Bund in the early 1930s. Source: Qian, 2005.

THE INITIAL PLAN FOR THE BUND

The Shanghai Bund, as a British community, was the direct product of the Treaty of Nanking signed between the Chinese and British governments in 1842. The Treaty opened Shanghai and another four coastal cities — Guangzhou, Fuzhou, Xiamen, Ningbo - to international trade, in order to "allow merchants and others of all nations to bring their families to reside there, and providing that the renting of ground for the building of houses must be deliberated upon and determined by the local Authorities in communication with the Consuls[1]."

In 1843, the first British Consul—Captain, George Balfour - later General Sir George Balfour — arrived at Shanghai, to take charge of the establishment and plan of the British Settlement. Although he himself was not a professional planner, he had served in the Eastern India Company for nearly 20 years, and was recognized as being a man with a high ability in terms of communication and negotiation (Lanning & Couling, 1921). After two years' negotiation with the Shanghai Governor Mr. Kung Moo-yun, Captain Balfour promulgated the Land Regulations in 1845. This piecemeal legislation was in large part the detailed physical planning for the Settlement, upon which the 138 acres land along the Huangpu River was set apart as a site for the British Settlement, and an initial street gridiron was laid out.

The function of the Foreshore along the Huangpu River was the most heatedly negotiated issue between the British and the Chinese parties. As Mr. Kung Moo-yun pointed out that there was originally a Towing-path along the bank of Huangpu River, exactly upon the site of the British Settlement, and it was a necessary passage of delivering the grain produced in Southeast China to Beijing. He thus insisted that this Towing-path should be reserved both physically and functionally, and its standard width must be 30 feet according to the requirement of the Chinese government. Captain Balfour sanctioned the requirement, and added two more functions to the Foreshore. One was the "public road for all respectable tradesmen to pass to and from", and the other was the landing area for foreign ships, upon which the foreign merchants should be permitted to build public jetties[2]. Consequently, the Foreshore was set apart as the only space for the use of both the Chinese and foreigners.

The initial street gridiron, which comprised of ten "public thoroughfares", was also prescribed in the Land Regulation, coming from three major sources. The first led to the important government buildings decided upon beforehand. As Captain Balfour had selected the former Chinese Battery as the British Consulate site, and Mr. Kung Moo-yun had chosen the mid point of the Bund Line for the Chinese Custom House, the present Beijing Road was made "south of the Consulate site" and Hankou Road "north of the Custom House". The second was on the existing canals and the Chinese government roads, like the present Jiujiang Road "upon the Old Rope Walk", Jiangxi Road "upon the small canal", and Huqiu Road and Hong Kong Road, upon the "public road leading the military working sheds eastward to the Toupa Too Ferry". Finally were the thoroughfares made at the boundary of the existing Chinese property boundaries, like the present Nanjing Road "south of the

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[1] By-laws of Nanking Treaty, assigned in 1841 between the British and Chinese Governments, quoted in the Shanghai Land Regulations of 1845. Shanghai: North-China Herald, 19th and early 20th century.
[2] See Article III of the Shanghai Land Regulations of 1845. Shanghai: North-China Herald, 19th and early 20th century.

Four-Lot ground", Fuzhou Road and Guangdong Road "southward of the Custom House, on the north side of the Kweishapang and of Allum's Jetty", and Henan Road "on the west of the former Ningpo Warehouse". The standard width of these, with the exception of the Rope Walk, which was originally meant to be 30 feet, was to be 24 feet.

As for land use, Captain Balfour proposed to purchase or rent the entire Settlement Site, and allocated particular lots to the individual foreign merchants. However, this proposal was rejected by Mr. Kung Moo-yun, who intended to keep the Chinese authority in the Settlement. After a lengthy negotiation between the two parties, an agreement was finally reached. The rule was thenceforth followed and when Foreign Merchants desired to rent land for building purposes they were to settle their bids with the private Chinese Proprietors directly, and a Title Deed had to be issued by the Shanghai Governor. After the land transfer, the Foreign Merchants were to pay an Annual Fixed Rent to the Chinese government, and the latter, in turn, would protect their land tenure by prohibiting the original Chinese proprietors from taking back or cancelling the lease of the land (Chen, 1996).

This mode of land acquirement, called the "Perpetual Rent between people", would indirectly lead to a triplicate political framework in the Shanghai British Settlement. On the one hand, it suggested the ultimate authority of the Chinese Government in the Settlement, distinguished from other concessions or colonies dominated by a single political power. On the other hand, it vested "perpetual" and exclusive land rights to the private "Foreign Land Renters" who were likely to seek dominance in the Settlement by establishing their own Municipal Government.

EARLY CONSTRUCTION OF ROADS AND PUBLIC FACILITIES

The initial plan for the Bund, as result of the negotiation between Captain Balfour and Mr. Kung Moo-yun, was merely a scheme on paper. Neither Captain Balfour nor his successor had ever committed the necessary actions to bring the plan into practice. The first few years of the Settlement saw the "public thoroughfares" drawn in the Land Regulations continuing to be muddy trails, with no proper construction, pavements or drainage, and some lower ground was even immersed in water as the tide flowed.

In the year of 1846, the "Foreign Land Renters", who acquired the "perpetual land tenure" at Shanghai, discovered the necessity of constructing the roads and public buildings by themselves. They held a "Foreign Land Renters' Meeting" at Richards' Hotel, appointed three merchants among them to found a "Committee on Roads and Jetties", and decided upon the duties as: 1) to finish the roads made in the Land Regulations within a reasonable time frame; 2) to make several jetties and bridges on the various creeks still not by then filled in; 3) to levy a tax for the construction, maintenance and repair of the roads, jetties and bridges.

During the nine years of the operation, this Committee finished most of the works that had been prescribed in the Land Regulations. In 1848, it commenced a project designed to considerably raise the Towing-path on the Bund, to build it into a well paved public road. By 1851, it had raised a public fund of Tls. 13,300 to construct the ten "public thoroughfares". And in the years from 1852 to 1854, it spent nearly Tls. 20,000 on repairing, leveling, metalling, sanding and dressing the

thoroughfares wholly or in part as necessary[3]. Meanwhile, the "Foreign Land Renters" also built some necessary public buildings or facilities. In 1846, a Messrs. Lindsay Co. spent Tls.2500 so as to rent a 14 mow piece of land at the heart of the Settlement in order to establish the "General Cemetery" for the Foreign Community, and they built around it "a well built wall, gateway, and a mortuary chapel". In 1847, a Messrs. Bell Co. donated its own premises and erected the Holy Trinity Church upon it. In1848, six Land Renters acquired a 80 mow piece of land in the west side of the Settlement to build a Racecourse, and in 1855 they sold it and rented a 170 mow ground even further westward for a much more spacious Recreation Ground (Hibbard, 2007).

With both the collective and the individual efforts of the "Foreign Land Renters", most of the public thoroughfares and the necessary public facilities had been taken into shape by 1854. The various social functions were distributed according to the distance from the River. The Foreshore, closest to the foreign ship archorage, had been built into a trade area, with a public thoroughfare and 8 public jetties alongside. The heart of the Settlement, with a proper distance from the muddy Foreshore, had become a foreign residential quarter, with the Church as the center for communal life. The west side of the Settlement, a bit further from the riverside trade area, had been set aside for public amusement. (Fig. 2).

Figure 2. Roads and Public Facilities in the British Settlement, 1855.

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[3] Quoted in The Minutes of Shanghai Municipal Council, Volume I.

THE CREATION OF THE PUBLIC GARDENS

The increasing enthusiasm of the "Foreign Land Renters" regarding the building of the Settlement into an exclusive European quarter was interfered with in 1853, when the Chinese City of Shanghai was captured by rebels during the early stages of the Taiping Rebellion. Around 20,000 Chinese refugees poured into the British Settlement, erected straw sheds, bamboo houses and wooden houses along the Yang-king-pang Creek and Suzhou Creek, and upon every piece of land unoccupied in the Settlement. The British Consul and the Chinese Governor both felt angry about this situation, and resolved that the Settlement should be strictly reserved as a foreign quarter and no Chinese should be permitted to live in it. The British Consul even set a fire along the Yang-King-Pang Creek, demolishing the 2,000 straw sheds built by the Chinese refugees.

However, the Foreign Land Renters, who had benefited from the profit derived from letting land to the Chinese refugees, did welcome these native people. To reject the racial segregation policy promulgated by the Chinese and British governments, they held a "General Meeting of Foreign Land Renters" in 1854, and pushed forward a new version of Land Regulations which allowed Chinese to reside in the Settlement. During the same Meeting, they also appointed a "Committee of Municipal Council", composed of three to five upright persons, to deal with the much more complicated social conditions since the admission of the Chinese people. The Committee soon appointed a "Committee of Public work", and employed several professional "Municipal Engineers" to take charge of the public works.

The plan of the Public Garden was the first large-scale public work proposed by the Municipal Council, against a context in which the character of the British Settlement was largely changed from being an exclusive foreign (especially British) quarter to a mixed community composed of a small group of foreign residents and a large majority of Chinese people. In 1864, Mr. Clark, the Municipal Engineer, submitted the plans for the Public Garden. According to this plan, a piece of artificially accumulated land was to be made on the "unsightly Consular mud-flats" fronting the British Consulate at the northern end of the Bund, so as to make it into a botanical garden for the amusement of the foreign community. More importantly, the newly created land would improve the initial C-shape line at the mouth of the Suzhou Creek into an L-shape, to prevent more accidents amongst ships in the area.

The plan was authorized and commenced in 1865. By 1868, the preliminary work had been done, and the Garden occupied an area of 30 mow (proximately 20,000m2) and was completed and made open to the Public. From 1869 to 1872, various works of improvement and adornment, following the "foreign taste and foreign design", were undertaken, including the erecting of a Baroque Pavilion at the heart of the Garden, several flower beds with seeds ordered from England, and the Iron Lounging Seats delivered also from England. Some Iron Wicker Work was erected at the entrance of the different gates for training Roses and Creepers, so as to convert the Public Garden into "a quiet English park"[4]. (Fig. 3).

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[4] See the "Report of the Public Works Committee"for the years from 1868 to 1872, Annual Report of Shanghai Municipal Council, printed and published by Kelly & Walsh,1868-1872.
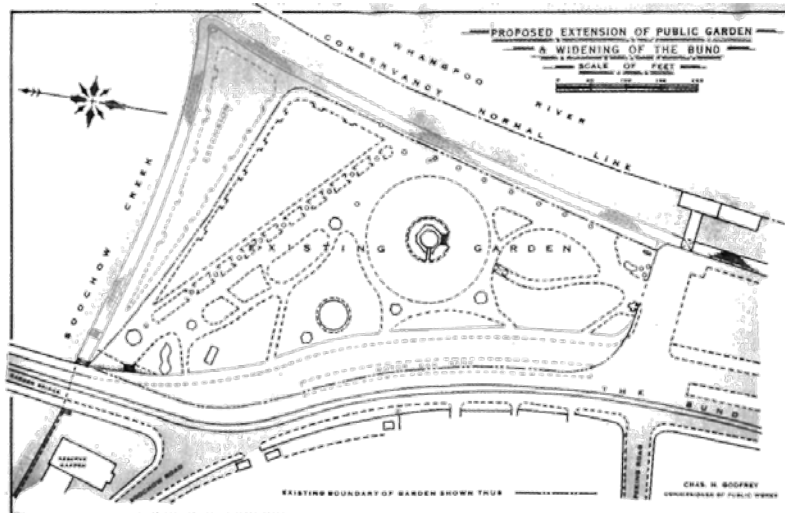
Figure 3 Plan of the Public Garden, Source: Hibbard, 2007.

Figure 4: The Public Garden (left) and the Chinese Garden (right) in the early twentieth century. Source: Hibbard, 2007.

However, the definition of "Public" which was used largely excluded the large proportion of the Chinese. The Municipal Council made it clear in 1871 that "the garden was to be invested with the atmosphere of a quiet English park", and the gates of the Public Garden were opened discriminately; only those "respectable and well-dressed Chinese" were permitted in. Even so, there were incessant complaints from foreigners over the numbers of Chinese in the Garden, and the Foreign Community insisted on keeping the garden beyond the bounds of all the Chinese people. Thus, in 1890, the Municipal Council resolved to set up a separate Chinese Garden. The Garden occupied a land of 6 mow (proximately 4000 m2) to the north of the Public Garden along the Suzhou Creek, which was open to all without prejudice. But in practice, few of the well-dressed Chinese elite, and few foreigners, ventured past the gates of the Chinese Garden where members of the lower classes of Chinese society would congregate in great numbers (Fig. 4).

DISPUTES OVER FUNCTION AND LAND TENURE OF THE FORESHORE

The function of the Foreshore as a public thoroughfare, although clearly asserted in the Land Regulations of 1845, was not easy to maintain throughout its history. As early as the 1850s, the Bund Lot Holders had erected quite a few private warehouses around the jetties, occupied the public thoroughfares, and severely blocked the Towing-path. Following the strong protestations of the Shanghai Governor, the Municipal Council built several boat pontoons along the Huangpu River, to fulfill the function of loading and discharging, while keep the Towing-path unblocked. These pontoons, spreading into the river by about 100 feet, aided the slow flowing of the water, and produced a large amount of mud flats on the riverbed. As there had been no direct clause in the Land Regulations which prescribed the tenure of the reclaimed land, the several "Bund Lot Holders" desired to have an exclusive right over it.

Around the 1860s, with the rise of the Steam Boat as the major mode of transportation in global trade, the Municipal Council began to consider plans to improve the Bund and make it into a proper Wharfage for steam boats. In the year of 1865, one of the Bund Lot Holders, H. HOGG & Co., submitted a New Bund Plan to the Municipal Council. By this plan, H. HOGG & Co. would donate money and take charge of the whole project, including a 100-foot-wide esplanade, the new Quayage and Wharfage for steam boats, and a suitable Landing-place for the public. As for compensation, the Company demanded an exclusive right over the land excess of the 100-foot-wide esplanade. All the Bund Lot Holders, according to the plan, were to be granted the same rights to enclose the excess land into their premises[5].

This Plan was rejected in the "General Meeting of the Foreign Land Renters", as some Land Renters believed that the steam boat would ruin the quiet atmosphere on the public thoroughfare along the Bund, as many of them liked to walk around it. However, it was strongly supported by the Committee of the Municipal Council, for whom H. HOGG & Co.'s arrangement of the project would save expenditure, prevent a conflict of interests, and contribute to the taxes. Mr. Hanbury, a highly respected gentleman in the Committee, further pointed out that Singapore and

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[5] Letter from the H. Fogg & Co. to the Municipal Council in Dec. 15th, 1865, attached in the Annual Report of Shanghai Municipal for the year of 1866. Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh,1866.

Hong Kong had already commenced the Wharfage renewal projects, and it was the time for Shanghai to catch up with them[6]. Thus in 1868, the Committee of the Municipal Council authorized the New Bund Plan, with the inner part of the reclaimed land attached to the private properties of the Bund Lot Holders, and the outside land used for Wharfage.

However, the grand opening of the Public Garden in 1869 unexpectedly put the entire Plan on hold, as the Shanghai Governor issued a conditional certificate for the Public Garden Site. According to the certificate, the reclaimed land, though filled in by the Municipal Council, should still belong to the authorities of China. The Chinese Government would have liked to have given the Public Garden Site to the foreign community as a "free gift", only on the condition that "no Foreign Merchant shall rent or let the land or construct buildings thereon with a view of profit. Immediately on the infringement of this condition, the land will be confiscated, this certificate cancelled, and such other legal steps taken as are necessary[7]."

The declaration invoked a strong rejection from the Foreign Community. Mr. E. Cunningham, the Chairman of the Municipal Council, who "felt bound in the general interests of the Public", wrote a letter to the British Consul to enter into a protest against the claims made by the Shanghai Governor. In this letter, Mr. Cunningham asserted that:

> The land renter has an unqualified right to the river frontage which he has bought. So well aware are that nearly all Title Deeds make the boundary on the river side extend to low water mark. … It is because he has paid for it especially and generally even paid very high for it. He pays over and above the value of the land for the property in water frontage—a perfectly tangible and practical property, and one of which the Land Regulations have recognized the existence, inasmuch as provision has been made that he cannot be deprived of it without his consent.[8]

However, the British Consul opposed the assertion that the Bund Lot Holders should occupy the Foreshore "larger than dimensions actually set forth in the respective leases[9]", since it infringed the regulations of the British Government after several negotiations, the two parties finally reached an agreement that the entire foreshore, including the artificially accumulated land, should be reserved for public use. If it ceased to be used as a public space, it should be given back to the British Consulate, or it could be resumed at pleasure upon refunding the outlay of money expended on it by the Foreign Community at Shanghai.

Thereafter, the Municipal Council began to enter into negotiations with the Bund Lot Holders for the surrender of the foreshore for the purpose of public use. Finally in 1872, a "Memorandum of Agreement made between the Council for the Foreign

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[6] The Minutes of Shanghai Municipal Council, Volume II.

[7] Conditional Certificate issued by Ying, Intendent of Su-Sung-Tai Circuit, attached in the Annual Report of Shanghai Municipal Council for 1870. Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh,1871.

[8] Letter from Mr. Edward Cunningham, Chairman of the Municipal Council, to Mr. C. A. Wngchester, the H. B. M. 's Consul on 23 June, 1868, attached in the Annual Report of Shanghai Municipal Council for 1870. Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh,1871.

[9] Letter from Mr. C. A. Wngchester, the H. B. M. 's Consul, to Mr. Edward Cunningham, Chairman of the Municipal Council on 24 June, 1868, attached in the Annual Report of Shanghai Municipal Council for 1870. Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh,1871.

Settlement of Shanghai and the Bund Lot Holders" was assigned between the two parties, which stated that:

> *Neither the said Council and their successors nor the said Bund Lot Holders their executors, administrators and assigns shall at any time or times hereafter respectively during the continuance of this agreement erect and set up upon any portion of the Foreshore and Beach grounds so surrendered by them as aforesaid or upon any of the land hereafter reclaimed adjoining the said Foreshore and Beach grounds, any kind of messuage, buildings, wall or erection whatsoever[10].*
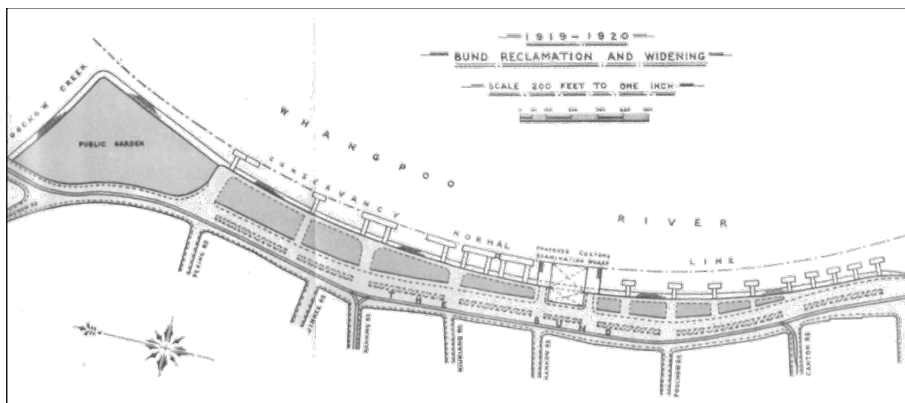
Figure 5: Plan of the Waterfront Promenade, 1919-1920, Source: The Annual Report of the Shanghai Municipal Council

The Memorandum eventually ended the long dispute over the function and tenure of the Foreshore. Afterwards, the Municipal Council undertook and executed a series of projects designed to improve the Bund from being an ugly muddy foreshore and make it into a fine waterfront promenade with lawns and gardens. In the early 1880s, the first concrete plans to create a protected riverbank with an attractive curvature, or Bund line, were finished. In May 1886 grass lawns extending from the Public Garden to the south of the Bund were opened to the public. In 1919, the Municipal Council set forth to widen the Bund to 120 feet. Most of the widening work, which involved a 55-foot carriageway for trams and fast traffic and another 30 feet-wide one for slow traffic as well as car parking ranks, and included the laying of new lawns, was completed by the end of 1920 (Fig. 5). During this period, the Bund gradually became the center of communal life for the Foreign Community. The town band played classics in its English-style Public Park, while the nearby Lyceum Theatre hosted Gilbert and Sullivan and home-grown British farces. A British court, prison, museum, library, church, and hotel were all established on the Bund. Meanwhile, several permanent monuments were also erected to memorize important figures and events for the foreign community. These monuments included the Statue of Sir. Harry Smith Parkes erected in 1890 in

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[10] Memorandum of Agreement made between the Council for the Foreign Settlement of Shanghai North of the Yang-king-pang, hereinafter called the Council of the one part and hereinafter called the Bund Lot Holders of the other part, attached in the Annual Report of Shanghai Municipal Council for 1872. Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh,1873.

memory of the British Consul at Shanghai from 1864 to 1865, the Statue of Illtis erected in 1898 for the sunken German warship, the Statue of Sir. Robert Hart erected in 1913 in memory of the person who had been the Chief of Chinese Custom House for half a century, and finally the Monument of Victory with the Statue of Peace erected in 1924 on the border of the International Settlement and the French Concession, to celebrate the end of the First World War (Fig. 6).
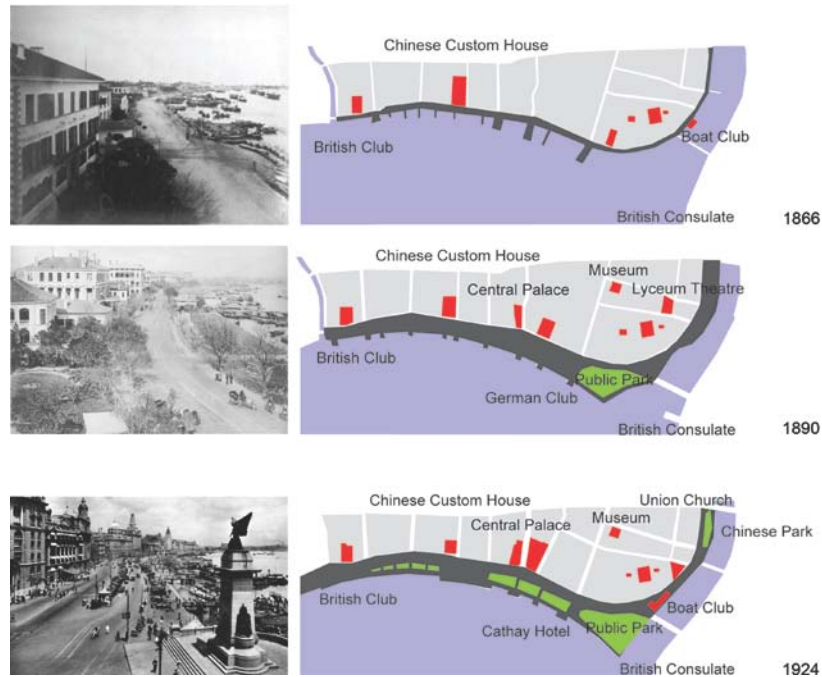
Figure 6: Formation of the Foreshore into a Waterfront Promenade. Source: Prepared by the author

CONCLUSION

The history of the public spaces on the Shanghai Bund, in terms of its shaping, representing and using, reveals the conflict and negotiation over the built environment in colonial Shanghai. As Yeoh states that "While most urban landscapes can be interrogated as terrains of quotidian conflict and negotiation, the colonial city in particular lends itself to such an interpretation because the dissonance in social values, the divergence in perceptions of the environment, and the asymmetries of power between the minority in authority and the vast majority who inhabit the city are possibly more in evidence in the colonial context than elsewhere" (Yeoh, 1996). However, it is over-simplistic to claim the power relation in the Shanghai International Settlement as the confrontation between the "colonizer" and the "colonized". As a Settlement in which no single Power was figured out as the only political authority, the conflict and negotiation had been intersected through various ways among various social parties, with each one concerned with its self-interests.

First, conflict over the public spaces was intersected among the triplicate political authorities. On the one side, the Chinese Government was to struggle for its conceptual and instrumental control over the British Settlement, while the British Government occasionally compromised to secure the "trade profit instead of territory". It was represented by the maintaining of the Towing-path in the initial plan for the Bund, and the declaration of the land tenure on the Foreshore. On the other side, the Municipal Council, which was established by the "Foreign Land Renters" as their Trustee, confronted frequently with the Chinese and British Governments for the alternative defining and using of the public spaces, in order to create a sanitary and orderly city especially for the Foreign Community.

More importantly, the conflict and negotiation over the Public/Private use of the Bund were intersected within the group of the "Foreign Land Renters", with the several powerful "Bund Lot Holders" on the one side, and the ordinary Land Renters on the other. This complex situation was apparently reflected in the polarized New Bund Plans prescribed by the Council in 1868 and 1880 respectively. The former version, following the Plan submitted by the "Bund Lot Holders", authorized their priorities to make the Foreshore into Wharfage and private premises, while and the latter one, as a consequence of interference of the Chinese and British authorities, reserved the Foreshore for public recreation amenity. The landscape of the Shanghai Bund, thus, should not simply be considered as a symbol of "Western modernity". It also reflected the complicated processes of conflict and compromise among various social parties, in which each party must be seen as "participants in the same historical trajectory" (Lefebvre, quoted in Yeoh, 1996).

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HYBRID TERRITORIES IN RIO DE JANEIRO: NEW CHALLENGES IN THE UNPLANNED CITY

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ABSTRACT

In Rio de Janeiro, a large number of favela[1]s formed around factories during the twentieth century; at the end of the century, with the de-industrialization, large productive areas have been abandoned and occupied by homeless, forming a new type slum. A new relationship was defined, this time between the slums and the de-industrialization. The industries have withdrawn, but the fragile slums remained, not only around but also inside the fabrics (plants). Sheds and warehouses were turned to housing, working, religious and cultural spaces.

We propose to analyze the transformation of a region in Rio de Janeiro, composed of a small industrial area and a large shanty town. At its borders can be noticed the emergence of a new land: a hybrid territory, with some outstanding cultural venues, many of them in old factories that have been appropriated by the slum's inhabitants. Favelas and rehabilitated factories exist in many Brazilian cities, and some of these, used as cultural venues, too. But this agglomeration and this bottom-up process of creation make this example, as far as we know, a unique case of such hybrid territory.

This paper presents a study of the formation of these two areas, as well as its transformation in this hybrid territory, inquiring about the approaches that can allow us to understand them, and proposing the discussion of the challenge of planning this very particular area. How to characterize and how to plan for unplanned spaces that overlap with reappropriated, reutilized and resignified planned areas? A cultural regeneration promoted by the population?

Since the municipal planning does not bring contributions to this new territory, the study emphasizes the context and the process of space transformation, both architectural and urban (hybrids of housing, work, culture), in order to guide, through the arrangement of the elements of the problem, to possible planning proposals. This is an interdisciplinary study, and the theoretical and conceptual framework come from different fields of knowledge.

In this sense, we work with the concepts of opaque spaces, by Milton Santos, of spaces of insurgence by Holston, and of resistance by Ribeiro and by Porto, who link the cultural forms of resistance to the forces of social exclusion. We favor the approach of the spatialization of culture presented by Fortuna and Silva, who seek to understand the territories of hybridization of cultures. To develop the hypothesis of the constitution of places and territories we report to Barker, and Bonnemaison. About planning, we report to Bianchini and Parkinson (1994), Meyer (1999), Zukin (1995), Miles (2001) and Vaz and Jacques (2006).

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[1] Slums, shantytowns

FAVELAS IN RIO DE JANEIRO – THE MARÉ COMPLEX

Favelas are the predominant pattern of housing in Rio de Janeiro, characterized by frail buildings, lack of sanitary conditions, urban irregularity and illegality. The numbers are controversial: data from the last census have been strongly altered by the growth of slums in the past decade and estimates are diverse, oscillating between 1,300 million and 2 million[2] people in a city with 6,161.047 inhabitants[3].

The Maré Complex (Complexo da Maré, Tide Complex) is located along the margins of Guanabara Bay between two major highways that access the city, approximately halfway between the international airport and downtown. This swampy region has been sanitized and had its urbanization started in the first half of the 20th century. In the 1930's and 40's, it was designated as industrial area and linked to the urban fabric through an important road axis, initiating the installation of factories in the surrounding neighborhoods. Thus the Maré region was limited between this axis and the water, and characterized by its industrial and commercial activities and housing. Due to low-income, workers attracted by industries created a few slums, firstly around areas close to the plants, and later stilt houses, a reference to the area name (Maré means Tide). In the 1980's, the concentration of *favela*s by the shore suffered a great intervention in sanitation, urbanization and the creation of housing projects followed by the construction of a new road axis on top of the landfill spots. Today the Complex is the home of over 132,000 inhabitants[4] spread along sixteen communities among original *favelas* and housing projects built to house the population removed from the *favelas* on the shore and other areas in the city (Vaz and Jacques, 2004). Other important features of the site are the violence and its Human Development Index, the third worst of the city in 2007[5].

With de-industrialization, factories were closed down and abandoned, enabling big empty spaces to arise and contributing to the decay of such areas. With reduced working opportunities, reduced social public policies and habitation, the industrial vacants started being used for different purposes, mainly housing. This is the case of the invasion of large storage areas by homeless people who subdivide the spaces building small houses, leading to the conformation of "post-industrial *favelas*" hidden behind the tall walls of textile industries. Another type of occupation, promoted by popular cultural groups, brings to the installation of cultural centers in an attempt to overcome the absence of proper spaces. It is worth to highlight that Mare's and surrounding industrial vacants, as opposed to those situated along the port area, are not contemplated by revitalization policies, remaining as decadent scenery in the local landscape.

POPULAR CULTURAL GROUPS[6]

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[2] The lack of information and disagreement are so big that in 22/03/2010, starting date of the Urban World Forum and the Social Urban Forum, local newspaper O Globo informed two different numbers: 1,300.000 inhabitants and 2,000.000 inhabitants.

[3] http://portalgeo.rio.rj.gov.br/estudoscariocas/download/2407_Estimativas%20MRJ%20em %202008.pdf Accessed in 26/02/2010.

[4] Mare Census data from year 2000.

[5] Legado Social dos XV Jogos Panamericanos Rio 2007.

[6] Parts of the following text were first developed in: Vaz, Lilian and Seldin, Claudia. Resistance and Cultural Experiences. In: CD-Rom Anais do Corpocidade – debates on urban asthetic, out. 2008, Salvador.

The last decades of the 20th century displayed an increasing presence of the culture in different parts of society life: the expansion of the cultural industry, the importance of subjects like history, memory and heritage. Another revealing factor was the many cultural policies and urban regeneration plans for decadent areas, using the creation of big cultural equipment as radiance spots of urban intervention (Bianchini and Parkinson 1994) and also of the transformation of such spots into scenery and spectacle (Eames 2006; Monclús and Guardia 2006).

During that period, beyond de-industrialization, the collapse of development strategies and models centered in material progress and economic growth was also noticeable, facing its disastrous consequences in terms of social polarization and increasing poverty; the reduction of the State action especially within social public policies, and of the role of neighborhood associations, and the growing presence of drug trafficking in the *favelas*. As an answer to this crisis, original cultural activities began to emerge from popular pro-active groups seeking to overcome the huge Brazilian social inequity.

Such cultural actions can be perceived as community groups' efforts, usually by younger people who keep a strong bond with the space they occupy and whose action aims at human development and social transformation through a great variety of cultural practices and languages. As Coelho (2001) suggests, the concept of cultural action is always fundamentally social because it carries a utopic spirit in itself, looking for the democratization of culture and making people be their own actors, creating their own conditions, means and ends to their realization. The cultural action isn't restricted to the conquest of individual development, bestowing more value upon collective development as well as its symbolic production.

It is important to highlight that the action we analyze emerge from informal, opaque[7] (Santos, 1994), marginalized spaces of the city and brings visibility to new social actors of the "peripheral culture".

In these spaces the lack of educational, health, leisure and culture equipment is alarming. Therefore, those groups are forced to improvise adequate spaces in vacant *favela* spots where they can rehearse, establish workshops, hold meetings, etc. Aware of their lack of access to traditional cultural means and used to the indifference and lack of space for their activities, the younger see action as an opportunity to leave their state of invisibility and fight for the assertion of their spaces and their rights. This affirmation is allied to a strong resistance aspect that is manifested through different realms: space, society, ethnicity and culture.

At the Maré Complex we can observe how some of these groups operate and how their action has contributed to the creation and transformation of the space, both architecturally and urbanely. We proceed to present two of the cultural groups active in the region and their respective spaces as central elements in the transformation of the new territory.

CEASM AND MARÉ MUSEUM

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[7] In contrast to the bright spaces, of the rationality and modernity, Milton Santos called the neglected spaces, where the poor live, where the times are slow and infrastructures are incomplete or outdated, opaque spaces. But he noted that they are also areas of creativity and resistance.

The Center for Studies and Solidarity Actions of Maré – CEASM, a non-profit civil society, was by a group of inhabitants and former inhabitants who managed to get a university degree. Concerned with education, culture and communication, the group began to develop projects supporting the creative potential of the population and praising the internal view of the community. From its many projects and activities, the Memory Network came to life starting from the awareness and understanding of the local memory, history and identity of the inhabitants. Thus, the registration of information, documents, statements, imagery and objects, the creation of a file, the publishing of books and exhibitions about Maré all contributed to the emergence of the Museum project. Another contributing factor was that in 2003, CEASM was permitted an inactive building to develop its activities.

Open since 2006, the museum is part of a larger cultural equipment: The Maré Culture House, which occupies storage areas and warehouses which had been used as shipyards until the 1990's. Due to its big spaces, CEASM decided to house their workshops and projects related to the preservation of local memory there, among which is the Maré Museum itself, regarded by the Culture Ministry as the first *favela* Museum in Brazil.

The collection is mostly composed of donations by the inhabitants, organized so as to tell the visitor the story of the community from its own point of view[8]. A tall and small stilt house, reproducing the type of housing that was typical of the area for decades, is the main piece of the museum. With the stilt house we can recognize the habitation pattern as one of the most important of local history and a fundamental aspect of the construction of that group of people and the place's spirit.

The stilt house, that gathers the memories and pieces of its inhabitants' lives and personal experiences (Vieira, 2007), acts as a shelter for the bodies and a support for the former dwellers memories. The spotlight on the stilt house works as a self-affirmative statement: despite eradication, the stilt house shan't be forgotten. It has gained new meaning: the despised symbol of extreme poverty becomes the milestone of heroic resistance times.

The resistance aspect is emphasized with elements that remind the labor and effort to build a home in a region where natural resources were so unfavorable. The mere existence of the Museum shows resistance against hegemonic cultural processes by placing the *favela* as a culture and memory space and acknowledging the differences amongst the many communities that compose Maré, and placing it as a heterogeneous and diversified space.

Following this thought, the Museum stands out by "[stating] as the core of its main interest not preservation action, but the social lives of its inhabitants" (Chagas; Abreu, 2007). Its intention is cultural, social and political, for it intends to get the inhabitant in touch with their origin and bringing awareness about their history, indicating that the memory of Maré lies within those who dwell in it.

AYPCG – MARÉ CENTER FOR ART AND POPULAR CULTURE

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[8] See: Seldin (2008).

The Maré Center for Art and Popular Culture is the result of action taken by the Angola Ypiranga de Pastinha *Capoeira*[9] Group and relied on other cultural action groups in a process of dispute and occupation of an estate where many actors were involved.

There's a closed construction material factory at Maré, whose legal owners faced great difficulty selling the estate due to the location, an area of notorious violence and constant drug dealing gunfire wars – a largely media-promoted image. Therefore, the estate remained abandoned for about two decades, with tax evasion by the owners who accumulated high debt to the City Hall. As a solution, they proposed that the estate be donated to an institution able to take care of the debt, which did not happen.

The abandonment of the estate – composed of a 5-story administration building and two large yards – was known by the neighbors, many of whom understood that those spaces were available and ready for occupation. Thus, in the past few years, the place has been invaded by the homeless and young people connected with drug traffic, which resulted in massive destruction of the buildings.

Aware of such processes, the Neighbor Association tried to avoid destructive occupation by contacting the owners and the authorities, proposing that one of the yards be cleaned and turned into a sports court with the help of the same people that were tearing the place down. The people would then be able to work together with the Association, starting off a period of articulation and negotiation among a wide range of social agents including non-locals, other associations, culture groups and NGOs, legal owners, authorities and the local drug dealers. The cleaning of the yard happened along six months and the revenue from the scraps sold was reinvested to benefit all the parties involved, all of which began to feel entitled to utilize the space.

Nonetheless, negotiation between the owners and the authorities fell through and resulted in transference of property to the City Hall. Despite the efforts from community leaders and culture groups, the slow pace of the government and the difficulty in keeping an ongoing maintenance program led to yet a new destruction of the estate, this time around accompanied by the occupation of one of the yards by people expelled from their original communities, therefore triggering a behind-the-walls *favelization* process.

In 2006, facing a new imminent occupation, a culture group took over the ground floor of the administration building in an attempt to keep that space and prevent new invasions. It was the Angola Ypiranga de Pastinha Street Dance Group. This group intends to combine physical practice with teaching of the history of *capoeira*, highlighting its black roots and seeking to form new educational agents able to bring awareness through their art.

The Angola *Capoeira* adopted by the Maré group values the connection of dance, defense and sway (of the body), which demand great flexibility, speed and muscle effort. *Capoeira* also demands that the participant will be able to take initiative based on reasoning, intuition and improvisation in response to the tricky moves of the opponent. That points out another important characteristic of *capoeira*: the

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[9] Brazilian Street Dance: originally, a martial art, a fight slaves practiced as a dance in colonial times.

necessity to take position, ever present in fight situations, and which can be seen as a preparation for life and facing daily life problems.

The successful enterprise made other culture groups notice the potential in the building, and smaller cultural groups (a music project, a jiu-jitsu school and a recording studio) tried to join efforts with the *capoeira* group, spreading their centers along the five-story building. That's how the alternative culture nucleus Maré Center for Art and Popular Culture began.

SPACES AND TERRITORIES

The cases seen are not single examples around that region; on the contrary, its surroundings also hold actions, spaces and transformation processes. Despite the great diversity, they still keep things in common: the location amid the porosity on the border of industrial zones and *favela*s, the cultural activities and the pro-active stand of the groups. They reflect current phenomena that articulate urban vacants and cultural action.

Be it in the materiality of the stilt house at the Maré Museum or in the immateriality of *capoeira* practice at the Center for Art and Popular Culture, popular action is present showing various ways to affirm people's right to achieve culture, the city and citizenship.

It is worth noticing that the two examples are cases that best represent this intention, besides being bottom-up constitution processes: through the creation of the first *favela* museum in Brazil, CEASM affirms and reassures the meaning of its community history, and the GCAYP, through the invasion and occupation of the estate, as well as the practice, education and promotion of *capoeira*, a sign of its African-Brazilian origins.

Both reported cases show the creation of new spaces in architectural and urban scale. Those are new spaces in architectural terms because they are originally industrial buildings whose internal spaces have been modified so as to serve to other purposes, cultural ones. In this sense, we regard them as cultural equipment although they don't fit the formal or traditional description, like libraries and theaters. Finally, these spaces are also urbanely new, because with the combination of both analyzed centers and five other cultural equipment[10], the common surrounding define a new, cultural territory.

According to Bonnemaison (2002:99), the symbolic relation between culture and space is expressed and strenghtened through the territory. This relation occurs when three complementary elements articulate: a social group, its culture and its territory. Theoretically, this territory presents a group of hierarchy-guided places connected by a network of itineraries established by a given social group in its social-cultural and social-spatial practices. In therms of urbanism, we understand the itineraries networks as free public spaces – streets, squares, etc., which connect places. And we understand places as poles where groups concentrate and their culture is condensed as symbols: materially, through architecture, or immaterially, through practices carried out there, and the meanings that remain

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[10] Reference to Observatório das Favelas (Favela Watch), Lona Cultural (Culture Center) that also shelters a municipal library, CEASM, Marés Network and Maré Center of Arts headquarters.

impregnated. We point out with Baker (2005:445) that places are socially constituted locations where the production of sense of space happens.

But how to understand these spaces and territories? First we can consider this new territory, this porous border, as cultural, because the places defined by it are exactly the cultural equipment, and the activities held there, artistic and cultural, polarize the surroundings.

Many authors regard such territory as the result of resistance spaces. Like Holston (1996), who regards such spaces as social affirmation spots, to "go against" or, as mentioned by the author, of "insurgent citizenship". The connotation of resistance associated with the opaque spaces is also present in Ribeiro (2004), when noticing that "its inhabitants are the real pioneers of creative opportunities, insubordinate and disruptive", because "truly radical innovation comes from these inhabitants and their space." The connotation of resistance, creativity and transformation is also present in Fortuna e Silva (2002) and Porto (2005), who claim these spaces as "privileged locus of social structure transformation."

The study of the formation and transformation processes in the existing space, architectural or urban, discloses a recurring peculiarity: the mixing of not only heterogeneous, but apparently uncombined and messed up elements (formal and informal space, tradition and renewal, housing, labor and culture, among other). Thus, space, time, processes and activities are constantly in transition and also mixed in. It's a territory emerged differently from before, from specific elements, but from a mix: it is born hybrid and impregnated with culture.

These observations go back to Canclini (2008) and his hybridization definition: "…social-cultural processes where discreet practices or structures, which exist separately get combined to generate new structures, objects and practices". The author highlights that more important than the study of hybridization is the study of hybridization processes. Hence it makes sense to take into consideration the possibility that those are indeed hybrid territories.

CHALLENGES FOR PUBLIC POLICIES AND PLANNING

How to deal with hybrid spaces? With unplanned spaces (*favelas*) that merge with planned spaces (industrial zones) that have been re-appropriated, converted and got new meanings?

On the one hand, we are dealing with new forms of appropriation, occupation and utilization of old buildings, while on the other hand, with new ways of land use that is subversive of the law, redefining, as we have seen, new territories which do not fit the current patterns. The public policies, in spite of advances related to the informal city - *favelas* and peripheries - still don't see this new reality clearly, of unfitting previously existing patterns, particularly those reported here: the occupation of vacant estate, the formation of slums behind walls and a cultural center with both characteristics.

The fact that the estate had been abandoned firstly reminds us of the City Hall departments of Treasure, which impose as a legalizing condition the payment of taxes due for long years (payment that owners of broken companies cannot afford, let alone with invasions and cultural actions in the *favelas*). The City Hall organs for planning are also active, collecting data about the areas and suggesting productive use of such spaces to companies and institutions (for example, big call

centers and social centers) without any proven practical results. Despite the news about studies and proposals of rehabilitation of great factory structures toward various activities, in Rio de Janeiro the official plans only take into account the revitalization of the Harbor Area and not the industrial areas.

In addition to the illegality of the occupations, we highlight the irregularity of the land use, especially the mixed land use. As we know, the legislation on land utilization in Rio de Janeiro was constituted when the modernist paradigm prevailed in urbanism and reinforced the strict division of urban functions recommended by the Letter of Athens and simply rejected the mixing of activities even though they were present in urban spaces[11].

Curiously, in this scene of ambiguous and contradictory urban norms toward the hybrid characteristic of the upcoming territory, it's the Federal policies that stand out in search of solutions to the reported cases. We refer to the Cultura Viva Program (National Program for Culture, Education and Citizenship led by the Culture Ministry), which attempts to rescue, incentive and preserve Brazilian culture; while its most well known actions are the Pontos de Cultura (Culture Spots). To do so they select groups, projects and cultural activities via public bidding to promote art, culture, citizenship and solidarity economy, providing them with the necessary support to survive. That's how the Maré Museum received recognition and became a Ponto de Cultura.

The contemporary plans and policies for opaque spaces aim at sanitation and urbanization, and only provide very little equipment and virtually never cultural facilities. Policies and specific plans for cultural territories and facilities tend to adopt models from Europe and USA with spectacular architecture and urban marketing, which were criticized by several authors because of its consequences such as gentrification (Meyer 1999, Miles 2001 and Zukin 1995) and spectacularization (Vaz and Jacques 2006). There are no models for a new hybrid, complex, cultural and popular territory.

Since the municipal planning does not bring contributions to this new territory, the study emphasizes the context and the process of space transformation, both architectural and urban, in order to guide, through the arrangement of the elements of the problem, to possible planning proposals.

The new territory, with inaccurate characteristics, remains a challenge for the public power. We have no answers to the questions that arise with this phenomenon. But we should remember Pinheiro (1986), to whom the dominant groups apparently "define, design and determine" the axis of expansion and occupation of the city, "but who redefines and redesigns" the planning imposed by the authorities is the population. Therefore, the poor people re-urbanize and rebuild the city in their own way.

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[11] A classical example of rejection of reality is how the urban legislation has treated the suburban areas along the 20th century. The boroughs were perceived as halfway between residential and downtown-ish, undefined between the nucleus and the inner city, undetermined between past and future, which led to emptiness and degradation (Vaz and Silveira, 2009). Only in the 1990's this picture began to change, when the mix started to be recognized and accepted as positive, and the presence of housing as essential for the central areas' public policies.

Curiously again, this territory, installed on the border of the *favela* and the neighborhood, can blurry the limits between the informal and the formal city. It can be pointing the emergence of possibilities to overcome one of the most serious social problems of Rio de Janeiro: its socio-spatial division.

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Aerial view of the Maré Complex

- 🟡 Centro de Arte e Cultura Popular da Maré
- 🔴 Museu da Maré e Casa da Cultura
- 🟢 Observatório das Favelas
- 🟤 Lona Cultural
- 🟡 Sede do CEASM/Redes Maré
- 🔴 Centro de Artes da Maré
- 🟪 Antiga zona industrial

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"GALATA" AS AN ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN STUDIO EXPERIENCE

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ABSTRACT

This study has been brought about due to the projects carried out in our country in recent years under the name of "transformation". The projects in question are directed towards developing various designs by dealing with an area of a city but at the same time by partly or completely neglecting it. In fact in this context our country has become a "trend" in the architectural sphere. Concepts such as urban transformation, urban change, urban renewal and urban environment are the concepts which form the basis of these schemes and which are among the most commonly found therein. We believe it is both valuable and necessary that these transformation projects, which involve individuals who take part in the academic process and who are concerned with studio education, should also be dealt with in the architectural education process. Formed out of this idea, the "architectural design studio" was conceived with the aim of enabling students to "re-think" the above concepts and, by creating various projects in this context, of increasing their "internalisation" and "awareness" of the subject.

In this case study, concepts such as urban transformation, urban change and urban environment, which are the "artificial" and, unfortunately, "sterile" concepts mentioned above, are discussed with the "Galata experience" on the basis of the students' designs.

INTRODUCTION

Accordingly, in Architectural Design Studios 4-5, which we are implementing in the 2009-2010 autumn semester at Uludağ University Department of Architecture, the "Galata Area" has been selected as the field of study. This area, with the architectural and experiential features it displays both for Istanbul and in terms of our other cities, offers a laboratory environment to designers. The existence of architectural and socio-cultural strata, laid down and developed during the course of history, has set the area before our eyes as a distinctive tissue. In the recent past, the overseas connections, arising from their trade dealings, of the "non-

Muslim-Levantine" group, the users of the Galata Area, gave rise to the appearance of various neo-classic structures imitating the Europe of the time. In this way, the singular and distinctive architectural tissue of Istanbul, which was quite different from that of the other regions and which arose from its own dynamics and vibrancy, has come down to us today.

GALATA

Names of the area: Sykai-Iustinianopolis-Galata-Pera

The area of Galata was known with different names in the past. Such as Sykai, Iustinianopolis and Galata. Sykai, meaning "figs", was mentioned in the 1st century B.C.E. first time in ancient sources And was described being accros Constantinople (Stabaro 1854). It became part of Constantinople around the year 425 and was known as the 13th region. (Mango 1991). When Avars reached the area during the siege of 626, it was still referred as Sykai (Chronicon 2007). Name Sykai remained in use as late as 11 century (Komnena 1996). It is believed that the area had its own city walls as early as the reign of Constantine I in the 4th century (Eyice 1994). City walls were restored in 528 by Justinian I who changed its name into Justinianai or Justinianopolis and recognized it as a city (Mango 1991). For the origin of the name Galata there are several theories. According to these: Galata was derived from " gala or galaktos = milk, or "calata=stairs leading to the port" in Italian (Eyice 1969). For the etymology of the word "galat = point or peninsula" in Thracian, was also suggested (Mitler 1979).

It is interesting to note that an inner harbour in Genoa is called "calata darsana" (Mitler 1979) probably having its origins derived from the Genoese settlement at Galata and referring to the Turkish word "tersane=shipyard".

As early as 717 there are references to the area under the name of "tou Galatou" or "kastellon ton Galaton"(Schneider and Nomidis 1944). Term Pera, which was used interchangably with Galata for this area, was most probably had its roots in Greek. "Pera en Sykais", is believed to have been in use by the local Greeks referring to the other side of the City (Eyice 1969) The "Pera en Sykais "changed into "Peran and Pera " in time respectively.

History of the area

Amalfitans and Venetians were granted the permission to settle in the Byzantine soil at the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century. They were followed by Pisans and Genoese (Wiener 1977). Genoese settled in Constantinople officially in 12 October 1155. Their presence provoked a group of rival citizens, namely Pisans, and Genoese were expelled from their quarter only to return in 1198 (Belin 1894).

After recapturing the City from the Fourth Crusaders, Byzantines exiled all foreigners staying behind in 1261 (Ostrogorsky 1991). Fearing from the increasing power of the Genoese, emperor Michael Palaeologos VIII decided to re-settle them at Heracleia, but changed his mind to allow them to settle in Galata instead (Nicol 1999). On 1 May 1303 a Byzantine imperial decree was given to the Genoese with the new borders of Galata (Marmara 2006). In March 1304 Genoese obtained a permit to build walls around their city.(Nicol 1999).

Bubonic plague, known in Europe as Black Death, reached Constantinople in 1347 by probably the Genoese trade vessels (Treadgold 1997). Byzantines intended to cut customs duties collected by the Genoese to end their financial difficulties especially caused by the bubonic plague. To force Genoese for an agreement, a makeshift navy was shaped by public money, which was destroyed by the Genoese navy in 1349. As a result, Byzantines allied themselves with their former enemy, Venetians (Nicol 1999). In the battle of 6 May 1352 combined Genoese-Turkish forces defeated the Byzantines. This marked a turning point in the history of Galata and Byzantine had no say on Galata anymore (Nicol 1999).

In 1396 former enemies Venice and Genoa together with the Byzantines defended the City against the Ottomans. In the same year Genoa was captured by French kingdom and Genoese colonies became part of French kingdom (Nicol 2002). A census after the Ottoman conquest indicates that the area of Perşembepazarı was inhabited by the wealthy Genoese, whereas eastern part of Galata was for the poorer Greeks and Armenians. Majority of the population was the Greeks (İnalcık 1994).

Venetians, who settled mostly on the southern part of the Golden Horn, began to have properties, probably summer mansions only starting from 1524 onwards (Ağır 2006).

Moors expelled from Spain in 1492 were relocated in the area, and former church was given to their use with the name of Arap camii (Eyice 1969). Arap camii was the main catholic church of Galata for that reason there were a very big number of burials within the building and its vicinity. Most of the gravestones have been found during the restoration of Arap camii between 1913-1919 were transferred to Istanbul Archaeological Museums (Wiener 1977).

Jews of the city, prior to the Ottoman conquest were mostly living in the areas of Eminönü-Sirkeci. Immigrating Jews from Spain as early as 1492 and following decades were settled along the Golden Horn in the area of Galata as well (Eroğlu 2000). In the 17th century the areas formerly inhabited by Genoese were settled by the Jews (Wiener 1977). In April 1660 a conflagration laid waste ¾ of Galata including churches (Sakaoğlu 1994).

Life of Galata, also referred as Pera by the contemporary sources, was described in detail in the famous work of Eremya Çelebi Kömürcüyan (Kömürcüyan 1988). In a similar manner but more detail was provided by P. Ğ. İncicyan about Galata in the 18th century (İncicyan 1976). A project to provide water, which was scarce in the area, started in 1730 and completed in 1839 (Wiener 1977) added to the value of the properties of Galata. Large portion of the city walls of Galata, which were neglected since the 16th century, were pulled down in the 19th century. (Hasluck 1904)

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Within the scope of the 2009-2010 autumn-term architectural design studio, a studio period was carried out in which, rather than examining the shape of the architectural product, the concept and the urban context forming the design were examined, in which a number of impressions coming from the city were given importance, and in which the place of communal living in architectural design was underlined.

During the studio period, the following were among the main topics investigated:

- What are the higher concepts that are valuable in shaping design?

- What is the most important feature of urban space that can be realized by design?

- What are the potentials of urban space?

- What are the valuable aspects of urban space?

- What kind of relationship should there be between the environment and structures?

- If any element of the designed structure or of the area is removed, what will the structure lose?

- What does the designed structure contribute to the environment?

- What is the effective factor in the formation of the design?

- How is the functional relationship worked out?

- How does the designed structure contribute to the environment in terms of continuity?

During the studio period, when the necessity for the design to begin with a concept and for this concept not to be formed separately from the context were emphasized, the students had the chance, thanks to the juries carried out, to be appraised at frequent intervals. During the appraisal, the existing pattern, the continuation of the pattern, the impressions and their architectural significance, the continuity of the impressions in the third dimension, and the concrete architectural meanings that can be produced by the impressions forming this pattern rather than their figurative potentials, were examined.

DESIGN STUDIO APPROACH

The basis of the methods we apply in the architectural design studio rely on the concepts of creativity and the freedom of the individual. With this aim in mind, during the study period, it has been our intention to enable the students to come up with various proposals and to transform them into projects, and, during this process, to consider such concepts as change and transformation. During the course of this case study, however, the approach employed for the students relies completely on processes such as problem-finding, exploring the subject, and developing suggestions towards finding solutions. Within this framework the students were left entirely free without any kind of guidance programme in their hands.

This unique architecture of Galata and the fact that it has to a large extent retained its architectural character were the determining factors in choosing it as the field of study of Architectural Design Studios 4-5. With the aim of enabling students to perceive and comprehend this field better, support has also been obtained from different disciplines. For this purpose, academic staff of the Archaeology Department of the Mimar Sinan University of Fine Arts have described Galata and its environs on location to our students by evaluating its development over the course of history. During the narration and excursion, relevant questions

related to "socio-cultural structure", "urban strata" and "physical formation" were asked by the students. In this context, the intention was for the students to internalise the region and project area by increasing their perceptions even further. After this investigation and research had been carried out in the field, the "project area", "problems and potential of the area" and "socio-cultural structure" were evaluated by discussion in the studio. Later, by making use of the synergy created by the group study, a model of the area and a model generated in a virtual environment were prepared collectively.

During the progress of the studies on an individual level, the principle of making sure the students could work in a free environment was adopted by the studio coordinators. Going beyond the simple concept of "client-consultant", working as instructors who are more experienced than the "client" but who are themselves always ready to learn, and avoiding clichés and prejudices accepted as rules, are the principles we have adopted.

In architectural design education, when the jury method is examined conceptually, a kind of judicial system may be assumed to exist within it. In this context, in the studio environment we have devised, the students are left alone and as instructors, we have tried to stay to one side. In this way, the students are sure to ask each other questions and to interact with one another. Another result of this approach is to ensure that one student will think about the other students' projects and will work on several projects instead of on just one.

STUDENT WORKS

It was proposed that the Galata area, which has a very lively and varied make-up, should be made familiar to the architectural students by giving them architectural and socio-cultural data related with both its history and with its present state. Later, in the light of the first visit conducted as a group, the students attempted to familiarize themselves with the area as individuals. The "distance factor", arising from the fact that the area is away from Bursa, accelerated the work done, and the information regarded as missing was completed at the weekends.

In the studio, the students who made up the study group fictionalized the area both with a joint field model and with the aid of three-dimensional computerized models in a digital environment. In the following period, an environment suitable for discussion of the problems and potential of the area was created with the students and, by evaluating the results, topics which could motivate the area were emphasized. The chosen subjects were generally found to be in the direction of cultural, artistic and touristic activities. The studies in question and the original student reports appear below.

> *"The project proposes a new axis to the north of the one joining Sadi Konuralp Street with the Galata Tower. Part of the axis located in Halihazır intersects a multi-storey car park and marriage office at the point where the project site is located. The creation and consolidation of this axis is targeted by the removal of these structures and the construction of the opera house proposed in their place. The positioning of the opera house within the site forms a street which completes the axis, and cafés are proposed on the ground floors of the neo-classic structures forming a façade of this street which is linked to Şişhane metro station, thus making it possible to liven up the street." Figure 1 (Ercan Çelikkıran).*

Figure 1. Culture Center (Ercan Çelikkıran).

"The site is located in the Galata District of Istanbul. It is in the place to the west of Galata Tower known as Kuledibi. The site is reached from **Galipdede Street and Yüksekkaldırım Street. The situation of Galata Tower** *in this area increases the frequency of usage. In this project, an appraisal directed towards the user of the area has been made. By facilitating a* **stopover on this axis running from İstiklal Street to Karaköy, the aim has** *been for users coming to Galata to preserve that environment by using it in different ways. The fact that Galipdede Street is known as the Musicians' Market has been important in determining the subject of this project. For this reason, music studios and exhibition areas which will serve the district and ensure a stopover here have been designed. By also considering the lack of green areas in the Galata District, a green buffer zone has been created between Galata Tower and the project site. In this area a performance stage for musical shows is located."* **(Figure 2, Figure 3) (Derya Kırıl)**

Figure 2. Rhythmic Arts Center *(Derya Kırıl)*   Figure 3. Rhythmic Arts Center
(Derya Kırıl)

"In the study carried out in the Galata District, which because of its historical texture and location has an important identity in an urban context, the need for urban space in the area and particularly the need for a wide passageway for pedestrians have formed the starting point of the design. The general functions in the project are made up of a fashion design centre, sales units and cafés. The "historical wall" located in Kuledibi has been utilized in the project as an exhibition area." (Figure 4) (Burcu Şanlı).
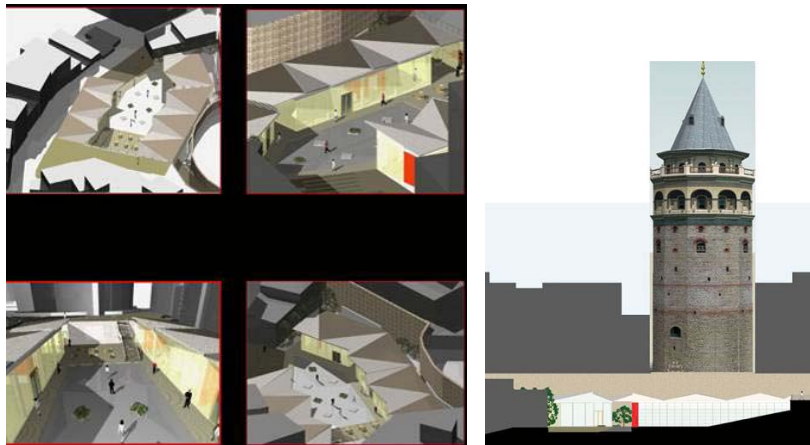
Figure 4. Fashion Design Center *(Burcu Şanlı).*

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"Designed as a Visual Arts Centre, the site is located in Galata District between Serdar Ekrem Street and Dibek Street beside Doğan Apartment. At the idea stage of the design, the "cul-de-sac pattern" prevalent in this area forms the main concept of the project. A street which both links and feeds these culs-de-sac has been envisaged. Devised with ramps and transparent items, the intention is for mobility and, for all users, for "chance and awareness" to be created in the street and studios". (Figure 5, Figure 6) (Didem Yönter)
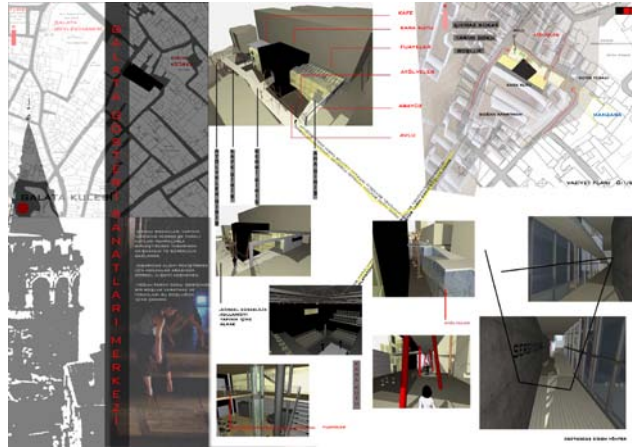
Figure 5. Visual and Performance Arts Center (Didem Yönter)

Figure 6. Visual and Performance Arts Center (Didem Yönter)

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"I have attempted to produce designs which, by various active locations, will keep alive by night and day the area known as Asmalı Mescit Street, a name which was in some way given to that area and which was later perceived as rather out of favour by those who lived there. These are made up of designs on four different plots and a bridge which links them. of these, the plots I have numbered as 1, on İstiklal Street, and as 3 on Sofyalı Street which joins Tunnel Square and where the existing social places are in abundance, are each proposed as enclosed spaces. The other two sectors, numbered 2 and 4, are proposed as interfaces." (Figure 7, Figure 8) (Tuğçe Kodal)
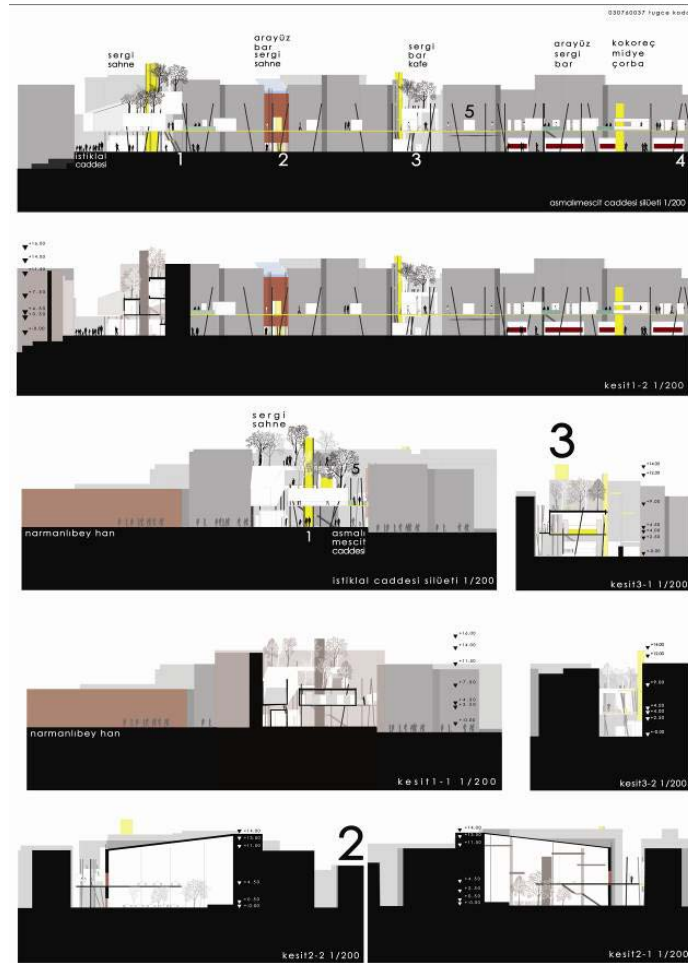
Figure 7. Mixed used complex (Tuğçe Kodal)
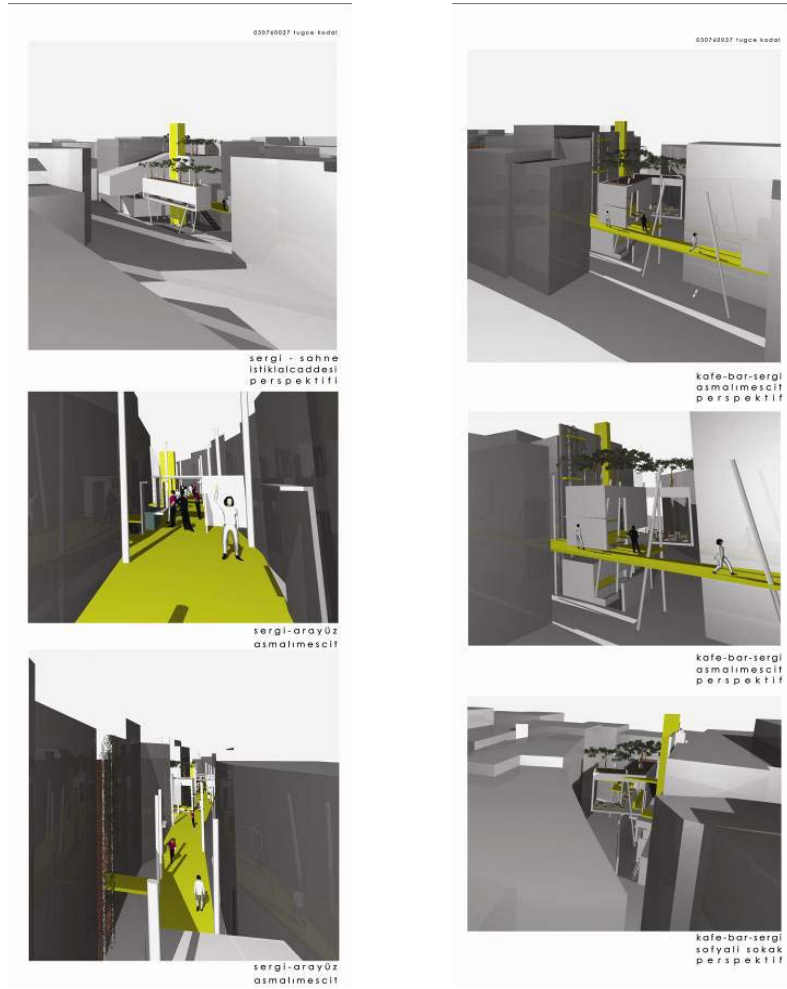
Figure 8. Mixed used complex (Tuğçe Kodal)

Besides the student projects presented in detail above, among the other projects designed for the area there appear a music school, a painting and sculpture studio, a bookshop and residence design, a cultural centre, a jazz centre, a photographic centre, a boutique hotel, an arts and culture centre, a fashion design house, an information centre, a maritime museum, an exhibition and display centre, accommodation for motorcyclists, an entertainment centre, a library, and a modern art museum and centre.

In the projects mentioned above, among the main concepts which appear are network, bridge, focal point, dynamism, street, impression, custom, square, green, popularity, permeability, stopover, interface, contact, and treed rooftop.

CONCLUSIONS

The process of architectural design is still being debated at present, and a clear formula or approach has not yet been accepted.

The reason for this is the existence in the world of architecture of a variable and "unique individual" process which is dependent on the person, environment and culture. Architecture defined by the Vitruvian concepts of "venustas, utilitas, firmitas" (aesthetics, function, structure) alone will not be sufficient nowadays. Context in today's architecture makes it necessary for architecture to be evaluated not in a single area but as an extension of the city. In this way, context has necessarily affected architecture and therefore the design process.

With the features mentioned above, the Galata district is like an architectural laboratory. This unique pattern possesses great potential for revealing how valuable context is in the architectural design process. For this reason, Uludağ University Department of Architecture chose to work in a different area away from the studies being made in Bursa, with the aim of developing the students' points of view. Nowadays Galata, which has a considerably dynamic nature, continues to change shape rapidly.

When we look at Galata and the area in this sense, it can be seen that the Levantines and minorities who formerly inhabited and used the area have to some extent abandoned it. Later, the fact that the abandoned areas were to some extent filled by lower-income groups made it inevitable that the area should reach the state of "depressed area". The present state of usage, however, has reached a completely different dimension to the previous one. Various interventions made at specific points have resulted in the area's acquiring the status of "centre of attraction" for higher-income groups. This situation has paved the way for changes on both the single-building and the city-block scales. Naturally, this change has affected not only Galata and its immediate environs but also Istanbul as a whole. This situation is still continuing spontaneously.

One of the fundamental aims of the design period was to open architectural students' sensory channels, in other words, to stimulate their aural, visual and kinetic perceptions, their senses of touch and smell, and their awareness of being involved in group work. The congruence of the product of the designed project with the scenario – coherence, the "context-concept-product" relationship, and the presentation of the product were treated as the main evaluation criteria.

In the architectural design studio, first of all the names of the various neighbourhoods making up the Galata town pattern were given to the students, who were required to go around and study these patterns, obtain impressions belonging to community life, and ascertain the important landmarks, axes and guiding impressions of the area. It was emphasized that experiencing this whole pattern was a "city study" and that these studies were essential in the design process. The city study period was planned in two stages, which were defined simultaneously as utilizing technology and sociological observation and evaluation. As a method, it was proposed that the historical and socio-cultural features of the urban space where the design was to be carried out should be researched, the layout plans examined, and the photographs and sketches studied, and that the area should be observed and experienced at different times. Within the scope of the architectural design studio, the students, working in urban spaces located in

various areas of the existing historical urban pattern of Galata, experienced a design process in which the environmental and spatial features of the site where the urban space was located, as well as the "urban context" based on social formation, were examined.

It was required that in parallel with the evaluations made by the students, an individual and detailed scenario, related with the users of the building to be designed, should be drawn up by each student. In this work, it was intended that the student should ascertain existing problems related to misuse of space, find a way for himself/herself in the design process, and therefore develop his/her individual creativity. After this, the students experienced a period in which, while remaining faithful to the individual scenarios they had written within the urban pattern, their projects were reciprocally discussed.

Both by the one-to-one appraisals given in the communication between the teacher and student during the studio period, and by the evaluations made by the students taking part in the studio by asking each another critical questions, we believe that the most important benefit of this studio period and our major findings have been that by stressing the issue that one function of design in a general sense is its aim and reason, the students have acquired the viewpoint that design cannot be considered separately from concept, environment and context.

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THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TOWN PLANNING AND HOUSING (1939-1954): A NETWORK OF URBANISM IN THE SPANISH POST CIVIL WAR PERIOD

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ABSTRACT

In the post Spanish Civil War period, the autarchy system established by the new dictatorship claimed the reconstruction of the destroyed towns and housings as a Renaissance based on the idiosyncratic Spanish values. There were some official bureaus which assumed the responsibility of the cities and housing reconstruction. There were also some advances in the town planning practical development like the town planning of Madrid or the town planning of Valladolid, or assemblies like the First Architects official Meetings in 1939. But one of the most singular experiences was the creation of the private society The National Federation of Town Planning and Housing. The aim of the National Federation of Town Planning and Housing (Spain, 1939-1954) was to create the social environment appropriated to let the human and dignity development in the habitability conditions. These society ideals were inspired in the work of the Inter-allied Conferences of Paris (1919) and London (1920), in the context of the First World War European reconstruction. The first words of the inauguration session of the society were pronounced by the President, César Cort, who introduced Ildefonso Cerdá as the referent of the town planning culture.

In the middle of the Spanish post-war period, forums for debate on housing and its role in society proliferated. The subject arose in the context of the need to find a practical and effective solution to the demand for housing which had emerged. Various official organisations were created with the aim of solving the problems of housing and town planning, questions which were considered closely related. These organisations reflected the position taken by the several powers and authorities of the new regime. Their functions were not clearly defined, and the responsibilities assigned to each often overlapped.

The debate also served to put into practice the ideal pursued by the new regime based on values endemic to Spain, both in a rural and urban context. The *Asambleas Nacionales de Arquitectura* (National Architecture Conferences) introduced by the Spanish Phalange —The official political party—under the direction of Pedro Muguruza, the first *Federación Nacional de Urbanismo y Vivienda* (National Federation for Housing and Town Planning) congresses, instituted by César Cort and the articles in journals such as *Reconstrucción* (Reconstruction) or *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* (The National Journal of Architecture), successor to the journal, *Arquitectura* (Architecture), all constituted some of the principle means of discussing these issues. The context of these deliberations was limited to Spanish territory, only occasionally extending as far as a consideration of Portugal or Latin American countries. The experiences of other

countries were transmitted indirectly, through communications or exhibitions which were reported in specialist journals.

The daily press reported these meetings, and occasionally gave in-depth coverage of the issues discussed. The first publication by an organisation concerned with town planning in the post-war period was *Campos urbanizadas y ciudades rurizadas* (The urbanised countryside and ruralised towns) by César Cort, published in 1941. The second Spanish publication was the work of Gabriel Alomar, *Teoría de la ciudad. Ideas fundamentales para un urbanismo humanista* (Theory of the city. Fundamental ideas for humanistic town planning), published in 1947. There were some advances in the practical development of town planning like the Plan of Madrid by Pedro Bidagor or the Plan of Valladolid by César Cort.

Meanwhile, Europe was suffering his own disaster. The hurts it seemed to be very deep, but the American help and technical development caused the economic expansion and the social changes. The countries confronted the reconstruction of a different way. Great Britain and URSS developed a hug effort to fit the planning programmes to the urban reconstruction. The building reconstruction in Italy, France and Germany didn't stimulate a parallel town planning development. In Italy the problem was serious due to the weakness of the planning institutions. In Germany the instrument of planning control was strong. France was lacking the tumultuous Italian edification industry. Once again, the Scandinavian countries and mainly Holland developed a balance between architecture and town planning.

THE HISPANIC FEDERATION FOR HOUSING AND TOWN PLANNING

In 1939, César Cort proposed the creation of the Hispanic Federation for Housing and Town Planning. This Federation was based on the ideals inspired by two inter-related conferences, which were also the first international conferences he attended, held in Paris (1919) and London (1920) in the context of reconstruction following the First World War. The principle of economic autonomy from the authorities which marked the Federation from its inception enabled him to implement his aim of creating an organisation which would serve as the focal point for the existing conglomeration of official organisations and approaches which never fully satisfied his purposes. Although a high esteem for all things Spanish impregnated the atmosphere of the times, it is not possible to establish a relationship in Cort's thought between this esteem and the autarchic approach of the times, an attitude which he rejected.

The Hispanic National Federation for Housing and Town Planning was soon obliged to drop "Hispanic" from the name, by order of the authorities. Nevertheless, in spirit at least, the Federation maintained its concern and links with the Latin American world. It also maintained a presence in Portugal, one of the countries with which Spain still had political relations and two of the Federation's conferences were held there. César Cort's close relationship with this neighbouring country was influenced both by commerce, through certain aspects linked to his business activities, and by emotional attachment, given that he was still in contact with the exiled royal family. His frequent visits even led him to occasionally take up residence in Lisbon, and his command of the Portuguese language was of great service.

The aims and objectives of the Federation were clearly stated in the articles comprising its regulations:

"Article 1: Under the title of Federation for Housing and Town Planning, this Society is hereby established in Madrid which the aim of contributing to the study and dissemination of town planning precepts and resolving associated general problems, together with those related to housing.

Article 2: In order to fulfil its social and teaching mission, the Federation will give priority to the following activities:

a. The organisation of conferences, discussions and debates concerning topics related to those disciplines which form the basis of the Federation's work.

b. Participation in Congresses and Conferences organised by other national and international organisations concerning housing and town planning.

c. Organisation of information from Spain and abroad concerning the current situation of basic housing and town planning problems, with the aim of acquiring criteria with which to assess such problems.

d. The organisation of national and international conferences to facilitate the exchange of opinions and information between the individuals and Organisations concerned, in order to clarify and resolve housing and town planning issues.

e. The organisation of exhibitions respecting housing, town planning and the services which affect the formation and function of local organisations.

f. The organisation of study centres and experimental laboratories to undertake a teaching role with respect to personnel in community and provincial Administration, Architects, Engineers and others who wish to enhance their understanding of subjects pertinent to local government in villages.

g. To publish pamphlets, books and, circumstances permitting, a journal, dealing with topics related to the Federation's activities.

h. To create a library for the use of members, to which university students at Schools of Architecture and Engineering will also be admitted".

The Federation achieved most success with the organisation of congresses. These were held biannually between 1949 and 1954, in Madrid, Barcelona, Seville, Lisbon, Asturias, Galicia, the Basque Country, Porto, and Palma, Majorca. The other initiatives, such as editing publications, awarding prizes or participating in other congresses were less successful, although the Federation did publish its own congress proceedings.

After 1954, the Federation virtually disappeared. César Cort's attempts at dissemination focused on publicising International Town Planning Day, an initiative which was launched in Spain in 1950. Projects such as the publication of a journal, for which the title, *Campo y ciudad* (Country and City) had already been decided, or the city exhibitions which had been discussed at the first congress, were never implemented. The most important study published by the Federation was César Cort's own book, *Campos urbanizadas y ciudades rurizadas* (The urbanised

countryside and ruralised towns) in 1941. In subsequent decades, the Federation published some of the commemorative publications concerning International Town Planning Day.

The inauguration of the Hispanic Federation for Housing and Town Planning was held on the 20th February 1940, and on the 21st February 1940, the newspaper *El Alcázar* published an article entitled "Política urbanística (Town planning policies)", in which the following appeared:

> "Sr. Serrano Súñer, describing the mission of the Town Planning Federation, emphasised that the key to town planning policy was sanitation. Given that "the existence, strength and health of the nation come first", aspirations to national greatness should be based on achieving a strong, healthy Spanish citizen, in a salubrious and comfortable home, in a hygienic city or village." (...) The State powers have entrusted most of the responsibility for construction-related matters to the municipal powers; and he solemnly declared that all architectural undertakings should inescapably, necessarily and obligatorily be subject to Political approval".

Reports in newspapers such as the *ABC* or *La Vanguardia Española*, gave a full account of the activities of the National Federation for Housing and Town Planning, as they were to do later concerning another initiative aimed at dissemination which has continued to the present day, International Town Planning Day, and César Cort was frequently referred to in his role as President of the Federation. However, in contrast to the International Town Planning Day, the National Federation never transcended its status as a personal project on the part of César Cort, and did not enjoy any level of continuity except in terms of recognition for the efforts ventured.

THE NATIONAL FEDERATION FOR HOUSING AND TOWN PLANNING CONGRESSES

In 1940, the Federation's first congress was held in Madrid. It brought together all the movements of the time, which were still waiting for the new regime to define its position. Pedro Muguruza, whose position in the Dirección General de Arquitectura (Council for Architecture) accorded him political leadership, was among those who attended the congress. The inauguration ceremony was a solemn event which took place in the historic Palacio del Senado (Palace of the Senate) and was presided over by the then Minister of the Interior, Ramon Serrano Suñer. The date chosen for the congress coincided with the so-called Columbus Day (then known as the "Day of the Race" or "Fiesta de la Raza") on the 12th of October, a date charged with symbolism which continued to be a point of reference for the congresses, with the exception of those held in Portugal.

In César Cort's inaugural speech to the Board of the Federation for Housing and Town Planning, he emphasised the need to reclaim the figure of Ildefonso Cerdá, in many ways the father of Spanish town planning culture. Firstly, Cort highlighted his pioneering approach, including Cerdá's repeated attempts in the mid-20th century to convince the authorities of the need to establish guidelines and precepts for city construction, together with his approach to problems concerning communication techniques, his belief in the social implications of town planning, and his role as an educator. Recognition of Spain's role in the creation of American cities, and a

tribute to José Calvo Sotelo as the author of the Municipal Statute (1924), which was still in force, completed his presentation.

Among the list of member architects and attendees were Ricard Giralt Casadesús, Javier Goerlich, Modesto López Otero, Pedro Bidagor and Pedro Muguruza. Speakers' names began to recur at subsequent congresses, such as Guillaume Busquets Vautravers, José Paz Maroto, José Fonseca, Mariano García Cortés, José Gascón y Marín and Gonzalo de Cárdenas, giving an indication of the different professional profiles involved in the initiative. Architects were necessarily included within this concept of the diversity of town planning, but so too were engineers, lawyers, and municipal councils, and Federation congresses always enjoyed the active personal participation of various technical or political representatives.

The published proceedings offer a very full picture of the perspectives on town planning issues according to the various contexts in which they arose. The topics initially considered were simplified in later congresses, as were the corresponding conclusions reached. The congresses were organised as is habitual for these kinds of meetings, that is, there were various days of plenary sessions where papers were presented and discussions and debates held, together with excursions to sites of interest supported by the active participation of the local authorities acting as host. César Cort participated actively in inaugural speeches, closing speeches and some debates. His papers, in contrast, were limited to his participation in the first and the last congresses. In the first, which was held in post-war Madrid in 1940, his theme was housing, whilst at the last, in Palma and coinciding with the introduction of structuralist economics, he spoke about the links between landscape and city, the metropolis and the countryside.

The issues addressed were of an eminently practical and contemporary nature, pursuing concrete solutions to concrete problems. Based on the specific social and political characteristics of Spain during the period when the congresses were held, no significant conceptual advances were made in the approach to town planning, except in the last congress where the issue of open spaces was the dominant theme. The conclusions repeated ideas and arguments, some of them proclaimed since the 20s. The invariable, repeated focus was housing in all its aspects, from a general overview to modest homes, rent, the value of urban land, the role of housing as an adjunct to industry, and minimum acceptable conditions.

The relationship between the rural context, small municipalities and the rural exodus raised in the 1940 congress recalled the arguments of the Italian *fascio,* which had been under scrutiny in Spain since before the Civil War. The teaching of town planning was also considered, aimed more at training municipal technicians than at a university education. At the Barcelona congress in 1942, industrial development and modest housing, together with cemeteries, reflected the predominant concerns in Catalonia. Although the relationship between town planning and historic and artistic heritage had been addressed since the first congress, conservation of architectural heritage received a more in-depth consideration at the 1947 congress in Lisbon. In 1951, the congress touched on the subject of surveying as a fundamental tool for appropriate urban development. At the congress in Palma in 1954, all attention was focused on open space; open spaces and the incorporation of landscape into urban perspectives constituted the principle topics addressed. The American influence in the training of the Majorcan architect Gabriel Alomar, an active participant at the event, became patent.

A final attempt to revive the Federation was made by José Fonseca in 1961[1]. At the first meeting of the Board of the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning in Spain, in Santiago de Compostela, he proposed to the Spanish delegates attending —who included César Cort as President, and Rafael de la Hoz, among others— that the role the National Federation for Housing and Town Planning had played for years should be revived. Although his proposal was accepted, it went no further.

FIRST CONGRESS, MADRID, 11TH TO 18TH OCTOBER 1940

Institutional delegates attending the first Congress included delegates from county councils, town councils and various corporations all related in some way with housing, delegates from Schools of Architecture, professional colleges, the Association for Municipal Architects in Spain (the Cuerpo de Arquitectos Municipales de España, or CAME), including Ricard Giralt-Casadesús, and the Chambers of Urban Property, whilst independent delegates included Amadeo Llopart, Juan de Zabala, Rey Pedrera, Modesto López Otero, Pascual Bravo Sanfeiú, Gaspar Blein, Gonzalo de Cárdenas, Javier Goerlich, Pedro Bidagor, Pedro Muguruza, Guillermo Busquets Vautravers, José Paz Maroto y José Fonseca, among many others.

At the inauguration of the first Congress, the minister for the Interior, Ramón Serrano Súñer, praised its "Hispanic" nature, considering it an indication of the responsibility to include those who were joined by a common language and the underlying Spanish culture implied by the town planning regulations established in the Laws of the Indies, in the push towards improving quality of life. As in the 20s, César Cort once again made a claim for Ildefonso Cerdá as the creator of town planning. In the rest of the speeches, the importance of the role of the municipal councils in land management was highlighted.

The conclusions of the papers were clear. The small municipal council, as a natural entity transcending the family, had become the basis from which to undertake appropriate actions. The implementation of incentive measures –rather than taxes– was proposed to encourage and control occupation of rural areas and curb the effects of the rural exodus. Support was given to the idea of creating an official housing organisation with responsibility for the supervision and inspection of existing residential stock, despite the existence of the Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda (National Institute for Housing) under the direction of José Fonseca.

As regards the structure of cities and districts, the need to establish a relationship between road infrastructure capacity, including motorways, and the actual number of cars on the road, was highlighted. In this way, planning for the road infrastructure would have a solid base on which to work. The creation of an Institute for Local Administration (the Instituto de Administración Local) was applauded, but concern was expressed over the deficiencies apparent in town planning teaching in the university system. Thus the interest of practitioners in dignifying and organising rural life, and defining a municipal structure, was made patent, together with the need to disseminate town planning science.

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[1] FONSECA, José, "Reunión del consejo de la Federación internacional de la vivienda y urbanismo", Arquitectura nº 36, 1961, pp. 13-16.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE HOUSING PROBLEM AND A PROPOSAL FOR THEIR SOLUTION, A PAPER BY CÉSAR CORT

César Cort's approach to housing was based on technical knowledge, but also on the role of housing as an economic asset. He viewed renting as a system which gave the working classes access to housing, making a clear distinction between access and use of the property, and possession. Thus, making landlords' profits compatible with working class access to housing posed an intractable problem. Such accessibility was based on the need for rent to strike a reasonable balance between the total income of the family nucleus —the family represented the basic unit in the social structure— and the money destined for housing.

As regards land value, of which the town councils were among the most active regulators, Cort felt that the value of construction in terms of the materials, the construction workers' pay and maintenance costs should define the actual value of the building. Once the problem had been framed, concrete proposals were established, amongst which precedence was given to private initiative as a solution. This conclusion was not unrelated to the fact that César Cort had been a property developer since the beginning of his professional practice. In the liberal context which informed his speech, and falling back on the conclusions of the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning Congress held in Rome in 1929, he opted for an attempt to balance building costs and rents with the aim of stimulating private capital, rather than State intervention through coercive measures or direct or indirect subsidies for building. The State's failure to produce cheap housing through subsidies had already been amply demonstrated. The proposed aim was based on reducing costs in order to increase landlords' profit margins, thus attracting private capital to the sector. Specifically, Cort proposed:

1. "It is of the utmost interest for town councils to implement land use policies which reduce the price of building plots and prevent chaotic construction with no concern for the overall effect and lacking structured stages of development.

2. Attempts should be made to construct entire neighbourhoods where elements suggested by economic principles are repeated, applying pertinent aesthetic foresight to avoid monotony, and pursuing the conceptual unity necessary to achieve coexistence of diverse social classes guided by a common ideal.

3. It would be advisable to undertake a scientific study of the organisation of the construction industry in order to increase work force efficiency, make better use of materials, avoid unnecessary or unsuitable technical interventions and establish the length of the working day according to season, consistent with the greater interests of the nation.

4. As long as production continues to raise prices, rents should also be progressively increased in order for construction to attract private capital, until such time as the number of fitting homes available in all centres of population renders the number of urban leases unnecessary".

The solution to the price of housing took an eminently municipal approach: the town councils' responsibility in their role as land use managers rendered them one of the main regulators. Other factors mentioned, which contributed to determining the price of housing, were very specific: increasing the level of professionalism and the efficiency of all participants in the housing construction process, from project stage through to technical management and the construction industry.

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Nevertheless, his insistence on reducing daily work force wages, rises in which had provoked a corresponding increase in the price of housing, aroused a controversy which other contributions concealed.

SECOND CONGRESS, BARCELONA, 21ST TO 30TH OCTOBER 1942

On the 26th of June 1942, César Cort visited the mayor of Barcelona to discuss arrangements for the Federation's Congress which, at the invitation of the city, was to be held in Barcelona. The inaugural session was held on the 21st October, and in his lengthy opening speech, César Cort, normally sparing with references, cited Raymond Unwin, who said "towns are what their inhabitants want them to be; throughout the ages, towns have been a faithful reflection of their residents, politically, socially and individually", and José Ortega and Gasset, who said "Democracy loses its meaning outside politics; it only makes sense in terms of representing equal rights and exemption of privileges, but one cannot presume that democracy permeates all aspects of life", to illustrate his understanding of town planning. His speech ended with a depiction of town planning as a tool to overcome class divisions, a position which he reiterated and which was very similar to the Phalangist vision of the city described in the Burgos meeting in 1938.

> "Future towns should be constructed and arranged so as not to perpetuate separation by social class, avoiding the development of working class neighbourhoods and residential divisions based on caste, in order to create a veritable Christian community where everyone interacts with each other and thus arrives at knowledge, the basis for firstly, respect, and after, esteem".

Simultaneously with the congress, the Federation organised an exhibition of town planning projects in which the Guipúzcoa district plan was presented, together with a study of housing for fishermen, the reform of Madrid districts around the Oriente palace, a project for the monument to the fallen, and Devastated Regions, which described the work being carried out in Catalonia. This exhibition overlapped in time with the inauguration of the Exhibition of German Architecture at the Parque de la Ciudadela Palace of Modern Art, which also hosted the Congress plenary sessions.

Guillermo Busquets, Jerónimo Martorell and Paz Maroto participated in the round table on the structure of districts in Barcelona in terms of industrial zones. As regarded modest housing, the topics raised included the importance of the town council as regards land use management for the construction of modest housing, incentives for housing construction and a proposal for creating Town Development Boards to supervise development proposals which affected inner city reform and the extension ("Eixample") and enlargement of the city. Speaking on cemeteries, José Paz Maroto described the need to clarify and simplify the numerous and diverse regulations in force governing a complex issue in which town planning, construction and religious factors all held sway. He suggested the creation of a green belt, one hundred metres wide, to isolate cemeteries,

THIRD CONGRESS, MADRID-SEVILLA-LISBOA, 3RD TO 16TH OCTOBER 1944

The Federation's third congress was inaugurated in the Madrid City Council building, the Patio de Cristales. Present were representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Portuguese authorities, and César Cort presided. Pedro Muguruza and Francisco Moreno Torres participated in the inaugural session, together with the professor for Administrative Law, José Gascón y Marín. The session concerning "modest housing in big cities" was held at the Seville City Council on the 12th of October, and delegates also visited an exhibition of municipal and provincial projects.

The issues addressed represented a continuation of those established during previous congresses. As regards modest housing, the need to integrate the social classes was emphasised, as was the importance of housing construction. In terms of protecting the countryside from substandard urban development, conserving the aesthetic qualities of the environment were seen as being of more importance than the aesthetic values associated with construction.

CONGRESSES HELD IN PORTUGAL: FOURTH CONGRESS, LISBON, 28TH JUNE TO 6TH JULY 1947 AND SIXTH CONGRESS, PORTO, 17TH TO 23RD JUNE 1951

On the 12th of January 1946, César Cort travelled to Lisbon in order to organise the congress which the Federation had decided to hold there. However, by request of the Portuguese president, Oliveira Salazar, the congress was postponed until the summer of 1947, in order to coincide with the centenary of the recapture of Lisbon from Muslim rule. And thus it was that the delegates attended the celebrations of the anniversary, which culminated in a lavish firework display. The Congress was inaugurated on the 30th June 1947, presided over by the Portuguese Minister for Public Works, José Federico Ulrico and Federico Mayo, Director of the Spanish Institute for Housing. Participants included Gaspar Blein, director of the Madrid City Council Urban Development Service, José Fonseca, head architect at the National Institute for Housing, and Juan Guerrero Ruiz, technical secretary at the Local Administration Authority. They all had close ties with César Cort and had coincided with him at various times in their professional careers.

Adolfo Florensa presented a communication in which he gave an exhaustive description of his interventions in Barcelona in terms of respecting the artistic and historic values of the city's heritage. He highlighted the broad meaning given to the term, which included the landscape beyond the city, urban landscapes, and entire neighbourhoods and towns. In order to protect the artistic and historic value of towns, proposals included the need to define the responsibilities of official organisations and to educate the public.

Mariano García Cortés and José Paz Maroto gave papers on renting and the economy. Promoting renting and cooperation through individual initiatives as a means to construct new housing, together with a minimum of State control, with measures enabling the mobilisation of capital in such a way that allowed subsequent self-regulation of rent between landlords and tenants, comprised the initiatives that were proposed.

The closing session on the 5th July, presided over by the Portuguese Minister for Public Works, brought the week of hospitality on the part of the Portuguese authorities to a close. The sixth Congress, from 17th to 23rd June 1951, was held in Porto, marking the continuity of the Portuguese presence. At this Congress, which was held the year prior to that of the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning in Lisbon, the two topics discussed were the information necessary for urban development and the minimum acceptable conditions for housing. In the words of Gabriel Alomar, this Congress marked the beginning of visits abroad by Spanish architects to this kind of professional convention.

FIFTH CONGRESS, GALICIA, ASTURIAS AND THE BASQUE COUNTRY, 20TH SEPTEMBER TO 4TH OCTOBER 1948

José Fonseca, Vice President of the Federation, and Gonzalo de Cárdenas were responsible for the organisation of the congress held in the north of Spain. The interest shown by the Council for Architecture, the Devastated Regions Authority and the Institute for Housing in doing their utmost to facilitate the success of the congress was noteworthy. The contribution of Devastated Regions to the north of Spain, and the visits to Protected Housing constructed by the National Institute for Housing comprised the two most significant features of this meeting.

Visits of a strictly professional nature included a visit to Gijon, where Valentin Gamazo, author of the General City Plan, Bilbao, acted as guide assisted by Pedro Bidagor, author of the District Planning Programme for Bilbao and Guernica, and a visit to the reconstruction carried out by Devastated Regions of these latter two towns. Such visits were complemented by others of a more social nature, such as a trip to Covadonga, where delegates were accompanied by the conservation architect Luis Menéndez Pidal, a personal friend of César Cort. On the 23rd September, the closing session was held in the Salón de Fonseca at the Pharmacy Faculty in San Sebastian, and presided over by Francisco Prieto Moreno, Director General of Architecture following the death of Pedro Muguruza in 1948.

The *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* published the report of a delegate from Puerto Rico, Santiago Iglesias, on the congress, who saw it as an official national congress of town planning in Spain. Holding Spanish town planning in high esteem, he particularly highlighted his admiration for the protected housing projects being carried out, which incorporated services such as child care, schools, shopping centres and parks, and for the directive laid down in terms of the obligatory and systematic study of costs and materials in construction. He also remarked on the high standard of cities visited, such as Oviedo, Gijon, Bilbao and Madrid.

SEVENTH CONGRESS, PALMA, MAJORCA, 10TH TO 17TH OCTOBER 1954

The most interesting feature of this Congress was the presence and active participation of Gabriel Alomar Esteve. In the inaugural speeches, he called for the generous provision of open spaces and gardens in cities, to be designed from a social as well as aesthetic perspective in order to meet citizen demands for recreational spaces. The President of the Institute for Gardening and Landscape Studies, the forester Gabriel Bornás y de Urculla, attended the Congress, and his intervention was focused on gardens and plant species in the city.

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Gabriel Alomar began his speech by supporting César Cort's argument for ruralising the city and urbanising the countryside. He focused on the social aspect of green spaces, looking at access to the various functions required by different age groups, for example children's playgrounds or predominantly sporting facilities in the case of adults. He finished his talk with a discussion of large, protected green spaces, including the national parks. He introduced the idea of park-ways as serving both as access routes and boundaries.

In the closing session, Pedro Bidagor, National Head of Town Planning, committed himself to trying, as far as he was able, to implement the agreements reached in all Federation Congresses, not just the present one in Palma, using them as a point of reference for the practical measures carried out by his organisation.

THE LANDSCAPE VIEWED FROM THE CITY, THE CITY VIEWED FROM THE COUNTRYSIDE, A SPEECH BY CÉSAR CORT

In his speech given at the seventh congress, César Cort proposed an ideal for viewing the natural landscape, calling for the right to access for all city residents. The way in which interventions were carried out in the city was of great importance in order to conserve views and thus give visual as well as physical access. The positive assessment given at the Lisbon Congress to the possibility of viewing the River Tagus, or Edinburgh Castle, from their respective city streets contrasted with the possibilities lost in Granada of contemplating the Alhambra from the Darro River. This ideal of perception could not be achieved without "the stimulus of the spirit, which enables us to attain the concept of beauty".

Cort frequently employed the example of Goya's 1787 oil painting, *La pradera de San Isidro*, to illustrate what he felt the image of a city should be. In the painting, Goya captured the feeling of the life and bustle of the crowd seated in the field, using Madrid as a backdrop, opening out to the Manzanares River. The background shows a panoramic scene of Madrid in which the beauty of light and colour is united with topographical precision, where the Royal Palace, the Seminary, the great dome of San Francisco el Grande and other completely recognisable towers which formed part of the scenery of Madrid at the time, are clearly identifiable.

He put forward the idea of a landscape viewed from the city, and a city viewed from the countryside, expanding on his arguments concerning the countryside-city relationship which he had presented in his 1941 book, *Campos urbanizados y ciudades rurizadas*. Understanding the land surrounding the city was crucial to gaining an understanding the city itself, and thus, for proposing any improvement which to a lesser or greater extent influenced the established relationship. Citizens needed to have access to this information in order to achieve awareness of the reality they inhabited.

This was the last congress of the National Federation of Housing and Town Planning.

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STORY OF TAKSIM SQUARE'S TRANSFORMATION: "FROM DEATH'S STILLNESS TO LIFE'S HUBBUB"

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ABSTRACT

The study will comprise Taksim Square's transformation from the 16th century to the present day. Maps and plans of the periods will provide bases of comparison for the land use patterns. This rural area on the outskirts of the Pera region of the Ottoman capital initially served as the graveyard for the plague victims of the 16th century and was referred to as "Grand Champs des Morts". This area with its superb position overlooking the entrance to the Bosphorus, became public promenade grounds where people strolled along the paths separating graves of Moslems and of different Christian sects. This use soon covered the entire area so as to obscure its original function. The "Maksem" - the water distribution system for the area, built within the first half of the 18th century and giving its name to the region, stood as the sole edifice of the area for many years. Construction of the Dolmabahçe Palace and the army barracks also conferred an official identity to the region. However, the barracks' location shows that this district was considered to be on the city's outskirts even during the 19th century. First years of the Turkish Republic witnessed the city square's development with its monument which marked the beginning of the actual and important construction activities. Soon, Taksim became the new city centre with its ever continuing dynamism. Today, Taksim is a focal point of entertainment, art and cultural activities.

INTRODUCTION

Taksim Square, is indeed the heart of present day's İstanbul, as the main centre of all activities and of the city's transportation system. With the monument of Atatürk as the symbol of the modern Turkish Republic, Taksim Square is hosting meetings, celebrations, concerts, attracting a considerable section of İstanbul's population. One of the city's main avenues- to-day's "İstiklal caddesi" (avenue of Independence), the former "Grand Rue de Péra" or Cadde-i Kebir" along which residences of the elite Levantines of the Ottoman era were concentrated- joins the Square at one end.

The aim of this study is to summarize the transformation of the Taksim Square, today's center of İstanbul and to point out the breaking points in that change, thus opening a discussion about the causal factors per era. Within this context, the subject is being treated under two headings, namely "the era of graveyards" and "the era of the square".

THE ERA OF GRAVEYARDS

Péra was an ancient rural settlement where, eventually, graveyards started to appear on the eastern and northern stretches (slopes of to-day's Tepebaşı and Kasımpaşa and present day's Taksim-Ayaspaşa-Gümüşsuyu areas) (Laqueur, 1993). The "Petit Champs des Morts" (Small Cemetery) on the east and the "Grand Champs des Morts" (Great Cemetery) on the north are represented as green densities in the general appearance of the region (Akın, 1998). These can be seen in the maps (Figure 1), gravures and photographs of the era.

The subject of this study is the "Grand Champs des Morts", that is the Great Cemetery where today's Taksim Square is situated. While the graveyard served as burial grounds for the plague victims of the 16th century, it was open to general use during the 17th century (Laqueur, 1993). There were Armenian Gregorian, Armenian Catholic, Latin Catholic, Protestant, Greek Orthodox cemeteries and also a Moslem cemetery on the slopes of Ayaspaşa. In time, these grounds became a very popular promenade and picnic area of the Pera region (Gülersoy, 1986) . The main reason for this new function was the superb position of the plane of to-day's Taksim Square, with a panorama including the Üsküdar landscape on the Asian shore , the Leander's Tower and the entrance to the Bosphorus. Graveyards in the East, unlike the Western tradition, are integral parts of daily lives. This peculiar approach, coupled with the arboreous green graveyards' beautiful view and their proximity to the narrow streets of Pera, facilitated the area's transformation into a public strolling place. Baron de Bussiére, secretary to the French ambassador of the period, depicts this setting as an area where even the highest trees cannot obscure the view of the Bosphorus on the left and the Princes' Islands and the Topkapı Palace on the right, presenting a beautiful expanse of scenery (Gülersoy, 1986). In the 18th century, signs of change in the area's function started to appear with the noticeable example of a coffee-house serving the strollers (Gülersoy, 1986). Thus, the passive green land started to transform into an active green area.

Figure 1 Alb_000043_22, Beyoğlu Atatürk Library

The first construction in the region was the "Maksem" which was the reservoir for storing and distributing the city's water, supplied from the northern forests. In fact, the name of the square,"Taksim", meaning "to divide", was derived from this portioning of water for distribution. Built by decree of Sultan Mahmut I, in 1732-33, this building can stil be seen at the junction of "İstiklal caddesi" and the "Taksim Square". Maksem was the most prominent building in the region until the middle of the 19th century, when the Ottoman government ordered removal of the Catholic and Protestant graves in the Grand Cemetery and commanded construction of "Taksim Topçu Kışlası" (Taksim Artillery Barracks) (Figure 2), "Taşkışla" (Stone Barracks) and the Military Hospital on the area (Laqueur, 1993).

Figure 2 Alb_000007_012, Beyoğlu Atatürk Library

In the region's plan of 1882, it can be seen that there was no single large graveyard, but a Moslem cemetery (Büyük Mezaristan) (Laqueur, 1993) was situated on the slopes of Gümüşsuyu and an Armenian cemetery (Surp Hagop) (Miroğlu, 2009) was to be found between the Taksim Topçu Kışlası and the military school.

During this period, the idea of parks for public recreation developed in the Ottoman capital. In 1864, during the road works of Taksim-Pangaltı, the Christian cemeteries were moved from Taksim to Şişli and the area thus evacuated provided the grounds for a city park (Çelik, 1986) to be called the "Taksim Park". It took five years to finish the park which was the first example of its sort in İstanbul and the most popular strolling area for the Pera population (Çelik, 1986). According to observations of Edmondo De Amicis, *" the Taksim Park was full of people and carriages on Sunday afternoons and the colourful world of Pera overflowed the beer gardens, cafes and amusement centres"* (Çelik, 1986)*.*

The Surp Hagop Armenian cemetery is represented with its original boundaries in the 1922 city plan (Figure 3), while the Muslim graveyard was reduced to two bands alongside the İnönü caddesi (Laqueur, 1993) . Graves in the Ayaspaşa Moslem cemetery were completely removed in 1925. In the beginning of 1938, the İstanbul

municipality first evacuated the Surp Hagop cemetery and the area was later allocated to apartment houses and parks (Miroğlu, 2009). The demolition of the graveyard was completed in 1939 and the unpossesed remnants of tombstones were used in the steps of the park and in the restoration of the Eminönü square (Miroğlu, 2009).
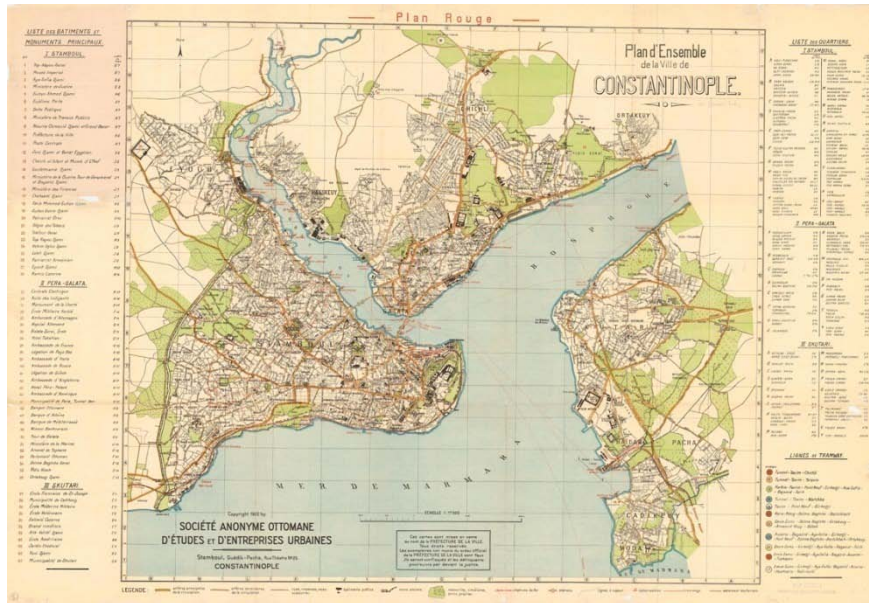
Figure 3 Map of 1922

THE ERA OF THE SQUARE

During the middle of the 19th century, after partial removal of the graveyards, military buildings were erected, and the biggest of them was the Taksim Topçu Kışlası. In front of this building, a vast plain provided grounds for soldiers' drills and maneuvers of artillery carriages. The district that developed over this area in later years derived its name "Talimhane" (drill field) from this history. The fact that large scale military establishments were built in this region points to Taksim's still being considered beyond the city's limits. In 1920s, the barracks, being no longer functional, were completely evacuated and the courtyard was transformed into the first urban stadium of İstanbul, hosting football matches. During the same epoch, the plain of Talimhane was divided into parcels with grid plans (Figure 4) over which apartment buildings started to rise.

Taksim attained its city square status upon the erection of the Taksim monument which became the symbol of a new era , of the young Republic. During the Ottoman period, there existed no monuments in the present day's sense of the word except for some civil edifices of religious, administrative or social functions. Ceremonies taking place around a monument were peculiar to western societies. There was no such Ottoman tradition (Gülersoy, 1986). This need arose around the first half of the 19th century, with the advent of the Ottoman westernization movement that started with the declaration of *Tanzimat* in 1839, and culture

importation from the west. During this period, the Ottoman government attempted to create the image of a "westernized city" by planning great avenues, boulevards and squares, reorganizing the urban texture according to the rules of geometry (Bilsel, 2007). This trend gained momentum during the first years of the modern Republic and found a visual expression in the setting of the monument, when Taksim plain, near the newly developing western Pera was chosen instead of the former center of İstanbul on the historical peninsula. The governors of the young Turkish Republic aimed to create a new İstanbul that turned away from the neglected, partially demolished Ottoman capital, worn out by the first World War, foreign occupation, frequent fires and economic problems which had become apparent at the turn of the 20th century. In place of the old city center symbolizing the Ottoman identity, a Square and a monument representing the Republic were planned at Taksim, neighbouring Pera that hosted the "western" population of İstanbul, closely resembling contemporary European cities, with its architecture and everyday life. Designed by the Italian sculptor Canonica the monument was inaugurated on August 8, 1928 with celebrations.
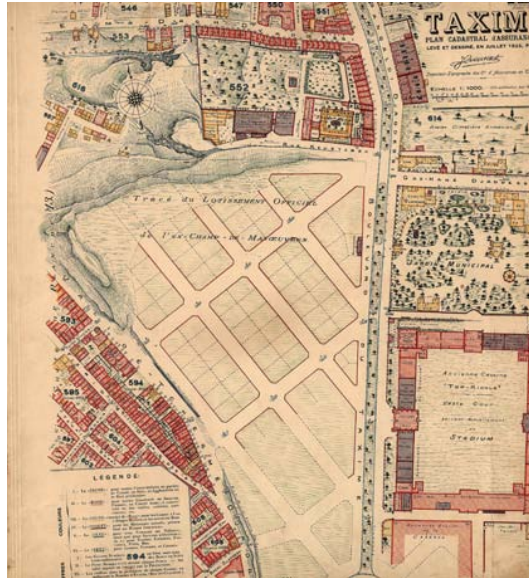
Figure 4 Map of 1925

At the time of İsmet İnönü, the second president of the Republic, in 1940, the mayor of İstanbul, Dr. Lütfi Kırdar, with advisory help from the famous urban planner, Henri Proust, started developmental activities of wide scope. Within this context, the Taksim Square was re-organized with a modern style. "Topçu Kışlası" was demolished and the area of 26,000 square meters thus obtained was transformed into to-day's Taksim Park, otherwise known as "İnönü Promenade" (Figure 5). The mayor,in those days, asserted to have been under the impression of the Parisian parks, "Jardin des Tuileries" and "Jardin du Luxembourg" and that "İnönü Promenade" was indeed a public strolling place (Gülersoy, 1986).

Taksim Square, with its expanding borders, became the venue for social events, protesting crowds and demonstrations as well as for official ceremonies and

parades. Two blatant examples are the Wagons-Lits event of 1933 and the May 1 tragedy of 1977.

The fast rising buildings around the Square and its focal function of connecting the old and the new settlements of the city together with the construction of the opera building, contributed to the place's new character of a cultural centre. The opera building's construction took a long time: The works started in 1946 and completed in 1969. The building had to undergo serious reparation after the fire of 1970 and re-opened as "Atatürk Cultural Centre" in 1972 (Figure 6).
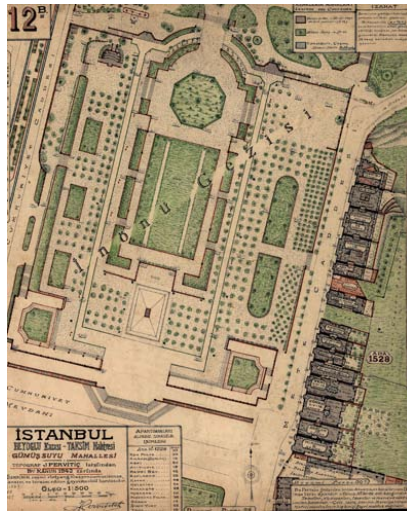
Figure 5 Map of 1943

Figure 6 Atatürk Cultural Centre

Taksim is within the district of Pera which once was a rich, colourful place with western tastes. The greater part of the city's Greek minority lived there. However, the September 6-7 events of 1955 and the strained Turkish-Greek relations over the Cyprus dispute in the 1960s drove many of the Greeks to leave İstanbul. Some of the residents of the region had also to leave for economical difficulties hindering the upkeep of their houses. The rich shops, restaurants, cafes, theatres closed up and the splendour was no more. Then, a new group of people started to inhabit these partly abandoned houses. These were the "new citizens" the job-seeking rural

people who had moved to İstanbul. The decrepit, abandoned houses provided cheap housing. These "new citizens" brought with them their ways of living, their habits, their memories all of which amalgamated with the remnant urban manners to result in a new sub-culture. A reflection of this cultural diffusion was in the streets of Beyoğlu (the former Pera) where alcohol, drugs and prostitution rendered the area "insecure and dangerous" especially after sunset.

There was a new development in the 1980s. These emigrated families living in Beyoğlu, feeling more like settled "citizens" and having acquired means to provide better living conditions for themselves, started to favour the recently expanding common housing projects and move to the new apartment blocks, gradually abandoning the historical Pera.

In 1990s, the social transformations together with İstanbul's becoming the centre of the service sector and nostalgia for the old Beyoğlu, started to appeal to artists, students and many old natives of the city. İstiklal caddesi (Figure 7) and its surroundings were being re-discovered and new restaurants,cafes, cinema houses appeared. Gradually, the district has been transformed primarily into an area for tourists. İstiklal caddesi which is the main axis, became exclusively pedestrian, contributing to the area's becoming the centre of attraction of the city. Taksim Square is situated at one end of this axis and is one of the main focal points in the European side of İstanbul.

Figure 7 Istiklal Street, Beyoglu

Nevertheless, various investigations have arrived at the conclusion that this square is accepted to be "the" centre of the city (Dülger Türkoğlu, 2002). The new spots of entertainment and arts as well as the cultural and congress centres of the area are attractig large crowds. Taksim Square of the 2000s and neighbouring streets, namely Sıraselviler caddesi and Talimhane have indeed become the region of hotels. With the recent project of "the Congress Valley", Taksim, together with Harbiye and Maçka, is undergoing a new process of reconstruction.

CONCLUSION

Study of the transformation of Taksim Square as the center of İstanbul through centuries shows a strong change of its identity, from a vast graveyard to public promenade, to military grounds, to Taksim Gardens and within the process of the construction of a new nation, turning to the westernized city center. The

previously lifeless area has been transformed into a lively center of culture, art, entertainment and celebrations thus depicting a transformation from "death's stillness" to "life's hubbub".

The Taksim Square, as Istanbul's center has undergone an enormous transformation engendered by its rich heritage, cultural diversity and cosmopolitan population. However, being exposed to global influences its transformation is an ever continuing process, whereby prediction of the future forces the boundaries of the imagination.

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THE COMPLEXITY OF URBAN TRANSFORMATION IN CHINA: NEW TRENDS IN CURRENT TRANSITIONAL ERA

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to analyze the complexity of urban transformation in China in the post-reform era and investigate the trends toward knowledge-based society and economic shift in the global financial crisis. The paper identifies three transitional processes: decentralization and local autonomy; urbanization and urban expansion; globalization and urban restructuring. It reveals the complex urban transformation through analyzing decentralization and urban governance; urban expansion and sustainable development; marginalized population and urban social management. The paper argues that the complexity of urban transformation lie in the mismatch between fast urban development and insufficient urban planning and management. In the facet of knowledge economy and current world financial crisis, tendencies of urban transformation in this transition era are explored. The paper's analysis can provide important advice for future urban development policies.

INTRODUCTION

China has been a country of great changes, especially in its post-reform era. The shift from planned economy to a market-oriented economy has triggered substantial reform and improvement in politics and administration to meet the needs for new economic pattern. The opening-up and reform policy has made China deeply involved in the globalizing world which brought huge foreign investment and severe competition. Generally, the greatly changing socio-economic development posed huge challenges to the cities and generated much complexity to the urban transformation. Recently, the emerging knowledge economy and worldwide financial crisis present new challenges to China which is to make adjustment to a new transition era.

How did urban development react to the shift from centrally-planned economy to the market economy in the post reform and globalization era? Where does the complexity of urban transformation lie in? What are the new trends of urban transformation in the emerging knowledge economy and current worldwide financial crisis? The aim of this paper is to explore the complexity of urban transformation in China in the post-reform era and investigate the transformational trends toward knowledge economy and the current global financial crisis. Following the introduction, the second section introduces the understanding urban transformation in China. It reveals the socio-economic change in the shift from planned economy to market economy. Three driving forces and the urban transformation are also analyzed. Section three explores the complex process of urban transformation in urban governance, sustainable development and urban social management. The fourth section analyzes the new trends of urban transformation in the current transitional era based on the complexity of urban transformation.

UNDERSTANDING URBAN TRANSFORMATION IN CHINA

Although many researches have been done on urban transformation, however, it still seems to be unclear of what urban transformation is. Referring to the researches on urban land, economy, population and transportation, one common aspect is that they all focus on the changes which take place in cities. The concept of "transition" indicates a process of change toward a predetermined and conceived target (Ma, 2002). Nevertheless, it is not suitable to describe the changes in the cities which are induced by various un-artificial forces such as globalization and rural-urban migration. The term "transformation" not only avoids the inevitability of transition but also emphasizes the process of change. Besides, the transformation of cities includes economic growth change, urban population change, urban physical and environmental change as well as the social change in cities. All these changes were attributed to a combination of factors which consist of the political, economic, social and environmental changes. In this sense, we can say that urban transformation depicts the process in which changes of urban economy, physical environment and society take place due to both internal and external forces.

Urban transformation in China has been the research focus since the 1990s (Wei, 1993; Fan, 1999; Zhu, 2000; Zhu, 2002; Wu and Huang, 2007). Wei (1993) revealed that urban land size in post-reform China is related to urban reforms, urban land use adjustment as well as to population growth and economic development. Fan (1999) identified the urban expansion in both vertical and horizontal directions. Zhu (2000) examined the influence on urban physical development based on the coexistence of market system and remaining plan factors. Zhu (2002) also explored urban development in Shanghai under the evolving property rights over urban land. Wu and Huang (2007) analyzed the new urban poverty since the broad economic restructuring and transformation of welfare provision in the 1990s. All these researches start analysis from the post-reform era in China. However, they each touched upon one aspect of urban development changes e.g. physical expansion, economy and social welfare. This section is to review the shift from planned economy to market economy and introduce the three major forces inducing urban transformation.

RIGID CENTRALLY-PLANNED ECONOMY

China has experienced two economic systems since P. R. China was founded in 1949: centrally-planned economy and market economy. The implementation and transit of economic systems were based on both domestic and international situations. Before the opening-up and reform in 1978, a centrally-planned economy was adopted by the state which installed the top-down controls of resource distribution. In this system, use and allocation of resources were strictly determined by the central government (Zhu, 2000). The central government collected the revenues generated from the local municipalities and reallocated to the localities in terms of the central plan. Local plans were suppressed due to the shortage of revenue. However, they were given clear responsibility to fulfill central plans. In consequence, many projects were implemented not based on local needs but following the planners' preference instead of the market efficiency. For instance, considering the military security, many industrial projects like steel and heavy manufacturing industries were located in middle China or those mountainous areas rather than the coastal areas of convenient transportation.

Land policy in China was based on the collectivization of land. By 1953, all privately owned land had been confiscated into collective and state ownership. The main purpose behind was to eliminate exploitation and make it effective for the allocation of land resources. Transfer of land-use rights between individuals was prohibited. In fact, price mechanism failed to work since land resources were allocated free of charge by the state to achieve a rational distribution of resources and production through planning (Zhang, 1997). Without a land market, urban land-use in China presented an inefficient structure in the years prior to the opening-up and reform. French and Hamilton (1979) argued that the absolute state ownership of urban land under strict central-control led to a dramatically different structure of socialist cities.

In the initial stage after 1949, the state gave priority to the development of city-based heavy industries so as to pursue a quick recovery from years of war. A strategy was adopted by the central government that promoted urban industries with capital-intensive technology and established a system by which government, through distorting the prices of commodities and factors of production, created an environment disfavouring agriculture, farmers and rural development to extract rural surplus to fuel industrialization (Schultz, 1978). High percent of national revenue was allocated to the productive sectors which include manufacturing and other industrial productions while less was invested in those so-called non-productive sectors like housing and infrastructure (Table1).

Table1. State investment in productive and non-productive sectors, 1953-1975 (in percentage)

Period sector	1953-1957	1958-1962	1963-1965	1966-1970	1971-1975
Productive sector	67.0	85.4	79.4.	83.8	82.5
Non-productive sector	33.0	14.6	20.6	16.2	17.5

Source: National Bureau of Statistics of China (1954-1980)

With the ambition to overtake America's and Britain's leading role in industrial production, the "Great Leap Forward" (1958-1960) started. Heavy industry developed quickly in this period and attracted a large amount of rural population into cities. It is estimated that around 20 million labourers moved into cities in 1959 and 1960 while the number of cities increased greatly from 177 in 1957 to 199 in 1960. Urbanization level increased from 10.6% in 1949 to 19.7% in 1960 (National Bureau of Statistics, 1983). However, this movement caused sharp decline of arable land and the sown area which finally resulted in the great famine (1958-1961) in China (Lin, 1990). The central government had to reconsider the industrialisation policy. In this sense, policy of grain self-sufficiency emerged as a priority to greatly increase food production. The possible measure to deal with these two policies was to reduce the urban population and increase the rural population. The government called those urban graduates who could not find jobs in cities to return to their home places. Consequently, from 1961 to 1964, around 20 million urban workers and 17 million urban high school students went back to their home villages (Selden, 1992). Moreover, the state implemented the Household Registration System (*hukou*

system) together with the rationing mechanisms during the late 1950s, which made rural-urban migration difficult (Chan, 1995). In this period, the urbanization rate in China correspondingly decreased from 19.7% in 1960 to 16.8% in 1963 (Su, 1999). The "Cultural Revolution" which resulted in nation-wide chaos and social, political, and economic upheaval in China started in 1966 and ended in 1976. With the intention to reduce population pressure in cities, the state launched the campaign of "up to the mountains and down to the villages" (*Shangshan Xiaxiang*). Thus, huge amount of urban youths, cadres, teachers and other professionals were forced to resettle in rural villages to receive re-education from peasants, toughen their body and purify their soul. According to Bernstein (1977) and Ma (1977), around 12-17 million urban educated youths moved to countryside in this campaign. In consequence, there was an absolute decrease in the population of the large cities with a net decrease in the total population of the city system (Yeh and Xu, 1990).

In general, the rigid centrally-planned economy in the era before 1978 was mainly based on China's backward economy. The state had to purposely concentrate the resources on the leading industry which can help recover its strength. Nevertheless, such economic system greatly influenced and limited urban development.

URBAN TRANSFORMATION IN THE POST-REFORM ERA

The opening-up and reform since 1978 marked a significant shift from centrally-planned economy to market-oriented economy in China. As Ding Xiaoping who initiated the reform remarked, China's reform is similar to "grouping for stones to cross the river" (*mozhe shitou guohe*). The declared goal of the reforms is simply "socialism with the Chinese characteristics". In this reform, centrally-planned resources distribution gradually shifted to market-oriented allocation (Aram and Wang, 1991). Local governments gained much autonomy for their own development. Land-use reform was also induced due to the emergence of the market economy. The *hukou* system which through dual social security systems artificially created the urban-rural dichotomy in China was slowly released that enabled the large scale rural residents rushing into cities for non-agricultural employment. The open-door policy and globalization brought China not only huge investment but also severe competition. All these changes contributed to the urban transformation in the post-reform era.

DECENTRALIZATION AND LOCAL AUTONOMY

Decentralization of decision-making from the central government to local authorities has been regarded as one of the influential aspects of the reform (Carson, 1997). This reform induced a shift of local government in the China's political arena: from passive agent to the central government to an active actor responsible for local prosperity (Zhu, 2000). Local governments were thus very active in local development after they were granted much autonomy in fiscal operation, financing, investment and enterprises administration (Zhang, 2002). In consequence, they try means to gain local economic growth. A common measure is to have much urban land developed for commercial or residential use due to their high revenue returns to the government. The 1979 Sino-foreign Joint Venture Enterprises Law (The Sino-foreign Joint Venture Enterprises Law, 1990) marked the start of the change of 'free' land-use (*wuchang shiyong*) policy. Until 1988, the Land Management Law of P. R. China officially reinstalled the notion of urban land as a

commodity. Land-use rights which are state-owned become tradable in the market by private treaty, negotiation and auction. Thus, land sale and real estate sector became the important component for urban economy. Table2 shows the total income that was generated from urban land sale and real estate market from 1988 to 1996 in China. Through calculation, we can find that the average annual growth rate of the revenue that was generated from urban land and real estate markets reached 32% per year since 1988. That is also why local governments are full of high enthusiasm about urban land development. In the large cities such as Beijing, Shanghai and Tianjin, the sale of land contributed to a significant portion of local revenue. The portion came to 32% and 21.2% of total local government revenue in 1995 and 1996 while the figures amounted to 29.4% and 19.3% in Shanghai, 21.2% and 9.97% in Tianjin during the same period (Li, 1999). Besides, local governments also allocate many development zones in which enterprises can enjoy tax reduction and land subsidies which are effective of attracting investment. This is usually called *zhu chao yin feng* (improve soft environment for investment).

Table2. Total revenue generated from urban land and real estate

Items / Year	Total revenue	Transfer of land	Sale of commodity real estate	Rental income	others	Business taxes and charges
1988	16212.34	785.73	14721.64	88.26	616.71	--
1989	17951.14	746.80	16375.41	109.70	719.23	--
1990	21870.81	871.45	20182.63	226.10	590.63	--
1991	28403.25	1538.10	23785.97	392.21	2686.97	2055.51
1992	52855.65	4274.20	42659.38	596.17	5325.90	4144.35
1993	113590.74	8392.81	86371.41	1063.48	17763.04	9659.17
1994	128818.66	9593.57	101849.50	1728.17	15647.42	9510.29
1995	173166.24	19439.81	125828.17	2579.27	25318.99	9030.47
1996	196878.50	12033.78	153376.47	2998.99	28469.26	9277.79

Source: National Bureau of Statistics of China, 1995, 1996 and 1997

The decentralization is also embodied in the management change of State owned enterprises (SOEs). Before the reform and opening-up, SOEs, as units of the state economy, operated under central command with little autonomy. The state determined the allocation and utilization of resources through directives, rather than by pricing mechanism. The administrative allocation of laborers and redundant industrial construction led to large amount of surplus workers in the SOEs (Steinfeld, 1998; Blecher, 2002). After the reform, the state sector started to withdraw part or complete capital from many parts of the economy. SOEs began to

command their own destiny in the market while the incentives that used to be political gradually became economic. The number of SOEs fell down from above 300000 in 1995 to below 150000 in 2005. Facing the competition and low efficiency, SOEs abandoned the egalitarian wage system and the administration-based job allocation. Particularly, enterprise reforms have revealed the redundant workers and hidden unemployment problems since the mid-1990s. According to China Labor Statistical Yearbook (2003), SOEs have cut off redundant jobs of 4.04 million every year from 1995 to 2002 (National Bureau of Statistics, 2004).

URBANIZATION AND URBAN EXPANSION

It has been generally understood that China has experienced accelerated urbanization due to market reforms and opening up of the socialist economy over the past two decades (Pannell, 1995; Logan, 2002). The transition from the Maoist plan-ideology into the post-Mao market economy has ushered in a new development strategy that values efficiency over equity, individual creativity over collectivism, and regional comparative advantages over defense or ideological consideration (Fan, 1995 and 1997; Lin, 1997). China has experienced dramatic economic growth in the last decades. From 1978 to 2000, China's GDP increases 7.4 times with an average growth rate of 9.6%. The inherent economic advantages and autonomy have made cities especially those alongside the coastal line flourished in the post-reform era. Cities in Eastern China became the front of connecting the international market. A great amount of foreign invested or joint invested enterprises are located in these areas. At the meantime, the improved agricultural productivity has generated large amount of rural surplus laborers many of whom turned to undertake non-agricultural employment in cities where they can get higher payment than that from agricultural production. It was estimated that over 300 million Chinese peasants moved from the countryside to cities from 1978 to 2004 (Dian, 2004). Rural-urban migration has contributed to the major part of urbanization growth in the post-reform era (Table3). The urbanization rate (usually calculated as the ratio of urban population to the whole population) has increased steadily from 17.92% in 1978 to 44.9% by 2007.

Table3. Urbanization and rural-urban migration in China: 1978-1999

		1978	1980	1985	1990	1995	1999
Urbanization	Urbanization level (%)	17.92	19.39	23.71	26.41	29.04	30.89
	Growth in person (million)	5.82	12.44	10.77	6.51	8.72	9.51
Natural growth	Growth in person (million)	1.44	1.44	2.47	3.06	2.61	2.89
	Share (%)	24.76	11.59	22.89	47.01	29.86	30.44
Rural-urban migration	Growth in person (million)	4.38	11	8.31	3.45	6.12	6.62
	Share (%)	75.24	88.41	77.11	52.99	70.14	69.56

Source: Zhang and Song (2003)

Cities kept on expanding outwardly due to the ever increasing rural immigrants. As Fan (1999) identified, Chinese cities have over the past several decades experienced dramatic expansion in two simultaneous dimensions. Vertically, existing cities of different size have expanded both in population and land area.

For instance, the downtown area of Beijing is estimated to have increased by 8.1km^2 every year since 1978 (Lu, Zhan and Ren, 2001). Meanwhile, to pursue a hinterland for economic development and further city growth, Beijing experienced four-time administrative expansion. Nine counties like Tongxian, Shunyi and Daxing, etc. with an area of 11.988 square kilometers were marked off from Hebei Province to Beijing (Yang, 2007). Horizontally, a large number of newly designated cities have been added to the existing system of cities. This urban system development is actually in line with the recent Chinese urbanization strategy which has shifted to "strictly control the growth of large cities, rationally develop medium-sized cities, and vigorously promote the development of small cities and towns". Table 4 shows the urban system changes from 1978 to 2007 in China. Cities below 200 thousand persons increased greatly in this period. Such strategy was marked as "urbanization from below" (Ma and Lin, 1993) which calls for the development of small towns1 and rural industries and encourages peasants to work in rural industries instead of migrating to big cities. Thus, rural industries (mainly from Township and Village Enterprises) boomed as a significant source of income and employment opportunities for villagers. From 1978 to 1994, the Township and Village Enterprises (TVEs) grew greatly when their share of the gross national industrial output increased from 9% to 42% while in the mid-1990s, it was estimated that TVEs employed over one quarter of the rural workforce (125 million population) (Kirkby, Bradbury and Shen, 2000). The number of small towns in China increased from 2176 in 1978 to 18260 in 1998.

Table4. The number of cities of different scales in China (1978-2007)

City population	1978	2007	Increase by (number)
Above 2 million	10	36	26
1-2 million	19	83	64
0.5-1 million	35	118	83
200-500 thousand	80	151	71
Below 200 thousand	49	267	218

Source: National Bureau of Statistics of China (2007), Report of social economic achievements after the reform and opening-up
Note: City population refers to residents with non-agricultural hukou registration.

GLOBALIZATION AND URBAN RESTRUCTURING

The opening-up and globalization has made China deeply involved in the world. The influence of globalization on China's urban development has strengthened since China rejoined the World Trade Organization in the 1990s. The establishment of special economic zones^2 in Southeast China at the beginning of the reform was emphasized by the central government to attract overseas investment. With the advantages of huge domestic market, cheap labor force and favorable policy environment, China has attracted large amount of foreign investment and served as

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[1] According to criteria of 1984, small towns are counties over 20 thousand residents of above 10% non-agricultural population where local government resides or counties below 20 thousand residents while non-agricultural population is over 2000 where local government resides.
[2] Special Economic Zones were founded by the central government under Deng Xiaoping in the early 1980s. They are geographical regions that have economic laws which are more liberal than a country's typical economic laws.

the "world factory". Cities especially those large cities like Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai and Guangzhou, etc. became the preferential location choice for the foreign investors who relied on these cities as the front to enter Chinese market and using resources. From 1979 to 2000, China's actual usage of foreign capital came to 506 billion U.S. $ (National Bureau of Statistics, 2001). However, the majority of this investment focused on four coastal provinces (Guangdong, Jiangsu, Fujian and shanghai) and most of the rest were in other coastal provinces (Graham and Wada, 2001). Foreign-invested or Sino-foreign jointed enterprises boomed in manufacturing industries like ordinary machinery manufacturing, electric equipment and machinery, electronic and telecommunication equipment from which the products are mainly exported to the world market. At the same time, huge amount of laborers were enrolled in these enterprises. For instance, Dongguan, a prefecture-level city of Guangdong Province, has export-dominated economy. The number of immigrants in this city was around three times of local residents (people with local *hukou* registration) by 2008. Such urban development pattern was characterized as "exourbanization" (Sit and Yang, 1997) and "externally driven pattern" (Eng, 1997). This urban growth phenomenon is very popular in those cities of export-relied economy. Thus, urbanization development in China reached two routines: bottom-up and small town-based urbanization and globalization induced urbanization growth.

Table5. Economic and employment structure in six large cities of China, 1990-2000

Items	Industries	Year	Beijing	Tianjin	Shanghai	Nanjing	Guangzhou	Xi'an
Economic structure (%)	Primary industry	1990	0.09	0.09	0.04	0.08	0.18	0.12
		2000	0.04	0.04	0.02	0.05	0.04	0.07
	Secondary industry	1990	0.52	0.58	0.64	0.75	0.67	0.43
		2000	0.38	0.49	0.48	0.48	0.44	0.48
	Tertiary industry	1990	0.39	0.33	0.32	0.17	0.15	0.45
		2000	0.58	0.46	0.50	0.46	0.52	0.45
Employment Structure (%)	Primary industry	1990	5.24	6.56	1.48	7.00	11.94	16.44
		2000	0.60	0.50	7.20	0.70	0.70	0.50
	Secondary industry	1990	49.15	57.55	61.27	56.67	42.41	47.16
		2000	35.10	53.40	42.30	48.40	40.80	47.30
	Tertiary industry	1990	45.62	35.89	37.26	36.33	45.65	36.40
		2000	64.30	46.20	50.50	50.90	58.50	52.30

Source: <Discourse Analysis on the Statistical Bulletins of the National Economic and Social Developments> in Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, Nanjing, Guangzhou and Xi'an, 1990 and 2000

In the globalization context, China's cities have experienced intense economic restructuring. Urban economic restructuring lies in the shift of the urban functions from a production base to the regional and national centers of services and consumption (Lin, 2004). The ever increasing household income in cities and villages has generated huge demand for services and consumption activities in cities. In the meanwhile, the foreign invested enterprises and those join corporations have created substantial demand for finance, training, logistics and other business-related services that are mainly supplied by cities. Table 5 shows the economic and employment structure changes in the six large cities in China from 1990 to 2000. It is clear that tertiary industry has increasingly become a major part in the economic structure in the large cities since 1990s.

THE COMPLEXITY OF URBAN TRANSFORMATION IN CHINA

Generally, reform and opening-up, globalization as well as the related policy changes e.g. release of *hukou* system all contributed to the urban transformation in China. However, the process seems to be so fast that many economic, social and environmental problems emerged simultaneously and posed great challenges to planners, governmental officials and scholars in urban China.

DECENTRALIZATION VS URBAN GOVERNANCE

Many problems have emerged in the decentralization process though it diversified Chinese economy in the post-reform era. The construction of development zones has been popular in urban China. However, many projects were proved of low efficiency and returns. Local authorities held the dream of attracting both foreign and domestic investment through these development zones. By the end of 2003, there were already 3837 industrial parks set up by local governments across the country, and the figure further jumped to an astonishing 6015 by the end of 2006. Nevertheless, major development zones are of large land scale but of low usage efficiency. In 2001, the size of built-up area in the national development zones was 23.8% of the planned size while that in the provincial development zones was only 10.8% (Tang and Zhao, 2002). Wang and Cui (2003) through the domestic and international comparison argued that the average efficiency of development zones in China is far lower than their international counterparts. Another problem relates much to the current vocational assessment system in China. Local governments' management of economic growth is now used by the central government as important criteria to assess their performance. To some extent, whether the governor is to be promoted mainly depends on what they did during their office term. A sense of anxiety and urgency among local governors was caused since they are eager to deliver what are desired by the central government (Zhu, 2000). Thus, many tangible and landmark-styled projects e.g. highways, public square and overpass were constructed in cities at different levels so as to pursue their own achievements with maximum publicity. Consequently, long-term urban development plans may not be possibly maintained among several reshuffles since local governors may step down before these plans are materialized. Thus, they would turn to short-term (within the office term in the local government) achievements which may not be consistent with the long-term urban plans.

Despite the abandonment of central planning and the impacts of market forces in shaping the national and local space-economies, the power of the state is felt in every facet of China's transformation. The reason is that central government was

concerned that local interests may overtake national goals due to the decentralization. Thus, political control over localities is retained as a main instrument for central government being relevant (World Bank, 1988 and Huang, 1996). All important events have been determined politically by the state, such as the decisions to reform the economy, to favor the core regions, to decentralize fiscal and administrative powers, etc. In local areas, the invisible as well as the visible "hands" of the state, sometimes wearing gloves to conceal its true identity, are everywhere (Oi and Walder, 1999; Whiting, 1999). In fact, the state is not only the ultimate policymaker but is also the controller which evaluates and approves major project applications and oversees their implementation. The problem is that some large-scale promising projects at the local level should be firstly reported to the central government for permission. Only when the permission after several times of demonstration comes out can the project start. This process usually takes long time before the final decision was made. Thus, some questions emerged toward effective urban governance: How can the local municipalities readjust their development strategies and compete with other cities? How can urban planning be used to realize the municipal strategies? How should achieve a balance between autonomous local development and effective supervision from the central government?

URBAN EXPANSION VS SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

The development and expansion of China's modern cities have involved large-scale construction and expansion of the human built environment. Due to the continuous human influx, cities are being substantially redeveloped and expanded. From 1998 to 2005, the constructed area of Chinese cities grew from 214 000 km^2 to 325 000 km^2, an astonishing growth of over 50 percent. In the meantime, urban problems like congestion and pollution have triggered the longing for a cozy life of much green space, low pollution and convenient traffic system. Many residents moved from the downtown to the suburbs which induced great suburbanization in many large cities of China (Table6).

Table 6. Residents increase in downtown and suburbs of cities in China, 1982-1990 (%)

Cities / Area	Beijing	Shanghai	Shenyang	Dalian
	1982-1990	1982-1993	1982-1990	1982-1990
Downtown	-3.38	-2.26	-6.73	-11.82
Suburbs	40.46	55.52	91.04	56.00

Source: Zhou and Meng (1998)

This way of urban physical development was questioned for its sustainability. First, urban and peri-urban activities have taken over the arable land in many cities. Take the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Metropolitan Region for example (Figure1), the economic boom has induced fast urban expansion which occupied large amount of arable land. According to the Chinese National Land Cover Database (CNLCD) which includes time-series datasets for three (late1980s, 1995, 2000) (Liu, et al., 2005a; Liu, et al., 2005b), the size of built environment of urban and rural areas in China has increased from 11917.05 km^2 in the late 1980s to 14442.66 km^2 by 2000 with a growth rate of 21.2%. At the meantime, the arable land decreased from 86342.64 km^2 to 84090.16 km^2 in the same period. Figure2 and 3 clearly show the changes of

built environment and arable land use from late 1980s to 2000. Specially, the built land size in Beijing has over doubled in this period.

Figure 1 Cities in Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Metropolitan Region
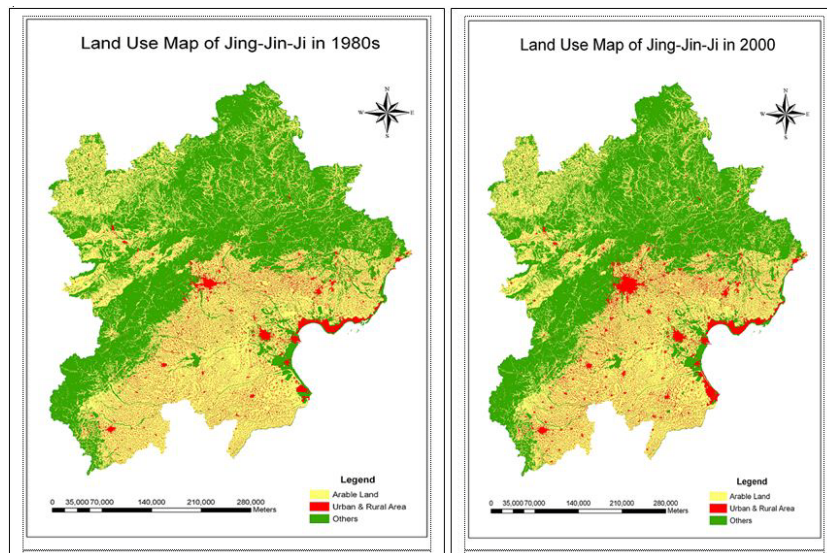*Note: this region is also called Jing-Jin-Ji Metropolitan Region*

Figure2 Land use in Jing-Jin-Ji Metropolitan Region, 1980s

Figue3 Land use in Jing-Jin-Ji Metropolitan Region, 2000

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Note: A hierarchical classification system of 25 land cover classes was aggregated to arable land, urban & rural area, and others in this study.

Besides, the construction of development zones in almost all the cities not only transformed large arable land into industrial use but also caused an abandonment of arable land, as exemplified in the Pearl River Delta (Lin, 1997; Yeh and Li, 1997). According to Chan and Yao (1999), there were approximately 28000 economic development zones in China that together occupied around 10000 km^2 of land in the late 1990s. Since China needs to feed about 22% of the world's population with only 7% of the world's arable land, given the fact that around two-thirds of China's agricultural land is poorly productive, the continuous losing farm land because of the urban expansion and other encroachment has been questioned for its sustainability (Diamond, 2005).

Second, large scale human influx and resource consumption have exceeded resource and environment bearing capacity in many big cities. Take the water usage for example. About half of China's 668 cities do not have reliable fresh water supply. 83% of these cities are in fresh water shortage and over half of them are located in the coastal regions. In Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Metropolitan Region (Figure2), the water resource ownership per capita which dropped from 300-400 m^3 in the early 1990s to less than 200 m^3 by 2000 is largely fewer than the U.N. warning line (1000 m^3) (Feng and Liu, 2006). Beijing and Tianjin have been suffering water shortage for years (Table7). Particularly in Beijing, the water resource ownership per capita (including those immigrants with other *hukou* registration beside Beijing *hukou*) was less than 300 m^3 in 2002 which was one-eighth of the national level and one-thirtieth of the world level. Meng and Wang (2004) argued that the 13.67 million residents in Beijing by 2001 had far exceeded its maximum water bearing capacity (2.35million). This problem was mainly attributed to the ever increasing urban population, large-scale urban construction and industrial water usage (Xiang, 2002).

Table7. Water shortage changes in Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Metropolitan Region (10^{8}m^3)

Year Province	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Beijing	-18.01	-2.77	-27.49	-34.06	-19.7	-18.51	-16.6
Tianjin	-19.06	-7.92	-22.91	-19.5	-13.4	-16.29	-9.93

Source: Feng and Liu (2006)

MARGINALIZED POPULATION VS URBAN SOCIAL MANAGEMENT

The fast economic and social transformation have generated large amount of marginalized population in cities. It consists of urban poverty and those "floating population"[3]. In the planned economy, urban residents were enjoying comprehensive social security and welfare which included full-employment system, highly egalitarian income distribution and accessible to basic living materials through rationing system. However, economic and institutional reforms have broken this system and huge amount of laborers were laid off from the SOEs or collectively owned enterprises (COEs) since 1995. It was estimated that a total of

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[3] Floating population refers to those rural immigrants who do not hold local cities' *Hukou* registration.

27.147 million employees were laid off from the SOEs (Wu and Huang, 2007). They lost their secure employment (usually called "iron rice bowl"), related social welfare and became the poverty group. The other poverty population mainly comes from the landless farmers due to the urban expansion and land requisition. Approximately 2.5 to 3 million farmers are dispossessed because of the continuous urban expansion and shifting arable land for non-agricultural use (Cao, Feng and Tao, 2008). The fact is that land in China is owned either by the state or the rural collectives while peasants do not own the land but are entitled the right to use it (Wang, 2006). The governments can legally requisition the land and take back the land-use rights from peasants. The problem is that the requisition is not effectively supervised since the governments are both the owner and administer of the land. Mostly, local governments often try every means to push peasants, especially those close to the cities, off their land which would be used for industrial or commercial purposes. Thus, farmers who lost their land usually receive little compensation which can't sustain their lives. These passively-urbanized people[4] who are actually not involved in the urban social security system would finally become new urban poverty.

Compared with the laid-off citizens and passively-urbanized peasants, rural immigrants are the type of people who come to cities for employment and would go back to their hometown in the future. Similarly, these people who mainly undertake informal jobs of low salary and intensive workload like security staff, restaurant servers and construction workers can't enjoy the urban social welfare either. By 2005, the number of rural immigrants had reached about 150 million, but they were still facing discrimination linked to their rural *hukou*, which deprived many entitlements like housing, access to education, healthcare, and social security (Zeng and Wang, 2007). The urban poverty and rural immigrants were gradually marginalized in cities due to their backward economic condition and rural *hukou* registration. These marginalized people are living bitter life in cities. They can't afford a house or even an apartment while they should take care of themselves for any risks. Many migrant enclaves, low-cost places for urban poverty and those commonly-referred "villages within the city" (*Cheng Zhongcun*) exist in both the inner city and outskirt urban areas in quite many cities of China. Such social differentiation increased the risk of committing crimes and the tension between the poor and the rich in the cities.

In short, both internal and external forces contributed to the urban transformation in China in the post-reform era. The political reform granted much autonomy right to the local municipalities which became self-reliant and active in local development. The shift from rigid centrally-planned economy to the market oriented economy have greatly advanced urban economy and improved household living conditions. Externally, globalization pushed Chinese economy further through bringing in huge investment and competition which led to the economic boom and restructuring in cities that finally attracted large scale rural laborers and induced continuous urban expansion. In this process, cities in China have experienced sharp transformation in economic restructuring, physical expansion, social differentiation and environmental degradation. However, the complexity of urban transformation lies in the fast urban development and insufficient urban planning and

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[4] It is generally accepted that the landless peasants turned to urban citizens who do not own land either. Urbanization statistics usually involves this group of people.

management. Figure4 shows the three aspects of mismatch toward urban transformation in China.
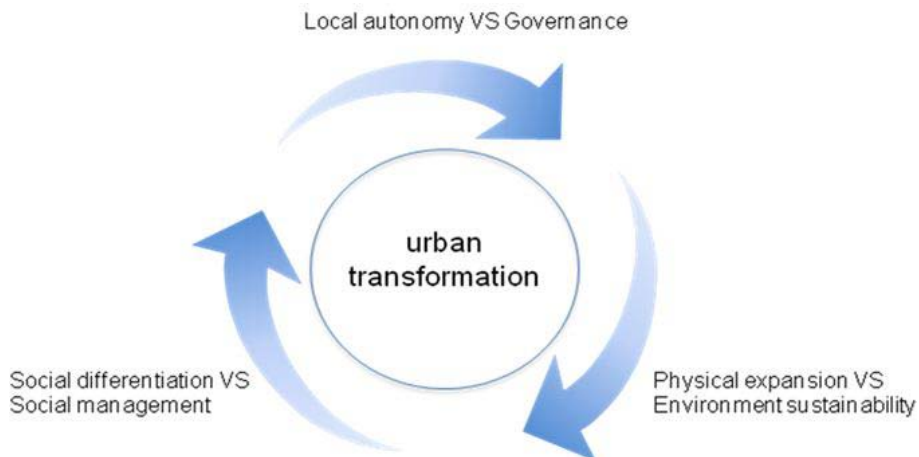

Figure4 Complexity of urban transformation in China

NEW TRANSITIONAL STAGE AND FUTURE URBAN TRANSFORMATION

China is now experiencing a new transitional stage which consists of the shift to knowledge economy in the 21st century and the economic growth change in the current world financial crisis. The world is undergoing a knowledge evolution, unique in speed and pervasiveness of change. The global knowledge economy emerged as a progress involving education, sciences, culture and communication at one and the same time (Sheehan and Tikhomirova, 1998; Portella, 2003). It is featured by the growing importance of knowledge, changing competitiveness and industry composition, convergence of goods, services industries and the new manufacturing (Sheehan, 1999). Knowledge and information are becoming the key drivers of international competitiveness and the global economy, making it crucial to respond rapidly and efficiently to changes. The largest challenge for China is that in the knowledge economy, the global competitiveness mainly lies in a country's ability to create, disseminate and use of knowledge and technology. China, however, is good at processing technology, but in shortage of indigenous innovation capacity (Zeng and Wang, 2007). This can be manifested by the low employment in knowledge-intensive sectors and the low educational level of the labor force (Table 8 and 9).

China's economy has slowed down greatly since the second half of 2008 due to the export decline induced by the worldwide financial crisis. The international market demand decreased sharply. In consequence, large amount of small and export-relied enterprises reduced production or even went bankrupt (Chen, 2009). The gross domestic product of many cities which have large share of export trade dropped evidently. The state turned swiftly from export-oriented economy to a pattern in which export, consumption and investment develop in a balanced way. One problem that was revealed is that China's industrial activity is still based much

on the low labor cost, its current export still heavily relies on less knowledge intensive productions (Sheehan, 1999). Table 10 and 11 show the Chinese export structure and commodities. The distinct feature of this economic pattern is highly dependent on the foreign market which increased the risk of economic shock from the world demand shrink. Moreover, this economic structure is of "high-resource input but low profit gained" since the major part of the profit goes to the research and design as well as the final marketing leaving little part of profit to the manufacturing sector. Another problem facing the Chinese government is that rural residents are reluctant to spend their deposits since they have to prepare for uncertainties in life such as illness and children's education which account for more than 80% of their savings (Yan, 2003). This problem added difficulties to the exploiting domestic market.

Table 8. Employment in knowledge-intensive sectors in China, 1990-1998

	Employment (percentage of total)		
	1990	1995	1998
Transport, storage, post and telecom	2	3	3
Wholesale, retailing and hospitality	4	6	7
Finance and insurance	0.3	0.4	0.4
Real estate	0.1	0.1	0.1
Social services	1	1	1
Health care, sports and social welfare	1	1	1
Education, culture and entertainment	2	2	2
Scientific research and polytechnical services	0.3	0.3	0.3
Government and social organizations	2	2	2
Service total	13	15	16

Source: National Bureau of Statistics of China (1999)

Table9. Education level of the labor force by region, 2004 (%)

Regions	Illiterate	Primary	Junior and secondary	Senior secondary	College or above
East	4.1	20.8	45.6	18.0	11.6
Middle	4.5	25.7	49.3	13.9	6.6
West	14.2	35.7	33.2	10.2	6.7
National average	6.2	27.4	45.8	13.4	7.2

Source: Zeng and Wang (2007)

Table10. China's export structure by main categories (%)

Year	Total values (million U.S.$)	All food items	Agricultural raw materials	Fuels	Ores and metals	Total manufactured goods
1985	25632	16.7	6.2	25.9	2.6	36.3
1990	62091	12.7	3.5	8.4	2.1	71.4
1995	148780	8.2	1.8	3.6	2.1	83.9
1998	183809	6.6	1.1	2.8	2.0	87.3

Source: UNCTAD, Handbook of Statistics, Geneva, 2000

Table 11. China's top 10 export commodities, 1997-1998

Commodities	Values (thousands)	Percentage of country total	Percentage of world
Toys and sporting goods	8228785	4.49	24.49
Footwear	8102152	4.42	22.97
Outer garments knit nonelastic	6683356	3.65	16.69
Women's outerwear nonknit	6599427	3.6	16.12
Automatic data processing equipment	6214197	3.39	3.87
Men's outerwear nonknit	5980146	3.26	19.02
Telecommunications equipment, parts and access	5941329	3.24	4.32
Undergarments knitted	4920840	2.68	17.25
Articles of plastic nonelastic	3780707	2.06	6.97
Travel goods and handbags	3292128	1.8	31.03

Source: UNCTAD, World Investment Report, 2000, Geneva, 2000

Based on the above analysis, there would be two major urban transformations to cope with the challenges in the new transitional era.

URBAN ECONOMIC AND SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION

If it was effective for the local municipalities to merely allocate large cheap land for attracting any investment and have land developed for residential and commercial use to increase local revenue, knowledge economy would say no this extensive economic development. A big difference is that knowledge economy emphasizes raising knowledge and technology level in the economy and adding technological value to the production. Basically, being competitive in the knowledge economy does not imply that China must simply develop high technology. It means that China must encourage its organizations, enterprises and people to acquire, disseminate and use knowledge more effectively for greater economic and social development. Thus, urban economic structure should shift from merely relying on industrial manufacturing to tertiary industries, especially the innovation, R&D and other tech-services. However, one challenge is the knowledge divide across provinces. Figure5 shows the provincial knowledge index comparison based on education, innovation and ICT (Information and Communication Technologies) pillars. There is a tendency of widening knowledge index among provinces. This means that it is still difficult for the cities in many of the provinces to adapt to the knowledge economy. Even in provinces like Guangdong, Fujian, Jiangsu and Hai'nan, not all the cities are capable of completely shifting to a knowledge economy. In this sense, only part of the cities e.g. Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou and Tianjin can adjust to a knowledge-based economy. The direct influence of such urban economic transformation is that many industries of low technological level such as clothes manufacturing and spinning would be either upgraded to increase their knowledge intensity and competitiveness or transferred downstairs from cities to counties, towns or even rural areas. At the meanwhile, the urban employment structure would also be geared to the demand of high-educated laborers.
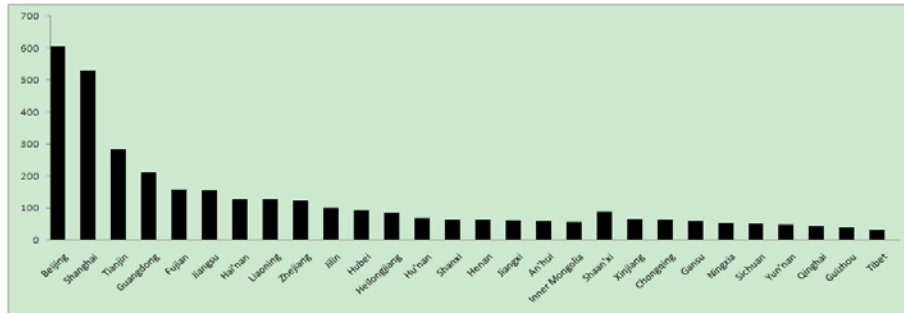
Figure 5 Knowledge Index by Provinces, 2000
Source: Hu, A. and Xiong, Y. (2000)
Note: High (I>=150), Above average (150>I>=100), Below average (100>I=75), Low (I<75)

Urban spatial transformation relates much to the economic transformation. One distinct feature of knowledge economy is the halt of extensive industrial expansion and upgrading the technological level in the current industrial system. This implies that knowledge input will replace the previous material, physical and labor force investment in the economic development. Correspondingly, low technological level of industries and laborers as said above, would transfer to the sub-level cities or towns. Thus, urban spatial development would gear to a more compact pattern providing convenient and eco-friendly working and living environment so as to attract more high-tech industries and laborers.

Besides, the other concern comes from the competition of city-regions in the world. The globalization of production has also accelerated the growth of global cities (Friedmann and Wolff, 1982; Sassen, 1991). Global city-regions are rapidly emerging throughout the world as important nodes in the world city system. For instance, London, New York and Tokyo are the global financial articulations while Los Angeles, Frankfurt, Amsterdam and Singapore were multinational articulations in this system. These mega-urban units which consist of many cities and large rural hinterland are essential nodes linking the local and global economies. As Lynch (2005) argued, cities in the developing world need to strongly link with their hinterlands while involving in the world economy. This necessitates urban development in a larger context which includes cities, counties, towns and rural hinterland. In China, city-clusters also emerged like Pearl River Delta, Yangtze River Delta and Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei metropolitan region (Figure6). These regions which are acting as the spatial nexus in resources flows compete with other regions city in the world. In fact, the challenge is that the urban transformation of a single city should be in line with its urban function and the economic structure of the regions. This means that previous urban development pattern should be adjusted to make cities act complementarily and synergistically in a certain region.
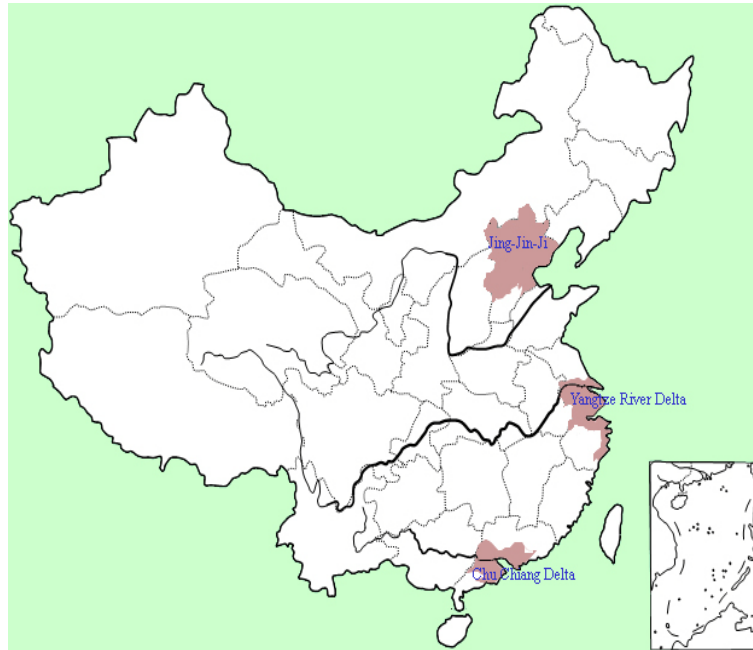
Figure 6 Three Metropolitan Regions in China
Note: Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei metropolitan region is also called Jing-Jin-Ji metropolitan region

URBAN SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

Urban social transformation consists of two aspects. The first is the potential laid-off people due to the economic restructuring. Even though economic restructuring in the knowledge economy would push many laborers of low skills change employment in other cities, however, the urban economic transformation will directly lead to large amount of laid-off people because of their low skill and knowledge. How should the government manage these people need to be properly dealt. The difference between these newly unemployed people and the rural immigrants is that these people have their property, family and strong social ties in cities. It is impossible for them to migrate to other sub-level cities to find a suitable job. Instead, they need training and re-find a job in the local place. Otherwise, these people can add to the social differentiation in the cities.

The other aspect of urban social transformation lies in the urban social welfare system. How to further exploit domestic consumption has been the top item in the governmental agenda since the world financial crisis. One big challenge is that people are reluctant to spend their deposit money since they have to keep it for the life risks. This type of people mainly includes rural residents, low income urban residents and those who are living in cities but can't enjoy the local social welfare due to their rural *hukou* or other *hukou* registration. The problem was manifested by the ever increasing household deposits since the mid-1990s (Figure7). It shows that annual household deposits continuously increased although the deposit rate kept on dropping. Thus, this reality necessitates the establishment of a comprehensive social welfare system which covers both urban and rural residents.
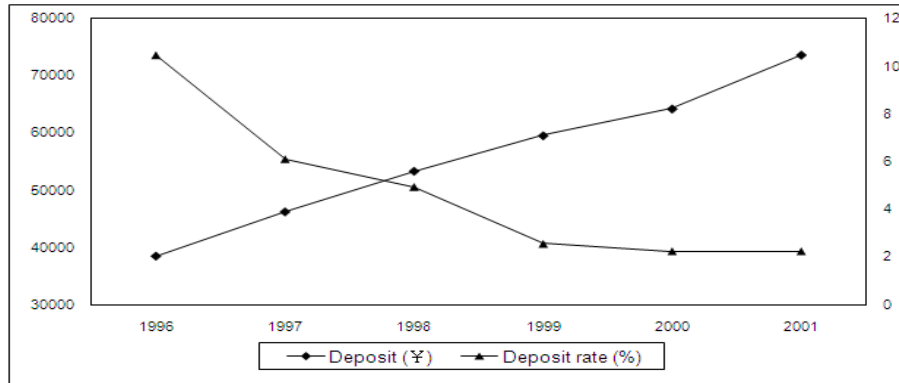
Figure7 Annual household deposits and deposit rates, 1996-2001 (100million￥)
Source: National Bureau of Statistics of China (2008)
Note: The deposit rate is the average of fixed deposit rates for one, two, three and five years.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Urban transformation is a complex process which not only includes urban physical and economic transformation, but also involves transformation of political and social development. The complexity of urban transformation in China under both internal and external forces challenges the current urban development pattern which should be geared to a high-efficient, sustainable and society-equal trajectory. The emerging knowledge economy and global financial crisis require new transformation in both urban economic and social aspects. To sum up, it demands a coalition of government, planners, enterprises and scholars to better manage the urban transformation process in China.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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MODERN URBAN PLANNING IN BRAZIL: PRESENCES AND ABSENCES IN THE CITY OF SANTOS URBAN EXPANSION PLAN OF 1910

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ABSTRACT

This article covers some aspects of the origins of urban planning in Brazil through a study of case of town plan developed to the city of Santos, São Paulo State, in 1910, by one of the most important Brazilian engineers during the early years of the 20th century, Saturnino de Brito. The "plant of Santos", as it was known, guided the city's urban development in the 1910s and 1920s, not without conflicts. The options regarding interventions conducted by the Government show the relationship between the urban planning and the social production of urban space in early years of the 1920s.

INTRODUCTION

In early twentieth century, the harbor city of Santos became one of the most important urban centers of Brazil due to the exportation of coffee produced in the state of Sao Paulo, the main product of Brazil's economy at the moment. In order to cope with the city's urban development, the state government of São Paulo hired the sanitary engineer Saturnino de Brito, one of Brazil's most known sanitary engineers in the period. This engineer was called to design a development plan for Santos to face yellow fever epidemics which plagued the city towards the end of the nineteenth century. The modern network of water, sewerage, and drainage infrastructure was based on flow theory, combining the removal of polluted waters, rapid conduction of rain water; abundant supply of safe drinking water and absolute separation of water, wastewater, and rainwater, measures conceived to avoid the proliferation of microbes in urban rivers.

Moreover, there was a clear intention to establish guidelines for urban expansion in the vast wetlands south of the urban core, an idea which landowners welcomed. The bold drainage system, designed by Saturnino de Brito, included extensive channels multiplying the possibilities of urbanization and occupation of these areas. But it wouldn't take long before the myth of the plan as a "*tabula rasa*" for the city's urban development to fall apart. The moment of euphoria of some space production agents also revealed possibilities for profits that went beyond Saturnino de Brito's technical reasoning.

By presenting a complete system of streets and parks, defined from an erudite knowledge he brought from his readings of Camilo Sitte, Raymond Unwin and the plans for L'Enfant for Washington and Cerdá for Barcelona, Brito offered Santos one of the first urban plans elaborated in Brazil (ANDRADE, 1991: 55), and thus at the forefront of modern Brazilian urbanism. The state was interested in construction a modern city to be home to what would be Brazil's biggest port for exports. We would see one of the most emblematic events in the history of

Brazilian planning take place: an ample debate on modern urbanism and its meaning for urban space production.

"THE PLANT OF SANTOS"

In 1906, when referring to the location of the new sewage collectors, while still preparing the elements needed to carry out the plan, Saturnino de Brito reported the study of a rigorous topographical map in which he was designing new streets and improvements. Brito used to say that for a flat city like Santos, the sewage network should be elaborated according to future urban development. Therefore, it was indispensable for the designed network to be carried out without any alterations by City Hall or those interested in laying out streets on their properties. Brito said he had the complete project for city expansion but was reviewing it to promote the law that would maintain it with City Hall. Two years later, concerned about the rigid control for carrying out his plan, Brito proposed two laws: one, a state law, for contributing improvements, and the other, municipal, to regulate the buildings on the blocks. The engineer worried in advance about controlling construction growth that accompanied the improved sanitary conditions with sewage and drainage works. Brito used to say that residential connections and repairs of old works could only be executed after approving a regulation that would also indicate the appropriate materials to be used. The city could not be considered sanitary without a complete renovation of defective installations and approval of the regulation.

With the announced legislative instruments, the general map of city improvements, with "avenues, squares, gardens and streets in the part without buildings and some changes in the already constructed part", was concluded and offered to City Hall in 1910, which "certainly had to have it considering the improvements it would undertake in the future", indicated that year's Report (SÃO PAULO, 1912). One year earlier, Saturnino de Brito had taken over as head of the Sanitation Commission of the State of Pernambuco, obtaining unpaid leave from the São Paulo government, to direct from afar the works in Santos that were temporarily assumed by Brito's first assistant, engineer Miguel Presgrave. Therefore, Brito's leaving the Sanitation Commission was not related to the controversy that occurred years later with City Hall, but in 1915, it would be forever marked in Brazilian urban culture with the publication of the "Plant of Santos", a 269-page book containing the entire debate and an exchange of accusations between Brito and City Hall and the directors of the City Hall's Public Works, Roberto Cochrane Simonsen and Francisco Teixeira da Silva Telles, the former, grandson of the then Superintendent of Public Works for the government of the state of São Paulo, Ignácio Wallace da Gama Cochrane and the latter, son of the prominent São Paulo councilman, Augusto Carlos da Silva Telles.

On pages 32 to 37 of the referred to publication, Brito exposed the history of these issues with City Hall and the dimension the case took in face of the opposing points of view he and City Hall had. Brito argued that only were the two directors of public works, Simonsen, who remained in that position until 1911 and Telles, who replaced him that year, but also the local population, seduced by the praise filled publications in the local newspaper, A Tribuna, were in favor of his project. He said that until 1912, there was harmony in the relationships between the city and the Sanitation Commission, a situation that changed in April 1913 during the last trip he made to Santos. That is when he realized that the Directorate of Public

Works "was succeeding in obtaining City Hall's defiance against the general plan projected by the Sanitation Commission for the city's progress according to the project elaborated for the development of the sewage network." A series of opinions noted on the pages of the proceedings had enraged Saturnino de Brito who, authorized by the Secretary of Agriculture, Paulo de Morais Barros, responded with a series of eight articles published in the _O Estado de São Paulo_ newspaper, in order to "energetically stir up the issue". In the introductory pages, Brito suggested it was a plot contrived by the city, led by director, Francisco Teixeira da Silva Telles who used the name of the City Hall in a collection of aggressive articles published by the _A Tribuna_ newspaper to attack his plan. When describing the accusations, Brito said that "in Latin countries, it was common to make use of such arguments without any need to involve personal matters."
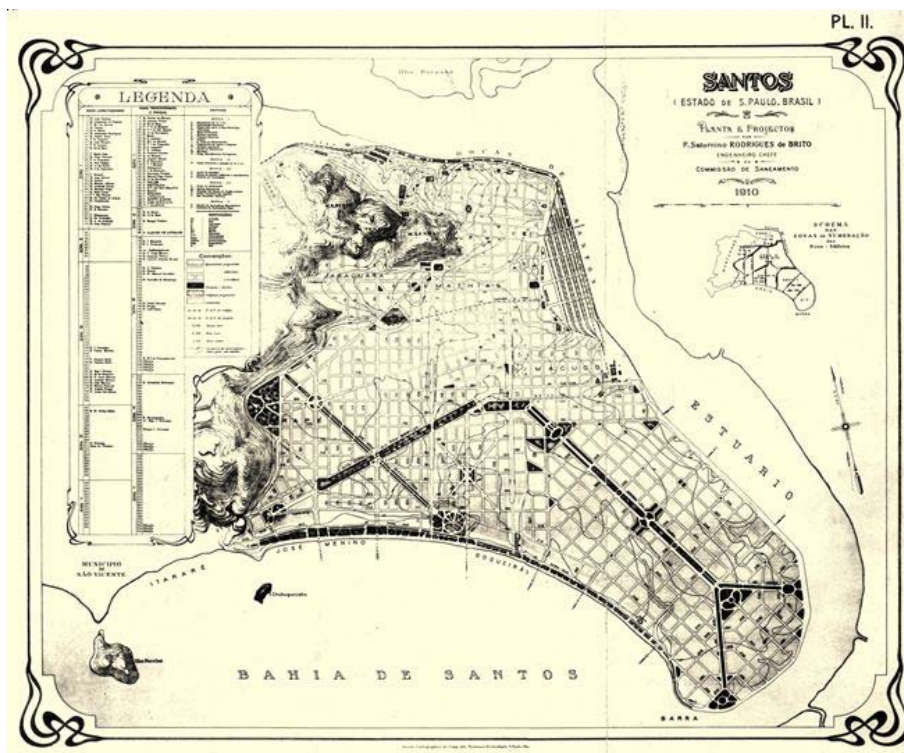
Figure 01 – "The Plant of Santos". BRITO, 1915.

Brito was certainly concerned about the infrastructure system designed and executed in 1905, with the sewage network as a core element in the hypotheses regarding urban growth. His attack against the director of works reflected the major issues of urban planning that began to emerge from the cabinets and that, in a way, already indicated the themes that would lead to the creation of urbanism and urban planning at that time. Much beyond the digressions regarding layout, which Brito discussed in detail in this publication, the content fueled a discussion regarding the scope of technical competence to execute or approve urban plans and of the professionals qualified to carry them out. In touch with the latest ideas,

Brito deferred to an international urban practice, which was also not neglected by Francisco Teixeira da Silva Telles. He took advantage of the situation to criticize municipal autonomy, reaffirming federalism as the method to construct good cities. With that he explained that being a state attribution, sanitary practices must be subordinate to state government, which should be the only one responsible for formulating expansion plans, always associated with the plan of infrastructure networks, the only way to construct a beautiful and healthy city.

The elaboration of an expansion plan was already common for several engineers, which Brito explained on page 133, and was therefore a procedure known by the better informed engineers, as was his case. However, the point of view regarding city growth and how to carry it out fueled the dispute. On one hand, it was not possible to establish a rigid map and an expansion plan, regardless of how well studied, could not predict all the needs, all the future (and remote future) trends – an idea defended by Telles. On the other hand, strict control of avenue, street and square layouts was necessary, together with a good sanitary project, requiring all private agents to follow the guidelines - defended by Brito. Denied in Brito's writings, Telles idea certainly had to deal with the limitations of public power over property rights, an issue that became a core topic in Brazil starting in 1850 with the enactment of the "Land Law". By stating that the plan should be limited to indicating the general lines for city growth, determining the position of gardens, the convenient direction for the main streets, Telles was demonstrating lucidity regarding the meaning of urban property in Brazil. By citing the American author Mullfor Robinson, Telles went even further. He was demonstrating the power private landowners exercised over local policy, positioning them not only against any overlapping of that sort, but also establishing channels of political dialogue (with the Executive and City Council) that satisfied their desires.

Thus, for Telles, the city was responsible for managing conflicts derived from legal interference involving urban properties, interferences that often went against the interests of the landowners. Such was the case involving Ms. Catarina Ablas, the property owner who benefited from running one of the drainage channels projected by Brito on her property, and who, engaged in selling the lots for the villa she had projected, did not accept the parceling model and the installation of buildings on the blocks that the engineer wanted to impose. That property owner, certainly interested in profiting from the undertaking, demanded greater freedom in defining the layout, perhaps in disagreement with the sanitary layout Brito had elaborated for the model block, which was more costly and had reduced possibilities for making use of the land.

These discussions, which were part of the exchange of knowledge impregnated in the technical and professional sectors in which these engineers were inserted, anticipated what would become the practice of future planning in Brazilian cities and of which Santos was the best example. Brito's defense of strict expansion plans, conducted by the State, would lose strength during those years. Besides the sharing of attributions, already a public policy practice since the days of the Empire, the state government would not continue to invest resources in sanitation in São Paulo's cities, with the exception of São Paulo and Santos. Indeed, some of these cities were given attributions so they could solve the sanitary infrastructure issue, besides the attributions they already had. In the 1920s, without proportional resources and already with serious urban problems, the cities would be called to elaborate joint plans, dealing with various urban issues, from sanitation to the

transportation system. We would see what came to be greater municipal autonomy for the City of São Paulo, for example, where Mayor Prestes Maia's plan for 1930 arrived with much delay in face of the expressive urban expansion taking place. In most of the state's cities, however, sanitary issues did not guide their layout, or even their expansion. Laid out by overlapping the existing street layout, infrastructure networks were not directed for urban expansion, as Brito wanted. That was not because the City Hall had any sort of bad intention, but because the possibilities of defining the urban design the city would have in the future through an expansion plan were limited. That's why the plans would quickly become laws for urban control or improvement that sometimes were obeyed and sometimes not.

The strategic position assumed for Santos made the city an exception since part of the planned improvements were implemented, and it also had the state government in command of sanitary issues, even after the controversial episode involving Brito and City Hall, which frayed relations between the state and manicipality. However, its operations would be restricted to actions already being carried out in the installation of sewage and drainage networks and management of the contract with the City of Santos Improvements Company, contracted by the government to operate the city's water supply. The government removed its support for Brito, announcing years later that the sanitation works would contribute towards property valorization and urban development. The government's silence in face of the exchange of official letters and articles published in newspapers was evidence of its action focused on the main sanitation measures and on the major urban expansion guidelines[113], which Silva Telles knew how to explain very well in the answer he provided Saturnino de Brito in 1913. In 1912, before the famous controversy in the pages of newspapers, the government thought of dissolving the Sanitation Commission, since it could almost completely carry out the project elaborated in 1905 itself. That year's Report indicated the creation of a definitive government Bureau in 1914 which would be responsible only for conservation of the Santos and São Vicente sewage networks and inspection of Companhia City[114] contracts.

In Santos' case, the contraposition between planned city and real city proved to be emblematic. From early on, the exercising of planning was present, making it possible for diverging ideas about its institutional practice to emerge with full force. In this sense, state government action demonstrates the planning logic that would win - the one that would take care of management, control (or lack thereof) and monitoring, always trailing private production of urban space. However, in Santos, real implementation of large guidelines for streets, sanitation and some parks and gardens, present in Brito's plan, made the difference, and whose equilibrium between public and private interventions was kept at the limit.

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF DRAINAGE AND SEWAGE WORKS

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[113] In 1925, this is how the Report manifested itself in relation to the channel works designed by Brito: "In order to demonstrate the influence drainage channels have had on city development, it is sufficient to say that Dr. Saturnino de Brito, authorized to construct the most urgent channels, organized a city expansion plan and designed channels for the future in 1910. However, after only 15 years, his plan for channels had become a splendid reality thanks to the foresight and continuity of state government action." (SÃO PAULO, 1926: 320)
[114] This Company was responsible for the water supply to the city of Santos.

The big solution proposed by Saturnino de Brito in his 1910 plan was the implementation of seven drainage channels that cut the island's swamplands, making them dry and safe for receiving streets and infrastructure. Each channel received a number (from one to seven) related to the distances in relation to the city's central area and already urbanized areas. Thus, the first channels, from one to four, were closer to the central area and other already installed developments and the last, from five to seven, were more distant, located in untouched territory, east of the island, in the region known as "Ponta da Praia".

Already in 1911, the government had legislative (budgetary) authorization to conclude all drainage channels already initiated and two more rainwater galleries. It was also authorized to construct Channel 4, which besides draining the lands that would be home to the new "*Hospital de Isolamento*", would benefit *Vila Macuco*, a port workers village, which still did not have a superficial drainage network installed. However, it is curious to note that conclusion of these channels did not follow the numerical sequence, and thus, in 1911, only channels 2, 3, 7[115] and 9 were concluded, the first two benefiting a wide stretch of land that extended between Conselheiro Nébias and Ana Costa Avenues, the two most important avenues that linked the central areas of the city and its seafront. The 2,795 meters of channel and 10,205 meters of galleries executed were described as elements to valorize the surface of the lands, then still swampy and unfit for construction. But valorization was still restricted to those lands that accompanied the two main arteries that led to the sea. Channels 2 and 3 would provide the region's first real estate boom and until today it is the most valorized area in Santos. Meanwhile, channel 1 would continue to be built and channel 4, a priority for installing the "Hospital de Isolamento" and for Vila Macuco sanitation, would be interrupted after questioning arose from two property owners.

In 1914, channel construction was paralyzed, but nevertheless the government concluded channel 1, making it possible to finally fill in the lowland areas of José *Menino* and *Parque Balneário* (along Ana Costa Avenue) with land removed from the channel itself, and for Mayor Belmiro Ribeiro, together with his partner Roberto Cochrane Simonsen at Companhia Construtora de Santos, to idealize a small development between channels 1 and 2 that would later be installed with the name "Vila Belmiro". The following year, with channel works paralyzed, the government already planned on constructing channel 6 (with 3 stopped and 5 not even considered).

Once again a convergence of interests was felt. Channel 6, one of those located on Ponta da Praia, would permit expansion of the port in the future, an expansion already underway little by little and that in 1912 was reaching the point where channel 4 flowed into the estuary and where the Sanitation Commission constructed a basin to serve as shelter for embarkations looking for the port and loaded with wood, cereals and sand. Between 1917 and 1919, the government only carried out that channel, treating it with priority and basing it on the "scourge of malarial fevers that desolated the population of Santos". In reality, it was a work in an almost entirely uninhabited region with precarious accessibility. The government had made it clear it would only invest resources in the construction of channels in those stretches of land donated by property owners, which, indeed,

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[115] This channel 7 was actually part of channel 1, located in the Jabaquara basin. The current channel 7 at Ponta da Praia would only be constructed years later.

occurred in the construction of channel 6, but that certainly impeded the continuation of channel 4 works where property owners were expecting the valorization of their properties after its conclusion. Although prioritized, the works on this small channel (the smallest of all those constructed) were never free of commotion. On one hand, use of "Rodovalho cement", a domestic brand used for the first time in Santos, was not successful.

The material, supplied by A. Pereira e Companhia, did not have the recommended uniformity, and besides that, it was not delivered with the required regularity, resulting in contract rescission. Without any alternative, since cement imports during the War were prohibited, the works were delayed. On the other hand, with its construction, it was not possible to raise the land quotas in those areas through which it passed. Total land extracted from the channel and from the lowering of side avenues was not sufficient to fill the existing lowlands in Ponta da Praia. In order to completely solve the region's sanitation, it was indispensable to carry out the works on channels 4 and 5. Channel 6 was inaugurated in 1919, but the conclusion of channel 4 and construction of channel 5 only began to be considered in 1923.

Channel 4 was concluded in 1924. But it was still necessary to construct channel 5, indeed, perhaps the least important, but still complementary to 4 and 6 in a region already served with accesses and improvements. It was carried out in the midst of an already consolidated speculation process in which, different from the others, construction was automatically accompanied by the construction of beautiful residential buildings. The Report of 1925 described "the plain of enchanting panoramas, incorporating into the city's heritage a region up to then considered abandoned and unhealthy." In 1926, when it was already approaching conclusion, channel 5 complemented the beautiful landscapes conceived by Saturnino de Brito, announcing what those works would represent in the not too distant future.

Figure 02 - Channel 4 under construction.
Source: SÃO PAULO, 1925.
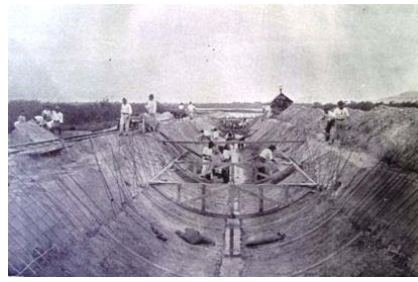
Figure 03 - Drainage channel 6 constructed
with "Rodovalho cement".
Source: SÃO PAULO, 1918.

The sewage works would also be carried out partly in compliance with engineer Saturnino de Brito's desires. The general lines of his system were carried out beginning with the installation of 12 pumping stations. In 1910, material for electrically equipping those stations arrived in Santos, providing them with a great push forward. This also occurred in the construction of the main collectors and of the new network in urbanized areas that was to soon substitute the old and

defective network taken over in 1897 by the state government. In 1910, the system was already partly functioning, and the following year it would be inaugurated. The only thing lacking was to complete the works for pouring the sewage into the open sea. Projected to receive sewage from the neighbor city of São Vicente, which also began to install infrastructure works, a general outfall would carry the sewage to Ponta de Itaipus, for which a suspension bridge was inaugurated in 1914. The works were daring and would discharge the already purified sewage into the open sea in 1914, when Brito's system[116] was in full operation. In these installations designed by Brito, we underscore the unrestricted use of electric energy supplied through underground cables by Companhia Docas[117] to pump the sewage in the district stations. Even when there were power shortages, the sewage system continued to be pumped by the energy generated at the Prevention Plant, built next to the pumping station terminal.

Figure 04 - Santos Sanitation – Terminal Plant and Prevention Plant.
Source: SÃO PAULO, 1912.

Figure 05 - Inauguration of the Suspension Bridge on May 21, 1914.
Source: SÃO PAULO, 1916.

The efficient system implemented would be perfect if not for the construction increase the city was going through with the implementation of drainage works and expansion of the city beyond its central nucleus. If it was not interesting for the government to pressure City Hall to approve the map Brito had provided, then it would be necessary to draw up regulations that would soon be part of the routine of the Sanitation Bureau, created in 1914. The Sanitation Commission had been adopting the normative criteria of just connecting those buildings with modern sanitary installations to the new sewage network, increasing the contributions to the new network and gradually reducing those to the old. The old network would thus only cease operations after the last domicile was disconnected from it.

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[116] The Brito system was very daring. The description of its elements and operation reveals an uncommon ingeniousness in the use of machinery and modern technology. It was comprised of main collectors , secondary collectors and clevises, district outfalls made of iron, special channels with siphons and a general outfall, operating with ten district stations, seven siphons and one Terminal Plant. In 1912, the operation was perfect in every detail: the ten districts into which the city was divided were drained by collectors that converged to station wells where the contribution of each district was calculated by electric pumps until the main collectors.

[117] This Company had the Concession of the federal government to operate the port of Santos.

Once defined, these decisions would have some consequences and from then on we would see the emergence of building irregularities. In 1914, the new Bureau pointed out the financial difficulties of owners of older buildings in carrying out the renovations required. Even the Sanitation Commission, tied to the Secretary of the Interior, was making concessions regarding terms and procedures for these properties to become regulated, and thus many buildings would end up not being connected to the recently constructed network. Nevertheless, the number of projects carried out by the Bureau's technical office was far from negligible[118]. Every year, the volume increased, giving it a quality of being a more effective controller than City Hall, which had already revoked Municipal Law 288, which demanded prior submission of the new buildings floor plans to the Sanitation Commission before they could obtain municipal approval. The source of this controversy, the repeal did not inhibit the Bureau's action and it continued to exercise control over each new unit being constructed or renovated in Santos, obtaining an almost complete registration of the entire city, getting to know the details and the sanitary installations of each domicile. In 1922, Article 148 of the new Building Code would include that no construction, reconstruction or renovation plan would be authorized by City Hall if not accompanied by the respective sewage project organized by the Sanitation Bureau.

Not every property owner was able to carry out the required installations, especially in the old constructions that demanded special adaptations. Even though the government was enthused about the evolution of buildings connected to the official network, it admitted to the irregular situation, which were absent from the official statistics.

The pressure on owner of old constructions increased every year. This pressure was not accompanied by any sort of subsidy or assistance for renovation costs. In the confrontation between the Health Department and property owners, the number of renovations carried out increased timidly, gradually reducing the number of domiciles connected to the old network, without allowing it to be shut down. In 1923, there were still 461 buildings connected to it; in 1924, 366; in 1927, 250.

Nevertheless, the Bureau was approaching 1920 following the government's guidelines for establishing a service of excellence. Manufacturing of special pieces, all of the cement material used in constructing the collectors and residential connections and even the hydraulic tiles that designed the beautiful sidewalks in the city were still carried out on site, at the Bureau's workshops. This manufacturing was not only a savings for state coffers, but it also offered uniformity and regularity in service progress. It is not hard to imagine the meant for the city and its real estate agents such efficiency in running sewage works. It was hard for the state to accompany all that real estate activity that drove the island in the 1920s. Indeed, pressured to take on the entire, consolidated urban territory, that year the Bureau would encounter a city that was growing outside the daring sanitary sewage system. And that was easy to explain. Unable to expand its sewage network since 1914 due to the financial crisis tied to the First World War, the Bureau would only begin to invest in its expansion again in 1922. That year, it would encounter a high number of buildings constructed on streets not equipped

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[118] This organization consists of launching the definitive project for sewage system installation in the projects arriving at the Bureau.

with collectors, discharging into cesspools, often opened just a short distance from homes, "inflicting great harm on the health of the inhabitants".

According to the reports of 1922, with the valorization of these properties, there continued to exist the so-called inconvenient construction, on remote streets, obliging the Bureau to expand its collectors and build new ones for discharges from these buildings, adding further expenses to an already reduced approved budget. Brito's fears were becoming reality. of course, this was not a concern of the property owners, and as occurred in the City of São Paulo, they counted on the state to guarantee sanitary infrastructure in the developments they were creating. The Sanitation Commission Report of 1925 warned about the disorderly opening of new streets on private properties, being called "villas", selling lots in installments and promising improvements at points far from the urban nucleus.

In 1924, Secretary Gabriel Ribeiro dos Santos also authorized the opening of extraordinary credits to begin construction of the main collector on Marechal Deodoro Avenue, draining an extensive area with opened and densely constructed streets. As can be seen, the government had the means to justify its actions, stimulating and interfering in the private production of urban space, demonstrating that in the 1920s, state action was no longer only tied to the strategic works of the port, nor only to the advertising service abroad. Its action in Santos' sanitary infrastructure was going through a prioritization process, and given the budget limitations, unable to serve the countless buildings being erected. With that guideline, the Bureau extended its collectors to the streets located within the urban perimeter, with a density that justified the investment. In other words, it tried to serve the consolidated and most valorized areas.

CONCLUSION

With these observations of the social processes that gave origin to urban planning in São Paulo and which, in Santos, we could feel with more vigor through the work carried out by engineer Saturnino de Brito and others, it is worth asking the role played by state investments, the housing proposals elaborated by him. The rich São Paulo of coffee would watch the birth of a modern city with dazzling landscapes, but it would not see the birth of a balanced city from the perspective of public needs. And thus proposals for the construction of villas or low-income workers homes that were far from being established as policies were timidly appearing, such the paltry initiatives by the state government for the Prevention Plant workers in 1917. Scheduled for application in the construction of a series of clean houses, the investments were transformed into two small healthy homes that were later occupied by the workshop foreman and the general overseer, committed to pay for them using interest from capital employed in the buildings. Finally, state government reports from 1917 concluded what advantage public service would have if the state, paying the appropriate attention to the healthy housing problem for workers, tried to solve the problem for those working in public bureaus.

In Santos, the shantytowns and unhealthy housing would continue to occupy old parts of the city at the same time that excessive vertical buildings grew in the sanitized neighborhoods crossed by the drainage channels. These speculative processes, present until today, have roots in the dawn of modern urban planning in Brazil.

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PARADIGM SHIFTS AND URBAN REGENERATION PROCESS IN PLANNING HISTORY

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ABSTRACT

This study evaluates paradigm shifts in urban planning and their effect on urban regeneration process by an analytical and comparative method in the framework of historical progression of urban planning. This paper is built upon three successive sections within that perspective. Firstly, dominating paradigms surpassed in each period and restructured planning theory throughout the planning history will be explained. Then, theoretical and practical differentiations on urban regeneration process will be investigated by evaluating the planning approaches, strategies and models on urban change in each period. Finally, as a response to neo-liberal challenges on the contemporary historic preservation and urban conservation agenda, a strategic model integrating theory, practice and method in its framework will be proposed by comparing similarities and differences in organizational and spatial levels on the issue of urban regeneration. Conclusively, this paper underlines the need for systematizing an integrated, strategic, multi-agent and collaborative model unifying theory, practice and method in its framework for planning, managing and sustaining the urban regeneration process by releasing a debate on the contemporary neo-liberal conjuncture in which the political, economical and planning paradigms on urban development and change are conjoined competitively in global cities.

INTRODUCTION

Poly-centric formation of a philosophical system connecting philosophy of science and planning philosophy has given rise to various differentiations in the planning theory encompassing approaches, strategies and models for urban development and change from the 20th century. The main criterion outlining that differentiation is based on the assumption that contemporary planning theory is a spatial response of planning approaches and strategies in the framework of paradigm shifts. Paradigm shifts after the 1980's under the scope of globalization might be accepted as evidence about the approaches, strategies and models differentiated by neo-liberalization process. Thus, this study focuses on urban development and change in order to point out the planning, management and sustainability of urban regeneration process in global cities under the framework of the 21st century conjuncture. Moreover, this study aims to provide a paradigmatic evaluation on urban regeneration process in planning history with a target of debating contemporary neo-liberal challenges. Therefore, argument in this study has a threefold objective: to investigate the modification in the planning approaches, strategies and models on urban change for planning, managing and sustaining the process, to debate the contemporary neo-liberal challenges in global cities under the framework of paradigm shifts, and to propose a model for the process.

POLY-CENTRIC FORMATION OF PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEM BY PARADIGM SHIFTS

There has been an interlocking relationship between philosophy and planning. Due to the progress in the philosophy of science by the 1960s, urban planning -both in theory and practice- has gained a multi-paradigmatic character as a result of shift from mono-centric to poly-centric approach in the philosophy of science. The basis of this progress is rooted in the Kantian Critical Philosophy in the late 18th century and the Neo-Kantian Transcendental Philosophy in the 19th century (Rosenberg, 2001; Carnap, 1995; Russel, 1961).

Philosophy of Science encompasses studies on assumptions, foundations and explanations in the field of natural and social sciences. Philosophy of science focuses on explanations and disputes on epistemology *(theory of objects of knowledge)* and ontology *(theory of knowledge)* of scientific knowledge. Main approaches in the philosophy of science include some debates on concepts, formal logic, scientific method, observation, inductive-deductive types of reasoning and objective-subjective types of scientific logics of inquiry. Philosophy of Science has an effective role on the establishment of specific philosophical view belong to the scientific disciplines, i.e: Planning Philosophy (Rosenberg, 2001; Carnap, 1995; Hall, 1988). Planning Philosophy includes studies on hypotheses, conjectures, theories and approaches in the field of urban (planning) science. Planning philosophy focuses on the issues of urban problems-solutions and explanations-debates in ontological and epistemological grounds. Main approaches in the planning philosophy include some themes on planning method, concepts, theoretical formulations and principles for urban practice (Fainstein & Campbell, 1996; Healey, McDougall & Thomas, 1982; Paris, 1982; Camhis 1979; Faludi, 1973). In the philosophy of science, there is a paradigmatic basis for planning philosophy. Paradigm is a structure for thought comprised of a set of ideologies and common values taken granted as a model in an epistemological context by a certain scientific discipline within a specific period. In other words, Paradigm is a regulating framework for a field of science to be formatted. In the Philosophy of science, there is a lot of paradigm shifts substantiated from ancient to contemporary period. Paradigm shift is a radical change in the regulating framework. Each paradigm shift in the philosophy of science triggers the formation of a new planning philosophy which includes specific (urban) planning theory. Planning Theory determines the 'accurate' scientific method based on the regulating/dominating philosophy of science whereas Urban Planning Theory borrows some concepts and theoretical formulations both from natural and social sciences (Ersoy, 2007; Fainstein & Campbell, 1996; Taylor, 1998; Paris, 1982). Therefore, Planning Theory is used for defining the planning scientifically in a more general and holistic manner (Faludi, 1973). In the 1980s, contemporary bias in planning theory includes thoughts on procedure rather than substance. The emphasis is on the differentiation between Planning Theory focusing on the theories of planning process based on procedural theories and Urban Planning Theory focusing on the theory of planning phenomenology based on substantial theories in urban science (Camhis, 1979; Faludi, 1973). The rationale behind this differentiation is based on the need for establishing a planning philosophy defining the urban science affected by the changes in the philosophy of science after the 1960s (Faludi, 1973). Furthermore, Planning Approach systematizes the methodology in (Urban) Planning Theory. By the interaction between the

philosophy of science and planning philosophy, each (urban) planning theory produces specific planning approaches consisted of principles and procedures compatible with the regulating/dominating paradigm.

Debates on Paradigm(s) and Progress in Science:

During the 1960s, there were active debates generated by the philosophers of science and scientific historians –namely Karl Popper, Thomas Khun, Paul Feyerabend and Imre Lakatos– on the empiricist ontology of the philosophy of science (Hall, 1988). Both of them focus on explaining the progress in science with different ideologies which utilize different 'logics of inquiry' (Gürler, 2001; Tekeli, 2000). Each debate on the progress in science opened a new path for poly-centric philosophy of science and influenced the planning philosophy, theory and practice.

Pooper, -who published The Logic of Scientific Discovery in 1959 and Conjectures and Refutations: The Growth of Scientific Knowledge in 1963- uses empirical methods of critical rationalism in order to explain progress in science via the method of falsification by considering Biology as a model science. Popperian model for the explanation consists of progressive mechanisms in a continuous change. Popper initiated a method for "metaphysical research program". Popperian theory, focusing on the logic of science, based on hypothetico-deductive reasoning and discourses (Rosenberg, 2001; Gürler, 2001; Tekeli, 2000; Carnap, 1995). Due to the theory, there are three mechanisms in the progress: generic adaptation, adaptive behavioral learning and scientific discovery. 'Critical Rationalist Theory and Evolutionary Approach' in Popperian debate both initiated the notion of theory production as scientific discovery in the philosophy of science and influenced the planning philosophy and theory by the construction of falsifiable ideas. "In the Popperian tradition, Planning is not seen as an operation separated from other forms of social action, but rather as a process embedded in continual evolution of ideas validated through action" (Mahtre in UrbanPlanningBlog, 2010; Friedmann, 1998). Therefore, falsifiability thesis put emphasis on social action whereas metaphysical research program approach supported the Weberian development of structure-agency relationship in urban planning. Popperian debate formulated a challenge on utilizing 'disjointed incremental planning approach, method of falsification and piecemeal social engineering' instead of 'rational comprehensive planning approach and method of verification' in planning theory and practice (Camhis, 1979; Faludi, 1973).

Kuhn -who published Structure of Scientific Revolutions in 1962- uses empirical methods of (post) positivism in order to explain progress in science via "paradigm shift" approach by considering Physics as a model science (Kuhn, 1962). Kuhnian model for the explanation consists of a series of crisis in segmented phases in a cyclical nature. Kuhn initiated a structure for explaining scientific progress. Kuhnian theory, focusing on the history of science, based on inductive reasoning and process analysis in order to respond to paradigmatic progress in science (Rosenberg, 2001; Gürler, 2001; Tekeli, 2000; Carnap, 1995). Due to the theory, there are three levels of the process in order to reach a new paradigm: puzzle-solving in the dominant paradigm, emergence of anomalies in the dominant paradigm and paradigm shift as a result of developing a new theory for an anomaly. 'Analytic Theory and Process Approach' in the Kuhian debate both emphasized the notion of paradigm shift as scientific revolution in the philosophy of science and influenced the planning philosophy and theory by the development of incommensurable ideas. In the Kuhnian tradition, Planning is not seen as operation

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departed from a scientific progress, but rather as a process based on decision-making in a recurring crisis and revolution of ideas by paradigm shifts. Therefore, incommensurability thesis put emphasis on (structural) contingency whereas paradigm shift approach supported the Marxist development of structure-agency relationship and decision-making process in urban planning. Kuhnian debate created a challenge on planning ideology by the development of progressive ideas in planning theory and practice (Camhis, 1979; Galloway&Mahayni, 1977; Faludi, 1973).

Feyerabend, -who published <u>Against Method: Outline of an Anarchistic Theory of Knowledge</u> in 1975- uses empirical methods of critical rationalism in order to explain scientific progress via incommensurability thesis by considering Sociology as a model science. Feyerabendian model for the explanation consisted of epistemological anarchism and pluralistic methodology in a cumulative nature. Feyerabend initiated "the anarchistic theory of knowledge". Feyerabendian theory, focusing on history and philosophy of science, based on hypothetico-deductive reasoning and alternative theories in order to respond to accumulation of the multi-paradigmatic scientific knowledge (Rosenberg, 2001; Gürler, 2001; Tekeli, 2000; Carnap, 1995). 'Critical Theory and Pluralistic Approach' in the Feyerabendian debate contributed to conflict between multi-paradigmatic theories in Popperian approach and incommensurability thesis in Khunian approach as well as influenced the planning philosophy and theory by the anarchistic ideas. In the Feyerabendian tradition, Planning is not seen as a mono-centric operation, but rather a process based on alternative methods in a cumulative progress by multi-paradigmatic knowledge. Therefore, anarchistic theory put emphasis on alternatives whereas pluralistic approach supported the neo-Weberian development of structure-agency relationship in urban planning. Feyerabendian debate created a challenge on utilizing 'transactive and advocacy planning approaches and radical methodology' instead of 'rational comprehensive planning approach and method of verification' in planning theory and practice (Camhis, 1979; Faludi, 1973)

Lakatos -who published <u>Proofs and Refutations</u> in 1976- utilizes empirical methods of post-positivism in order to explain scientific progress via continuous establishment of new research programmes by considering History as a model science. Lakatos initiated "the methodology of scientific research programmes". Lakatosian theory depends on the explanation of internal history rather than external history in order to respond to the scientific progress. Therefore, continuous scientific research programmes are used as an instrument of the logic of inquiry for understanding scientific ideology and for proposing ideological explanations as well as inductive empirical observation, conventionalism and method of falsification (Rosenberg, 2001; Gürler, 2001; Tekeli, 2000; Carnap, 1995). 'Post-Positivist Theory and Empirical Approach' in the Lakatosian debate contributed to resolve the conflict between method of falsification in Popperian approach and progress via paradigm shifts in Khunian approaches as well as influenced the planning philosophy and theory by instrumental ideas. In the Lakatosian tradition, Planning is not seen as mono-centric operation, but rather a process based on multiple methods in a poly-centric process by multi-paradigmatic researches. Therefore, critical theory put emphasis on ideologies whereas scientific research program approach supported the neo-Marxist development of structure-agency relationship in urban planning. Lakatosian debate formulated a challenge on

problem solving by 'communicative and collaborative planning, and heuristic method' (Camhis, 1979; Faludi, 1973).

Similarities and Differences in the Debates:

Both Khun and Popper, as the leading figures in the contemporary philosophy of science, put emphasis on progress in science by different methods of reasoning. Khunian debate is based on inductive reasoning by a positivist and analytic nature whereas Popperian debate is based on hypothetico-deductive reasoning by a critical rationalist and synthetic nature. Both Feyerabend and Lakatos, as the contributive figures in the contemporary philosophy of science, put emphasis on scientific progress by critical methods. Feyerabendian debate has a critical rationalist and mono-centric reasoning in cumulative nature whereas Lakatosian debate has a post-positivist and poly-centric reasoning in continuous nature. Both of the Khunian and Lakatosian theories utilize positivism that is operated by either classical or liberal technique of empiricism as methodology for explaining developments in science. In other words, both of the theories function on epistemological dimension of science by departing from the empiricist ontology. Khunian model utilizes positivist methods whereas Lakatosian model utilizes scientific research programmes. Both the Khunian and Feyerabendian theories utilize critical rationalism as a result of drawing a route for incommensurability of scientific theories. Both of the Popperian and Feyerabendian theories utilize critical rationalism that is operating either critical or anarchistic technique of empiricism as methodology for explaining progress in science. In other words, both of the theories function on epistemological dimension of science departing from rationalist ontology. Popperian model utilizes method of falsification whereas Feyerabendian model utilize anarchistic theory of knowledge (Gürler, 2001).

All of these contradictions have important role in scientific progress which allowed philosophy of science to have a poly-centric structure. Multi-paradigmatic character of scientific progress embraced almost each problem in order to resolve them in urban science. Paradigm shifts in planning philosophy produced opportunities as well as challenges both in theory and practice in contemporary urban planning.

DOMINATING PARADIGMS IN PLANNING THEORY AND PRACTICE

Dominating paradigms before 19th century created 'a basis for integrating philosophy of science and urbanization'. In this period, there are two major phases by paradigm shifts in Planning History. From Antiquity to Middle Ages, rational metaphysical philosophy evolved into rational ideal philosophy. This paradigmatic shift created conceptual ground in Planning Philosophy. Accordingly, urban formation and urban growth started to be managed as concepts in Planning Theory and urban models focused on physical form and function in Planning Practice. From Renaissance to Enlightenment:, rational ideal philosophy evolved into rational critical philosophy. This paradigmatic shift created theoretical ground in Planning Philosophy. Accordingly, urban growth and urban development became as urban issues in Planning Theory and urban models focused on structure and systems in Planning Practice. As a result, 'the interaction between Philosophy and Planning on the issue of urbanization' had been endorsed before the 19th century.

Dominating paradigms in the 19th century created 'a basis for multiplicity in philosophy of science and classical urban planning'. There are varied phases by paradigm shifts in the 19th century Planning History. Rational, positivist and materialist philosophies constructed rational positivist planning philosophy and

comprehensive planning approach. Accordingly, urban growth and development started to be hypothesized in Planning Theory and urban models focused on processes and structure-agency relationship in Planning Practice. As a result, 'institutionalization of urban planning' had been achieved and 'the theory of urban growth' had been systematized in the 19th century.

Dominating paradigms in the 20th century created 'a basis for poly-centric philosophy of science and contemporary urban planning'. There are progressive phases by paradigm shifts in 20th century Planning History. Pragmatist, materialist and phenomenological philosophies constructed neo-positivist and post-positivist Planning Philosophy and multiplicity of Planning Approaches as comprehensive, advocacy, communicative, participatory in character. From 1960s to 1980s, liberal rational philosophy and post-modern movement gave rise to Neo-Positivist Planning Philosophy as well as logical atomism, contextualism and functionalism in Planning Theory. From 1980s to 2000s, radical rational philosophy and globalization gave rise to post-positivist planning philosophy as well as contextualism, pragmatic strategy and process in Planning Theory. Accordingly, different types of urban change - including renewal, rehabilitation, conservation, revitalization, renaissance and regeneration- started to be hypothesized in Planning Theory and urban models focused on processes and structure-agency relationship in Planning Practice. As a result, 'institutionalization of planning philosophy' had been achieved and 'the issue of urban change' had been theorized and systematized in the 20th century.

Dominating paradigms in the 21st century has created 'a challenging basis for developing poly-centric philosophy of science and contemporary urban planning'. It is assumed to have consecutive and progressive phases by paradigm shifts in the 21st century Planning History. Materialist and critical realist philosophies have been constructing neo-liberal and post-liberal Planning Philosophy and differences in the Planning Approaches. From 2000s to 2010s, liberal radical philosophy and neo-liberal movement gave rise to post-positivist planning philosophy and strategic planning approach as well as competitiveness, managerialism, hedonic regulation and process in Planning Theory. Accordingly, different types of urban change- including urban regeneration and sustainable urbanism- have started to be hypothesized in Planning Theory and urban models focused on processes and structure-agency relationship in Planning Practice. In consequence, 'development of planning philosophy' has been in progress and 'the issue of urban change' has been managed challengingly in the 21st century.

DEVELOPMENT OF THEORY AND PRACTICE IN URBAN REGENERATION PROCESS

Critical development of rationalism and empiricism in the philosophy of science after the 1960s provoked the multi-paradigmatic development of materialism in (Urban) Planning Theory and Practice. There are three main paradigmatic periods in Urban Planning. (1) Planning Philosophy from 1960s to 1980s –which is characterized as supporting the liberal rationalism and empiricism by the method of falsification in the Popperian and Lakotosian approaches– underlined Neo-positivist approaches in Post-Modern Movement and put emphasis on logical atomism, contextualism and functionalism in (urban) planning theory and practice. (2) Planning Philosophy form 1980s to 2000s –which is characterized as supporting radical rationalism and empiricism by the method of paradigm shifts in the Khunian and Lakatosian Feyerabendian approaches– underlined Post-Positivist approaches in

Globalization Movement and put emphasis on contextualism, pragmatic strategy and process in (urban) planning theory and practice. (3) Planning Philosophy from 2000s to present –which is characterized as supporting Popperian and Khunian approaches– underlines Post-Liberal approaches in Competitiveness and puts emphasis on managerialism, hedonic regulation and process in (urban) planning theory and practice.

In 1960s, Fordist agenda as well as Marxian and Weberian frameworks formed a conjecture based on redevelopment-led liberal politico-economy (Gurler, 2009, 2002). Socio-cultural motives in modern movement opened a path for formation of consumption society. Philosophy of science focused on content in a law-giving character. Monopolistic theoretical methods of positivism started to be questioned as a result of debates generated by Popper and Khun. Positivist and (ir)rationalist Planning Philosophy produced outlines for neo-classical urban theories. Rational and Incremental Planning Theory, focusing on urban life, supported a basis for investment-based and social benefit-oriented Communicative Planning Approach (Fainstein & Campbell, 1996; Faludi, 1973). Therefore, the crisis in Modernism supported the rise of theories on urban land-use and urban form in the planning conjecture of 1960s (Gulersoy, 2005). Concentrating on structure-side factors and society-based redevelopment strategies in urban regeneration process provided historic preservation and urban conservation programs for inner-city areas; i.e: UN-ICOMOS (1965). Therefore, urban regeneration has been identified as the model-cities oriented Urban Revitalization Approach (Gurler, 2009, 2002). As a result of concerning the effects of criticism to modern movement and character of urban space, new planning principles and methodology for urban revitalization within a social and cultural ideology emerged in an innovative manner (Gulersoy, 2005).

In 1970s, Relevancy crisis in science, planning and architecture (1969-1970) formed a conjecture dealing with transition (Gurler, 2009, 2002). Socio-cultural motives in the 1969 grassroots movement opened a path for embracing differences and multiplicity in the society. Philosophy of science focused on context in a law-explaining character. Pluralistic theoretical methods of interdisciplinary programs started to be proliferated as a result of debates generated by Feyerabend and Lakatos. Neo-Positivist Planning Philosophy produced outlines for mixed-scanning in urban theories. Transactive Planning Theory, focusing on collective consumption, supported a basis for negotiation-based and pluralistic benefit-oriented Advocacy Planning Approach. Therefore, decline of Modernism in 1972 supported the rise of Regionalism by concentrating on traditional city and urban experience in the planning conjecture of 1970s. Critical analysis of basic principles and ad-hoc design policies (i.e.: UDG) substantiated an interdisciplinary approach for explaining urban change. In this period, physical integration of urban land-use planning on local scale was achieved (Gulersoy, 2005). Concentrating on agency-side factors and regime-based redevelopment strategies in the urban regeneration process provided heritage conservation for the post-industrial inner-city areas; i.e.: UNESCO-World Heritage Program (1972) and UN-Habitat (1978). Therefore, urban regeneration has been identified as the heritage-oriented Urban Conservation Approach (Gurler, 2009, 2002). As a result of concerning the effects of time on character and identity of urban space in historic preservation and conservation, new urban policies for urban conservation within a politic and economic ideology emerged in an autonomous manner (Gulersoy, 2005).

In 1980s, Post-Fordist agenda as well as Neo-Marxist and Neo-Weberian frameworks formed a conjecture based on capital-led integrated political economy (Gurler, 2009, 2002). Socio-cultural motives in post-modern movement opened a path for formation of a network society. Therefore, rise of Post-Modernism supported the development of Critical Regionalism by concentrating on social integration of regional scale urban form in the planning conjecture of 1980s. Critical analysis of architectural principles and community design policies substantiated an interdisciplinary approach for explaining urban growth and change (Gulersoy, 2005). Philosophy of science focused on system and policy in law-explaining character. Materialist and Pragmatist Planning Philosophy produced outlines for liberal urban theories which put emphasis on market. Collaborative Planning Theory, focusing on urban social movements, supported a basis for mediation-based and public interest-oriented Equity Planning Approach (Fainstein & Campbell, 1996; Paris, 1982; Faludi, 1973). Concentrating on the issue of urban inequalities in urban regeneration process provided heritage conservation and global-scaled restructuring of declined industrial (historic) inner-city areas; i.e: EU-European Heritage Program (1985). Therefore, urban regeneration has been identified as the post-industrial market-oriented Urban Renaissance Approach (Gurler, 2009; 2002). As a result of the effects of post-industrial society on urban change by concerning urban form and image in urban renaissance, new urban strategies, principles and partnership models emerged within a social and economic ideology in a liberal manner (Gulersoy, 2005).

In 1990s, Globalization agenda as well as restructuring-oriented framework developed a conjecture based on globally integrated political economy (Gurler, 2009, 2002). Socio-cultural motives in globalization movement opened a path for a knowledge society. Therefore, rise of Globalization supported the development of Sustainable Regionalism as well as Neo-Classicism and New Urbanism by concentrating on ecological and socio-economical integration of local scale urban form in the planning conjecture of 1990s. Critical analysis of urban principles and environmental design policies substantiated for an interdisciplinary approach systematizing urban growth and change (Gulersoy, 2005). Philosophy of science focused on knowledge and policy in law-explaining character. Post-positivist Planning Philosophy produced outlines for neo-liberal urban theories which put emphasis on rent. Radical Planning Theory, focusing on urban processes, supported a basis for policy-based and partnership benefit-oriented Strategic Planning Approach (Fainstein & Campbell, 1996; Allmendinger, 2002; Friedmann, 1998; Healey, McDougall, Davoudi & Madanipour, 1995). Concentrating on the issue of restructuring and programmatic tasks in urban regeneration process provided heritage conservation and local-scaled restructuring of cultural (historic) inner-city areas; i.e.: UN-Habitat Istanbul Declaration (1996). Therefore, urban regeneration has been identified as the post-industrial rent-oriented Urban Renaissance Approach (Gurler, 2009, 2002). As a result of the effects of post-industrial society on urban change by concerning public space and contextual history in urban regeneration, strategic plans and sustainable principles emerged within a politic and economic ideology in a neo-liberal manner (Gulersoy, 2005).

In 2000s, Competitive agenda as well as sustainability-oriented framework developed a conjecture based on globally integrated political economy (Gurler, 2009, 2002). Socio-cultural motives in globalization movement opened a path for an informational society. Therefore, progression of Globalization movement supported the development of Sustainable Urbanism and Smart Cities as well as

Heritage Management by concentrating on ecological and historical protection of urban environment in the planning conjecture of 2000s. (Gulersoy, 2005). Philosophy of science focused on information and policy in law-explaining character. Materialist and Hedonic Planning Philosophy produced outlines for post-liberal urban theories which put emphasis on competitiveness. Radical Planning Theory, focusing on urban processes, supported a basis for regulation-based and managerial interest-oriented Management Planning Approach (Allmendinger, 2002; Healey, McDougall, Davoudi & Madanipour, 1995). Concentrating on the issue of regulative tasks in urban regeneration process provided restructuring of potential urban spaces. Therefore, urban regeneration has been identified as the neo-liberal market oriented Urban Regeneration Approach (Gurler, 2009, 2002). As a result of the effects of informational society on urban change by concerning quality of urban life and ecology in urban regeneration, management plans and smart principles emerged within a politic and economic ideology in a post-liberal manner (Gulersoy, 2005).

CHALLENGES AND DEBATES IN URBAN AGENDA AND PROPOSAL OF A MODEL FOR URBAN REGENERATION PROCESS

Multi-paradigmatic nature of planning philosophy has produced poly-centric structure both in planning theory and practice. The models for urban change have diversified cumulatively and methods in those models reflected paradigm shifts on the issue of urban regeneration. Accordingly, neo-liberal challenges have created new debates on the issue of urban regeneration in the contemporary urban agenda.

The conceptual challenges underline problems in planning theory and practice in the agenda of urban planning (Hillier&Healey, 2010). First of all, the normative values in Planning Theory for global restructuring, competitiveness and urban regeneration create a contradiction on the issues of priority and values. Consequently, the Planning Practice becomes contradictory within itself as a result of urban policies and urban governance structure for sustainable urban development, economic policies and urban management. Thus, the relationship that requires "reciprocal feedback between theory and practice, knowledge and action, conceptual models and the real world" rises as a main challenge for planning and management of the urban regeneration processes (Hudson in Hillier and Healey, 2010: 17). Therefore, structure-agency relationship, decision making and conflict management in the urban regeneration process strengthen a contradiction on the issues of power and ethics in Urban Planning.

The contemporary debates on planning of urban processes and management of urban places become important as a result of development of the urban regeneration concept in planning theory and practice (Diamond & Liddle, 2005; Ward, 2004; Healey, Madanipour & Hull, 2001). These debates in the urban agenda put emphasis on 'planning of urban regeneration processes' as a main controversy by considering conceptual developments in planning theory, formation of new political processes in planning practice and socio-economical effects of those progresses (Ward, 2004; Hutchinson, 2001; Roberts & Sykes, 2000). Moreover, 'management of urban regeneration process' becomes a central concern in this context by determining strategic processes on local, regional and (inter)national scales (Diamond & Liddle, 2005; Hutchinson, 2001; Roberts & Sykes, 2000). From a hierarchical system framework, strategic processes and agent-based approaches are identified for managing the urban regeneration process (Diamond & Liddle,

2005; Roberts & Sykes, 2000). Therefore, agent-based strategic approaches in spatial planning systems and actors in urban (re)development process as well as theories and practices of urban design are increased in debates as a result of changing politico-economic conjunctures by the globalization process.

In these debates, the concept of urban regeneration highlights an integrated process comprised of practices for (re)developing economic, spatial, social and environmental status of an urban space (Couch, Fraser & Percy, 2003; Roberts & Sykes, 2000). There is a need for specific strategic approaches in the domains of process, content and context of urban regeneration resulting from increasing roles of actors in the process. These strategic approaches are emphasized to be assembled in the process as a series of multi-disciplinary strategies both targeted to identify organizational context and oriented to problem solving in spatial context, instead of being a single strategic document (Hutchinson, 2001). This emphasis could be accepted as an evidence for utilizing urban design guidelines as a strategic tool for planning management and sustainability of urban regeneration process. Moreover, planning, management and sustainability of urban regeneration process is achieved by strategic approaches and partnership models in the contemporary period (Marchettini, 2004; Roberts & Sykes, 2000).

The Proposal of a Model for Urban Regeneration Process:

Contemporary challenges and debates confirm "a need for systematizing a multi-agent, strategic and integrated model unifying theory, practice and method in its framework in order to achieve the planning, management and sustainability of urban regeneration process". Therefore, "urban design guidelines as an integrated and strategic tool for planning the urban regeneration process might be a leading factor on organizational and spatial levels for different and distinctive process models (urban conservation-historic preservation, urban (re)development and hybrid models)" is hypothesized. Accordingly, a model combining an analytic decision-making framework for preparing urban design guidelines (UDG) and a game-theoretic framework for planning and managing the process is proposed.

In this Model, "Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP)" that is a multi-attribute decision making method is used both for determining the preparation phases of UDG and selecting the basic principles and strategies for UDG. "N-person, non-zero-sum, cooperative game" that is a characteristic function form game is used both for identifying actors, their strategies and partnership models, evaluating the alternative scenarios, and selecting the strategic model for the process. This model contains two groups of process-oriented criteria for analyzing data and evaluating results on organizational and spatial levels. Organizational criteria for planning and managing the process focus on "structure, agency, and system". Spatial criteria for managing and sustaining the process focus on "strategy, principles, and tools". The Model provides a system that based on theory, practice and method for the urban regeneration process.

CONCLUSION

"Nothing endures but change"

Heraclitus (540 BC-480BC).

There is a relationship between poly-centric philosophy of science and contemporary urban planning as a result of multi-nuclei differentiation in the formation of philosophy of science system and urban change approaches from 20th century. Critical development of rationalism and empiricism in the philosophy of science after the 1960s, provoked the multi-paradigmatic development of materialism in (Urban) Planning Theory. Contemporary planning theory is a spatial response of planning approaches in the framework of paradigm shifts. Therefore, the conjecture produces contemporary challenges based on multi-paradigmatic structure of planning theory and practice.

It would not be thought that planning theories and approaches –which are diversified by the paradigm shifts based on the interaction between philosophy of science and (urban) planning philosophy–, have been developing separately from each other. Because, consecutive paradigm shifts are progressive developments. These shifts both provide differentiation in theory and practice of the dominating paradigm from the previous one and manifest the problem to be resolved in the following one.

Paradigm shifts in terms of development in planning theory produces contradictory debates. All of these contradictions have important role in scientific progress which allowed philosophy of science a poly-centric structure. Multi-paradigmatic character of scientific progress embraced almost each problem in order to resolve them in urban science. Paradigm shifts in urban planning produced opportunities as well as challenges both in theory and practice in contemporary urban planning. Contemporary approaches and strategies in urban regeneration process produce substantive and procedural challenges both in theory and practice.

If the new paradigm for urban regeneration is identified as the post-liberal rent oriented Urban Regeneration approach in 2010s, then what will be the consequences? The response highlights the neo-liberal challenges that put emphasis on the sustainability of historic environment and the balance between structure and agency relationships in the process. This response requires a feedback between planning theory and practice for planning, managing and sustaining the urban regeneration process. Now, It is time to initiate a debate on spatial response of a relationship between philosophy of science and urban planning in order to rethink the future of our cities in the framework of paradigm shifts and contemporary neo-liberal challenges.

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MASS HOUSING DEVELOPMENT BY A GOVERNMENT AGENCY AND THE POLITICS OF URBANIZATION IN TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

The change in politics in Turkey after World War II was reflected in the rapid transformation of the built environment as well. The increasing rate of urbanization in the 1950s led to a great lack of housing and soon to uncontrolled development, especially in the form of squatter zones. Economic problems and the lack of building materials limited construction activity and raised the prices. However the army intervention in 1960 and the 1961 Constitution brought about a general socialist tendency, embracing the idea of a welfare state, which transformed the nature of the national building activity yet again.

The housing projects of Emlak Kredi Bank, a state agency established in 1926 and reorganized in 1946 with the aim of providing long-term low-interest loans to middle class families especially for housing construction illustrate this historical turning point in Turkey very well in terms of controlled housing development with its reflections in architecture. Amongst many projects, the most important ones of the period included the Levent IV (Istanbul, 1954-1958), Ataköy I-II (Istanbul, 1957-1964) and Yenimahalle (Ankara, 1957-1964), all new suburbs developed on the outskirts of the city and projects reflecting the social, political and economic situation of the period. In an architectural and constructional context, there have been no previous definitions of social housing standards in Turkey but the decisions of size and cost based on a widespread belief that the economically rising upper middle class had such demands and obviously quite contrary to the foundation aims of the bank which were strictly followed in other projects elsewhere in the country, resulted in nation-wide criticism.

However these were also among the best examples of Late Modernism in the architecture and town planning in Turkey. Modernist principles were reflected in architectural design and vocabulary, including transportation, sanitary, environmental, social, cultural, educational, recreational and commercial infrastructure, but without its aspects of social justice. These were no Siedlung in the European sense and the architecture and planning was Modernist only in form, not in philosophy. The stylistic choice also conformed to the national policies and public life, in which western economical, social and cultural models were quickly adapted.

This paper aims to recognize and discuss the transformation of the post-war housing and urbanization policies in Turkey as well as the possibilities of conservation for the important examples it has created, focusing on Emlak Kredi Bank's Levent IV and Ataköy I-II projects.

The change in politics in Turkey after World War II is reflected in the rapid transformation of the built environment as well. The increasing rate of

urbanization in the 1950s led to a great lack of housing and soon to uncontrolled development, especially in the form of squatter zones. [1] Economic problems and the lack of building materials, a situation in which even the most basic items including cement had to be imported, limited construction activity and raised the prices. [2] However the intervention of the army in 1960 and the following 1961 Constitution brought about a general socialist tendency, embracing the idea of a welfare state [3], which transformed the nature of the national building activity yet again. The *Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası A. O.* Levent and Ataköy Projects, considered on a chronological timeline with prior and subsequent examples illustrate this historical turning point in Turkey very well in terms of controlled housing development with its reflections in architecture.

The bank established in 1926 as *Emlak ve Eytam Bankası* (Real Estate and Credit Bank) was one of the three institutions founded in this period to facilitate public construction activity including housing. The bank was aimed at solving the low-cost housing problem for civil servants, especially in Ankara. [4] The state tried to overcome this problem also by encouraging the private sector, providing incentives and tax relief and exemption of customs duties for imported building materials. However these measures proved ineffective as cement and iron production was inadequate, imported materials were expensive and construction firms could not undertake large-scaled projects due to lack of technical personnel such as engineers and architects. [5] The limited housing schemes implemented in this period include the I.-II. *Vakıf* (General Directorate of Vaqfs or Religious Foundations) apartment buildings (Kemalettin, 1926-1929) and *Ziraat Bankası* (Bank for Agriculture) in-service housing for its employees (A. H. Koyunoğlu, 1928-1930) in Ankara. Nevertheless, the continuing lack of housing led to the 1929 Act on rent subsidies for civil servants.

The other two state institutions following *Emlak ve Eytam Bankası* were *İmar Bankası* (Reconstruction Bank) established in 1929 to utilize State Treasury funds for financing government housing [6] and *Belediyeler Bankası* (Bank of Municipalities) founded in 1933 in order to provide service, projection and loans for urban and rural settlement areas for mapping, planning and the construction of infrastructure and public buildings [7]. New building codes and standards for housing were also issued in this period in 1928-1930. But the First Five-Year Plan prepared in 1932-1933 and ratified in January 1934 did not include any decisions related directly to housing. [8] Nevertheless, it revitalized the public and private construction activity especially with industrial complexes, some of which also included housing for their employees and workers such as the cloth factories in Kayseri and Nazilli. These in-service housing schemes not only provided better living conditions compared to traditional houses but also introduced a new and modern life style with cultural and recreational activities accommodated within the same industrial complexes.

The novel idea of "low-cost housing" appears to be the most important development of this rationalist and functionalist period in the architecture of Turkey although realization of such schemes was slow and scarce. Meanwhile, land values, rents and the prices of mostly imported building materials remained to be on the rise in urban areas. [9] Public initiated solutions included land and housing co-operatives; the first of these in Ankara, Bahçelievler (1935-1940s), was effective in solving the urban housing problem at long last at affordable cost. [10] Meanwhile workers' quarters and housing were constructed in new industrial zones, such as

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those at the coal mines in Zonguldak – Kozlu KİAŞ Amele Evleri Mahallesi and MKİ Amele Evleri Mahallesi – both designed by Seyfi Arkan in 1935. [11]

World War II economy caused a major decline in housing projects after 1939 although the national press continued to draw public attention to the problem, proclaiming that housing was "a social problem that needed to be regulated by the state". Kessler and Reuter who came to teach in Turkey during the same period carried out research on housing, which helped the conceptual development of the problem and the provision of greater awareness in savant circles. [12] Among the limited number of war time projects were additional housing for the workers of major industrial complexes in Kayseri (1943), Nazilli, Ereğli, Hereke and İzmir.

The last years of the war also saw the first large-scaled project of the Emlak ve Eytam Bankası: The memurin apartmanları (apartments for the civil servants) or Saraçoğlu Neighborhood in Ankara (1944-1947), which was designed by P. Bonatz in the rationalist-functionalist but more vernacular approach of the period and consisted of 434 units in three-storey-high typical buildings. [13] This was one of the earliest multi-unit housing schemes in large scale executed in Ankara, and the provided the capital city with a new form of residential urban settlement – a medium density and uniform architecture with its own layout schemes that did not follow the municipal regulations for single building lots. (Fig. 1) Urban planning for the new neighborhoods developed and constructed by the bank would become their norm and trademark in the following decades with "garden cities" all over the country.
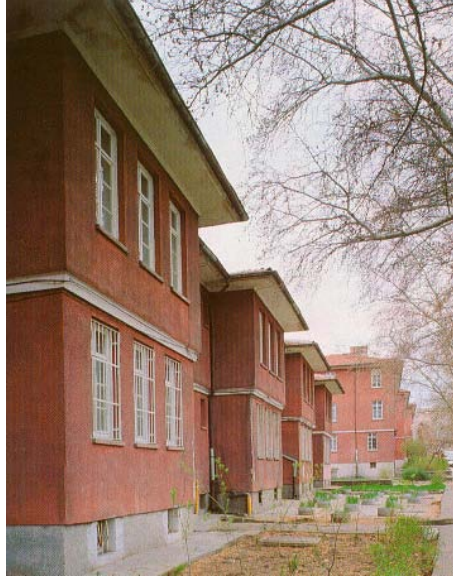
Figure 1. The memurin apartmanları (apartments for the civil servants) or Saraçoğlu Neighborhood in Ankara, P. Bonatz, 1944-1947.

The bank received a new name and legislation soon after this project in 1946. The aims of Emlak Kredi Bankası now included "the provision of long-term low-interest loans for housing, industrial and commercial production of building materials and

housing construction". Among their new projects based on a personal loan plan similar to the mortgage system, there were Levent (K. A. Aru and R. Gorbon, 1947-1956; 1007 units; Fig. 2) and Koşuyolu (Özden and Turgut, 1951-1954; 413 units) in Istanbul, Gülveren in Ankara (1954-1959; 588 units) as well as projects in various cities in Anatolia including Çanakkale (1953; 300 units, acting as contractor), Gönen, Ayvalık and Manyas in Balıkesir and Gördes in Manisa (1954; 484 units; as post-disaster housing), Diyarbakır (Emlak Kredi Bank Project office, 1954; 98 units), Alsancak in İzmir (1956; 98 units; apartment building), Çankırı (1958-1959; 40 units, as post-disaster housing), Eğridir (1959-1962; 122 units; as post-disaster housing), Uşak (1960; 105 units), and Manisa (1961; 40 units; apartment building). [14] These projects ranged in type and expense from upper-scale suburban housing in Levent to middle-class social housing in Koşuyolu and Gülveren and to post-disaster housing in smaller cities. Single housing schemes were apparently more desirable even in urban areas as indicated by the much lower proportion of high-rise and multi-unit schemes. The suburban "garden cities" first suggested in Prost's Plan for Istanbul, became a desirable bourgeois alternative to overcrowded traditional residential areas in the 1950s, especially with liberal economic policies. [15] Most of these new development schemes also included their own local urban planning and infrastructure and did not require municipal planning, financing and construction for this purpose. The then suburban Levent Phases I-III with its new roads and commercial areas illustrates this case well.

Figure 2. Levent, Istanbul, K. A. Aru and R. Gorbon, 1947-1956.

Although this was a period of economic growth, the inflation rate was high, and the cities in Turkey were characterized by rapid and unplanned urbanization while "housing shortage reached critical proportions". The growth of urban population, which was 20% in 1940-1950, reached 80% in 1950-1960. Unauthorized and unplanned housing areas or squatter (gecekondu) zones were created on the fringes of urban settlement areas in almost all large cities. The number of estimated squatter dwellings was 25,000 in 1948, 80,000 in 1953 and 240,000 in 1960, probably housing more than 1 million people. [16]

This acute lack of housing led to the critique of concerned state institutions, including Emlak Kredi Bank's ongoing projects: For instance Levent was condemned for being designed with single houses instead of apartments in multi-unit buildings and for their size reaching 180 m2, too large to be considered low-cost mass-housing. More conspicuous projects in big cities appear to have suffered more from criticism whereas post-disaster and cheaper and smaller social housing schemes were not praised. Critiques disregarded the fact that the bank had to sustain itself and make a profit while it provided social housing and long-term low-interest

financing plans. Projects like Levent intended for an upper-class clientele was where such profits were made.

Many reports were commissioned concerning housing problem in Turkey during this period as well, beginning with that of SOM in 1951 and continuing with UN, OECD and EEC reports through the 1950s; some of these paid special attention to the difficult situation of the laborers although no immediate solutions followed. The Building Encouragement Act was ratified in order to lower land prices and the cost of building materials but failed to be effective. A new ministry, İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı (Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement) was established in 1958 to reinstate state control. Perhaps with the possibilities offered by a legislation amendment making the separate ownership of flats legally possible in 1954, this period also saw the first multi-block high-rise housing complex projects by the bank, which form the focus of this paper: the two suburban projects again aimed at an upper-middle class clientele in Ataköy and Levent in Istanbul.

Before it became Ataköy, Baruthane was located between Bakırköy and Yeşilyurt on the Marmara shore line, on the projected western development corridor of Istanbul that was defined to be of strategic importance for the growth control of the settlement area in the early 1950s. A large piece of land in this area, measuring c. 3.75 million m2 was bought by the bank in 1955 for a very large sum, equivalent to almost half of the bank's paid resources at this date; this was in fact a political decision with a complicated background and results. An architectural project competition was initiated within the same year for the design of the site layout and the plans of the individual apartment units. However, the jury could not agree on a winning project and a synthesis of the praised proposals was accepted as the best solution. A special planning office, Baruthane Proje Bürosu was established with this purpose in September 1956 inside an abandoned building of the Baruthane complex with Ertuğrul Menteşe as director and the Italian urban planner Luigi Piccinato acting as consultant. The architects employed at and/or associated with this office during the construction of Ataköy Phases I and II, the beach facilities, motels and camping area and the primary school were Tuğrul Akçura, Firuzan Baytop, Nejat Erem, Ergün Ersöz, Muhteşem Giray, Şevket Koç, E. Kömürcüoğlu, Hamdi Şensoy and Yümnü Tayfun. [17]

Urban-scaled infrastructure projects constructed during the same period, supported this new development as well, including the Sirkeci-Florya shore drive (1956-57), the E5 (Istanbul-London) motorway and the electrification of the Sirkeci-Halkalı railway. The plans were completed and ratified by the bank directors a year later in September 1957, and the foundation ceremony for Phase I was held on September 15, 1957, a political show only a month prior to the general elections. Although public demand was observed even before the plans were completed, the figures were not satisfactory once sales officially commenced in 1958, reaching 70% and 45% for Phases I and II respectively and never paralleled those for Levent. There was a combination of economical reasons for this: the high prices due to the use of imported building materials, the devaluation of August 4, 1958, an inflation rate at c. 20% in the following years, the economical standstill following the army intervention of May 27, 1960 and the new real estate sales tax legislation of 1963. [18]

Ataköy Phases I-II was an attempt at creating a new suburb on the outskirts of Istanbul. (Fig. 3) It was a satellite town like Levent but more distant from the center and designed almost like a resort settlement with beach facilities, motels

and a camping site on the shore line. [19] The layout included its own local urban planning solutions as well as the construction of roads, sewage and water supply systems, landscaping it sparks and green areas, commercial zones and educational facilities in the form of primary schools, whose ownership were later transferred to the municipality and/or related public administrations. Phase I (1957-62) was composed of 662 residential units in 52 apartment buildings, 3-13 storeys high and Phase II (1959-64) of 852 units in 38 buildings, 2-12 storeys high; the average production cost of the flats ranging from 93-248m2 reached 117,000 TL [20]. The apartments were rather large with fewer blocks of smaller units, and the costs and prices were comparatively high, almost 3 times that for Ataköy Phase III (1963-1966). When a contract was made with an Italian construction firm in 1957, almost all types of construction materials had to be imported to Turkey. In a professional environment where there were no norms or previous definitions of social housing standards but instead a widespread belief that the economically rising upper middle-class had such demands, decisions for larger-sized and higher-costing units, obviously quite contrary to the foundation aims of the bank which were more strictly followed in other projects elsewhere in the country, may be evaluated as an attempt to revive the capital resources endangered by land acquisition as soon as possible. The evaluation for Levent Phases I-III concerning sustainability and profits must also hold true in this case. However, the bank was destined to be proven wrong and guilty in professional circles, especially following the army intervention in 1960. When it was understood that the smaller flats sold better – for example the smallest and lowest priced 93m2 H Block flats were immediately sold out [21] – the project was revised with the additional smaller units, once again emphasizing that the bank's foremost concern was sustaining itself financially in this case.
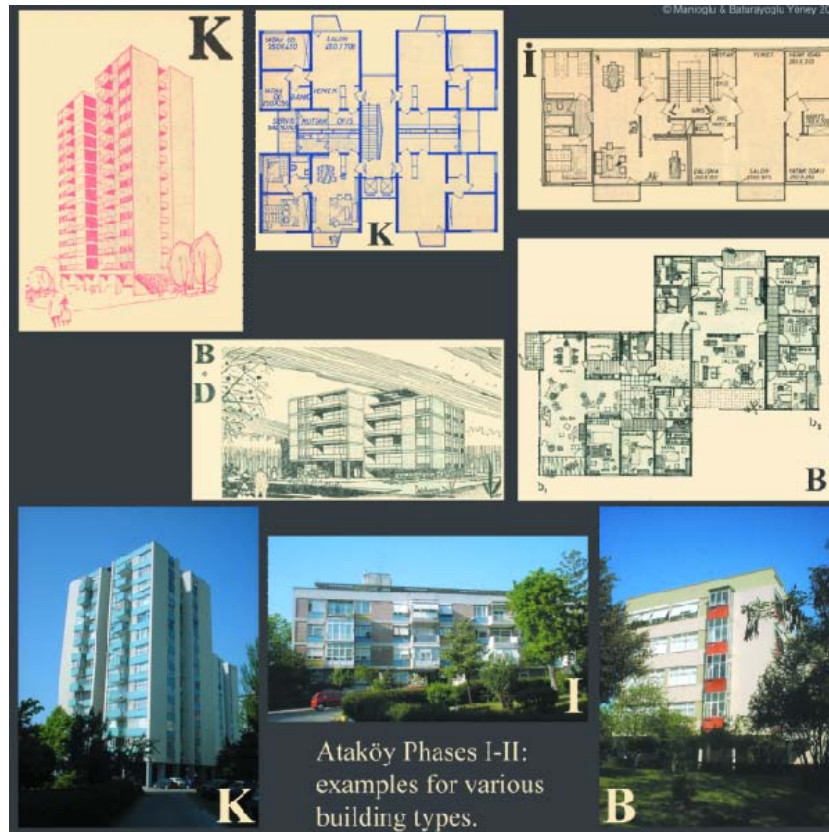
Figure 3. Ataköy Phases I-II, E. Menteşe et al. (Baruthane Project office), 1956-1962.

Levent Phase IV (K. A. Aru, 1954-1958; Fig. 4), on the other hand, was located on the northern development corridor beyond Levent Phases I-III, in an area shielded by the Bosphorus hills and where squatter zones were already developing in the mid-1950s. The project consisted of 367 units, again in buildings of varying heights and at low-density (102 people/ha) like Ataköy Phases I-II, but also including a number of single houses. Again as in Ataköy, public and sports facilities and a commercial centre were included, with the addition of a movie theatre. Aru's modernist understanding of social order and architecture resulted in a complex of buildings with a wide variation of rational and functionalist plan schemes and rhythmically defined façades, however unified in style and generally influenced by the British New Town Movement. [22] The financing and sales of these flats and houses, perhaps due to the positive effect of the former Levent project nearby, appear to have been much less problematic compared to Ataköy although the same criticism on the relative largeness and the high-cost of flats for a social housing scheme prevailed.

Figure 4. Levent Phase IV, K. A. Aru, 1954-1958.

These new residential settlement areas, designed for upper middle class elite presented an ideal neighborhood unparalleled elsewhere in the older quarters of the city: Apartment buildings of different sizes but of similar architectural vocabulary were set apart in large parks – Ataköy Phases I-II remains to be the lowest density high-rise zone in Istanbul today. These were probably the first large-scaled housing complexes, where modernist planning and architectural vocabulary are reflected in this scale, including their own sanitation and transportation facilities and environmental, social, cultural, educational, sportive, recreational and commercial infrastructure. The modernist vocabulary conformed to the socio-cultural environment and public life, in which western economical, social and cultural models were quickly adapted. Architects turned to the west for their major source of information, and as a result mostly visually imitated such examples. [23] Ataköy and Levent fit in with this trend of post-war modernist revival of International Style in Turkey, however much more successfully designed and executed compared to the general scene, especially in terms of spatial and architectural quality.

Nevertheless in the social justice ridden cultural environment around the 1960 army intervention, the social and architectural structure of Ataköy and Levent projects and the bank itself were directly and perhaps rightfully criticized. [24] These were certainly no Siedlung in the European sense, and the buildings were Modernist only in architectural and urban form but not in philosophy: Apartment buildings were set in greenery with especially designed social, cultural, educational and commercial spaces, free plans accommodated a spacious, even luxurious life-style, large windows illuminated comfortable spaces and all comfort systems from natural ventilation to elevators and central heating had been architecturally designed and inserted, and the wet spaces were planned suitably for the installation of refrigerators and washing machines, rare commodities even for the elite in these years. The visual characteristics followed Modernist ideals in the form of buildings raised on pilotis with flat roofs where elevator towers, chimneys, light shafts and concrete pergolas were visible, full-height "French" windows opened onto balconies, simple "cubist" façade arrangements introduced bold colored

patches inserted in light pastels, and "form (generally) followed function". Climatic control was intentionally made a part of architectural design as well: All living quarters were oriented towards the south, no buildings cast shadow on each other and natural ventilation was enhanced both outside and inside. [25] However, the apartments were almost unnecessarily large, some even including separate service quarters and were fitted with elements and finished with claddings luxurious for that decade. In spite of the personal loan and mortgage based sales plan, the prices were generally high and the prospective owners were mostly higher government employees and members of the upper middle class, thus creating an utopian neighborhood and social structure without any class difference, which certainly did not follow the social welfare ideology of the state or the social and moral ideals of the inter-war Modern Movement:

> *The apartments were designed too spaciously. The approach to the housing problem is still fraught with unfortunate misconceptions and misdirections on the part of ... Emlak Kredi Bankası. The task ... is not to build large apartments but to provide small and cheap residential units of 2-3 rooms. [26]*

Two other projects in Istanbul dated to the same period but smaller in scale shared the same social criticism and guilt with Levent and Ataköy: Istanbul Municipality – Emlak Kredi Bank Apartment Building on Atatürk Boulevard (Istanbul Muncipality Housing office, 1954-1957; Fig. 5) in Istanbul was located in a dense urban area in Aksaray. It consisted of three structurally independent but adjacent buildings forming a single urban block with a gallery of shops on the ground floor and 94 flats above with service spaces in the basement and social areas on the flat roof. The four-room flats measured 110-140 m^2, a situation explained by the need for spacious living quarters for large families but the municipality and bank were severely criticized by the editors of the *Arkitekt* Journal who published the project. [27] The rationalist and functionalist architectural vocabulary showed a high level of design in terms of Post-war Modernism but without social responsibility in using public funds.

Hukukçular Residential Complex (Haluk Baysal – Melih Birsel, 1957-1962; Fig. 6) in Istanbul was located in another dense urban area in Mecidiyeköy. This is a single apartment building consisting of 66 one- and two-storey flats of three distinct types and ranging between 117-151 m^2 in 12 storeys. The entrance zones include a commercial mall arranged on four levels with shops, a social club and restaurant, a promenade, open terraces and the main entrance to the apartment building at the street level and mezzanines, and service spaces, parking lot and open gardens at the basement level. The terrace roof contains the socio-cultural and recreation spaces, including meeting and recreation halls, a youth club and playground, and various open and semi-open terraces as well as service spaces. The integration of all of these functions as well as the duplex flat typologies is inspired by Le Corbusier's *Unité d'Habitation* projects. The total design concept is reflected in the co-ordination of the functional plan schemes with façade organization. The staircase tower and the geometrical arrangement of the bathroom windows enrich the façade. It is perhaps one of the most successful and interesting examples of the apartment building typology of the period with its design. [28] It was constructed by the bank as a housing co-operative, consistent with the social ideas of the period but it must be noted that only 12 of the 66 flats measure 117 m^2 whereas

the rest of the 54 four-room flats measure 147-151 m^2, very similarly liable to a social critique like the previous examples.

Figure 5. Istanbul Municipality – Emlak Kredi Bank Apartment Building on Atatürk Boulevard, Istanbul Muncipality Housing office, 1954-1957.

Figure 6. Hukukçular Residential Complex, Haluk Baysal – Melih Birsel, 1957-1962.

Yenimahalle (Fahri Aydağ, 1957-1964; Fig. 7) however, was a large-scaled suburban settlement in Ankara, located on one of the two open development corridors of the city near the Istanbul road. It consisted of 1263 housing units varying between 86-144 m^2 in six building types, 4-12 storeys high and arranged on the two sides of a major artery to be constructed. The complex also included a primary school, a mosque, a commercial centre, an open market area, a dispensary, parks and playgrounds. Some of the buildings were intended for the Ministry of Defense as in-service housing while the rest was sold on the same personal loan and mortgage as in Ataköy and Levent. [29] Although the complex had higher standards compared to the rest of the residential urban settlements in Ankara in terms of social, cultural and recreational infrastructure and its low density at ground level, the housing standards and costs were lower compared to Ataköy and Levent. Despite the

presence of much larger than necessary flats once again, it may be argued that *Emlak Kredi Bankası* served the lower-middle classes better this time, as stated in its foundation aims.

Figure 7. Yenimahalle, Ankara, Fahri Aydağ, 1957-1964.

One result of the constant criticism following and the re-established idea of a social welfare state in the 1961 Constitution in Turkey was the introduction of the notion of "subsidized housing". In 1963, the first of the four Five-Year Plans to follow, established the State Planning Agency with "specific targets concerning housing". The consequent plans aimed at balancing housing needs vs. resources, introducing standards for economical housing, upgrading squatter zones (according to the 1966 Act), centrally regulating the housing production but meanwhile decreasing and de-centralizing state investment and instead encouraging cooperatives, private investors and local authorities, and finally supporting the introduction of new technologies and organizational approaches against the ever increasing lack and need. 1966 Act on Private and Separate Ownership of Flats (in apartment buildings) must have supported such development economically and socially. However, by the time the fourth and last plan was prepared in the mid-1970s, the housing need peaked at 300,000 units per year. Hence, the plans were not as effective as projected in fulfilling their aims, and the 1960s and 1970s were characterized by low-standard housing production in urban zones on private initiative, mostly for land speculation by the owners and investor-contractors. Although perhaps providing a solution to the severe lack of housing in the country, these resulted in the creation of low-quality urban physical environments shaped by non-characteristic, unaesthetic architectural forms. The major exceptions to this trend in the 1970s were wide-scaled workers' housing cooperatives such as Merter Maden-İş in Istanbul and Aydınlıkevler Türk-İş in Ankara as well as OYAK projects for in service and retired military personnel in various cities.

Emlak Kredi Bankası projects continued in the form of large-scaled investments and land development projects as well: In Istanbul Ataköy Phases III-XI (1963-1990s; more than 12,000 units) [30], Vatan Street Housing Complex (1969-1973; 354 units in 10 buildings, all individually designed), Ataşehir (1989-2002; 20,000 units on 450 ha), Bahçeşehir (1987-1996; 15,000 units on 470 ha), in Ankara Kurtuluş (1968; 260 units) and Konukent Phases I-II, in İzmir Denizbostanlısı, Kahramanlar, Karşıyaka and Gaziemir among many others. However, it seems worthwhile to make a late but so far unmade distinction between the various types of projects initiated and carried out by the bank. In addition to its social purpose in a welfare state aiming at providing housing for the lower and middle classes, and the survivors in disaster areas, the bank was also a commercial institution which needed to profit to sustain itself. Thus, some of its architecturally more conspicuous large-scaled projects in urban and suburban areas as well as the prestigious projects where it acted as the contractor were aimed at making a profit whereas others in smaller settlements and in less valuable areas around major urban zones and in disaster areas provided such housing as socially and politically aimed. Some examples include the contemporaneous and architecturally very similar Ataköy Phases III-IV (1963-1972; 2500 units) in Istanbul and Telsizler Phases I-VII (1963-1972; 3000 units) in Ankara, the housing projects for the retired military officers (*Emekli Subay Evleri*) in Ankara (1961-1962; 600 units) and in Istanbul (1962-1963; 956 units), and Ataköy Phase V (1972-1984; 3000 units). Such large and far-from-the-urban-centre, satellite-town rather than suburban projects continued in the 1980s around big cities. The Act on Mass Housing in 1981 and the establishment of the *Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı* (Turkish Mass Housing Agency; TOKİ) in 1984 also supported such development.

The bank left construction work completely at the end of the 1970s and started hiring private contractors. The construction systems became partially prefabricated and then included tunnel form-work which increased speed of construction. However, the densities of the housing schemes also increased – Ataköy Phases I-II and IX-X provides a good comparison and great contrast. The land rents in and around these developed zones also rose naturally, and houses, flats and land became more and more valuable as observed in many of the cases listed above, especially in formerly empty but now densely settled urban areas. This chapter in the history of the Republic of Turkey was concluded in 2001 by the dissolution of *Emlak Bankası*, which was the last name it acquired in the 1988. Its properties as well as responsibilities in terms of housing were transferred to TOKİ. The manner in which this agency bears the same burden in the 21st century is a different story but still the focus of much social and economic criticism.

Looking back 50 years afterwards, these once suburban complexes have become urbanized. Due to the constant increase in urban populations and lack of housing, land rents and real estate values are rising despite economic crises and urban settlement areas are enlarging, especially so in Istanbul following the paranoia for "safe" buildings generated by the 1999 Marmara earthquake. In Ataköy where the functions and land use patterns have not changed, most of the original owners and residents remain *in-situ*, and the social structure still reflects a concentration of the upper middle classes according to the 1990 census. [31] On the other hand, although these were high-design and luxurious residences of their period, the needs and ideals of a comfortable life-style are much different and more complex now. Levent [32], Aksaray and Mecidiyeköy, on the other hand, have become very densely populated areas where new additional functions and land uses including

commerce and business were introduced through the last 50 years. Hence, the architecture is also in rapid and violent transformation.

Defined under simple heading such as re-fitting and renovation, these are unguided interventions, unaware of and disregarding the original architectural characteristics and high-quality design features of the existing building stock. The owners are barely conscious of the architectural quality of their flats compared to the rent values per square meter. Plans are transformed to accommodate uses they were not designed for, delicate Modernist façades are made invisible under huge billboards and invaluable architectural details and elements are obliterated and lost.

The recognition and preservation of Modern and Late Modern architectural heritage poses a difficult problem all over the world, and especially so in Turkey, where it is not recognized for its historic, artistic and documentary values in the face of ever-rising land rent nor for its use-value as existing, renewable and re-useable building stock. Levent Phases I-III was listed as a "historic urban site" in 2008. [32] Recent efforts for the designation of Ataköy Phases I-II in 2008-2009 has not been successful although they proved instrumental in creating a public awareness among the residents and thus leading to an informal and more desired form of heritage preservation. Transformation is of course inevitable, and the last 50 years have perhaps seen the great changes in life-styles and cultural practices. However, heritage is not ours to use and destroy but to interpret, safeguard and pass on to the later generations.

END NOTES

(1) Tekeli, İ., "The Social Context of the Development of Architecture in Turkey" in *Modern Turkish Architecture*, R. Holod, A. Evin (eds.), U of Pennsylvania Press, USA, 1984, pp. 9-33; and Sey, Y., "To House the New Citizens: Housing Policies and Mass Housing" in *Modern Turkish Architecture*, 1984, pp. 153-177.

(2) Güvenç, M., Işık, O., *Emlak Bankası: 1926-1998*, İstanbul, 1999.

(3) Tekeli, İ., 1984.

(4) Here it must be noted that there was a great shortage of housing all over the country despite the severe decline in population and loss of territories following the fall of the Ottoman Empire. At least 2 million people must have been re-settled in Anatolia during the first quarter of the 20th century although there have been no housing schemes implemented for this purpose. The immigrants must have solved their housing problem themselves making use of the land and existing housing allocated for them during exchanges and sometimes making use of state loans. (Sey, Y., 1984) This period is scantily documented in Turkish social history. Except for the rent houses constructed mostly by the non-Muslim public and religious foundations for the welfare of the less fortunate members in their communities in the 19th century (following the ease of regulations concerning construction by non-Muslims in the empire after the Tanzimat in 1839) such as the Taksim Surp Agop Row Houses (1890) and similar groups in Ortaköy, Kumkapı, Fener and Arnavutköy in Istanbul, there were very few housing projects in the empire. The most important among these few was perhaps the Akaretler Row Houses in Beşiktaş (1870) constructed for the palace personnel in close proximity to the new Dolmabahçe Palace during the reign of Abdülaziz. (See Batur, A., Yücel, A., Fersan

(Akın), N., "İstanbul'da Ondokuzuncu Yüzyıl Sıraevleri, Koruma ve Yeniden Kullanım için Bir Monografik Araştırma", *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1979: 185-205.) The high density private housing, on the other hand, was usually in the form of multi-storey apartment buildings in Galata and Pera, commissioned by the wealthy land-owners in order to obtain a rent income as large as possible: Better known examples include Helbig (Doğan) (1892-1894), Camondo (1870s) and Barnathan (Halil-Hamid) apartment buildings. A rare social/disaster housing project financed by the state was the Laleli Harikzedegân or Tayyare Apartment Building (Kemalettin Bey, 1921) in Istanbul, constructed for the victims of a major fire. Following the establishment of Ankara as the capital for the Republic of Turkey in 1923, the urban population increased very rapidly and there was a great shortage of housing especially for the civil servants moving into the capital city from other parts of the country. This situation continued at least for 15 years and was eased by the completion of Bahçelievler Housing Cooperative in 1940s.

(5) Sey, Y., 1984.

(6) Sey, Y., 1984.

(7) Kiper, P., "Bir Cumhuriyet Dönemi Yapıtı – İller Bankası" in *Mühendislik Mimarlık Öyküleri III,* M. Kiper (ed.), TMMOB, Ankara, 2008, pp. 73-91.

(8) İlkin, S., "Birinci Sanayi Planı'nın Hazırlanışında Sovyet Uzmanlarının Rolü" in *Cumhuriyetin Harcı 2 – Köktenci Modernitenin Ekonomik Politikasının Gelişimi*, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2004, pp. 201-238. The same was true for the three "public construction plans" of the Ottoman period, ratified in 1845, 1882 and 1908. These focused on the construction of a transportation network including land routes, railways, bridges and harbour facilities to promote national and international commerce. Although they did provide "an important amount of technological input and development", none have been effective in changing the "peripherality" of the empire. A fourth plan prepared right before the proclamation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, which was never implemented, may be seen as an extension of the 1882 and 1908 plans. (Tekeli, İ. and İlkin, S., "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda 19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Nafıa Programları ve Teknoloji Gelişimi Üzerine", "1908 Tarihli 'Umur-u Nâfıa Programı'nın Anlamı Üzerine" and "1923 Tarihli 'Umur-u Nâfıa Programı'" in *Cumhuriyetin Harcı 3 – Modernitenin Altyapısı Oluşurken*, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul, pp. 123-231.)

(9) For instance in Ankara, the partial urban plan prepared by Heussler in 1924 for Yenişehir, which was designated as a middle-class housing zone could not be implemented properly and turned into an high-income residential area as a result of land speculation. A hypothetical but well-known standardized mass-housing design of the period was "Ankara Houses" in different types by S. Arkan published in *Arkitekt* in 1933. (Sey, Y., 1984; Tapan, M., "Toplu Konut ve Türkiye'deki Gelişimi" in *Tarihten Günümüze Anadolu'da Kent ve Yerleşme*, Habitat II, 1997, pp. 366-378.) Type 2, which is a single-storey house with a small garden, is reminiscent of the Bahçelievler type that will be constructed at the end of the 1930s.

(10) Akcan (Akcan, E., "The 'Siedlung' and the 'Mahalle'", *Eurozine* 21-12-2005, http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2005-12-21-akcan-en.html) argues that even the Behçelievler housing cooperative was not a social project, and the original

plans by H. Jansen based on low-cost apartment buildings was transformed into single houses with gardens. The influence came from the upper-middle class elite in Ankara, who were government officials aspiring for a westernized life style, as a social status symbol compared to the "common people" living in the traditional houses in the old city. Nevertheless, the Bahçelievler house type was a very basic, simple and standard unit, based on a small single-storey plan and without a central heating system. The members of the cooperative were not solely in search of a "westernized life-style" either; they were simply trying to live in more humane conditions. There still was a great shortage of houses in Ankara at the time; the existing houses were uncomfortable, being partitioned into smaller units, old, dilapidated and not properly maintained. Many families shared houses or large families had to live in small quarters. The first years in the new neighbourhood of Bahçelievler were not easy, and neither were the monthly payments which most families had to make on government payrolls. However, by mid-1950s the area did become the *petit bourgeois* neighbourhood it was in the second half of the 20th century, and this situation led to a form of land speculation in subsequent years especially in the 1960s and 1970s due to the rising land rents as the houses were first enlarged and then replaced with huge apartment buildings.

(11) These standardized rationalist-functionalist projects including social and cultural infrastructure are among the most important modern housing examples of the architectural heritage in Turkey with the Kayseri and Nazilli examples cited above. See Arkan, S., "Amele Evleri, İlkokul, Mutfak ve Çamaşırlık Binası – Kozlu, Zonguldak", *Arkitekt* 1935/9, pp. 253-255; and Arkan, S., "Kömür-İş İşçi Uramı - Kozlu, Zonguldak", *Arkitekt* 1936/1, pp. 9-10.

(12) Reuter was the head of the first "city-planning department in Turkey" during his stay in 1935-1946. He focused on the "financial commitment to public services" contained in the traditional Ottoman/Turkish *vaqf* system and advocated its modernization, by making the local authorities such as the municipalities responsible for the production of affordable housing. For him, this was similar to "the social democratic ideals of European municipalities". (Akcan, E., 2005; A. Reisman, *Turkey's Modernization – Refugees from Nazism and Atatürk's Vision*, New Academia Publishing, Washington, D.C., 2006)

(13) Güvenç, M., Işık, O., 1999; N. Baturayoğlu Yöney, "Devlet Eliyle Modernizm: Kayseri'deki Kamu Yapıları, Kent Belleğindeki Yerleri ve Miras Nitelikleri Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme" ["Modernism by State Intervention: An Evaluation of the Public Buildings in Kayseri, Urban Memory and Heritage Status"], *Kayseri'nin Yirminci Yüzyılı - Mimarlık, Kent Tarihi ve Kültürü, [The Twentieth Century for Kayseri – Architecture, Urban History and Urban Culture]*,B. Ceylan, B. Asiliskender, A. E. Tozoğlu (eds.), *in publication*

(14) Tapan, M., 1997; Sey, Y.; 1984; *Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin Ellinci Yılında Emlak Kredi Bankası*, Ankara, 1973.

(15) İ. Yada Akpınar, "The Making of a Modern Payitaht in Istanbul: Menderes' Executions After Prost's Plan", *From the Imperial Capital to the Republican Modern City: Henri Prost's Planning of İstanbul (1936-1951)*, F. C. Bilsel, P. Pinon (eds), İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Katalogları 7, İstanbul Nisan /April 2010: 167-199.

(16) Sey, Y.; 1984.

(17) Güvenç, M., Işık, O., 1999; *Emlak Kredi Bankası*, 1973. The Baruthane area was a mostly empty zone housing the Ottoman period gun powder production plant (*Baruthane-i Amire*, hence the name) including various buildings, among which a spirit factory dating from 1917 and a pier must be noted. The first workshop was constructed in 1698 and remained in use until World War I and the fall of the empire. See M. Erdoğan, "Arşiv Vesikalarına Göre İstanbul Baruthaneleri", *İstanbul Enstitüsü Dergisi*, vol. 2, Istanbul, 1956; Y. Kâhya, Y. Salman, N. Akın, "Conservation and Adaptive Re-use of the Spirit Factory in Istanbul", *Journal of Architectural Conservation*, vol. 10, no. 1, Donhead, UK, 2004. A competition was held for naming this new neighborhood in 1956. The jury was composed of the great national literary figures of the period including C. Kutay, F. K. Gökay, A. H. Tanpınar, Y. K. Beyatlı, F. R. Atay and A. Ş. Hisar. "Ataköy", referring to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was the winning proposal. The names of the architects employed at this design office appear in connection with various publications concerning Ataköy, most of which were published in the prominent architectural journal of the period *Arkitekt* between 1957 and 1964. The archives of the bank were destroyed following its dissolution in 2001. Municipal archives are also incomplete. Therefore, it is not possible to verify this data with the original projects, drawings, payrolls, etc.

(18) Güvenç, M., Işık, O., 1999.

(19) The motels consisting of 300 rooms, the beach facilities with 3,000 changing rooms and 1,000 lockers and the camping site accommodating 750 tents were also designed by the same group and constructed by the bank; these were completed in 1957 before the construction of the housing complex began. The beach became obsolete soon in the 1970s due to marine pollution and was demolished. New facilities including *Galleria*, the first shopping mall in Turkey, a marina for yachts and two five-star hotels were constructed on the shore in the 1980s. The motels which survived with their original architectural characteristics were demolished in 2008 for a new tourism development project by TOKİ and Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality.

(20) *Emlak Kredi Bankası*, 1973; *Ataköy*, Türkiye Emlak ve Kredi Bankası, Ankara, 1958, sales pamphlet; *Ataköy 1*, Türkiye Emlak ve Kredi Bankası, Ankara, 1958, sales pamphlet; and *Ataköy 2*, Türkiye Emlak ve Kredi Bankası, Ankara, 1958, sales pamphlet.

(21) *Emlak Kredi Bankası*, 1973; and Güvenç, M., Işık, O., 1999.

(22) *Emlak Kredi Bankası*, 1973; Sey, Y., 1984; and Tanyeli, U., Salman, Y., Omay Polat, E., and Baturayoğlu Yöney, N., *Architectural Guide to Istanbul: Modern and Contemporary*, Batur, A. (coord.), Chamber of Architects of Turkey, Istanbul Metropolitan Branch, Istanbul, 2007.

(23) Tapan, M., "International Style: Liberalism in Architecture" in *Modern Turkish Architecture*, R. Holod, A. Evin (eds.), U of Pennsylvania Press, USA, 1984, pp. 105-118; and Sözen, M., M. Tapan, *50 Yılın Türk Mimarisi*, Cumhuriyetin Ellinci Yılı Dizisi: 1, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 1973.

(24) Sey, Y., 1984; and Tekeli, İ., *Türkiye'de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konut Sorununun Gelişimi*, Konut Araştırmaları Dizisi: 2, Ankara, 1996.

(25) Baturayoğlu Yöney, N., Manioğlu, G., "A Late Modern Housing Utopia of the 1950s and 1960s: Ataköy Phases I and II" in Con*servation of the 20th Century Architectural and Industrial Heritage*, International Symposium, Istanbul 18-19.05.2002, D. Mazlum, Z. Ahunbay, Y. Kahya (eds), Yapı-Endüstri Merkezi, İstanbul, Şubat 2006, pp. 125-128.

(26) Sey, Y., 1984 quoting from "İstanbul Belediyesi, Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası Blok Apartmanları – Atatürk Bulvarı", *Arkitekt* no. 286, İstanbul, 1957, pp. 12-16. This text is actually a critique directed at the Istanbul Municipality and *Emlak Kredi* Bank Apartment Building on Atatürk Avenue in Istanbul, which is discussed below. However, it may well be adapted to either Ataköy or Levent, which show a similar approach.

(27) See the quote above; *Arkitekt* 286, 1957; *Emlak Kredi Bankası*, 1973; and Tanyeli *et al.*, 2007.

(28) "Hukukçular Sitesi", *Arkitekt* no. 4, İstanbul, 1961, pp. 163-172; Baturayoğlu Yöney, N., Omay Polat, E., Salman, Y., "Erken 60'lar Konut Mimarlığında Çizgidışı Bir Deneme: Hukukçular Sitesi – İstanbul", *Betonart: Beton ve Mimarlık*, 7/Yaz 2005, pp. 32-37; and Tanyeli *et al.*, 2007. Also see *Modern Mimarlığın Öncüleri: Le Corbusier ve Kent*, Boyut Yayın Grubu, İstanbul, 2002.

(29) *Emlak Kredi Bankası*, 1973; Tozoğlu, A. E., "Emlak Kredi Bankası Yenimahalle Blok Apartmanları", *Bildiri Özetleri, Türkiye Mimarlığında Modernizmin Yerel Açılımları III – Erciyes Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi, 2-4 Kasım 2007, Kayseri*, DOCOMOMO Türkiye, 2007, pp. 26.

(30) Except for Ataköy Phase VI which was constructed after the dissolution of the bank by TOKİ in 2004-2006.

(31) Güvenç, M., Işık, O., 1999.

(32) For instance in Levent Phases I-III which is in close proximity to the central business district of the metropolitan area, the ratio of residential use had diminished to 40-45% by 2002 whereas the ratio of physically altered buildings was 60%. N. Zeren Gülersoy, H. Ayataç, T. K. Koramaz, "The Change of Function of a 20th Century Housing District into Commercial Use: The Case of Levent", *Conservation of the 20th Century Architectural and Industrial Heritage, International Symposium, Istanbul, 18-19.05.2002*, D. Mazlum, Z. Ahunbay, Y. Kahya (eds), YEM, Istanbul: 137-142.

(33) This designation is according to the Act on Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property, and was made following the decision No. 3047 dated May 13, 2008 of the Istanbul No. III Regional Commission on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property.

URBAN TRANSFORMATION
STRATEGIES, POLICIES, TOOLS

THE EXHIBITIONARY COMPLEX AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY TOWN PLANNING

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ABSTRACT

In this paper our aim is to examine the historical role that planning exhibitions have had in communicating ideas. While the catalytic role in urban change of major expos is acknowledged, the staging, evolution and meanings attached to purpose-built planning exhibitions have made only modest incursions into planning history, despite the importance attached to displays by pioneers like Patrick Geddes. Such events provide a useful aesthetic and historical lens through which to understand how the objectives of planning are marketed to planners and the wider community. Here, the objective is to frame the role of exhibitions in different time periods throughout the first half of the 20th century with special reference to the Australian experience. Exhibitions in the 1910s were often attached to conferences and helped codify the aims, icons and progress of the planning movement as an aclectic, albeit largely spatial discipline. The 1940s were arguably the golden era for planning exhibitions used to communicate and crystallize a universal canon of modernist planning ideals and values as a part of the post-war reconstruction effort. We conclude with reflections on a research agenda for the historiographical role of the planning exhibition and the shifting meanings of planning that they convey.

INTRODUCTION

Exhibitions have been an integral instrument for the development of town planning culture through the twentieth century. The planning literature is sprinkled with references to international, national, and local events in many countries. A number of celebrated events in the eurocentric world (main focus of this paper) have helped define the whole conventional historiography of the planning movement. Students of planning will be familiar with the role that the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago had in making the City Beautiful an icon of early twentieth century planning along with other major events such as the International Conference and Exhibition of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) in London in October 1910.

While there are numerous passing mentions in the planning history literature to exhibitions from the late nineteenth century onwards, and the role of international expositions has been well covered (Gold and Gold, 2005; Monclus, 2008), there have been relatively few studies dedicated to either individual events or the planning adaptation of what Bennett (1988) calls 'the exhibitionary complex' (but see Chabard 2009; Lilley and Larkham 2007). This is perhaps surprising since it

could be argued that the discipline of planning has been marketed and propelled forward at key moments by exhibitions.

Exhibitions are necessarily ephemeral but are useful for understand planning history. What little remains of the display material, usually in the form of books, booklets and photographs constitutes a key resource for understanding the visions of planners at different times. The aim of exhibitions to focus public attention on a particular issue calls for that issue to be examined as an historical artefact. What was exhibited, by whom, where, and how much interest these attracted all indicate what was expected of planning and how important it was at different times. From the early post world war two period, exhibitions also represent a generalised attempt to educate and inform the public in planning.

Our focus here is on planning exhibitions through the first half of the twentieth century which were primarily conceived as mechanisms to propagandise the cause of planning. Their common intent was usually intended to make a visual case for state controls and incentives as a means for producing a better built environment. In the Anglophone world the major clustering of exhibitions appears to be the 1910s and 1940s. The former reflects the early enthusiastic days of the modern town planning movement when exhibitions were staged to sell the very idea of the kinds of public and private initiatives needed to secure the health, efficiency and beauty of cities. The latter mirrors the impact of reconstructionist ideology and the modernist heyday though the final years of World War 2 and into the late 1940s, with the central rationale being the need to rebuild cities and communities in peacetime after the damage or at least neglect of wartime. The ideas and matching ideologies on show during this latter period provided the inspiration for the institutionalisation of planning globally through the second half the twentieth century (Hall, 2002; Ward, 2002).

There are three main sections to the paper. In what follows we attempt to sketch an international context for planning exhibitions. Then come brief accounts of two notable Australian exhibitions, one from the first surge of planning idealism in the 1910s, the other from a more world weary but nonetheless optimistic period in the 1940s. What emerges is an indication of the value in examining the historical role of exhibitions in communicating the nature and evolution of planning ideas and ideologies over time. Not only were these events intrinsically interesting, they raise issues and theoretical posibilities for further research.

THE PLANNING EXHIBITION IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

There is no one exhibition model. Exhibitions assume different forms and have evolved over time. Our initial historic typology of twentieth century planning exhibitions looks something like the matrix in Table 1.

The primary purpose of city, national and international expos has been to showcase the creativity, productivity and economic and social progress of host nations and cities. World peace and global citizenship were major early themes of world expos (Meller, 1995). The most memorable events were those that incorporated working models of progressive planning on the grounds (e.g., parks, promenades and public spaces) or indeed were conceived as holistic planned environments themselves (Greenhalgh, 1988). Large scale events have been conceived as vehicles promoting urban regeneration (Monclus, 2009) although seldom unproblematically (Gold and Gold, 2005). Futuristic visions often had a dramatic impact on the community

imagination, if less so in reality (Bokovoy, 2002). More modest exhibitions grounded in incremental change such as the Festival of Britain's 'Live Architecture' exhibition in 1951 were better signposts to the future (Conekin, 1951). Here, Frederick Gibberd foresaw an exhibition of 'intriguing and pretty things' that communicated an appreciation of the possibilities of community space rather than a didactic blueprint for reform (Gibberd, 1947-49).

Table1: A typology of historic planning exhibitions

Category	Definition	Examples
CITY, NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITIONS	Holistic planned environments; life size physical exemplars (e.g. new housing); planning displays	World expos; Worlds Columbian Exposition 1893; Dresden 1903; New York World's Fair, 1939; Festival of Britain 1951
PLANNING CONFERENCE WITH EXHIBITION	Adjunct exhibition on planning themes and initiatives	RIBA London 1910; International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association
TRAVELLING EXHIBITION	General and problem-specific propaganda; possibly touring to support lecture program	Patrick Geddes' Cities and Town Planning Exhibition 1910s
EVENT EXHIBITION	Ephemeral events marking events (e.g. release of major plan)	'Boston 1915'; City reconstruction exhibits in Britain, 1940s
DESIGN, ARCHITECTURE AND HOUSING EXHIBITIONS	Collateral content on planning	Ideal and new homes exhibitions

The planning conference exhibition was tightly scripted by planning advocates. The prototypical event was the 1910 London Conference (Miller, 1993). 'Without the Exhibition the Conference would have been rather a tame affair', pronounced the RIBA President in opening the multi-national display of images at the Royal Academy (RIBA, 1911, 733). The ulterior agenda here was less the free interplay of innovative design ideas than furthering the interests of the British architectural profession in implementing planning reforms (Whyte, 2010). The same dialogue between national and international concerns might be read into later events; virtually all the congresses of the International Garden Cities Association founded in 1913 and transitioning into the later International Federation for Housing and Town Planning had exhibitions running in parallel. The RIBA Conference also spawned smaller events across Britain as the workings of the pioneering *Housing, Town Planning Etc Act 1910* were debated and imagined (e.g. Adshead and Abercrombie, 1914).

The intention of the travelling exhibition was to diffuse and evolve the message of planning as widely and strategically as possible. The most famous example was Patrick Geddes' Cities and Town Planning Exhibition, a spin-off from the 1910 RIBA Conference. This was a heterogeneous assemblage tracing 'cities in evolution' from the ancient world through the medieval and renaissance eras to the problems and possibilities of the contemporary industrial city. The flavour was less programmatic than educational; the aim was to make 'question their living environment' (Welter, 1999, 8). It travelled 'more or less everywhere Geddes went' (Meller, 1990, 175) but plans to take the Exhibition to the United States foundered because American city planners were preoccupied by more technical issues of policy implementation.

There were other travelling exhibitions there to fill the gap, notably one organised by the American City Bureau touring 22 cities in 1913-16 (Chabard, 2009).

Event exhibitions marked special events such as the initiation and completion of studies, comprehensive plans, and major proposals, or were events in their own right. Benjamin Marsh's didactic 'Congestion Show' depicting the economic and social costs of overcrowding at the American Museum of Natural History in New York in March 1908 is regarded as the first major city planning exhibition in the United States (Scott, 1969). One visitor inspired by Marsh's exhibition was German urbanist Werner Hegemann, later involved in organisation of the 'Boston 1915' exhibition, the Greater Berlin design competition Exhibition in Berlin in mid-1910, and a life-long crusade for planning and civic engagement (Collins, 2005). Planning exhibitions in the 1940s could be both generic events promoting the needs and challenges involved in the post-war reconstruction of cities and regions or more town-specific applications of these same ideals. Lilley and Larkham (2007) have catalogued an extraordinary 90 such exhibitions of the latter kind in British cities. Their putative commitment to community engagement could not disguise the 'emerging professional technocentrism of planning'.

Finally, came broader design, architecture and housing exhibitions with either implicit planning content or an actual town planning section. These crossed over into planning and in the 1940s evidenced a strong 'culture of display' (Lilley and Larkham, 2007). Rethinking housing design was an international mission with obvious planning implications at the end of the war, but there were precedents. The Modern Architectural Research Society's 'New Architecture' exhibition in London in 1938 was a bellwether of other events capturing the 'flux of ideas' in progressive built environment circles towards the middle of the twentieth century (Gold, 1993).

MAYBE TOWN PLANNING IS ABOUT EVERYTHING? THE 1918 BRISBANE TOWN PLANNING CONFERENCE AND EXHIBITION

Following an inaugural event in Adelaide in 1917, the second Australian Town Planning Conference and Exhibition was held in Brisbane from 30 July to 6 August 1918 some three months before the Armistice and drew strongly on themes of repatriation and soldier settlement. The at-times generalised idealism of the Adelaide conference gave way to a range of more pragmatic concerns with 'practical planning'. There were nearly 600 delegates, twice that of Adelaide. The same elaborate organisational model was followed, based on Charles Reade's adaptation of the official patronage and executive structure used in British conferences from London 1910. The chairman was Alderman John McMaster, Mayor of Brisbane supported by eight executive positions and a whopping 194 other members organised into 11 specialist committees. The Honorary Organising Director of the Conference and Exhibition was Charles Chuter, a senior public servant in the Home Secretary's Department.

The Honorary Director of the Exhibition was Henry Mobsby, Government Artist and Photographer attached to the state Department of Agriculture. Mobsby had already made his reputation from scenic photography and exhibition design. He had already worked at several high profile events including the 1915 Panama Pacific International Exposition, San Francisco. He was later involved with the 1924-25 Australian Exhibition Commission at the British Empire Exhibition, Wembley. His

work was supported by the Exhibition Committee, the largest of all the conference committees with nearly 80 members.

The formal conference sessions and the exhibition proper were held at separate locations. The Conference was staged in the Examination Hall of the Central Technical College in George Street in the city centre. The exhibition was held in the Exhibition Building in Bowen Hills immediately to the north. The Exhibition Building had been home to the Queensland Museum from 1899 but also doubled as a venue for concerts and art exhibitions. The exhibits also spilled into an adjacent building and into other parts of the Brisbane Showground (Catalogue 1918; Proceedings 1918).

The Exhibition was officially opened in the Exhibition Building's Concert Hall by the Governor of Queensland, Sir Hamilton Goold-Adams. The National Anthem was played on the great organ to accent the occasion. Hardly gushing with enthusiasm, Sir Hamilton remarked in his speech that what was on show was done 'to the very best advantage in the limited time offering'. An impressive 80 separate exhibitors were involved.

State displays predominated. New South Wales boasted the largest quantitative representation with over 400 separate items displayed by 16 different state government departments and instrumentalities. The biggest show came from the Sydney Harbour Trust illustrating its work through images of berths, wharves and jetties, sheds, light houses, waterside workers flats and children's playgrounds. Complementing the state displays were six main thematic areas: a 'Special Town Planning and Housing Exhibition' emphasising precedents and parallels overseas; an international section with material from New Zealand and Canada; a display dedicated to soldier settlements; a child welfare section featuring actual health and play facilities; an historic Australian section, also supplemented by the various historic plans and photographs featured in the state exhibitions; and a local government, health and water and sewerage section, the most miscellaneous display of the event. Three individuals contributed significantly to the exhibition: Reade, Government Town Planner of South Australia whose materials reprised but built on the exhibition at Adelaide and his collection assembled for a national town planning lecture tour in 1914 ; the engineer JJC Bradfield who facilitated a display relating primarily to the expansion of the city and suburban railway system in Sydney; and the NSW politician JD Fitzgerald, who made possible an extensive display covering world cities, parks and playgrounds. Fitzgerald also contributed his personal collection of continental advertising posters to the modern art posters display. This display in the annex to the main building had been organised in Sydney and the centrepiece was the extensive collection of retailer Charles Lloyd Jones. Bertram Stevens explained the rationale of the latter display in terms of Fitzgerald's promotion of 'artistic town-planning' and the concern of the planning movement with 'unnecessary unsightliness in our cities', in particular 'advertising hoardings'.

The core of the images displayed in the Exhibition comprised site and technical plans, maps, diagrams, bird's eye views, and photographs. There was extensive coverage of public works and infrastructure, doubly coded as signifiers of economic advancement and engineering innovation. Representations of actual planning projects were fewer but spanned the major concerns of the day: projected civic centres for Sydney and Brisbane; proposed road schemes to relieve traffic congestion; childrens playgrounds and park layouts; plans of garden cities, garden

suburbs, speculative new communities and country towns; proposed memorials; and various workers cottages, soldier settlement and model housing schemes, all intended to convey the superiority of the Australian detached bungalow. The artistic locus was undoubtedly a display of the original designs and working plans of Walter Burley Griffin and Marion Mahony Griffin for two new towns projected by the NSW Water Conservation and Irrigation Commission. The images supplied by local councils dwelt upon parks, public gardens, recreational facilities, general panoramas, and street and civic improvements. Environmental content was notably absent apart from reafforestation and street plantings. The special area resonating most with the present day was the emphasis on public and child health.

A recurrent device across the visual display was the juxtaposition of historic and contemporary views of buildings, street and park scenes. The intention was clearly to capture progress over time and the progressive aspirations of the modern town planning movement. Unavoidably, this device, which was a mark of planning propaganda of the day, ventured into unflattering representations of modern environments. Lest too much be read into these problematic scenes, theoretical and actual solutions were prominently juxtaposed. In the case of the host city, the relativity of the crises was also made clear in the Brisbane City Council's treatment of slum areas. The Exhibition Catalogue conveys an obligatory qualification: 'Brisbane has no Slums in the true sense of the word. "Brisbane Slums are Ugly, Untidy, Lopsided, and Inconvenient, but they are not Sunless or Over-crowded, nor are they Specially Dirty or Unhealthy"'.

Charles Reade's two main contributions to the Exhibition are inventoried in some detail in the Catalogue. His 'Australian Historic' section was a collection of 34 mainly capital city plans and photographs intended to convey to visitors three main things: (1) the foundational role of state surveyor-generals in early colonial city plans, (2) the eclipsing of this role by speculators, and (3) the 'urgent need … for the resuscitation of the earlier practices in town planning, adapted and applied to the needs of our modern and growing towns and cities'. His 'Special Town Planning and Housing Exhibition' was the more ambitious display, the outcome of 'several years of travel and investigation in different countries' and directly in the tradition of the travelling exhibition of Patrick Geddes, albeit more up-to-date in its range of examples.

Reade's kaleidoscope of foreign exemplars was supplemented by a sprinkle of international images elsewhere. Curiously bobbing up in the Victorian section was a range of North American places including Denver, Pasadena, Kansas City and 'Los Angliers' [sic] and several rather exotic projects such as Shinnecock Hills, Long Island, New York and La Siguanea in Cuba. Probably arising from the connection between Charles Reade and Thomas Adams in Ottawa, the Canadian Commission of Conservation exhibit featured images of rural planning and development, open spaces, the Toronto harbourfront, Ottawa, and several Thomas Mawson plans. Also of note was a display of English 'housing and settlement schemes 1900 to 1910' lent by CH Spark from the NSW Government Architects Branch and a 'comparison in roads and residences' featuring St Francis Wood in San Francisco prepared by Mobsby from photographs taken during a visit three years earlier.

The Brisbane Exhibition also featured several novel displays outside the dutiful diet of plans, photographs and posters. The child welfare section featured three 'model' facilities: a health clinic, a crèche, and a children's playground, with children in regular attendance for performances. On Machinery Hill in the wider

Exhibition Grounds two ideal houses had been erected to convey the desired standard of middle class Australian housing. Nearby were various machinery exhibits in connection with the Local Government, Health, Water and Sewerage Section. The British Australian Machinery Company displayed grading machines, concrete mixers, and drag scoops. Local government engineering conveying the more utilitarian aspects of modern city development was also captured through plans, photographs, models and actual examples of road making and maintenance equipment, refuse destructors, drainage pipes, and water tanks. The Queensland Department of Mines had a special exhibit of industrial minerals and products while the Queensland Professional officers' Association display included 'carded samples of Queensland timbers'. Adding to the diversity was a display of Spring flowers, pot plants, vegetables and floral work organised by the Horticultural Society of Queensland. There were also evening organ recitals by Victor Galway, a young musician who went onto become Professor of Music at the University of Otago in the late 1930s. A selection of mainly touristic 'moving pictures' was also shown.

Although descending into miscellany, the Exhibition was an impressive achievement and the most notable planning exhibition held in Australia before the Second World War. Many of the images on display were iconic and the unstinting efforts of propagandists like Charles Reade convey his crucial role in shaping both the history and historiography of Australian planning. The major criticism of the Exhibition was that its fragmented nature. Not only was the Exhibition Building located nearly 6 kilometres from the venue for the paper sessions, the arrangements occasionally juxtaposed disparate displays – such as the art posters alongside specimen road surfaces – while the model homes were sited almost a kilometre from the main building in a far corner of the Show Ground. Despite a frequent tram service between the two main venues, it was an inconvenience and for New Zealand architect S Hurst Seager underlined a major mistake in having 'the whole of the time of the delegates … mapped out without reference to the Exhibition' (Seager, 1919, 2).

The expectation at the end of the Brisbane conference was for a third national event in Sydney in 1920 with Mobsby, Reade and Chuter to play key advisory roles. While New Zealand hosted a major conference in May 1919 and Victoria organised a state even the following November, the Sydney event never eventuated. Various city and educational planning exhibitions were held around Australia in the 1920s and 1930s, but the next major national effort would not be until 1944 at the height of a second fervour for post-war reconstruction.

PLANNING WITH PURPOSE: THE 1944 SYDNEY HOUSING EXHIBITION

The 1944 Sydney Housing Exhibition took place at a time of momentous change in Australian planning. The Commonwealth Housing Commission had identified a drastic post-War housing shortage in a seminal report in 1944 (Troy and Lloyd 1981). Considerable interest in town planning had been noted in the Federal Cabinet. It was felt that legislation be provided to support this interest, and discussions were held on the need for the Federal government to step in and lend technical assistance to local authorities. In the end, responsibility for planning stayed with the States. Between 1944 and 1945, New South Wales, Tasmania and Victoria all enacted town planning legislation.

Unlike the 1918 Brisbane exhibition, the 1944 exhibition was designed to be portable so that it could be shown throughout the country. Its form was also flexible so that it could be accommodated in a variety of display spaces. Whereas the strategy for spreading the message of town planning in 1918 was based on a single major event, in the 1940s multiple exhibitions of different kinds - place-specific displays, more broadly-based travelling exhibitions, international exhibits, and hybrid forms are notable. A Melbourne Town and Country Planning Exhibition, sponsored by the Victorian Housing commission was shown initially at the State Electricity Showrooms in 1943 and then taken to various country centres and in 1948 the British Council sponsored an exhibition which partly accompanied Sir Patrick Abercrombie on his whistlestop tour of Australia (Amati and Freestone, 2009).

The main elements of the 1944 Sydney Exhibition are distilled into Table 2. The contents contextualise the main priority of more and better housing into a wider concern for both neighbourhood and city planning. The Exhibition incorporated a special section on 'US Housing in War and Peace', a display organised by the US office of War Information which had also been shown in the UK. The architect John Oldham who played a key organisational role stressed that the event was 'of an educational nature only and at all times care has been taken to eliminate policy and politics'.

The organisation of the 1944 Sydney exhibition under the auspices of the Commonwealth Ministry of Post-War Reconstruction was placed under the direction of three committees reflective of the concern with reconstruction and housing at the time amongst government, professional and educational stakeholders. The involvement of committee members who had a clear involvement in planning, the origin of the exhibition as an exercise in War propaganda, the urgency of the looming postwar housing shortage, and the constraints of travel exhibition combined to produce a focused exhibition. The supply of information was tightly controlled by the use of footsteps on the floor to direct the public and a sequential increase in the scale of exhibits from city-region to household. The information was given in a rhythmic sequence of problem and solution orchestrated around the dilemma of the three 'ds' of congestion: disease, drudgery and delinquency. The use of sweeping language in the program reflects the confidence of planners at the time riding a tide of public concern with reconstruction and urban blight.

Table 2: The contents of the 1944 Sydney Housing Exhibition

Stage	Content of the exhibition	The intended message for the audience as explained in the program
1	The first actual exhibit consisted of a series of 11 display panels on which the general story of housing and town planning was told in photographic and diagram form.	A series of rousing statements about each of the panels, highlighting a problem and then a solution – e.g. panel: 2. 300,000 homes have to be built in Australia we could become builders of slums without planning 3. If we plan together New houses and neighbourhoods can become model neighbourhoods and 9. 'See how our cities grow-from bullock trail to conglomerations of factories and dwellings and roads criss-crossing dangerously.' 10. 'Failure to PLAN our cities has resulted in parks and playgrounds being forgotten-this is one of the reasons for our slums.'
2	Immediately following this display was a large mural map of Sydney indicating the bad housing areas, transport congestion and other shortcomings derived from the fact that Sydney developed without a plan.	
3	Immediately beneath it was a model town plan based on a scheme prepared by Frank Heath of the Town Planning Sub-Committee which indicated how the problems could be solved through planning.	
4	One neighbourhood unit from the town plan model was blown up to a much larger scale and on this model street arrangement, green belts, access to school and community centre, elimination of traffic hazard were illustrated. Also on this model five residential units were spotted in high colour.	
5	The units were enlarged in the next five displays to ¼ scale so 'that the public shall have an opportunity of seeing just what their homes are likely to look like in real life.' Three of these were selected from the winning designs in the Housing Commission of NSW recent competition.	'Mass housing sounds as intimate as tons of coal or gross weight in flour, but mass housing as far as YOU are concerned means YOUR home amongst many, and we have brought five different house units for your inspection (across the floor - following the red foot marks) … tell us if you like them or which ones you think suitable for your needs. Fill in the questionnaire.'
6	Opposite these models was a full size section illustrating some phase of the modern home layout.	
7	Finally, the spectator was directed from this full scale exhibit to a small theatre in which the documentary film "The City" was shown and the US Housing in War and Peace exhibit.	TWO THINGS BEFORE YOU GO "The City" --an outstanding film on town and regional planning is shown daily from 12 until 2 p.m. Tickets are available at the counter free of charge. "U.S. Housing in War and Peace" demonstrates all the steps leading up to to-day's ideas. This exhibit presents all the advances that have been made in large scale public housing as an indication of what the future holds. Cross the Hall for US Housing in War and Peace."

Sources: National Archives of Australia, A11676/1 HC 1944/2 – Housing Commission – Housing & Town Planning Exhibition Minute by John Oldham; Follow the red footprints: Souvenir of the Sydney Housing Exhibition, 8-28 August 1944. Ministry of Post War Reconstruction.

CONCLUSION

While both these Australian exhibitions had a clear aim to spread the word about town planning alongside other modes of propaganda including books and lectures, both did so in different ways that are instructive of the times. In 1918 the aim was to pull in as many people as possible and interest them in planning in the broadest sense. The impression left with the public would have been of a broadly progressive movement in the amelioration of the urban environment. In 1944 the message was more nuanced and the public was conceived differently. It was expected that people coming to the exhibition would have particular concerns which had already been communicated through the popular media. The exhibition was designed to crystallise these concerns and, as Henning (2007, 36) notes in her essay on modernist exhibitions of the 1920s and 30s, jolt the public out of 'the numb passivity which resulted from the social and technical arrangements of modernity'.

These vignettes also raise broader issues for planning history. Most immediately, they spark an interest in discovering more about city, national and international exhibitions and their intersection with narratives of evolving planning theory and practice, along with some of the leading and most charismatic practitioners of the day. The ephemerality of exhibitions underscores the timeliness of this research, although much has already been irrevocably lost (Lilley and Larkham, 2007). They constitute a fertile field for deconstructing the techniques by which they sought 'to render cities knowable' (Bennett, 1988, 79). They raise questions not only about the planning objectives and projects which they showcased but broader shifts in the cultural logic of exhibitions as well as more specific exhibition trends. The contrast in the two Australian exhibitions reflected an increasing sophstication of technique influenced by pioneering modernists like Otto Neurath (Henning, 2007). More fundamentally, was a shifting rationale by the 1940s to re-forming public opinion around a particular concern or *res publica* (Latour, 2005). The planning exhibition had moved from a broadly undifferentiated propagandist message to a more nuanced mediation of the relationship between planners and the planned using images to sell a particular project or idea that recalls the theoretical frame of Debord's Spectacle, which uses the image to convey what people need and must have (Debord, 1994).

The interest in the deeper past also calls forth an inquistiveness about more recent events and current trends – placing the idea of the exhibition into a more dynamic post-modern societal context. Through the second half of the century, with planning systems progressively institutionalised globally, more generalist and often utopian aspirations were supplemented (because they have never been fully supplanted) by ever more targeted objectives, e.g. selling particular plans and places. Inevitably, the foundational and didactic exhibitionary complex inherited from an imperial museum culture has been leavened by more iterative aims and interactive mechanisms within a more consultative professional and institutional context, but the need to decode the true purpose, visual techniques and reception involved in public communication strategies remains a vital critical task for apprehending an enduring public element of planning worldwide.

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STRATEGISING KNOWLEDGE-BASED URBAN DEVELOPMENT: KNOWLEDGE CITY TRANSFORMATIONS OF BRISBANE, AUSTRALIA

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ABSTRACT

In the global knowledge economy, knowledge-intensive industries and knowledge workers are extensively seen as the primary factors to improve the welfare and competitiveness of cities. To attract and retain such industries and workers, cities produce knowledge-based urban development strategies, and therefore such strategising has become an important development mechanism for cities and their economies. The paper discusses the critical connections between knowledge city foundations and integrated knowledge-based urban development mechanisms in both the local and regional level. In particular, the paper investigates Brisbane's knowledge-based urban development strategies that support gentrification, attraction, and retention of investment and talent. Furthermore, the paper develops a knowledge-based urban development assessment framework to provide a clearer understanding of the local and regional policy frameworks, and relevant applications of Brisbane's knowledge-based urban development experience, in becoming a prosperous knowledge city. The paper, with its knowledge-based urban development assessment framework, scrutinises Brisbane's four development domains in detail: economy; society; institutional; built and natural environments. As part of the discussion of the case study findings, the paper describes the global orientation of Brisbane within the frame of regional and local level knowledge-based urban development strategies performing well. Although several good practices from Brisbane have already been internationally acknowledged, the research reveals that Brisbane is still in the early stages of its knowledge-based urban development implementation. Consequently, the development of a monitoring system for all knowledge-based urban development at all levels is highly crucial in accurately measuring the success and failure of specific knowledge-based urban development policies, and Brisbane's progress towards a knowledge city transformation.

INTRODUCTION

As the world moves towards a global information order, shaped by the growth of technology and the knowledge economy (Castells, 2000; Slabbert, 2006; Metaxiotis et al., 2010), many cities worldwide face the prospect of major metropolitan transformation. In the knowledge era, knowledge-based economies deliver prosperity and growth through the development of competitive strengths in knowledge and technology intensive sectors. Consequently, urban regions are being radically altered by dynamic processes of economic and spatial restructuring, where by the replacement of physical commodity production with more abstract

forms of production has paradoxically reinforced the importance of central places and led to the formation of 'knowledge cities' (KCs) (Carrillo, 2006). KC can be seen as an overall guiding concept for geographical entities, as it focuses on knowledge creation, and includes other knowledge zones such as 'knowledge precincts', 'knowledge corridors', knowledge villages', and 'knowledge regions' (Dvir and Pasher, 2004). Consequently, KCs are incubators of knowledge and culture, as they form a rich and dynamic blend of theory and practice within their boundaries, and are driven by knowledge workers through strong knowledge production (Work Foundation, 2002; Yigitcanlar et al., 2008b). Knowledge-based urban development (KBUD) therefore, is a development approach that aims to make cities compatible with the knowledge economy and achieve KC status. KBUD mechanisms are delineated at several levels: international, national, regional, and local, and offer citizens opportunities to foster knowledge creation, knowledge exchange, and innovation by providing enabling conditions for cities in global competition (Ergazakis et al., 2004). These conditions include such things as knowledge infrastructure (e.g. universities, research and development institutes); technological infrastructure (e.g. information and communication technologies); connections to the global economy (e.g. international companies and finance institutions); and concentrations of well-educated and creative people (e.g. knowledge and creative workers) (Van Winden and Berg, 2004; Carrillo, 2006).

Brisbane city and Australia as a whole are currently transitioning from a natural resource-based economy to a global knowledge economy, whereby the successful development of knowledge and technology intensive sectors will be the basis for innovative capacity, global competitiveness and growth of the region. In recent years, Brisbane has adopted a number of KC policies and urban development strategies that target knowledge-based development, and which function as important mechanisms for expanding the various knowledge economies of the city. Consequently, the question 'whether introduced KBUD strategies are adequate enough to transform Brisbane into a KC' deserves a profound investigation. To address this important question, the research presented in this paper develops an analysis framework of KBUD, and examines Brisbane's strengths and weaknesses in light of this framework. The case study scrutinizes Brisbane's capacity to grow globally competitive and to sustain knowledge-based growth into the future, and suggests a number of areas that may warrant increased strategic focus.

KNOWLEDGE CITY FORMATION AND KNOWLEDGE-BASED URBAN DEVELOPMENT MECHANISMS

As economies become increasingly knowledge-based, the nature of urban, city-development changes because activities in the knowledge sector require conditions and environments different from those required by commodity-based manufacturing activities in the production sector (Knight, 1995). An economy, environment and socio-cultural base strong in knowledge are the keys for transforming a city into a KC and recent and growing literature indicate that KBUD is a powerful strategy for the economic growth and post-industrial development required by cities to participate in the knowledge economy (Carrillo, 2006; Van Winden et al., 2007; Yigitcanlar et al., 2007). Principally, it is a strategic management approach applicable to purposeful human organizations and important for cities trying to achieve a KC status (Carrillo, 2002; Yigitcanlar, 2009). The primary goal of KBUD is a KC purposefully designed to encourage the production

and circulation of abstract work, whereby KBUD can be regarded as the program to nourish the transformation of cities into KCs, and the renewal of their economies as knowledge economies (Cheng et al., 2004; Yigitcanlar et al., 2008c). KBUD promises a secure economy within a human setting, delivered through institutional, economic, socio-cultural, and urban development.

Institutional development is essential to orchestrate KBUD and bring together all of the key actors and sources, in order to organize and facilitate necessary knowledge-intensive activities and plan strategically for KC formation (Yigitcanlar, 2009). Economic development codifies technical knowledge for the innovation of products and services, market knowledge for understanding changes in consumer choices, financial knowledge to measure the inputs and outputs of production and development processes, and human knowledge in the form of skills and creativity, within an economic model (Lever, 2002). Socio-cultural development indicates the intention to increase the skills and knowledge of residents as a means for individual and community development (Gonzalez et. al., 2005). Urban development builds a strong spatial network relationship between urban development clusters, and in this sense, knowledge precincts play a significant role in the spatial formation and delivery of citywide KBUD strategies (Yigitcanlar et al., 2008d). Combined, institutional, economic, socio-cultural, and urban development shapes the development domains of the KBUD: institutional, economy, society, and built and natural environment. For the successful knowledge-based and sustainable development of a city, sustainability capacity and organizational capacity are central to these four development domains (Figure 1).

Figure 1 *Development domains of KBUD*

The globalization of the world has been a dialectical process; as the tyranny of distance, eroded, economic networks of production and consumption were constituted at a global scale, and simultaneously, spatial proximity remained an

important factor in KBUD. In this way, organizational and institutional proximity, although mediated by technology (i.e. information and communication technologies), are dependent on personal contact and the medium of tacit knowledge. Consequently, as these remain closely associated with spatial proximity, clustering of knowledge production in cities is essential for fostering innovation and wealth creation (Baum et al., 2007). Therefore, the social benefits of KBUD extend beyond aggregate economic growth. To extend the possibility of KBUD in different social environments 'capital development systems' should be secured in a network of connections anchored at federal, state and local governments, community, sector, household, and individual levels (Carrillo, 2002). Creating 'networking' opportunities among these groups and levels has a positive influence on the KBUD mechanisms. For instance, the environmental actions derived from community and individual levels (i.e. attitudes) influence both the state and local governments (i.e. policies). The next section of this paper scrutinizes Brisbane's transformation to KC by examining the city's strengths and weaknesses in light of the development domains identified in the analysis framework.

BRISBANE'S KNOWLEDGE CITY TRANSFORMATION

With a reasonably strong knowledge and technological development; growth in competitive industries and efficiencies in the services sector; rapid processes of adjustment to ICT's; and the increasing implementation potential of KBUD; Australia rates above the OECD average for most of the indicators of success for knowledge-driven economies (McKeon and Lee, 2001; Yigitcanlar 2008c). Brisbane is the capital city of the state of Queensland, in which economic growth has exceeded that for Australia over most of the last decade, and Australia itself, has been acclaimed as one of the fastest growing economies in the OECD. By standard economic measures, Brisbane is an outstanding performer, driven by strong population growth and high export performance (Andrews, 2006). The city has emerging strengths in a number of dynamic new sectors that will drive the city's capacity to sustain and advance growth into the future. Biotechnology and biosciences, aviation and aerospace and information and communications technologies (ICT) are examples of development opportunities, which have the potential to diversify Brisbane's economy into the higher value activities required to be competitive in the global marketplace (Andrews, 2006). The following sections discuss the regions institutional, economic, socio-cultural, built and natural environment KBUD processes, and examines Brisbane's capacity to become a knowledge city.

INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES

It is broadly agreed that there are fundamental strengths in Brisbane's economy, which have allowed it to accommodate a rapid population growth whilst sustaining high growth in income and output per capita, in recent years. However, in the context of the knowledge era, the future economic performance of Brisbane will be dependent upon its capacity to produce and disseminate knowledge and innovation. As the geography of knowledge producers and users is an important factor in the development of urban economies, strategic planning instruments offer much guidance for the continued attraction of talent and investment, and overall success of KBUD. Van Winden et al. (2007) suggest that 'organizing capacity' or the

quality of governance processes across various hierarchal levels, have a significant impact on the KBUD efforts of an urban region. In Queensland, the Smart State Council and the Department of Infrastructure and Planning developed the 'Smart State Strategy', to drive growth and economic development across the state and particularly in the Brisbane Metropolitan area (Rayner, 2006). Broadly, the strategy aims to increase competitive access to physical inputs, effective market processes, and advantageous business and cultural environments (SEQRP, 2005; Smart State Council, 2007). Specifically the strategy endorses eight central themes: (a) Skilling the state with training and science education; (b) Using knowledge to drive economic growth; (c) Managing the knowledge economy; (d) Building scientific and research facilities; (e) Commercializing discoveries and innovations; (f) Harnessing smart science for the environment; (g) Government agencies to drive research and innovation; and (h) Strategic partnerships with private and academic sectors (Queensland Government, 2004). Overall, the political imperative of the strategy is within its capacity to transform the region from a natural-resources base to the knowledge economy, recognizing knowledge, science, technology, research, education, and innovation as key drivers of economic growth.

Although still in its infancy, the 'Smart State Strategy's' dominant KBUD focus, demonstrates a strong potential to achieve the diversification of economic activities required to sustain regional income and employment growth into the future. Purposely the strategy sanctions an alignment of strategic planning and growth management at the regional level, with local administrative practices, in an effort to advance KBUD. In accordance with the strategy, Brisbane has adopted a ten year 'Smart City Strategy' (2007), which aims to transform the city into a KC. An opportunity of the 'Smart City Strategy' is that it offers Brisbane a more intense urban development focused knowledge-based development perspective, than the overarching statewide strategy could provide. Explicitly the strategy develops KBUD policies that address the following activities: economic development (economic fundamentals of industry efficiency, capital infrastructure, fiscal environment, and innovation), human and social development (education and training, knowledge society skills, culturally diversification), and sustainable urban development (formation of knowledge clusters, networked infrastructures). Importantly, the operation of 'Smart State' and 'Smart City' initiatives from one administrative centre for each, promotes overall integration of various local and statewide initiatives, and promotes capital systems management in combination with community engagement practices. As a result, Brisbane and the Queensland region as a whole are considered to be well integrated in terms of service delivery, the infrastructure for which is underpinned by the regional telecommunications plans, and where by social integration is addressed through various e-governance initiatives. Overall, the strengths of this institutional structure are largely contributed to constructive State and Local Government collaboration, within a clear policy framework and with well-resourced staff (Odendaal, 2003).

At the metropolitan level, Brisbane's efforts in institutional development processes of KBUD are based around quadruple-helix model partnerships, for the overall integration of various local and statewide KBUD initiatives (Odendaal, 2003). Local Government incentives for knowledge sharing in the form of budget allocations for the creation of communities of practice (Brisbane City Council, 2009) facilitate the creation of formal and informal networks for knowledge sharing amongst various knowledge agents. These knowledge agents include innovative businesses, organizations, universities and research centres, with the advantages of these

public–private–academic partnerships found to be in the resulting dynamic co-operations that facilitate successful KBUD. Brisbane's local administration for example, works with State Government in providing training in schools; with universities in providing training, and skill development; with the information technology businesses in providing infrastructure; and with knowledge-intensive industry providing services and employment. In addition, local government networks with other state agencies such as State Education in providing various initiatives and online training, and works with Federal and State government in the development of local e-government (Odendaal, 2003). Local e-governance initiatives in Brisbane are proving successful in achieving KBUD through the development of capital systems to obtain a positive value balance among stakeholders and involve interest groups in the decision-making process as active actors. In general, Brisbane's institutional development processes for KBUD are strengthened by high-level investment in research, capital systems development, technology diffusion and the commercialization of ideas. Brisbane for example, receives the highest per capita State Government investment in R&D in Australia, and is home to a growing number of 'world-class' research institutes. Furthermore, many of these institutions are based at University of Queensland (UQ), which has emerged as a leader in achieving commercial outcomes from research. However, these strengths are predominately located in the public sector with Brisbane's business expenditure on R&D (BERD) low as compared with Australia's other capital cities. Therefore, it suggests that the institutional linkages between the venture capital, government and business sectors; need to be reinforced and appropriately configured to support the growth of the emerging knowledge-intensive sectors.

Overall, Brisbane's synergistic administrative environment combined with the regions strong local economy and lifestyle options, results in great potential to attract more knowledge-intensive industry and workers, which in turn further supports the KBUD of the city and the region. The development of KBUD strategies in concert with the relevant authorities is important in providing for knowledge production and the augmentation of the knowledge economy, which requires relevant governing institutions capable of orchestrating KBUD and equipped to handle the planning and the creation of the necessary spatial arrangements for the development of the knowledge economy and the concomitant KBUDs. Queensland's 'Smart State Strategy' together with Brisbane's 'Smart City Strategy', are the major statutory driving forces behind the KBUD of Brisbane, and when combined the KBUD initiatives have strong pushing power in positioning Queensland's economy as a knowledge economy and in transforming Brisbane into a KC. Until recently however, the region was lacking in the institutional linkages that could bring the key actors and sources together to foster knowledge-intensive activities. Although, newly formed incubator and commercialisation organisations, now serve to support the establishment of networking, interactions and partnerships with other knowledge cities, more administrative effort is required to facilitate the strategic planning of Brisbane's KC transformation.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES

In the late 1990s, Queensland started to develop extensive innovation engines; these centred on nine universities and research agencies, the majority of which are located in metropolitan Brisbane and the South-East Queensland region. The development was focused on emerging capabilities in niche knowledge-intensive areas such as biotechnology and biosciences, information and communications

technologies (ICT), and eco-tourism, as well as continuing the region's competitiveness in food and agribusiness, aviation and aerospace, mining, marine, and environmental technology industries. However, and until the formation of the 'Smart State' council, there was a lack of coordination of development and insufficient recognition of these sectors' potential to generate wealth for the region. Moreover, there was insufficient public leadership and investment to boost the necessary knowledge infrastructure required for the transformation of the region's economy, to the knowledge economy. Until the release of the 'Smart State Strategy' together with the 'Smart City Strategy', Brisbane lacked the necessary strategic platform from which to mobilize knowledge processes and convert ideas to tangible results. Therefore, another positive feature of these strategies is seen to be in their emphasis on building the 'brand' by expanding on the strengths, successes, and global recognition of Queensland. Specifically, these strategies emphasize Smart sector strategies to grow skills and innovation projects in priority industry sectors, and Smart ICT to grow the region's ICT industry and exports (Queensland Government, 2005). Although, aimed at incremental as opposed to radical innovation development, these initiatives have the potential to increase technology adoption and diffusion, so that the region can maintain its competitiveness and lift productivity growth over the long term.

As KBUD requires an economic model to regulate the advancement of technical, market, financial and human knowledge required for KC formation, Brisbane's 'Smart City Strategy' focuses on creating high value-added products using research, technology, and brainpower. In a KC, private and the public sectors value knowledge, spend money on supporting its discovery and dissemination, and ultimately, harness it to create goods and services (Carrillo, 2006). Therefore, strong financial support is fundamental for successful KBUD in Brisbane, and financial support is required for research, innovative business and entrepreneurship. From various government resources, Brisbane city administration has created a number of programmes for the promotion of new ideas. As a result, Brisbane has experienced higher out performance and increasing rates of labour force employed in knowledge intensive sectors, and accordingly they comprise a growing share of the city's annual turnover (Brisbane City Council, 2009). In addition, increased funding has facilitated the growth in the numbers of research centres and institutes, and companies with a R&D component, operating in Brisbane. Overall, it is expected that this feature of KBUD will contribute to an immediate increase in the quality and degree of knowledge diffusion through research results, and over the long term contribute to an increase in hi-tech and knowledge intensive exports.

Within Brisbane, the active involvement of the private sector in the organization of knowledge production is essential to its transformation to KC. A positive business climate is the breeding ground for the development of entrepreneurial spirit and competitiveness. Furthermore, the positive promotion of knowledge entrepreneurship is a vital aspect of successful KBUD strategies. Brisbane's 'Smart City Strategy' is improving the local administrative together with the business environment to create an exemplary entrepreneurial climate and an open, flexible interface between government and business. For example, Brisbane's 'Green Heart' program administered through Council's website, provides a high quality of information and knowledge, in addition to a number of actions and measures to support environmental sustainability, and offers financial and venture capital for investments in Green Industry sectors. Embedded within the strategy, Brisbane's

KBUD initiatives affirm the city's commitment towards achieving flexibility through facilitating responsiveness to changing needs and demands, while providing the basic capital infrastructure and sound fiscal environment that enables future needs and demands to be accommodated. Nevertheless, in its current state, Brisbane does not have the proliferation of multinational regional headquarters in the city, which would translate into knowledge-based employment growth (Searle and Pritchard, 2008), and therefore further significant investment in its business environment is required if it is to become a globally vibrant city.

SOCIO-CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES

Brisbane's 'Smart City Strategy' refers to the terms 'knowledge' and 'creativity' as vital sources for attracting investment and talent, and retaining high-level intellectual human capital, which drive the economic vitality of the city. It is understood that socio-cultural development processes in Brisbane are essential to incubate creativity to ensure economic growth, urban development, and socio-cultural and psychological wellbeing of its residents. Cultural resources are embodied in people's creativity, and Landry (2000) highlights that KCs aim to create the conditions for people to think, plan, and act creatively. Within the context of Brisbane, this means providing an enabling environment that facilitates exchange of ideas, and the possibility to turn these ideas into products, services, and innovative solutions to urban problems. Before the introduction of the strategy, Brisbane was already working towards the same direction, and had a creativity strategy, Creative City: Brisbane City Council's Cultural Strategy 2003-2008, as part of the statutory plan and strategic vision for the city. The former strategy recognized not only the importance of creativity and creative industries, but also urban development and renewal, ecological balance and sustainability, and social and cultural capital development. The strategy aimed at transforming Brisbane to a 'city of ideas' with the venues and audiences to attract world-class festivals and events, and also to be a city of excitement where energy, life and vitality create a sense of cultural confidence (Brisbane City, 2003). Combined with the initiatives of the current strategy, Brisbane is well positioned to promote interest in history, culture and the arts and attract the high-level human capital required within a KC.

Additional KC foundations include quality of life and place, urban diversity and tolerance, accessibility and connectivity, and social equity. Quality of life and place within Brisbane's 'Smart City Strategy' are expressed not only by the level of public service (e.g. health, education) but also by the conservation and development of the cultural, aesthetic and ecological values that give Brisbane its character to attract knowledge workers. Within Brisbane, urban diversity and tolerance is expressed in a cosmopolite atmosphere, wherein open channels for communication and knowledge exchange are reinforced by increasing participation in the public affairs by all social groups. In recent years, high levels of international growth have contributed to the enhancement of the multi-ethnic character of Brisbane and thus linked to a citywide improvement in immigrants and minorities' living conditions. Therefore, another strong feature of the strategy is that accessibility and connectivity link to social cohesion. The strategy emphasises seamless links to other knowledge centres by the networks of good international and regional transport and information technology infrastructure. Overall, the strategy serves to provide Brisbane with the necessary conditions required to expand public and citizenry access to information, education and training.

Notwithstanding, Brisbane's declining 'housing affordability' has been a significant barrier to the development of KBUD strategies in recent years (Yates et al., 2005). Social equity is a key dimension of sustainable urban economic growth, as social tensions such as social exclusion discourage both knowledge workers and investment. Consequently, the 'Smart City Strategy' attempts to ensure that Brisbane maintains a wide range of dwelling types and sizes, which avoids gentrification, or causing exclusion of families, people on lower incomes, and people who might otherwise be marginalized. In this context, new generation urban scale knowledge precinct projects developed in Brisbane purposefully target to integrate different types of knowledge clusters, particularly the creative ones, with mixed-use living environments. However, the actual affordability of these new developments is widely regarded questionable, and this could therefore present a potential threat to Brisbane's transformation to KC. Consequently, Brisbane's optimism appears to be riding on the creative environment, which has the potential to rebrand the city as an inspiring place, one with a thriving cultural life, high quality leisure and amenities, and an international orientation with strong social and cultural diversity (Van den Berg et al., 2004). In this regard, Brisbane's drive to urban diversity and tolerance will require greater focus on creating places diverse in character and scale, which are accessible and attractive to people from all cultural and socio-economic backgrounds.

URBAN DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES

Sustainability and smart use of natural resources is an integral part of Queensland's 'Smart State Strategy' and includes the following major initiatives: developing a sustainable natural resource development strategy; establishing an international water centre; and innovative research to control environmental hazards (Queensland Government, 2005). Most of the 'Smart State' initiatives target sustainable urban development that is important to both traditional and knowledge-intensive industries (State Development and Innovation, 2004) and that strengthens the global positioning of these enterprises through interrelated knowledge precinct and clusters. In an effort to support climate change adaptation for example, the 'Smart State Innovation Fund' has endorsed many projects in addition to established 'The Climate Change Centre of Excellence'. The centre launches Queensland's credentials as a national leader in driving climate change science and policy (Queensland Government, 2007). Unsurprisingly, environmental sustainability emerges as one of the key concepts in Brisbane's 'Smart City Strategy'. This concept employs precinct-wide initiatives for energy, water and waste efficiency, setting clear targets and monitoring performance, as well as regulating ecological sustainable development standards.

The idea of 'compactness' for future urban growth is a conceptual strength of the 'Smart City Strategy' as it supports a more sustainable treatment of natural assets. The strategy optimizes the use of available re-developable land, facilitating a density of living and working environments that capitalizes upon existing city centre infrastructure, offers choices of living affordability, and provides adequate open space and leisure environments. In Brisbane, urban and regional planning instruments have been used as an effective tool in planning the KBUD of the city and the metropolitan region. Brisbane's 'Metropolitan Regional Plan 2026' for example supports KBUD, through economic development initiatives that are underpinned by the 'Smart State Strategy'. The plan adopts a KBUD strategy that "identifies investment in research, development, technology diffusion and

commercialization of ideas. It also includes investments in knowledge, skills, diversity, creativity and connectivity as the key mechanisms to achieve increased productivity and a better quality of life" (SEQRP, 2005: 82). Furthermore, the plan sets the strategic direction for the future development of the Brisbane, by emphasising key KBUD projects and necessity of attracting knowledge workers as residents by providing quality of place through urban renewal schemes (Brisbane City, 2006). Combined with the 'Smart City Strategy', Brisbane's 'Metropolitan Regional Plan 2026' delivers a number of policies and guidelines, which have the potential to move Brisbane towards a KC.

As previously discussed, strengthening the knowledge base of Brisbane requires strong knowledge clustering (e.g. universities, R&D institutions, knowledge precincts), which is particularly important in the promotion of the spill-over effects found to be vital for long-term economic prosperity (Lever, 2002). The spatial nucleus of Brisbane's 'Smart City Strategy' is 'knowledge precincts' which have the potential to play a significant role in knowledge production. Brisbane's 'knowledge precincts' indicate the clustering of R&D activities, high-tech manufacturing of knowledge-intensive industrial and business sectors linked by mixed-use environments. A feature of globally competitive knowledge economies is that governments, universities, and industry work together to create knowledge precincts where generation, transfer, application, and transmission of knowledge can occur (Dvir and Pasher, 2004). In this context, Brisbane's 'Smart City Strategy' advocates knowledge precinct development in and around Brisbane, for biotechnology and biosciences, aviation and aerospace, and ICT in particular. These comprise the examples of Brisbane's strong knowledge-precinct development opportunities, which have the potential to make Brisbane a global player, especially in the Asia-Pacific region (Andrews, 2006).

Brisbane's 'Smart City Strategy' strengthens the KBUD of Brisbane's inner core particularly by developing and integrating four super knowledge precincts. These super precincts, Woolloongabba, Bowen Hills, South Brisbane, and City West precincts (Figure 2), possess a remarkable range of creative, commercial, cultural, educational and research facilities to generate a strong knowledge economy for the city (Smart State Council, 2007). The KBUD of Brisbane's inner suburbs includes globally linked knowledge precincts such as Herston known for its medical research, and Kelvin Grove known for its creative industries and health. An ICT sector is developing near the CBD and adjoining neighbourhoods, with federal government representation in the iLab incubator and Information Industries Board. Substantial activity is also located around the University of Queensland with a range of research facilities, including the Institute for Molecular Bioscience and a natural resources and environmental cluster nearby. These super precincts will facilitate a new conceptualization of the inner city lifestyle for Brisbane in its journey to become a globally recognized KC. It is planned that these will bring together major commercial and residential growth, and research and knowledge development, with strong educational connections to the region's major universities. When fully developed, these precincts will comprise transit-oriented development, cultural and recreational facilities, creative industries and knowledge precincts. They will also accommodate all ingredients of a self-contained city-centre, linked to existing major health, recreational and lifestyle precincts in proximity.

The latest trend in Brisbane's orientation towards a global KC is the development of airport knowledge precincts around Brisbane International Airport. Brisbane, like other Australian hub airports, provides significant numbers of jobs, contribute substantially to Gross State Product, and are willing to attract and accommodate knowledge-intensive business and industries. Like many major hub airport cities worldwide (i.e. Singapore's free-trade zones, Seoul Incheon's techno parks, Kuala Lumpur's high-tech corridor) Brisbane airport have already diversified its property portfolio with a variety of land use activities such as Brisbane's knowledge industry precincts. These airport precincts are among the hotspots of KBUD, and home to aviation and aerospace industries. These knowledge industry precincts are important as Brisbane aims to attract and incubate knowledge and creative industries, as they are becoming an important contributor of the global knowledge economy.

Figure 2. Brisbane's major knowledge clusters (Hornery Institute and Hassell, 2004:25)

Elsewhere in the Brisbane metropolitan region, there are emerging clusters and specialist centres of research and development at key sites for: minerals and energy; pathology and bio-security; and resource industries. The ongoing development of University of Queensland campuses at regional campuses, Ipswich and Gatton will be a key factor in diversifying that area's economic activity, as well as increasing access to education and training in the Western Corridor. Urban redevelopment areas, particularly knowledge precincts such as Boggo Road at Dutton Park, provide the opportunity for mixed-use development, incorporating high value-added research, development and service industries and linkages to university research facilities. Kelvin Grove Urban Village adjunct to Queensland University of Technology campus at Kelvin Grove provides a new model for 'community knowledge precinct' development by bringing creative and knowledge-

intensive industry and businesses together with a vibrant lifestyle and living opportunity. Plans for redevelopment of Queensland University of Technology's Carseldine Campus as a new knowledge precinct is another indicator of Brisbane's ambition in KBUD (Figure 2). Such developments and clustering effects have the potential to magnet other knowledge-intensive industries to Brisbane. Importantly new firms can be located either in close proximity or more distant to each other, and therefore Brisbane's KC transformation will in part be dependent on the government's ability to provide the easy transport accessibility, high-speed broadband, and other information and communication technologies required for the success of knowledge-intensive sectors.

CONCLUSION

This paper discusses the critical connections between KC foundations and integrated KBUD mechanisms in various levels. This research introduces a KBUD analysis framework that brings essential KC and KBUD concepts and practical assessment mechanisms together. This analysis revealed that the global orientation of Brisbane within the frame of regional and metropolitan level KBUD strategies is performing well, although there are a number of areas that may warrant increased strategic focus. In the context of the knowledge era, the future economic performance of Brisbane will be dependent upon its capacity to produce and disseminate knowledge and innovation. Brisbane's has emerging strengths in a number of dynamic new sectors that will drive the city's capacity to sustain and advance growth into the future. Brisbane's Biotechnology and biosciences, aviation and aerospace and information and communications technologies (ICT) are examples of development opportunities, which have the potential to diversify Brisbane's economy into the higher value activities required to be competitive in the global marketplace. Although, aimed at incremental as opposed to radical innovation development, these initiatives have the potential to increase technology adoption and diffusion, so that the region can maintain its competitiveness and lift productivity growth over the long term.

Overall, Brisbane's synergistic administrative environment combined with the regions strong local economy and lifestyle options, results in great potential to attract more knowledge-intensive industry and workers, which in turn further supports the KBUD of the city and the region. Until recently however, the region was lacking in the institutional linkages that could bring the key actors and sources together to foster knowledge-intensive activities. However, these strengths are predominately located in the public sector, and therefore it is suggested that the institutional linkages between the venture capital, government and business sectors; need to be reinforced and appropriately configured to support the growth of the emerging knowledge-intensive sectors. Within Brisbane, the active involvement of the private sector in the organization of knowledge production is essential to its transformation to KC and consequently Brisbane must acquire the proliferation of multinational regional headquarters in the city, which would translate into knowledge-based employment growth.

Although, newly formed incubator and commercialisation organisations, now serve to support the establishment of networking, interactions and partnerships with other knowledge cities, more administrative effort is required to facilitate the strategic planning of Brisbane's KC transformation. Significant investment in Brisbane's business environment is also required if it is to become a globally

vibrant city. Overall it is anticipated that the political imperative of the 'Smart City Strategy' will provide Brisbane with the necessary funding resources required to contribute to an immediate increase in the quality and degree of knowledge diffusion through research results, and over the long term contribute to an increase in hi-tech and knowledge intensive exports.

Furthermore, it is suggested that Brisbane's drive to urban diversity and tolerance requires greater focus on creating places diverse in character and scale, which are accessible and attractive to people from all cultural and socio-economic backgrounds. Notwithstanding, Brisbane's 'Smart City Strategy' is seen to be reinforcing the KBUD of Brisbane's inner core, by providing strong knowledge-precinct development opportunities, which have the potential to make Brisbane a global player, especially in the Asia-Pacific region. These knowledge industry precincts are important as Brisbane aims to attract and incubate knowledge and creative industries, as they are becoming an important contributor of the global knowledge economy.

In consideration of these findings, it is recommended that Brisbane develop a monitoring system as a feedback and reporting tool to measure the success and failure of specific KBUD policies accurately, and which is integrated to global knowledge networks. In this regard, benchmarking with other global KC initiatives is essential. Along with Brisbane's opportunities and constraints, KBUD benchmarks and comparative analyses should take into account of specific developmental conditions of the city. Brisbane's capital systems and value structure, including all significant forms of social value, nourishes local KBUD strategies. The evaluation of Brisbane's KBUD approach based on the perception of global KCs is not a simple task, as success in other regions may not be easily replicable. Therefore, effective KBUD policies of Brisbane need to be resilient enough to capture the advantages of national and state level industrial, intellectual, socio-economic, and urbanization characters.

Another important point is the vital need for a participatory process: the more endogenous and participatory the KBUD strategy is, the more successful the outcomes are. In such a process, the specifics of the demand side should be taken into account. The process should not be prescriptive, and should be adapted to meet the requirements of the individuals, and social and business communities. Although 'Smart State' and 'Smart City' strategies refer most of these qualities, and so far, there are some significant outcomes of the KBUD (i.e. economic prosperity, job creation, human development, and moving towards social and environmental sustainability), data limitations, make it impossible to accurately comment on how successful Brisbane's KBUD strategies are. Therefore, further in-depth research focusing on knowledge precinct development, knowledge-intensive industry sectors, and firm based analyses are necessary to find out whether introduced KBUD strategies are adequate to transform Brisbane into a KC.

Beyond the case of Brisbane, in general, KCs are complex entities, and attempts to transform cities into KC would likely result in failure unless they are guided by sound strategic visions. These strategic visions should incorporate KBUD policies for attracting and retaining knowledge workers and industries and empowering citizens as knowledge creators and innovators. Planning for KBUD of cities requires a broad intellectual team with expertise in urban development, urban studies, planning and management, socio-economic development, models of intellectual capital, knowledge management, and so on. Planning for KBUD also requires understanding

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the diverse spatial forms of KCs where a large number of knowledge clusters and precincts are particularly important in the promotion of the spillover effects found to be vital for long-term economic prosperity.

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PLANNING EXPERTS AND LOCAL REFORMERS:
THE 1915 TOWN PLANNING ACT IN NOVA SCOTIA

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ABSTRACT

In 1912 the province of Nova Scotia was among the first regions of Canada to adopt a town planning act. Just three years later the province substantially revised its act under the guidance of Thomas Adams, town planning advisor for the Commission of Conservation. The paper examines the context within which Nova Scotia adopted and overhauled its early town planning legislation. While Canadian planning history generally credits Thomas Adams with rewriting the legislation, experience suggests that prominent and effective local actors were necessary to facilitate policy change in the regions. Archival sources reveal the catalytic role played by Robert McConnell Hattie, journalist, president of the Civic Improvement League of Halifax, and former municipal councillor. Changes to provincial legislation in Nova Scotia in 1915 represented a confluence of the interests of national institutions such as the Commission of Conservation, international town planning experts such as Thomas Adams, and local reformers such as Robert Hattie.

Early in the 1910s, Canadian provinces began to pass legislation to enable town planning. New Brunswick moved first, passing its act in April 1912, followed in May 1912 by Nova Scotia. Only three years later, in April 1915, Nova Scotia adopted a new town planning act. This paper explores the history of that transition and attempts to set the events in context. In so doing it suggests that the province of Nova Scotia may have been responding to changing national and regional economic conditions by trying to stay at the forefront of modern town planning efforts. While planning history has generally credited the international town planning expert Thomas Adams with almost single-handedly rewriting legislation in Canada, a review of events in Nova Scotia reveals the catalytic role played by local reformers eager to see town planning implemented so that they could modernize the city of Halifax.

The paper begins by reviewing the context of Canada and Nova Scotia in the early 20th century before discussing the circumstances under which Nova Scotia revised its town planning act in 1915.

THE NEED FOR PLANNING

The Progressive Era, from 1890 to 1920, was a time of rapid growth and change for Canada (Brown and Cook 1974). Confederation of four provinces in 1867 created the new nation of Canada; the constitution placed power over land use and management in the hands of the provinces. As additional provinces joined the confederation the west opened up for widespread immigration. In the late 19th century, the national government committed funds to building a railway network

linking east with west. Alongside improvements in agricultural technologies, the railroad opened up the vast Prairies to farmers interested in supplying wheat to new international markets. While earlier waves of migrants had headed to Canada from the British Isles and America, by late in the century growing numbers of migrants came from southern, central, and eastern Europe (Brown and Cook 1974). Many immigrants took advantage of inexpensive land and the opportunities that went with it. Building booms in western towns paralleled population growth (Buckley 1952). The nation urbanized rapidly as industrial, finance, and economic capacity expanded: between 1870 and 1921 the urban population grew from 18.3 to 49.5 per cent of the country's total population (Gilpin 1986).

As Rutherford (1984) noted, by the turn of the 20th century experts had begun rendering critical judgement on Canadian cities: the journalist Herbert Ames exposed dreadful living conditions in Montreal while preacher and reformer J.S. Woodsworth presented strategies for humanizing urban conditions. Concerns about the problems of cities had become the subject of discussions in men's clubs and women's groups across the country. The "long crusade to purify city life" (Rutherford 1984, 437) had commenced in earnest. Reformers described town planning as part of a progressive solution to urban problems.

Figure 1: Map of Canada showing Halifax on the east coast

City Beautiful influences proved pervasive and persuasive in the years following the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 (Simpson 1985). From 1896 to 1910, powerful forces pushed for beautification of civic centres as local leaders tried to make Canadian cities seem sophisticated and cosmopolitan (Simpson 1985). Some cities established guilds or leagues committed to beautification and advocating

projects of civic grandeur (Van Nus 1984); in 1905, the Halifax Board of Trade formed a citizens' committee to push for civic improvement (Nicholson 2000). The idea of planning monumental and memorable civic centres suited the boosterism of the times: local entrepreneurial and professional elites pursued strategies and advertizing campaigns to ensure that their cities grew quickly by attracting immigrants and industries (Artibise 1982; Gilpin 1986). Such civic boosterism fuelled the speculation in land that burned across the west up until 1913 (Artibise 1984). Investors from as far away as Britain poured money into western real estate: land values doubled between 1902 and 1907, and doubled again before crashing in 1913 (Saywell 1975). In those years many western cities expanded their borders to provide room for the growth they were certain would come. Saskatoon subdivided land six miles from the city centre (Saywell 1975). Edmonton and Calgary had approved enough land for one million people at a time when they had populations under 50,000: when the market collapsed, they were left holding land assessed for much more than it was worth, much of it serviced for people who would not come for decades (Artibise 1984; Gilpin 1986). Excessive land speculation created huge debt burdens for these western cities that had invested in infrastructure no one was using (Weaver 1984).

The desperate search for growth and the crisis generated by the collapse in western land prices reinforced the calls that reformers made for town planning in Canada in the early decades of the 20th century. The entrepreneurial experiments of Western cities that operated like "real estate casinos" (Weaver 1984, 458) demonstrated the need for municipal efficiency and regulation of land development. Inflation in land prices affected cities far to the east. Saywell (1975) noted that land prices climbed in Hamilton from $20/foot in 1910 to $200 in 1913; the depression of 1914-1915 hit cities such as Hamilton hard (Doucet and Weaver 1984). Reformers argued that local governments needed to be more fiscally responsible and focus on improving urban conditions.

Progressives began promoting town planning in Canada as early as 1905, when projects such as Letchworth Garden City took shape in Britain (Simpson 1985). In 1909, the Canadian government created the Commission of Conservation, headed by Hon. Clifford Sifton, to lead Canada in efforts to ensure the conservation of resources. The Commission hired Dr Charles Hodgetts as medical officer. Hodgetts promoted planning extensively in the period from 1910 to 1914, seeing it as essential to improving the health of people in urban centres (Wolfe 1994). Like other medical experts of his era, Hodgetts was especially critical of the dismal conditions experienced by people living in the overcrowded slums and dilapidated shack towns of Canadian cities (Saywell 1975). He saw planning as offering useful tools to improve urban life and municipal management.

From 1910 on City Beautiful planning ideas were seen as wasteful and excessive: those in the Commission turned increasingly to an interest in the City Scientific (Simpson 1985). Under the new Conservative Prime Minister, Robert Borden, whose government took office in 1911, national leaders became increasingly concerned about finding ways to make government more efficient (Brown and Cook 1974). British ideas of health and housing proved popular, displacing the earlier interest in American notions of beautification and governance (Nicholson 2000). The Commission and other organizations sponsored lecture tours by prominent British authorities, such as Henry Vivian, and planners such as Thomas Mawson, Raymond Unwin, and Thomas Adams (Schmitz 1912, Simpson 1985). Town planning promised

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to apply the principles of scientific management to urban conditions. It appealed to those hoping to modernize and reform cities.

With the railway nearing completion and western land parcelled off to farmers and speculators, the long boom of immigration and growth from 1896 petered off by 1913 and 1914 (Brown and Cook 1974). Scores of unemployed labourers released by the railway companies flooded major urban centres, contributing to labour unrest (Schulze 1990), fuelling concerns about "foreigners" (Brown and Cook 1974), and challenging local efforts to deal with unemployment and poverty. After the land market began collapsing in 1913, depression conditions overtook the country in 1914 and 1915.

Canadian cities experienced many of the same problems that faced other nations in this period. Urban centres had begun to show signs of age, and large numbers of immigrants found housing in crowded older housing and tenements. High land prices had pushed immigrants outside the city to find land to build their own small homes in what authorities called "shack towns" (Wetherell and Kmet 1991; Harris 1991, 1996): residents living on these small lots with wells and cess pools crowded together sometimes fell victim to typhoid or cholera. Visitors such as Raymond Unwin warned Canadians that they were repeating Britain's errors from the Victorian era, and urged authorities to act to remedy conditions (Simpson 1985). By 1914, officials in the Commission of Conservation saw town planning as a multi-purpose tool to address urban problems and to manage growth more effectively (Weaver 1984). To spread the word about planning across the country and to help governments develop tools to implement change, the Commission recruited an internationally respected British town planning expert: Thomas Adams.

CONDITIONS IN NOVA SCOTIA

While most of the country crested the wave of immigration between 1896 and 1913, the Maritimes were "scarcely warmed by the boom" (Simpson 1985, 71). The population growth and inflation in land prices that hit the west bypassed Nova Scotia, for the most part. Similarly, prices continued to rise steadily in Halifax during the depression years after 1913 even as they fell dramatically in the west (Emery and Levitt 2002). Although the land speculation boom missed the region, local authorities were well aware of the rapid growth and boosterism emanating from the west. The largest city in the region, Halifax, was increasing in population during the period, but not as quickly as the population of other cities in Canada: its size ranking was steadily dropping (McCann 1982). Halifax had a history of economic strength during war time, as its harbour accommodated convoys and its shores hosted troops and those provisioning the war effort; during times of peace the city languished as its economy relied on shipping, resources, and finance (Fingard et al. 1999). The region industrialized during the mid-19th century as tariffs supported domestic industries in areas such as sugar, cotton, and steel production (Fingard et al. 1999). Following confederation, however, the centre of economic gravity in Canada moved west to where land was opening and migrants were flowing. By late in the 19th century, industrial enterprises had begun moving west, lured by access to markets and capital. The end of protective tariffs and rail subsidies undermined any early economic advantages eastern Canada enjoyed (Brown and Cook 1974). By the 1910s, power brokers in the east were feeling increasingly marginalized and anxious to take steps to improve regional prospects (Fingard et al. 1999). Cities in the east, like those in other parts of Canada, were

struggling to cope with problems of disease and poverty associated with urban living: for instance, the fight against tuberculosis preoccupied decision makers across the nation (Box 1).

Box 1

Hon O.T. Daniels, Attorney-General of Nova Scotia, presentation at Fourth Annual Meeting of the Commission of Conservation, 1913

Public Health, a Federal Question
If there is any one thing common to the whole of Canada, it is public health. Take tuberculosis, with which we are trying to deal locally in Nova Scotia; what matter can be more easily discussed from one province to another, than tuberculosis? If there is any subject that this Commission could effectually deal with and assist us with, particularly in the Maritime provinces, it is this question of the prevention of disease throughout Canada, and the impressing on the Federal government of the necessity for dealing with this subject of public health.

(National Library and Archives, Daniels 1913, 4)

The reform movement got off to an early start in Halifax, the largest city in eastern Canada. A variety of organized groups – from the Board of Trade to the Local Council of Women – pushed local government to beautify, clean up, and otherwise reform the city (Fingard et al. 1999). A committee of the Board of Trade became the Civic Improvement League of Halifax by 1906 and lobbied extensively over the next decade for beautification and civic reform (Nicholson 2000; Roper 1985). In March 1911 the League organized a major campaign for what it and the local papers called "civic uplift": John Sewall, a prominent reformer from Boston, spent a week in the city delivering rousing public speeches linking Christian duty with civic responsibilities, urban reform, and town planning (Nicholson 2000; Roper 1985). A young Halifax lawyer, Reginald V. Harris, wrote columns in local papers to push relentlessly for municipal reform, and in 1911 was elected to city council (Roper 1985). Harris spearheaded the Board of Trade's efforts to have the province of Nova Scotia pass a bill in May 1912 to change the governance system in Halifax to a Board of Control: with five paid elected controllers running the city with the oversight of a smaller municipal council (Roper 1985). Reformers hoped that the new system would reduce political squabbling and enhance the efficiency of urban government: as Roper (1985) explained, however, the experiment failed, and Halifax returned to its ward-based electoral system a few years later.

Two provinces in the Maritimes moved early to adopt town planning acts as part of the reform agenda. Simpson (1985, 75) noted the strong adherence to British precursors in the early acts: "The all-conquering British influence led to three provincial planning acts – in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia (1912) and Alberta (1913). Slavish copies of the British act of 1909, adopted hastily and without adequate means of implementation, they were failures". This analysis minimized differences between the acts and cast little light on why some regions in Canada moved more quickly to adopt town planning legislation than did others. Simpson (1985, 75) suggested that local groups had been pushing planning for some years, noting that a "Halifax plan was the culmination of a civic improvement league campaign begun in 1907". Schmitz (1912, 219) reported that Halifax was inviting experts to advise "an influential body of citizens" on developing "a big scheme".

The first town planning act in Nova Scotia passed the provincial legislature the same month as the bill reforming Halifax council's structure: the Civic Improvement League and the Board of Trade undoubtedly helped to bring the matters forward[1]. Local actors had already begun taking steps to initiate town planning in Halifax and in Nova Scotia in the years before the Commission appointed a planning expert to do the same.

Figure 2: Halifax development to 1894
[Source: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/halifax_1894.jpg]

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[1] Neither Nicholson (2000) or Roper (1985), who write at length about the reform movement in Halifax in this period, say anything about the 1912 town planning act. [Nicholson (2000) erroneously describes the 1915 act promoted by the Civic Improvement League as the first town planning legislation in the province.]

THOMAS ADAMS: PLANNING EXPERT

In 1913 Sifton and Hodgetts at the Commission of Conservation began trying to hire an expert in town planning to get Canadian cities on track (Armstrong 1968; Hulchanski 1978; Stein 1994). They believed that Thomas Adams, a British planner who helped draft the 1909 English Town Planning Act and who worked to implement it through the Local Government Board, was the best candidate (Hodgetts 1913; Simpson 1985). Hodgetts was impressed when he met Adams at a planning conference in Philadelphia in 1911. The British government declined Canada's request to allow Adams to make an extended visit to Canada in 1913, but in May 1914 Adams attended the National Conference on City Planning held in Toronto. In July 1914 he accepted the job of Town Planning Advisor to the Commission. Hodgetts and his colleagues described Adams as the "highest authority" on the topic of town planning (Simpson 1985, 77). Canadian reformers advocating town planning were delighted: they saw expert knowledge as essential to urban transformation (Rutherford 1984).

While Canadians were emulating the English, Canada lacked the centralized land use control at the heart of the British system. In Canada, the provinces control and manage land: the national government cannot force them to permit town planning. Since the Commission was a purely advisory body of the national government, Adams had to work with local officials and provincial governments to persuade them to adopt provincial legislation and regulatory tools that he thought could achieve good planning. Consequently, Adams embarked on tours of almost all the provinces in 1915, visiting Nova Scotia in February. As Simpson (1985, 78) indicated, "His aim was to establish planning as a central function of government at all levels, buttressed by an integrated structure of legislation, administration, public support and professional organization, education and expertise." Adams promoted a pragmatic and utilitarian approach that worked well with political leaders and progressive citizens at the time. In 1915 Adams proposed forming a national Civic Improvement League, which the Commission launched in 1916 to educate the public about and involve them in planning (Simpson 1985; Rutherford 1984). His visits across the country played an important role in rallying supportive reformers and convincing governments of the need for further action.

Simpson (1985, 85) argued that Nova Scotia "found its act of 1912 unwieldy and irrelevant", giving Adams an opportunity to replace it with a new one in short order. According to his biographer, Adams played the pivotal role in revising Nova Scotia's legislation and substituting his own model planning act in its place. The next sections of the paper examine that presumption in some detail to expose the local dynamics at play in the process of legislative change in Nova Scotia. While Adams clearly lent weight to the process and provided direction for the text, local reformers facilitated the effort in ways not previously documented.

LOCAL REFORMERS IN NOVA SCOTIA

The search for archival material to explain why Nova Scotia rapidly replaced its original town planning legislation with a new bill led to the papers of Robert McConnell Hattie. Born in Nova Scotia in 1876, Hattie graduated from Dalhousie University in 1897; he was the editor of trade papers like the *Maritime Merchant* for five decades and served as a reform member of the Halifax City Council for a term during 1912-1913, before retiring due to illness (Nicholson 2000). Hattie was

passionately involved in civic life and planning matters in Halifax from the early 1900s until his death in 1953. Fortunately for those interested in planning history in the region, Hattie donated an extensive collection of correspondence and other materials to the Public Archives of Nova Scotia: few other materials shed as much light on planning history in the province in this early period.

Hattie wore many hats during his years of service. He sat on and often chaired groups such as the Civic Improvement League, Anti-Tuberculosis League, Board of Health, Tree Committee, Town Planning Board of the City of Halifax, Library Committee, and the Board of Trade's Civic Committee. His efforts to promote the causes he supported proved innovative and relentless (see Box 2).

Box 2

Letter to members of the Halifax County Anti-Tuberculosis League, November 10, 1909

Dear Sir or Madam:
The war department of the Kingdom of Good Health, having declared war on Tuberculosis, is anxious to engage the enemy. The officer Commanding the Forces in Halifax is therefore desirous that the recruiting [of new members] should be accomplished successfully by the end of the week. There should be at least two or three thousand in the firing line, and enough ammunitions of war to carry on the campaign during the current year…This recruiting is urged as a DUTY which all good citizens owe their country. It is commended as a privilege of which all who can should avail themselves to do really patriotic work. Now is the time for every good citizen to come to the country's rescue and help rid it of Tuberculosis.
Yours Truly, R. M. Hattie

(Hattie Papers – Hattie 1909)

Although the Civic Improvement League of Halifax played a part in developing the original 1912 Act Respecting Town Planning (Hattie Papers, Civic Improvement League 1915a), Hattie's papers offer relatively few clues about who drafted the early legislation[2]. Some materials from this period attest to Hattie's early interest in planning (Hattie Papers, Halifax Civic Improvement Board 1912, Halifax Civic Improvement Committee 1912). In 1913 he was giving public addresses on town planning (Hattie Papers, Hattie 1913). Along with Council minutes (Halifax Municipal Archives 1913a, 1913b, 1913c) Hattie's Papers indicate that as Alderman with the City of Halifax Hattie tried unsuccessfully to convince the City to hire a professional planning expert (Hattie Papers, Halifax City Council 1913d, 1913e, 1913f, 1913g, 1913h). As chair of council's civic improvement committee, Hattie presented several motions to council in January and February 1913 to borrow funds for a city planning expert: although his motions won simple majorities, they suffered defeat under council's requirement for a two-thirds majority on some monetary measures. He worked tirelessly to promote planning through city committees, to little avail.

Hattie's papers show his deep involvement with the Commission of Conservation in Ottawa. He corresponded frequently with planning boards and groups in the United

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[2] Investigation of other sources may help to answer this question.

States, Britain, and other Canadian provinces regarding advances made in planning. Clearly, he was a progressive proponent of planning in the region.

After leaving Council in 1913, Hattie continued to advocate planning as President of the Civic Improvement League of Halifax and other committees on which he sat (Civic Improvement League, 1915a, 1915b). The League played a particularly strong role in promoting planning within the city, bringing in famous town planners like John Nolen, Thomas Mawson, and Ewart Culpin to give public presentations and applauding the efforts of other local groups in supporting visits by John Sewall, Raymond Unwin, and Henry Vivian (Hattie Papers, Civic Improvement League 1915a; Nicholson 2000). It seems likely that the success of the Civic Improvement League in Halifax may have inspired Adams to propose a national organization of the same name and purpose late in 1915: the national group launched well enough in 1916 but petered out quickly as Canadians focussed on the war effort (Simpson 1985).

Hattie undoubtedly recognized that without direct government intervention the commissions and committees that he sat on would continue to have minimal influence on development outcomes in Halifax. Given his frustrations in trying to get a town planning scheme approved and experts hired under the 1912 Act, Hattie looked for other ways to stimulate initiatives in the city. His extensive correspondence with Dr Hodgetts at the Commission, and later with Thomas Adams, indicated that he turned to them to exert influence on the provincial government. Hattie saw the federal government and its experts as capable of adding credibility to his attempts to bring town planning to Nova Scotia. While he and his colleagues approached town planning from the bottom up, they enlisted national experts to do the same from the top down.

Hattie's correspondence includes letters he received, reports, minutes, and annotated drafts of legislation. Few of his outgoing letters are preserved in the collection: consequently the material requires some interpolation and interpretation.

PROPOSING A NEW TOWN PLANNING ACT

By 1913, Hattie was corresponding regularly with Dr Hodgetts at the Commission of Conservation. In a letter of 13 May, Hodgetts (Hattie Papers, Hodgetts 1913a) advised Hattie that a date for a visit from Thomas Adams to Nova Scotia had not been set. On 29 May 1913 Hodgetts (Hattie Papers, Hodgetts 1913b) wrote to request information on any actions taken by the province under its 1912 act, perhaps as part of the discussion at the Commission about whether to hire a town planning advisor. On June 2 (Box 3) Hodgetts acknowledged the frustration that Hattie faced in trying to get Halifax to adopt a town planning scheme under the act, and confirmed the need for further action (Hattie Papers, Hodgetts 1913c). In association with Lieutenant-Colonel Jeffrey Burland and members of the Health Committee of the Commission, Hodgetts was working during this period to establish a model town planning act for Canada that might have greater effect than the early legislation (Armstrong 1968; National Library and Archives, Commission of Conservation 1914).

Box 3
    Dr Hodgetts' letter to Hattie, 2 June 1913

> *It is quite apparent that, with the legislation now in force in several of the provinces and the apparent inertness on the part of municipal authorities, some active work must be carried on if we are to succeed not only in town planning but also in housing matters.*
> (Hattie Papers, Hodgetts 1913c)

Hodgetts first presented the draft model act during the May 1914 National Town Planning Conference in Toronto. Thomas Adams offered comments on the draft, comparing it with the 1909 British Town Planning Act. Cautious about appearing overly critical, Adams noted differences in land use laws and political systems between the countries, and volunteered to work with the committee to rewrite the legislation (Commission of Conservation 1915a).

Following the conference Hodgetts toured several provinces to promote the model act. He journeyed to Halifax in July 1914 to attend the Anti-Tuberculosis League Conference. On 14 July the Civic Improvement League of Halifax (Hattie Papers, 1914) organized a meeting with him: its advertisement promised a "Conference with Dr. Hodgetts Re: Town Planning" to discuss remodelling the 1912 act. This is the first concrete indication in Hattie's papers that locals were considering revising the Nova Scotia act adopted two years earlier.

On behalf of the Civic Improvement League of Halifax, Hattie followed up on the issue over the next months, becoming the lead local agent pressing for a new act. Along with a provincial government representative, Hon. George Faulkner, Hattie formed a board of prominent reformers and political leaders to revise the act. As Thomas Adams assumed the role of Town Planning Advisor in late July 1914, Hattie's correspondence with Hodgetts gave way to a regular exchange of letters and draft legislation with Adams. Shortly after Adams came to Ottawa, Hodgetts left Canada to join the war effort, giving Adams the opportunity to revise the Commission's model town planning act (Commission of Conservation, 1914). The new version became the basis of discussions between Adams, Hattie, and the board.

As reformers in Halifax worked on considering revisions to the act, Adams reported on planning in Canada to his colleagues in Britain. Writing about Nova Scotia's 1912 legislation in the *Town Planning Review* Adams (1915, 20) said, "Up to the present no action has been taken in Nova Scotia, but the powers given under the provincial Act and the Halifax City Charter, together form the most advanced legislation in the Dominion." Despite his praise for the original legislation, he added that he planned to spend a week in Nova Scotia in February 1915 to discuss amendments to the act.

Generating local momentum for change, Hattie corresponded in late 1914 and early 1915 with municipal and provincial politicians in Nova Scotia on the need for amendments to the 1912 act (Hattie 1915a, 1915b, 1915c). He requested permission from Halifax Council to form an inter-governmental committee comprising provincial politicians, provincial officials, municipal politicians from Halifax and Dartmouth, and local community groups to address the need for an amended act. While many of Hattie's early efforts with Halifax council had failed to gain traction, this request was approved. The visit of Dr Hodgetts in 1914 had evidently helped Hattie in his organizing for town planning.

Once the initial inter-governmental committee formed in 1915, Hattie invited prominent political leaders from the neighbouring city of Dartmouth to join. The committee worked closely with Adams and Hattie to draft what would become the 1915 Town Planning Act. Adams visited Halifax in late February / early March 1915 to finalize the wording of the act and promote it in the community (Box 4). With considerable haste the group developed the bill for the provincial legislature, arranging first reading of the legislation on 23 March 1915. Table 1 illustrates the key events and milestones framing the history of the 1915 act. By late April 1915 the act was law.

Table 1: Key events leading to the 1915 Town Planning Act in Nova Scotia

Date	Event	Key Player(s)
Dec. 8, 1909	British Town Planning Act adopted	Thomas Adams John Burns
May 3, 1912	1912 Town Planning Act adopted in N.S.	[Civic Improvement League of Halifax]
1913	Commission of Conservation begins to draft Model Planning Act	Dr Hodgetts
1914	Dr Hodgetts and R. M. Hattie communicate about the Commission of Conservation Model Planning Act	Dr Hodgetts Robert Hattie
May 1914	International Town Planning Conference, Toronto	Thomas Adams Dr Hodgetts
May-July 1914	Commission of Conservation Model Act amended and promoted to the provinces	Dr Hodgetts
July 2, 1914	Dr Hodgetts visits Nova Scotia to present the Model Planning Act. Hattie organizes a conference with the Civic Improvement League and Hodgetts to discuss options for amending the 1912 Act.	Dr Hodgetts Robert Hattie Civic Improvement League of Halifax
July 1914	Board formed in Nova Scotia to review the 1912 Town Planning Act	Robert M. Hattie Mr. Faulkner
July 1914	Thomas Adams appointed to Commission of Conservation	Thomas Adams Dr Hodgetts
Jan. 30, 1915	Thomas Adams and R.M. Hattie begin communicating about a proposed visit to Nova Scotia. Drafts of a new Nova Scotia Planning Act, with amendments, are exchanged between the two.	Thomas Adams Robert Hattie
Feb. 23-Mar. 1,1915	Thomas Adams visits Nova Scotia.	Thomas Adams Robert Hattie
Mar. - April, 1915	Hattie and Adams continue to exchange drafts of the Act and letters about proposed amendments to the draft.	Thomas Adams Robert Hattie
March 23, 1915	First Reading of the 1915 Act Respecting Town Planning	Nova Scotia Legislature George Faulkner
March 31, 1915	Second Reading of the 1915 Act Respecting Town Planning. Draft Act is reviewed by the Committee on Law Amendments	Nova Scotia Legislature
April 8, 1915	Committee on Law Amendments offers no amendments to the draft Act	Nova Scotia Legislature
April 12, 1915	Third Reading of the 1915 Act Respecting Town Planning	Nova Scotia Legislature
April 23,	1915 Act Respecting Town Planning passes	Nova Scotia

1915		Legislature

Box 4

Story in Civic Improvement League newsletter, 15 February 1915

Nova Scotia Town Planning Act
It is in connection with the Town Planning Act that Mr. Adams is coming to Halifax. This Act was passed in 1912, Nova Scotia along with New Brunswick being the pioneer in North America in planning legislation. This Act was promoted by the Civic Improvement League. The Dominion Government, through the Conservation Commission [sic] is now endeavoring to interest all the provinces in Town Planning and we think it is to the credit of Nova Scotia and the Civic Improvement League that we should have here set the pace for the Dominion. But our Act requires some revision, and steps need to be taken to promote the idea of town planning, both in Halifax and some of the provincial towns. At the League's request, Mr. Adams is to pay a visit of several days to advise and help things along.

(Hattie Papers, Civic Improvement League, 1915a, 1)

Influencing the form and language of the new Nova Scotia act was a high priority for Adams: he mentioned his intention to travel to Nova Scotia during his first speech in Canada in 1914 (Commission of Conservation 1915b). While not all of the drafts circulated between Adams and Hattie have survived, letters show that Adams and the inter-governmental committee collaborated in crafting the 1915 legislation. In January 1915, Adams discouraged local efforts to amend the original act, instead favouring replacement by a new version adopting the principles he intended to embed in the model act. Rather than sending Hattie amendments to the old act, Adams dispatched an entirely new draft. This may have caught Hattie and his committee off-guard, as Adams apologized for having sent the new draft without first explaining why the 1912 act should be completely scrapped (Hattie Papers, Adams 1915g) (Box 5), and send an explanatory document (Hattie Papers, Adams 1915h). Throughout the exchange the tone remained polite and formal.

Box 5

Adams' letter to Hattie 15 February 1915

I think the best thing to do would be to drop the Act of 1912 and to consider the new Act on the lines of the revised Act prepared by the Commission of Conservation. One important reason for this is to secure uniform legislation throughout the Dominion and to point to Nova Scotia as the example which other provinces should follow.

(Hattie Papers, Adams 1915g).

Adams' letter of 15 February 1915 included a lengthy critique of the 1912 legislation apparently written on 9 February 1915 (Hattie Papers, Adams 1915h). Adams discussed some minor word-choice issues, but his major concern dealt with the power that the earlier act granted to the municipality. He specifically criticized section three of the act: "Any city, town or municipality within the meaning of this Act may prepare such a town planning scheme with reference to any land within or in the vicinity of their area" (Nova Scotia Statutes 1912, Chapter 6, 112-113). Adams wrote that giving the municipality the power "to prepare a town planning scheme instead of getting permission to prepare it from a higher

authority must be a serious weakness in carrying out a scheme", especially for areas outside a city's political boundaries (Adams 1915g, 1-2). His roots in a system of highly centralized control were clear: Adams reminded Hattie that under the British legislation, municipalities must ask permission to adopt plans from the higher level of government. Adams recommended changing section nine, which gave the municipality the power to set procedural regulations, as "procedure should either be determined by parliament or it should be provided in the Act that it will be determined by an impartial authority outside the municipality"(Adams 1915g, 2). The degree of local authority permitted municipalities in the original Nova Scotia legislation evidently troubled Adams who hoped to create a nationally coherent planning system in Canada through ensuring that provinces had the tools necessary to impose standards and procedures. While Adams made some adjustments to suit Nova Scotia conditions[3], he was pleased with the legislation created and used it to guide his work on the model town planning act he released later in 1915 (Simpson 1985). Adams remained deeply involved with Hattie as the bill made its way through various readings, continuing to craft amendments and recommend changes to sections he found wanting (Hattie Papers, Adams 1915k, 1915l, 1915m). In setting out the language of the legislation Adams accommodated some Nova Scotia particularities to meet his aim of supplanting earlier legislation with something that better approached his ideals and would support his efforts to transmit the new model act to other provinces. As Adams wrote to Hattie on 12 March 1915, "if Nova Scotia adopts that Act which I recommended I propose to recommend the Commission of Conservation use it as their model" (Hattie Papers, Adams 1915i): he wanted to make sure it was the best possible act. As Adams explained to Hattie, "I am very anxious to get Nova Scotia to adopt legislation which can be referred to as an example to the other provinces" (Hattie Papers, Adams 1915g).

The participation of national experts such as Hodgetts in 1914 and Adams in 1915 helped local planning advocates like Hattie move expeditiously to prepare a new act and get it before the provincial legislature in spring 1915. Hattie's committee accepted Adams' advice and paraded his celebrity status to advance their cause of promoting town planning in the region. In wartime Halifax, busy with provisioning Canadian efforts to help out the motherland in the European war, British experts enjoyed considerable cachet. At the same time, however, it is clear that Adams relied on local colleagues like Hattie to do the legwork and publicity necessary to encourage the legislature to act. Hattie greased the wheels by developing the political connections that made change possible. He and his colleagues at the Civic Improvement League built public support over a period of nine years to make it easy for Adams to be effective virtually overnight. Without the local support and logistics provided by Hattie, Adams could not have changed the laws of Nova Scotia in 1915.

Several times the length of the 1912 act, the 1915 legislation provided more detail and central control than the earlier version. It began with definitions before proceeding to require local governments to appoint town planning boards and develop town planning by-laws. A provincial commissioner would review the by-laws to decide whether to approve them. Once approved, plans would be binding

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[3] This interpretation draws on numerous letters and documents between Hattie and Adams between January and May of 1915. (Hattie Papers: Adams 1915 a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h,i,j,k,l,m,n,o,p; Hattie 1915 b,c,d.)

on future development. While Simpson (1985, 84) described Adams' Canadian planning acts as timid and disappointing, the Nova Scotia legislation took bold steps for its time. Hattie assured Nova Scotia legislators that they could certainly claim to be in the forefront of the field in 1915 (Box 6).

Box 6

Hattie's draft letter of transmittal to the province with the bill,
4 March 1915

On the whole I think the Act will give wide powers without conflicting with private interests. It will put Nova Scotia in advance of any other province or country in the matter of Town Planning Legislation and I believe it does not go beyond the general public sentiment of the province.

(Hattie Papers, Hattie 1915b)

LEGACY OF THE 1915 ACT

Nova Scotia represented an early and important victory for Adams and the Commission of Conservation in transforming the planning system in Canada. The model town planning act Adams promoted in 1916 reflected the Nova Scotia experience. Adams retained a strong connection to Halifax, returning in 1917-1918 to assist with re-planning parts of the city damaged by the 1917 explosion of the Mont Blanc ammunitions ship in Halifax harbour (Weaver 1976), and leading efforts to strengthen mandatory provisions in the planning act in 1919 (Simpson 1985).

The role of the province in the process of legislative change remains somewhat murky. Hattie and others in the Civic Improvement League took the opportunity to promote a local agenda: they sought to force Halifax to adopt a town planning scheme by developing planning legislation that required local efforts towards planning. Adams sought to implement a national agenda of effective town planning to promote urban quality and efficient development (Box 7). Both groups needed the province to act because only the province could adopt the rules and regulations to enable or require planning. The records discovered to date portray the province as a compliant if somewhat silent partner in the process. The legislation seems to have stirred little interest and no opposition from other members of the legislature. The records of proceedings in the legislature offer few clues as to political reactions (Provincial Archives, Assembly of Nova Scotia 1915a, 1915b, 1915c, 1915d, 1915e). In the context of the times, it seems likely that provincial politicians and officials appreciated Adams' and Hattie's assurances that Nova Scotia was leading the country in adopting the most modern and powerful town planning legislation in the Dominion if not the world.

Box 7

Press release by Thomas Adams, 27 April 1915

Nova Scotia Takes the Lead in Town Planning Law
A Town Planning Act has been passed into law in Nova Scotia which will revolutionize the methods of developing real estate and controlling building operations in that province. The Act is to a large extent compulsory and is in advance of anything of the kind in the world.

(Hattie Papers, Adams 1915o)

Robert Hattie was a catalyst for town planning in Nova Scotia in the 1910s. Inquiries into the genesis of the 1915 legislation find Hattie's fingerprints everywhere. As Hattie and his colleagues discovered, however, it was easier to get provincial legislation adopted in Nova Scotia than to get town planning schemes approved within municipalities. By the time the Nova Scotia act passed, Canada was increasingly preoccupied with war in Europe. Cities had relatively little interest in planning, although many turned to zoning after the 1920s (Wolfe 1994). The momentum for town planning proved short-lived, and the act appears not to have been widely implemented. Although council appointed Hattie to its Town Planning Board in 1916, Halifax did not adopt a town plan for decades to come. Hattie must have felt intensely disappointed after the months of work he committed to developing the legislation and years of pushing for civic improvement.

Events leading up to the 1915 Nova Scotia town planning act provide insight into the role of national context, planning experts, and local reformers in the early years of planning in Canada. Moving provincial governments to adopt planning legislation required a combination of circumstances. If Nova Scotia had been growing quickly like the west with a booming economy, it may have had less interest in turning to town planning. By the same token, high rates of tuberculosis and a desire for growth and prosperity made planning appear to be an appropriate tool for progressive governments. Without the direct intervention of Dr Hodgetts and Thomas Adams, it seems unlikely that Nova Scotia would have developed a new town planning act in 1915, despite Hattie's organizing. Yet the search for an explanation for the rapid about face in legislation between 1912 and 1915 led to evidence of the pivotal role of local reformers in the process. Robert Hattie and the Civic Improvement League of Halifax developed the momentum needed for building a local consensus about the need to revise the act. They assembled the key participants to move the legislature to action. While they respected the sage advice that Hodgetts and Adams offered, they did not simply accept everything suggested. Hattie actively engaged in the process of shaping the legislation to meet the objectives his experience suggested were needed in Nova Scotia. In this context, Simpson's (1985, 85) claim that Adams "largely drafted the new Act of 1915" minimizes the important contribution made by local actors.[4] Adams certainly acknowledged his debt to Hattie in a letter shortly after his 1915 visit (Box 8).

Box 8

Adams' letter to Hattie, 12 March 1915

I think that the work that has been done in the maritime provinces by Mr. Burditt [of New Brunswick] and yourself has been of great value, both beacuse [sic] of local results and because it will give the lead to the other provinces. I hope that sometime the citizens will realize the value of the work which you have been doing.

(Hattie Papers, Adams 1915i)

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[4] Other provinces which lacked effective local reformers proved much slower to adopt planning legislation in this period.

Although contemporary planning history seeks to place events in the context of the times, it can sometimes fall victim to a "big man" view of history. Biographies get written about famous people like Thomas Adams who played influential roles at pivotal points in time. Experts such as Adams documented their activities in journals and books that remain to offer notable insights into the period. The publications of national organizations such as the Commission of Conservation highlighted the accomplishments of their own staff but said little about local initiatives or contextual factors that influenced political choices in various regions of the country. By comparison, relatively few resources remain to provide insight on the activities of local reformers. If Robert McConnell Hattie had not recognized the historical value of the materials he accumulated and had not arranged to donate them to the Provincial Archives, the role he played with the Civic Improvement League of Halifax in changing early legislation might be lost. The archives Hattie created help to reveal the catalytic effect of community-based reformers who thought that town planning could improve public welfare in a time when Canadian cities were experiencing significant health, social, and economic challenges.

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REGULATING INEQUALITY: ORIGINS AND TRANSFORMATION OF SÃO PAULO'S ZONING LAWS

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ABSTRACT

For over thirty years São Paulo´s 1972 Zoning Law was an important reference for both apologists and critics of comprehensive land-use zoning policies in Brazil. When it was passed by the city council, in the shadow of the 1964-1985 military regime, mayor Figueiredo Ferraz, its main instigator, hailed it as the only means to control São Paulo´s explosive growth. Based in part on ambitious modernist master plans such as PUB (1968) and PDDI (1971), stringent building ratios and detailed land-use rules were applied for the first time on the city as a whole, and subsequent fine-tuning of the law transformed it into a shophisticated model for similar initiatives in other Brazilian cities. However, the huge planned investments in expressway and mass-transit systems that should have accompanied this regulation did not occur in the required scale; and when criticism of conventional comprehensive planning models came to the fore in the 1980s, São Paulo's all-encompassing, minutious zoning legislation became a major target.

Meanwhile, the vast majority of the population, settled in peripheral areas with few improvements, either informal squatter settlements (favelas) or irregular subdivisions, benefited little from the law. Even though amnesties, urbanization initiatives and regularization policies have given this immense portion of the city some legal status, it remains excluded from the main real estate market. In a deeply unequal society, where urban policies historically tended to reinforce social divisions, the transformation of zoning measures into a more effective instrument aimed at improving social justice, reducing urban inequality and providing for better-quality city spaces is a challenge which has only begun to be addressed.

INTRODUCTION

In November 1972, under Mayor Figueiredo Ferraz, the city council approved São Paulo's first comprehensive zoning law. Since then, this legislation, of which the main elements remained effective for over three decades, became a major reference for apologists and critics of zoning in Brazil. Perfected, extended and detailed in the following years, it resulted in intricate legislation, affirmed as the city's main regulatory instrument, but addressing mainly the city's well-consolidated regions, while irregular and low-income occupation followed the logic of disorder in the social production of urban space – since without adequate social and housing policies, intensive, poorly regulated urban growth was one of the major conditions for Brazil's economic development model, with its profound social divisions.

Focusing on zoning, São Paulo's regulatory framework took long to incorporate other instruments, such as real-estate appreciation recovery mechanisms, regulatory measures of a fiscal nature and a consistent land distribution policy –

themes that gained strength throughout the 1970s inside and outside the municipal administration. And when the critique of integrated planning models gained force in the 1980s, and traditional master plans were surpassed by the paradigm of strategic planning and localized urban projects, resolving zoning's identity crisis became a major challenge.

The zoning legislation inaugurated in 1972 had a long life: other master plan proposals, whether liberalizing (1988), or innovative (1991), did not manage to change its major guidelines. Only with the new Strategic Master Plan approved in 2002, the innovative instruments of the City's Statute and the approval of Regional Master Plans for each *Subprefeitura* (the city's sub-regional divisions), a new Land Use and Occupation Law was enacted in 2004. Its gradual implementation involves the first comprehensive reformulation of the previous zoning framework, although it is not clear whether the problem of irregular occupation may be reversed by such instruments.

This paper, derived from a research project sponsored by the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, explains the law´s antecedents in partial zoning measures enforced in preceding decades, designed primarily for the protection of upscale residential areas; and focuses on the decisive period (1971-1981) when a comprehensive system regulating land use, occupation, development, subdivisions, etc. was put into force - between the heyday of comprehensive planning in the 1960s and its crisis since the 1980s, when proposals for deregulation, participative planning and private sector involvment, along with criticism of traditional zoning and its legacy of segregation and social exclusion, began to put into question the fundaments of this legislation.

Even though the zoning legislation inaugurated in 1972, which inherited seemingly modern and ambitious proposals from the previous decade, persisted for thirty years as São Paulo's main regulatory instrument, in a city notoriously lacking mechanisms of this kind, and was continuosly improved during this period, in the end it proved only partially effective. Echoing previous partial zoning measures, this legislation focused mainly on more consolidated and/or upscale regions, while major portions of the urban area, formed by peripheric and low-income occupation, remained marginalized.

ANTECEDENTS: INITIAL LEGISLATION

Urban regulation institutionalized in São Paulo since the First Republic (1889-1930) involved volume and height control, housing sanitary conditions – also involving the State of São Paulo's Health Code (Lemos, 1999) – street development standards and protection of high-income residential areas. In terms of spatial differentiation, some measures may be regarded as precursors of zoning laws: since the nineteenth century, tenements and other forms of popular housing had been outlawed in the central perimeter (Rolnik, 1997); volumetric uniformity of Haussmanian inspiration was adopted in some central streets and avenues (Law 1585/1912);[1] and the city had been divided into rural, suburban, urban and central zones since 1915 (Law 1874).

The first compilations of the Municipal Building Code, containing insolation and ventilation parameters (Acts 849/1916 and 900/1916), were incorporated and

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[1] All laws mentioned herein refer to the City of São Paulo, except if otherwise noted.

detailed in the Municipal Standard (Law 2322/1920) that also established maximum heights connected to street widths in the central zone (Somekh, 1997). Resolution 171/1921 restrained verticalization outside the city center, but was repealed in 1929 for broader streets (Law 3427/1929). The Land Subdivision Law (2611/1923) established demanding standards for new neighbourhood development; a revised version of the Municipal Building Code (Act 663/1934) kept maximum heights connected to street width in the alignment, but authorized greater heights by means of successive setbacks, up to a limit of 80m (50m in some central streets).

In the 1940s, Mayor Prestes Maia imposed lower limits (40 and 60m) on the narrower streets of the city center, while specific volumetric controls and higher limits (up to 115 m) in the new avenues proposed in his 1930 *Plano de Avenidas* (Avenues Plan) encouraged a disciplined verticalization (Decree 163/1941 e Decree-Laws 41/1940, 75/1941 and 92/1941) (Campos, 1999).

An important – and symptomatic – precursor measure was Act 127/1931, through which Mayor Anhaia Mello defined Jardim América (an exclusive garden district already protected by rules established in deeds by the developer Companhia City) as strictly residential: after 1937 (Law 3571), this provision, incorporated since 1934 as Article 40 of the Municipal Building Code, was extended to other high-income streets and districts. However, it usually allowed for apartment buildings with setbacks, whereas Jardim América itself was additionally protected by forbidding construction of apartment buildings (Act 99/1941). Other garden districts also had deed restrictions establishing this horizontal single-family character. None of those rules, however, worked as an effective and comprehensive law on land use and occupation for the whole city.

Zoning according to American standards has been defended by urban planners such as Anhaia Mello since the 1920s (Mello, 1929), by the *Sociedade Amigos da Cidade* (Friends of the City Society) created in 1935 (that ordered a study on the subject by Prestes Maia), by the City Plan Regulating Committee created in 1947 and by the municipal Urbanism Department created in the same year (Decree-Law 431). They all developed several zoning and master plan proposals, with no success (Lefevre, 1944; Andrade Fº, 1955; Lodi, 1957; Lodi, 1958). Some zoning projects prepared in 1947, 1949, 1952, and 1955, as amendments to the Municipal Building Code, did not even make it to the city council. From 1952 they were inspired by New York's example: prescription of zones with different parameters for uses, heights and building areas, typifying functions into categories and resorting to mathematical indexes to define occupation standards (Feldman, 2005).

In addition to controlling densities and uses, American zoning was employed to establish socio-spatial segregation and protect real estate values (Mancuso, 1978, p.306). Even so, proposals of this type in São Paulo were barred by city councillors. In the 1950s, vertical growth intensified with huge office and kitchenette apartment buildings occupying the central area (Sampaio, 2002), while irregular growth was legalized by means of periodical amnesties (Laws 4371/1953; 4663/1955; 5968/1962; 7180/1968).

While the city lacked a master plan and comprehensive zoning, Article 40 of the 1934 Building Code, defining strictly residential use (with exceptions for local commerce/services), was extended by decree to a number of districts and streets; after 1954 this process accelerated impacting most of the higher-income Southwest quadrant. The principle of enacting partial laws, designed to protect high-income

urban areas, rather than a comprehensive zoning law, aggravated unequal treatment of social groups by urban policies. There were also streets with special setbacks, templates, architectural treatment and other specifications (Caldas, 1958).

Figure 1: Map detail showing streets with special rules (Caldas, 1958, p.36).

In 1957, following a proposal encouraged by Anhaia Mello and the City Plan Regulating Committee, Law 5261 established maximum building ratios for the whole municipality without differentiating zones: four times the lot area for residential use and six times for commercial uses (Somekh, 1987). In order to curb density (Meyer, 1991, p.169-179), it required a minimum quota of 35m2 of land per housing unit for apartment buildings, and imposed a maximum net density of 600 residents/hectare.

The offer of smaller apartments or kitchenettes was restricted. Law 5261 raised violent opposition and came to be circumvented by the approval of apartments as offices or hotels, or by the designation of bedrooms as living rooms. Successive alteration initiatives culminated in the approval of Law 6877/1966, establishig a ratio of 6 for all uses, and excluding garages and *piloti* floors from the computation.

In 1956, Mayor Toledo Piza ordered an important survey based on the precepts of Lebret and his Economy and Humanism movement, pointing out urban deficits and proposing a district-area subdivision (Leme, 1999). Its stress on local sub-centers, along with the principle of neighborhood units, guided the Urbanism Department's proposals for zoning (Sangiradi, 1959).
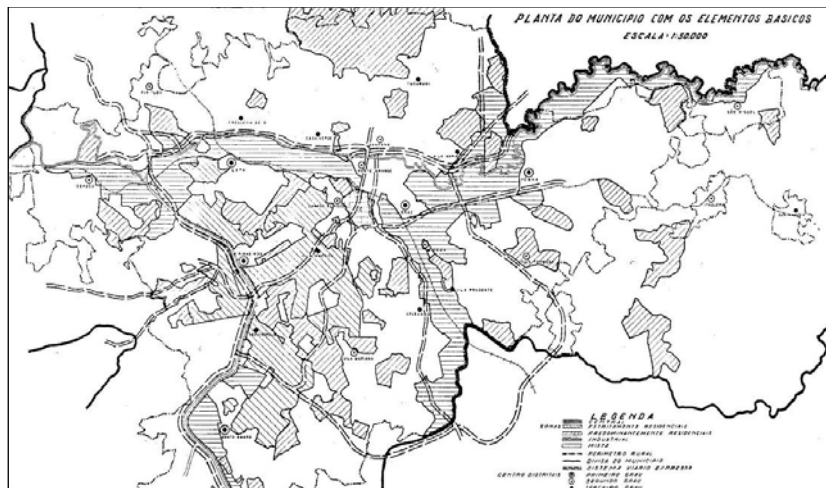
Figure 2: Zones and sub-centers proposed by the Urbanism Department in 1959 (Sangirardi, 1959, p.13).

With increasing verticalization of the central region, the extension of Article 40 by decree, and multiplication of peripheric irregular subdivisions, unequal regulation became the norm: it protected privileged residential districts, was more permissive in the city center, and absent or ineffective in peripheral regions. Even after the enactment of the 1972 Zoning Law, this situation would continue to characterize São Paulo's urban regulation, imposing limits to its range and efficacy.

MASTER PLANS: FROM PUB TO PDDI

The military regime established in 1964 enforced a national planning system that included urban planning. In São Paulo, the Faria Lima administration (1965-1969), marked by ambitious road works and by the start of subway construction, created (Decree-Law 6942) the GEP – Grupo Executivo de Planejamento (Executive Planning Group) in 1967 (Intraurbe, 1983b), and ordered the PUB - Plano Urbanístico Básico (Basic Urbanistic Plan), drawn up in 1968 by a consortium of consulting companies (PMSP, 1969).

With its ambitious scope PUB became a major example of so-called "super-plans" of the 1960s (Villaça, 1999, p.215). Unlike previous plans that prioritized growth, PUB intended to curb urban expansion through greater density control: residential densities between 300 inhabitants/hectare in the center and 75 inhabitants/hectare in outlying areas (PMSP, 1969). A grid of 815 km of expressways, defining semi-autonomous urban units, would counterbalance the existing radial-perimetral urban structure and excessive centralization of urban activities; the plan also proposed 450 km of subway lines, along with ambitious goals in terms of housing, infrastructure and services. But the next mayor did not show interest in PUB and removed it from discussion.
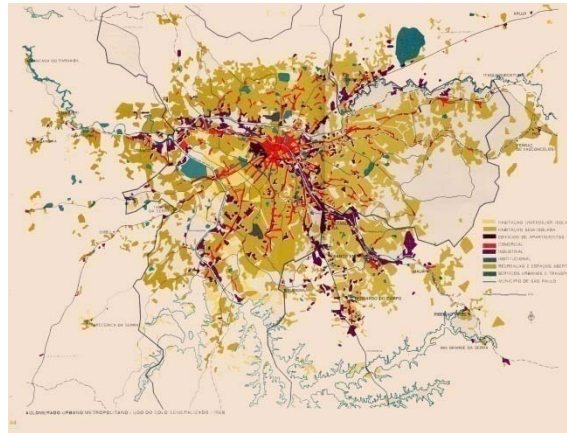
Figure 3: Land use in 1968 (PMSP, 1969, p.45).
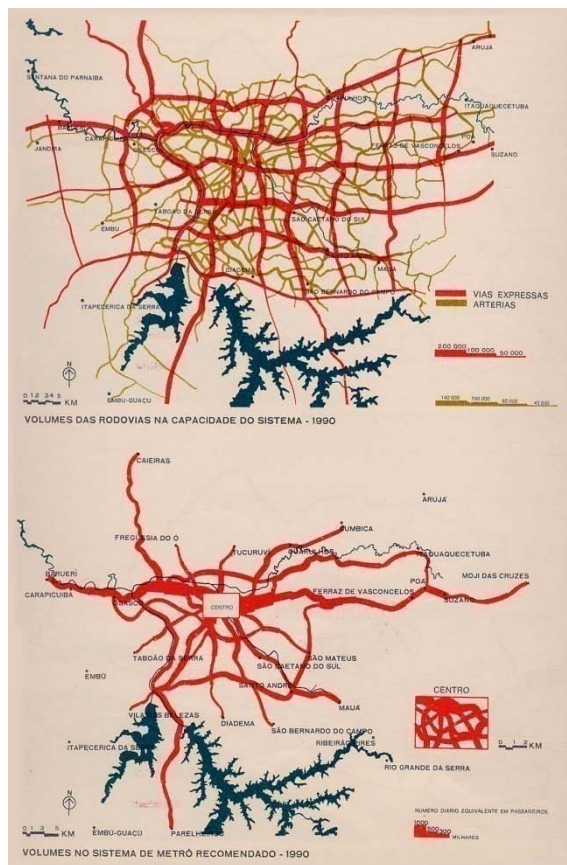
Figure 4: Expressway grid and subway system as proposed by PUB (PMSP, 1969, p.76).

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Notwithstanding, efforts towards a master plan went on. In 1971, engineer José Carlos de Figueiredo Ferraz was appointed mayor, and demanded an immediate plan proposal, drawn up by GEP and approved by the city council in the same year: PDDI – Plano Diretor de Desenvolvimento Integrado (Integrated Development Master Plan), São Paulo's first official master plan (Law 7688/1971).

PDDI incorporated some aspects of the PUB proposal, but it is marked by an essentially regulatory vision, denouncing São Paulo's accelerated urbanization rate with no efficient control mechanisms. It required fixed demographic densities and ordering of urban activities. Reducing land-use ratios would be a basic condition for urban discipline.

Therefore, the plan would dramatically reduce prevailing building ratios: ratio 4 was defined as the absolute limit, allowed in a few areas, while in most of the city, only one or two would be the norm. PDDI also adopted a system of hierarchic territorial units: level 1, corresponding to neighborhood units, level 2, intermediate units, and level 3, equivalent to the Regional Administrations created in 1967. Zoning would be the most important urban development control mechanism. There would be eight types of zones:

- Z1/strictly residential single-family zone;

- Z2/predominantly residential, single- and multi-family zone, with local commerce/services;

- Z3/predominantly residential zone of medium density with larger commerce and services;

- Z4/mixed density zone;

- Z5/mixed central high-density zone;

- Z6/predominantly industrial;

- Z7/strictly industrial zone; and

- Z8/special uses.

THE 1972 ZONING LAW

After the plan bill was passed, Ferraz focused on the law regulating land use and occupation along its terms, also drawn by GEP, particularly by engineer Benjamin Adiron Ribeiro, formerly from the Urbanism Department. Backed on concepts also present in PUB – grid road structure, decentralization, growth curbing and large investments in expressways, subway, housing – and on previous municipal administration studies (Lacerda, 1966), the first comprehensive zoning law for São Paulo, proposed as the city's main regulatory instrument, was approved by the city council in November 1972, in record time, with little discussion and no alterations to the mayor's proposal (Law 7805/1972) (Nery Jr, 2002).

Its explanation makes explicit the connection with PDDI and contains similar principles to those defended by Ribeiro in his planning manual (Ribeiro, 1988, p.141-142). Although it lists the functions of the Athens Charter, such as housing, work, leisure and circulation, it does not adopt absolute separation between them. of the eight zones stipulated, only strictly residential single-family Z1 would have a single function. The others would be mixed, with single- and multi-family

residences, commerce/services, institutional and industrial uses in different measures.

Its definition of zone perimeters sought to accompany existing occupation trends, mainly in the central area, industrial belts, and the West/Southwest quadrant, covering high-income sectors and major real-estate interests.

Garden districts, some of them already protected by Article 40, were transformed into Z1; their green and horizontal nature contrasted with the mixed and verticalized profile of other zones. Industrial belts along rivers and railway lines were established as Z6 or Z7. With use and occupation parameters differentiated for each case, Z8 covered special uses such as parks and airports, in addition to areas chosen for reurbanization projects and the rural zone (Z8-100).

Maximum density (Z5) would be permitted only in the historic center, Rua da Consolação and Avenida Paulista. Well-established sub-centers, mainly in the West/Southwest vector, such as Lapa, Pinheiros, Itaim and Moema, were defined as Z4. Both zones were usually surrounded or sided by Z3. Some expressways designed for automobiles only were isolated by restrictive zones; higher densities were associated to bus lines and proposed subway lines.
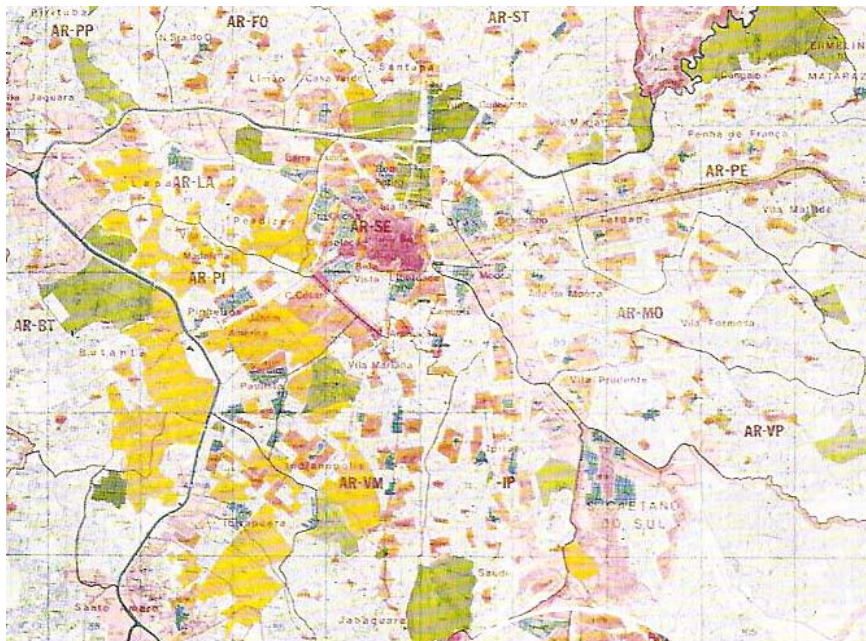
Figure 5: General zoning map established by Law 7805: Z1=yellow, Z2=white, Z3=beige, Z4=blue, Z5=magenta, Z6 and Z7=pink, and Z8=green (CAMPOS, 2002, p.127).

The whole urbanized area not defined as other zones was designated Z2: most of the intermediary ring and the periphery became an immense and predominantly residential undifferentiated low-density zone, with low building ratio, discouraging private investment.

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Popular quadrants (East, North) were zoned according to mostly unrealized proposals for expressways and subway lines, determining the location of Z3 ranges and Z4 poles on a Z2 background; corresponding to units imagined by the PDDI: Z2 in the simple neighborhood units; Z3 and Z4 in the neighborhood centers (level-2 territorial units) and regional sub-centers (level 3).

Whereas several sub-centers in the East and North zones never achieved the estimated density, in the privileged West/Southwest vector (Villaça, 1998) – even areas only developed later, such as Avenida Luís Carlos Berrini and Vila Olímpia, were already defined as Z4 in 1972.At the core of Law 7805 is the controlling posture that gained force in the Ferraz administration: according to the mayor, the purpose was to *"impose severe reductions in the occupation rate and building ratios (...) avoiding a disordered occupation and providing for better defense of the buildings in regard to height, reciprocal setbacks, lighting, insolation and hygiene"* (Ferrraz, 1991, p.56).

For each type of zone, adequate uses were defined, as well as minimum areas and lot fronts (generally 250 square meters and 10 meters), minimum front, side and back setbacks, maximum building projection rate and, more importantly, maximum building ratio. In Z1 and for almost all uses in Z2, the ratio would be only once the lot's area. In Z3, it would be 2.5 times, with a maximum projection rate of 50%; in Z4, 3 times, with a rate of 70%, and in Z5, 3.5 times, with a rate of 80%.

Echoing the modernist ideal of isolated towers in green areas, the maximum ratio of 4 could only be achieved in Z3, Z4, or Z5 by reducing the projection rate through a mechanism known as "Adiron Formula." By privileging zones that represented only 10% of the urban area, a scarcity of land for development was created. According to the same principle, in Z2 (that is, in 80% of the urban area), the same mechanism applied only to residential development consisting of one or more vertical blocks with common leisure spaces, and reaching only ratio 2. Height limits proportional to setbacks were established in a new Building Code (Law 8266/1975) encouraging thinner buildings and curbing development in smaller lots. Location of Z5 and Z4 zones favored displacement of verticalization and tertiary uses in the traditionally privileged West/Southwest vector (Campos, 2004).

Inside developments, common and leisure spaces were excluded from the ratio count. This legislation reinforced the emerging culture of the closed condominium by which residents retreated to collective private spaces, walled and guarded (Caldeira, 2000, p.257-284). However, the scarcity of large lots led most development to adopt this principle on a reduced scale, squeezing attractions in lots that rarely exceed 2,000 m2, in blocks fragmented by walls and gaps, isolated by fences. And legislation encouraged construction of underground garages, exempting them from ratio and setback controls (except for front setbacks), covering lots and hindering natural drainage.

IMPROVEMENT AND DETAILING (1973-1981)

Throughout the following years, the legislation was detailed, improved and amended in many aspects, in more than 30 instances (Nery Jr., 2002) however keeping its basic guidelines. One year after the approval of Law 7805 it was rewritten with minor wording changes and improvements (Law 8001/1973). Ambiguous perimeters were better defined. Another restriction was created: minimum width of streets for implementation of uses in any zone. Apartments

would only be authorized on streets with at least 12m section; commercial uses on streets with 14m or more; and wholesale trade and manufacturing industries, minimum 18m. The law also created special use corridors in certain streets and avenues.

Although the basic Z1-Z8 framework was maintained in most of the urban area, another eleven zones were created, in addition to new corridors and five types of rural zones. Some uses (hotels, hospitals, schools) were granted concessions (Laws 8006/1974; 8076/1974; 8211/1975; 8904/1979; 8964/1979). Important amendments took place in 1975, 1978 and 1981. Law 8328/1075 detailed numerous Z8 zones; it created Z8-200 (historic preservation) and new zones with intermediary situations:

- Z9, a popular version of Z1 that gained local commerce/services through Law 8800/1978;

- Z10, strictly residential with apartment buildings (also gained tertiary uses in 1978, through Law 8840); and

- Z11, similar to Z2 but without industrial uses.

- Z12 was created on an intermediary level between Z2 and Z3, and was similar to Z2 with a higher ratio (2.5-4) in larger lots, encouraging reincorporation of lots.

In 1978, Law 8769 established Z13, similar to Z2, with a variable ratio according to lot area (this item was repealed in 1981); and three zones of very low density for water supply source protection areas:

- Z14, horizontal residential zone in large lots (minimum 2,000 square meters);

- Z15 (minimum 5,000 square meters); and

- Z16, for clubs.

However, those measures did not prevent densification of water supply source protection areas; on the contrary: demanding standards discouraged regular land developments, creating a vacuum that favored irregular and low-income occupation.

In 1981, Law 9300 regulated the rural zone, providing for the implementation of housing projects: in certain perimeters they would be the only multi-family residential use allowed, facilitating public acquisition of large tracts at a low price – outlining an innovative land policy, but retaining outdated large-scale peripheric housing solutions.

To create transition areas between Z1 and adjacent vertical zones, Law 9049/1980 established Z17 and Z18, permitting apartment buildings up to 25m or eight floors. Z1 perimeters and its transition zones were consolidated by Law 9411/1981.

The regulatory effort of the 1970s had its last expression in the Subdivision Law (9413/1981), updating subdivision rules according to guidelines established on a national basis by Federal Law 6766/1979. Its minimum lot of 125m2 in Z2, Z9 and Z11 covered almost all the city's periphery. Although the law provided for prosecuting clandestine land developers, such rigor was never really applied, and the system of regularizations and amnesties was perpetuated instead (Grostein, 1986).

Throughout this period there was constant conflict between the city council and the Zoning Committee established alongside the municipal planning agency (COGEP, later SEMPLA) regarding competences as to alterations of zoning legislation (Nery Jr., 2002). Still, although a number of minor changes responded to specific interests, the major legal framework was maintained.

MASTER PLAN REVIEWS, PROPOSALS AND NEW LEGISLATION (1985-2004)

In the Setúbal administration (1975-1979) debates on new planning instruments, together with changes in the political landscape, led to new discussions on the master plan issue; a PDDI review was begun by municipal planning agency COGEP, then headed by Cândido Malta Campos Filho (1976-1981).

The purpose was to formulate an urban development policy that could be a starting point for reviewing the plan and its zoning concepts, based on the recognition of the consequences of unequal growth, the contradictions present in space production and the possibility of advancing in the concept of a civil society reinvigorated by the country's redemocratization (COGEP, 1980, p.15-17).

To serve as grounds for the revision of the legislation on land use and occupation, presuming that density should be compatible with infrastructure support capacity – particularly the road and transportation systems - a reference term for MUT - Modelo de Usos do Solo e Transporte (Model for Land Use and Transportation) was developed, consisting of a computerized system that previewed the impact of different policies (COGEP, 1979a, p.176-180).

At the same time, a computation system for urbanization costs was developed (COGEP, 1979b), along with studies on new planning instruments, resorting to French, American and Italian examples (COGEP, 1979c). 999

However, the PDDI review was not completed, and from the end of the Barros administration (1979-1982) zoning itself became a *status quo* increasingly challenged both by real estate interests lobbying specific alterations through city councillors and by urban planners themselves, denouncing its segregating consequences (Mancuso, 1978).

In the Covas administration (1983-1986) the municipal planning agency, now presided by Jorge Wilheim, designed a new proposal for a master plan (1985), providing for Urban Operations that would relax some controls in terms of uses and ratios in perimeters defined by specific laws. In the Quadros administration (1986-1989) a new master plan (Law 10676/1988) was approved, prioritizing private sector participation in the planning process.

Starting in the 1980s, measures discussed in the previous decade such as public participation in the planning process, housing and urban development funds, and new planning instruments such as payment for building ratios, progressive territorial taxes and real estate profit taxation (COGEP, 1980, p.23;34;49) were sought at federal level by planners and other leaderships, leading to their incorporation in the 1988 Federal Constitution and in the 2001 City Statute 2001.

In São Paulo, such instruments were highlighted in the 1991 master plan proposal of the Erundina administration (1989-1992) (Antonucci, 1999), and finally incorporated by the 2002 Strategic Master Plan (Law 13430/2002) approved in the

Suplicy administration (2001-2004) – which, together with the Strategic Regional Plans prepared by each *Subprefeitura*, gave rise to the new Land Use and Occupation Law (13885/2004), implying the first comprehensive review of the zoning legislation enacted in 1972 – although principles such as protection of high-income residential districts have been kept.

CONCLUSIONS

Even though it had become the city´s major regulating instrument, and was the object of constant revision and detailing during the period in question, São Paulo´s zoning law, heir to ambitious modernist proposals, was only partially effective. Operating as the city's main regulatory instrument, the comprehensive zoning concepts established from 1972 controlled densities and provided rules for development, but conferred unequal treatment to different regions of the city, consolidating existing dualities between center and periphery, and between richer and poorer regions. Whereas zone distribution corresponded to existing conditions and trends in upscale sectors, lower-income areas were zoned based on the application of concepts such as poles and corridors connected to mostly unrealized expressway and subway proposals. Also, legislation generated a scarcity of lots with greater bulding ratios. The discrepancy between valued and peripheral regions was exacerbated, reinforcing the reproduction of inequality.

Verticalization control focused on building ratios, setbacks and projection rates in individual lots, with little regard to the resulting cityscape. Echoing previous measures that protected high-income neighborhoods and favored vertical development along major avenues, it focused on more affluent urban areas - enhancing existing processes by which real estate values, commercial uses, and residential high-rise development soared hand-in-hand with public investment in infrastructure (costly highways, bridges and tunnels) concentrated on the city's Southwestern quadrant, where new centralities have sprung catering to high-income residents and global corporations.

The vast majority of the population, settled in peripheric areas with few improvements, either informal squatter settlements (favelas) or irregular subdivisions, benefited little from the law. Even though amnesties, urbanization initiatives and regularization policies have given this immense portion of the city some legal status, it remains excluded from the main real estate market.

So, in the long run, it could be asked: what would be the use in having a zoning system with such limited, socially biased implementation? Subsequent efforts to improve or replace the 1972 law and its complementary legislation have tried to propose regulating systems and policies that would combat inequality instead of reinforcing it – the most brave attempt being made in the frustrated 1991 Master Plan proposal; aspects of which have been incorporated in present legislation such as the 2002 Strategic Master Plan and the 2004 Regional Plans / Land Use and Occupation Law. Still, in a deeply unequal society, where urban policies historically tended to reinforce social divisions, the transformation of zoning measures into a more effective instrument aimed at improving social justice, reducing urban inequality and providing for better-quality city spaces is a challenge which has only begun to be addressed.

Mechanisms present in the space production process, often reinforced by public policies, exacerbated land profits in certain areas, impairing formal access to

housing by lower-income groups. Consequently, most of the city continues to be occupied in a precarious and/or irregular manner, privileged areas elected for real estate development still require constant public investment in infrastructure renewal, and peripheric regions remain marginalized – a perverse logic that zoning was unable to eliminate.

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ASSESSING THE SUSTAINABILITY OF URBAN ECOSYSTEMS: AN INNOVATIVE APPROACH

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ABSTRACT

At the turn of the millennium, the Earth's human population has reached unprecedented levels and its natural resources are being pushed to the limit. Thus, cities are focused on sustainable development and they have begun to develop new strategies for improving the built environment. Sustainable development provides the best outcomes for the human and natural environments by improving the quality of life that protects and balances the ecological, social and economic values. This brings us to the main point: to build a sustainable built environment, cities need to redesign many of their technologies and planning policies within the context of ecological principles. As an environmental sustainability index model, ASSURE is developed to investigate the present environmental situation of an urban area by assessing the impacts of development pressure on natural resources. It is an innovative approach to provide the resilience and function of urban ecosystems secure against the environmental degradation for now and the future. This paper aims to underline the importance of the model (ASSURE) in preserving biodiversity and natural ecosystems in the built environment and investigate its role in delivering long-term urban planning policies.

INTRODUCTION

Cities are complex human-dominated ecosystems and human activities make them different from natural ecosystems in several aspects (Alberti, 2008). Rapid population growth affects the quality of city services such as housing, public infrastructure, social facilities and causes a crisis in living conditions. Unplanned urbanisation provides a threat to the health and safety of human beings, as well as urban productivity, and combined with inadequate infrastructures, it accelerates environmental degradation (Ichimura, 2003). To ameliorate these problems, various environmental impact assessment tools were introduced. Various studies and practices still are carried on to find out more environmental solutions to these problems. The main purpose of all of these efforts is creating an 'ecologically sustainable city' that has an effective use of its resources while reducing ecological impacts and sustaining their ecological functioning on the other hand providing higher living standards and a healthier urban environment for its citizens.

This paper introduces a new index model to figure a template of a sustainable assessment tool which will enable to identify the interaction between urban ecosystems and human activities in the context of environmental sustainability and

evaluate the possible environmental impacts in an existing and future urban context by using sustainability indicators. While the model is only in its preliminary stages and has yet to be piloted in the case study of Gold Coast Australia, the paper will present the structure and the methodology of this model. Finally, the paper will highlight the key findings of this study and emphasise the role of the proposed model in conserving and managing urban ecosystems.

HUMAN INFLUENCE ON ECOSYSTEMS

An ecosystem is a dynamic ecological system consists of a community of plants, animals and microorganisms living in a particular environment that interacts as a functional unit with their non-living environment and anthropogenic components. They provide a variety of benefits to people including: the stuff of their life such as food, water, timber etc., air quality maintenance, climate regulation, erosion control, regulation of human diseases, water purification and cultural services (recreational and aesthetic experiences) (MEA, 2005). Over the centuries, as an integral part of ecosystem, humans have made unprecedented changes to the ecosystems. As their lifestyle, needs and expectations changed, their activities began to alter the earth's environment, and therefore, they came up against the problem of environmental pollution (Randolph, 2004).

Even though cities are the 'engines' for economic development, the impacts of rapid urbanisation provides a threat to the health of human beings, as well as ecosystem quality and productivity. The sprawl of settlements, development of transportation networks and industrial activities causes destructive and irreversible effects on the soil source and its quality (Pauleit et al., 2005; Dorsey, 2003). The evolution of technological change, the introduction of motorised vehicles and the increase in energy consumption due to population growth contribute to the growing air pollution problem (Mage et al., 1996). In addition, air pollution creates climate change which is directly linked to ozone depletion, increased greenhouse gases and has long-term environmental effects such as desertification, rising sea levels and global warming.

Urban development and population pressure create water pollution through daily activities. Urbanisation affects the quantity of water bodies with its impervious surfaces by preventing the infiltration of stormwater into the ground and increasing the amount of runoff. Furthermore, these surfaces cause significant threats to the quality of aquatic and terrestrial habitats (Randolph, 2004; Barnes et al., 2001). Unfortunately, the area of urban settlements is growing faster than the amount of people living in these areas. Such rapid urbanisation is intertwined with changing lifestyle patterns and both these developments influence significantly on natural urban habitats and species (Yli-Pelkonen et al., 2005; Petersen et al., 2007).

As nations develop technologically, their level of consumption and waste increase, their ecological footprints expand due to their advanced economies. Economy is a self-regulating mechanism which produces energy consumption and material flow of ecological services. These services are called natural capital and they are generated by human-made capital which refers to factories, buildings, roads and other physical artefacts. Each of them demands an environment of space for shelter, reproduction and waste assimilation. However, the degradation of environment and its services are irreversible and no type of human-made capital

can substitute for them. In this sense, there is a need to balance the increasing human demands on the natural systems (Rees, 1992; Cleveland, 2003).

SUSTAINABLE URBAN ECOSYSTEMS

Urban ecosystem, as called by Alberti (1996, p. 382) 'urban ecological space', encompasses the total natural capital and flows on which a city depends to meet the long-term needs of its inhabitant. A sustainable urban ecosystem manages its natural resources in a "closed loop" by minimizing the risk of environmental damage while controlling flows of resources and reduces its energy, materials and information losses. It ensures environmental justice in the shared use of urban ecosystems while balancing environmental quality against resource use (Moura & Cuchi, 2007). Providing long term sustainable vision for urban ecosystems is based on the following principles (Newman & Jennings, 2008):

- *Protect and restore biodiversity and natural ecosystems:* Cities maintain biodiversity through the creation of protected areas like gardens, parks, greenways, wilderness areas, and biosphere reserves. Ecological design of architecture and infrastructure can also support and enhance biodiversity through zero energy buildings, green roofs, stormwater management, and water sensitive urban design.

- *Minimise the ecological footprints of cities:* Ecological footprint is useful as a tool for monitoring the global impacts of resource consumption. Ecological footprints need to be managed through ecosystem assessments that determine the biocapacity of rivers, groundwater, soils and airsheds. In the light of the assessments, regulations can be developed to minimise the flow of nutrients or wastes into the ecosystem.

- *Provide sustainable production and consumption:* Sustainable production and consumption refers to the use of services and related products which respond to basic needs and bring a better quality of life while minimizing the use of natural resources and toxic materials as well as the emissions of waste and pollutants over the life-cycle so as not to jeopardize the needs of future generations (Norwegian Ministry of the Environment, 1994).

- *Enable cooperative networks towards a sustainable future:* An effective partnership between government, business and the community is necessary for cities to find innovative solutions to the issues of sustainability. Building cooperative networks is essential for creating resilient cities and making people more able to respond to feedback and take appropriate action.

Examining the city as an ecosystem enables to investigate the flows of energy and material in the ecological systems along with the interactions between human and non-human parts of the system. Because change is an inevitable result of human activities, the capacity of urban ecosystems to respond and adapt these changes is an important factor to take into consideration in transforming cities into sustainable ecosystems that is healthy, zero-waste, self-regulating, resilient, flexible and self-renewing (Alberti, 2008).

URBAN ECOSYSTEM SUSTAINABILITY ASSESSMENT

Sustainability assessment is performed by applying different approaches and tools ranging from indicators to comprehensive models. World Resources Institute (1995) divided sustainability indicators into four categories: (1) *Source Indicators* measure how much people depletes the resources and degrades the biological systems which their sustainability depend; (2) *Sink Indicators* evaluate the capacity of resources in order to absorb emissions and waste; (3) *Life Support Indicators* monitor the change in the state of earth's ecosystems and biodiversity, and; (4) *Human Impact and Welfare Indicators* measure the impacts of environmental problems on public health and the quality of life. They are all fundamental process of information collection to calibrate the impacts of environmental problems and develop sustainable planning polices towards these problems (Alberti, 1996: RCEP, 2002).

Recent years, an increasing number of assessment tools have been developed to track and measure the sustainability of urban environment. Although they are derived from different indicator datasets, their common framework is based on addressing these questions: (1) What is happening to the state of natural resources; (2) Why is it happening, and; (3) What is being done about it. The most widely used international approach for developing indicators is the "Pressure-State-Response" framework developed by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. 'Pressure' variable describes the problems caused by human activities. 'State' variable refers to indicators that monitor the physical, chemical and biological quality of the environment. 'Response' variable indicates how the society responds to environmental changes (Segnestam, 2002). This PSR model was further enhanced by the European Environment Agency as 'Driving force-Pressure-State-Impact-Response' (Figure 1). `Driving force` variable is added as the underlying causes which lead to environmental pressures. `Impact` variable expresses the level of environmental harm on human health, ecosystems, biodiversity and so on. (Kristensen, 2004).

In the literature, 426 indicators of environmental sustainability has been proposed from the following six indices: 2006 Environmental Performance Index, 2005 Environmental Sustainability Index, 2004 Environmental Vulnerability Index, Rio to Johannesburg Dashboard of Sustainability, The Wellbeing of Nations and 2006 National Footprint Accounts (SEDAC, 2007). The indicators of these indices have been used at international and national levels in state of the measurement of environmental progress and performance, planning, clarifying policy objectives and setting priorities (OECD, 2003). These trends in the quality of urban ecosystems and their impacts on natural resources help us to analyse the interactions between urban systems and the environment. In order to understand this interaction, we need to examine how cities spatial dynamics, organisational structure and lifestyle affect their environmental quality and performance. Thus, sustainability assessment provides a basis to assess status and trends in ecological systems and diagnose the causes of the problems across a wide range of spatial scales. It also helps to assist local and national policymakers to improve their action towards sustainability. Briefly, the city considered as an urban ecosystem requires a holistic sustainability assessment tool to monitor the urban metabolism and help the decision-making authorities and actors to control it (Alberti, 1996; Dakhia & Berezowska-Azzag, 2010).
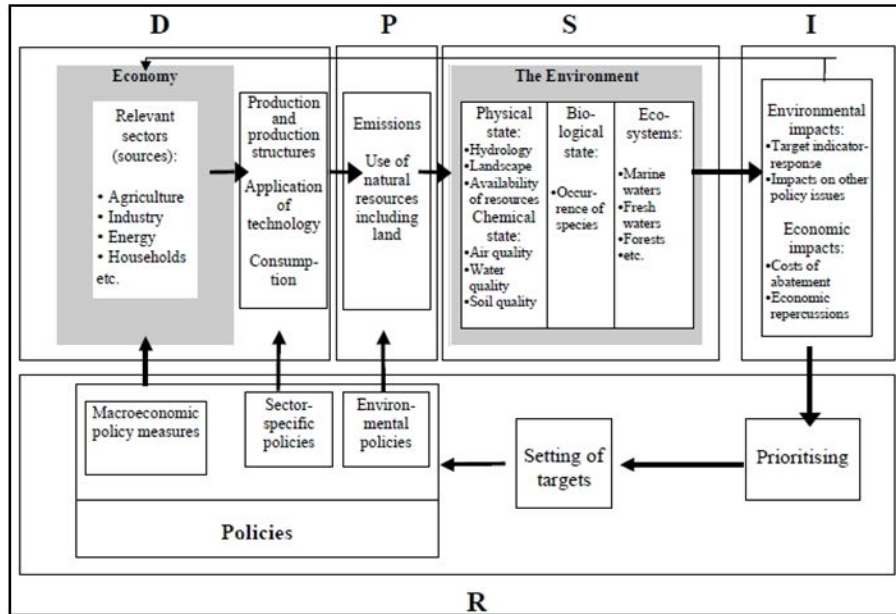
Figure 1. The DPSIR Framework (Kristensen, 2004)

MICRO-SCALE ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY INDEX MODEL

An environmental sustainability index is constructed from several indicators weighed together to describe total impact on certain aspects within the broader state-of-the-environment. It defines the current environmental situation of an urban area by assessing the impacts of development pressure on natural resources. It provides environmental data to explore the areas which have particular ecological characteristics that render them unsuitable for urban development and need to be protected. Furthermore, it assesses the probable effects of proposed plans or projects on the environment and makes comparisons with the effects of alternative options (RCEP, 2002).

Human behaviours are the major determinant on the ecosystem dynamics. They irreversibly influence the biodiversity of land and the consumption of resources. The most important human impact on the physical environment is land cover change by increasing impervious surface areas. Since the rapid urbanisation of populations has increased, forests and agricultural lands have been transformed into built-up areas by creating impervious surfaces (Arnold & Gibbons, 1996). Imperviousness represents the imprint of land development on natural landscapes. In this context, impervious surface is a key environmental indicator for monitoring the sustainability of urban ecosystems (Schueler, 1994; Brabec et. al., 2002). The focus of this study is to evaluate the relationship between the impervious surfaces and natural environment by measuring the carrying capacity of resources. In this context, the study aims to investigate the impacts of land cover change on urban ecosystems by developing a micro-scale index model to assess their indirect or consequential effects for environmental sustainability.

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Proposed model is entitled 'ASsessing the Sustainability of URban Ecosystems (ASSURE)'. It is an innovative approach to provide the resilience and function of urban natural systems secure against the environmental changes or degradation for now and the future. The structure of the ASSURE model is illustrated in Figure 2 below. The model is developed by following four steps: theoretical framework of the model; indicator selection of the model; development of the model; model testing and policy development. These parts of the model will be explored in more detail below.

I

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK
•Human-Environment Interactions
•Land Use/Land Cover Change on Urban Ecosystems
•Environmentally Sustainable Development
•Ecological Planning
•Environmental Sustainability Assessment
•Best Practices

II

SELECTION OF INDICATORS
•Identification of determinants of environmental sustainability
•Derivation of Sub-indicators
•Assignment of Sub-indicator Values

CLASSIFICATION
•Natural Environment (Climate, Water, Air, Biodiversity)
•Built Environment (Land Use, Resource Use)
•Socio-Economic Environment (Demography & Human Behaviour)

III

DATA COLLECTION AND PROCESSING
•SPATIAL ANALYSIS
•Calculation of impervious and pervious fractions of the study area
•Visual and digital interpretations of the aerial photos
•STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF INDICATORS
•Determining the number of latent variables
•Condensing the data
•Defining the content and meaning of the latent variables
•ASSIGNMENT OF PARAMETER VALUES
•Minimum and maximum impacts on environmental sustainability

VI

POLICY DEVELOPMENT
•Measurement and assessment of the environmental performance in terms of planning, management and protection of urban environments
•Long-term environmental management policies for the improvement of environmental sustainability of an urban area contributing to a better quality of life

CASE STUDY, MODEL TESTING AND SENSITIVITY ANALYSIS
•The case study areas will be divided into 100x100 meter grid cells
•Each cell will be evaluated by selected indicators for measuring their ecological sustainability index
•CONVERSION OF PARCEL LEVEL RESULTS TO CELL LEVEL
•SENSITIVITY ANALYSIS
•EVALUATION OF MODEL OUTPUTS

MODEL DEVELOPMENT
•NORMALISATION
•Convertion of indicators into a common scale
•WEIGHTING AND AGGREGATION
•Identify the relative importance of the indicators by reflecting their significance for environmental sustainability.
•Scores will be aggregated into a composite index

Figure 2. Structure of the ASSURE Model

Theoretical Framework of the Model

Humans affect urban ecosystems at extraordinary rates through alteration of land and resource consumption. These effects are both obvious (e.g. Pavement) and subtle (e.g. Conversion of forest to agriculture and then to suburbs, acid rain), both immediate (e.g. Dams drown river valleys) and long term (e.g. New intercity highways promote city growth on 20 to 100 year scales) (Alberti et al. 2003). Therefore, environmental sustainable development becomes an essential vehicle in order to protect and enhance the environmental conditions of urban ecosystems. The concept of environmentally sustainable development (ESD) which is defined as 'the integration of human activities into natural systems with ensuring the long-term sustainability of these systems' constitutes the theoretical framework of the model. As a subset of sustainable development, ESD ensures environmental justice in the shared use of urban ecosystems while balancing environmental quality against resource use (Weiland, 2000). The objectives of ESD are; (1) to enhance the economic development by safeguarding the welfare of future generations, (2) to provide the equity within and between generations and (3) to protect biological diversity by preserving essential ecological processes and life support systems (Commonwealth of Australia, 1992). As the dependent variable of the model, ESD will be used to evaluate environmental performance at a given area based on some

indicator sets. Furthermore, it will provide decision-making support for establishing sustainable development strategies.

Indicator Selection of the Model

As shown in Table 1, the indicator base of the model has been divided into three main categories regarding human, built and natural components of the urban ecosystems. These three categories are separated into 9 indicator sets and 26 indicators.

Table 1. Selected Indicators of the ASSURE Model

CATEGORIES	INDICATOR SET	INDICATORS
NATURAL ENVIRONMENT	CLIMATE	TEMPERATURE
		EVAPOTRANSPIRATION
		PRECIPITATION
	WATER	STORMWATER RUNOFF
		INFILTRATION
		WATER POLLUTION
	AIR	AIR POLLUTANT EMISSIONS
		NOISE POLLUTION
	BIODIVERSITY	THREATENED FLORA
		THREATENED FAUNA
BUILT ENVIRONMENT	RESOURCE USE	ENERGY CONSUMPTION
		WATER CONSUMPTION
		WASTE GENERATION
	LAND USE & TRANSPORT	STREET CONNECTIVITY
		VEHICLE KILOMETRES TRAVELLED
		MODE OF TRANSPORT
		FREQUENCY OF TRIPS
		PROXIMITY TO PUBLIC TRANSPORT
		CAR OWNERSHIP
SOCIO-ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT	DEMOGRAPHY	POPULATION DENSITY
		AGE
		IMMIGRATION STATUS
	SOCIAL STRATIFICATION	DISPOSABLE INCOME
		EDUCATION
	LIFESTYLE BEHAVIOR	FAMILY SIZE
		MARRIAGE STATUS

In terms of natural environment, impervious surfaces have negative impacts on human comfort and health in terms of decreased precipitation and evapotranspiration rates as well as increased surface temperatures. Built and

paved surfaces impede rainwater infiltration and groundwater recharge that leads to increased stormwater runoff and pollutant load carried by stormwater into the waterways. Land cover change results in the form of air pollutant emissions from transport activity and noise pollution emitted by transportation systems. Furthermore, built environment directly affects habitats and ecosystems through consumption, fragmentation, and replacement of natural cover with impervious surfaces. The extent of land development, the type of development and the location of infrastructure have direct and long-lasting implications for ecosystems.

In terms of built environment, private households make significant contributions to environmental sustainability in terms of resource consumption. As impervious surfaces collect solar heat in their dense mass, they raise air temperatures which lead to increased energy consumption resulting from the lighting, heating, and cooling of the buildings, water consumption and domestic wastes. Increased consumption of resources leads to increased demand for human needs and more intensive use of land. New dwellings bring about the development of large commercial and industrial areas as well as roads, utilities and other infrastructure. As development becomes more dispersed with increasing numbers of families living on large lots at the urban fringes and as jobs and housing become increasingly segregated from one another distances between destinations have increased. People are forced to make more trips by car which creates environmental problems including: greenhouse gas emissions, increased traffic noise and upstream impacts from activities associated with vehicle use.

In terms of socio-economic environment, accelerating rates of land cover change is associated with increased population densities within the region. This development has a negative effect on vegetation cover as land is cleared to support more people and infrastructure. The urban vegetation is associated with the social stratification among urban neighborhoods in terms of disposable income and education levels. High income and higher education level have a positive relationship with vegetation cover due to a number of reasons such as ability to maintain elaborate gardens, migrate to desirable green areas, contribute to community green-space projects and reflect the level of knowledge of the environment and environmental problems. Lastly, researchers have found that lifestyle behavior is an important predictor of land cover change indicating that household patterns of consumption and expenditure on environmentally relevant goods and services are motivated by group identity and perceptions of social status associated with different lifestyles.

The indicator sets of the index model need to be flexible enough to respond to the different needs of urban environment and trends of development at the different levels and scales of the urban system (Li et al., 2009). The validity, interpretability, and explanatory power of the index model depend on the availability and quality of the environmental data. Environmental data are difficult to come by compared to data for economic and social indicators. As environmental issues are complex and problems are multifaceted, it is virtually impossible to monitor and measure every aspect of the environment. Assessment and evaluation of environmental data is the combination and comparison of information that is often subjective and not able to be measured. For this study, data collection can be a major problem due to unavailability of data at parcel level. It should be emphasised that, for some indicators, the data will be provided by Census Collection District (CCD) level and then will be transferred into parcel level by a disaggregated method.

Development of the Model

Monitoring of ecosystem or resource management requires a comprehensive data about the characteristics of a specific urban environment. Many of the existing environmental indices measure the sustainability of environment on macro-scales (national, regional, international). They may lead to an understanding of the general situation but may not be representative of a smaller area. Thus, the proposed environmental index model will give an opportunity to investigate the situation by doing observations on a micro-scale (parcel level) which brings out the general picture of the environmental problems.

The spatial analysis is the first phase of the proposed model. The main purpose of this phase is to estimate impervious and pervious fractions of the study area based on surface measurement that will be carried out through remote sensing data. At this stage, different type of land surfaces (such as paved, vegetated, water) will be evaluated by using satellite imagery. From visual and digital interpretations of the aerial photos, the total area of each land cover type within parcel house will be measured. Then, all measured surfaces in the parcel blocks and surrounded roads will be summed up in order to give the total surface area in the border of a grid cell (Figure 3).
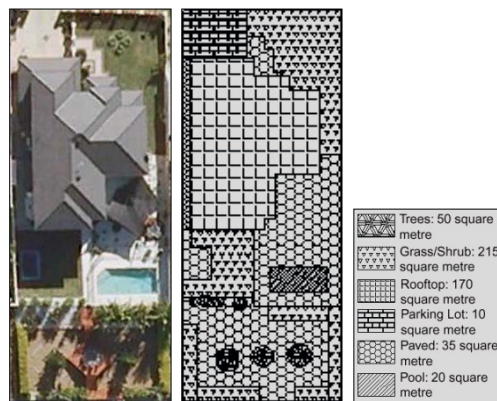
Figure 3. An Example of a Surface Measurement in a Parcel House

In order to clarify the relationship between indicators, at the next step statistical analysis will be used for data reduction and correlation analysis. This step will assess the accuracy of the data set and provide an understanding of the implications of the methodological processes (e.g. weighting and aggregation) during the construction phase of the model. It designates whether the nested structure of the composite indicator is well defined and the set of available individual indicators is sufficient or appropriate to describe the phenomenon. At the next stage, parameter values of indicators will be allocated in terms of their minimum and maximum impacts on environmental sustainability. Parameter values will be assigned by reviewing various studies in the literature. However, for some indicators, it is inevitably hard to define parameters related to literature review. Therefore, expert survey will be conducted for the parametric classification of these indicators. Expert survey is a widely used method for gathering data from respondents within their domain of expertise in order to gain judgments on

complex matters where precise information is unavailable. Expert survey will provide a rating for each indicator regarding its 'environmental sustainability value' on different land cover types using a scale from 1 to 10. Respondents will be asked to designate a score between 1 and 10 which a value of 0 refers to the poorest level and 10 refer to the highest level.

Indicators are expressed in a variety of statistical units, ranges or scales. Normalisation is necessary to remove the scale effects of different units of measurement which cannot be integrated equally into the indicator framework in their original mode. There are a number of normalisation methods available such as ranking, standardisation, re-scaling, categorical scales, indicators above or below the mean and so on. The normalisation method should take into account the data properties and the objectives of the composite indicator. The issues that could guide the selection of the normalisation method include whether: (1) hard or soft data are available, (2) exceptional behaviour needs to be rewarded/penalised, (3) information on absolute levels matters, (4) benchmarking against a reference country is requested, and (5) the variance in the indicators needs to be accounted for (Nardo et al., 2005). Before weighting and aggregation procedures, the values of each indicator will be normalised to render them comparable. Then, different weights will be assigned to indicators in order to identify their relative importance in the model by reflecting their significance for environmental sustainability. After weighting scores have been assigned to each indicator, these scores will be aggregated into a composite index. Lastly, a sensitivity analysis should be undertaken to assess the robustness of the index in terms of the mechanism for including or excluding single indicators, the normalisation scheme, the imputation of missing data, the choice of weights and the aggregation method (OECD, 2008).

Model Testing and Policy Development

In order to test the performance of the model, Gold Coast City in Australia has been selected as the case study for this research. GCC is located in south-east Queensland, about 78 kilometres south of Brisbane. The topography of the Gold Coast consists of a coastal plain that includes beaches and dunes, river deltas, bays, estuaries and wetlands, rolling foothills and low mountain ranges. The beaches and dunes are a primary asset to the area. They are important to the quality of life of many residents and form the basis of the tourism, recreation and leisure industries that exist in the city. Environmentally, Gold Coast is one of the most bio-diverse cities in Australia. A wide range of natural landforms and vegetation types, ranging from sand flats and coastal heath to mountain eucalypt and rainforests, create diverse habitats for flora and fauna (GCCC, 2005).

As a major tourist attraction and a vibrant economic hub, Gold Coast confronts major environmental problems depending on its high growth rate, growing water demand and climate change. Rapid population growth, combined with development pressure, has significant impacts on quality and quantity of natural water systems and the degradation of waterways and beaches of the city. Beach erosion and high waves from tropical cyclones is an another environmental issue that affects Gold Coast by threatening infrastructure. Clearing and habitat destruction is the primary threat to biodiversity as a result of the growth of the city. For instance, up to 300-500 hectares per year of bushland is being cleared mainly for urban development. Furthermore, road traffic and inappropriate fire regimes are examples of a number of factors associated with land management practices that threaten biodiversity (GCCC, 2005).

The model will be piloted within a particular area in order to test the capabilities and accuracy of the model. After piloting, the model will be recalibrated and applied in a number of suburbs of the Gold Coast. The case study areas will be divided into 100x100 meter grid cells. Each surface type in the parcel will be evaluated by selected weighted indicators for measuring their environmental sustainability. Then, these values of all indicators will be transferred into grid cells in a Likert scale from 0 (low) to 5 (high) that is indicating the sustainability level of each grid cell. A composite sustainability map will be prepared for all indicators produced by the GIS-based model. Figure 4 illustrates an example composite sustainability index structure of the GIS-based model. The findings of the testing and analysis process will be used to develop long-term environmental management policies for the improvement of environmental sustainability of an urban area contributing to a better quality of life. The proposed model will be a valuable tool to assist municipal authorities to measure and report on their environmental performance in terms of planning, management and protection of urban environments.
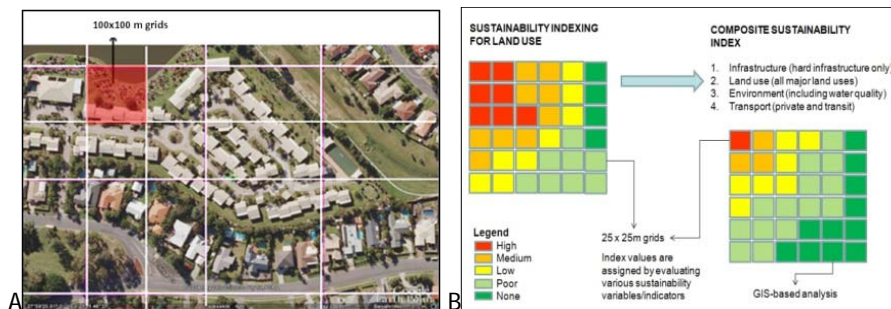
Figure 4. (A) An Example of 100x100 meter grid cell (B) An Example of Composite Sustainability Index

CONCLUSION

Recent years, an increasing number of environmental indices have been developed to track and measure the sustainability of ecosystems. They investigate the environmental problems at macro-scales from local to regional and international levels. While they have been developed to measure progress towards sustainability in a macro level, there is a particular gap in the availability of national data for many countries due to lack of local data. In this regard, there is a need to develop a micro-scale environmental index that provides sufficient local data for assessing the sustainability of a country. In an attempt to advance research in this area, this study proposes a parcel-scale environmental index that will give an opportunity to investigate the environmental problems by collecting data in a local context. Furthermore, it will give directions about the problem in a national context.

The proposed model will be an useful guidance to evaluate the urban development and its environmental impacts to achieve a sustainable urban future. It will offer long-term environmental, economic and social benefits for cities. *Environmentally,* implementation of the model will create ecologically effective green areas, reduce ecological risks, and improve the quality of water, air and soil. *Economically,* it will prevent urban sprawl and traffic congestion by providing better utilisation of

existing infrastructure. *Socially,* it will reduce health risks; improve the quality of urban life and city services (e.g. health, education, transportation, and recreation). With all these benefits, this research will provide further opportunities in turning unhealthy urban areas into potential sustainable urban ecosystems. Finally, the model will contribute in developing integrated solutions to environmental challenges in the city of Gold Coast. Furthermore, the model will support the future urban development projects of Gold Coast from the perspective of environmental sustainability and propose policies and strategies for both current and future needs.

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URBAN REGENERATION STRATEGIES IN HISTORICAL CITY CENTER OF BEYSEHIR-KONYA / TURKIYE

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ABSTRACT

Regeneration of urban areas revitalizes both physical built environment and socio-economic structure of society by providing for environmental rehabilitation. Generally, comprehensive and integrated visions and actions are used in the resolution of urban problems of the European Cities. Besides used the other regeneration strategies are sustainability and making best use of resources. All of strategies firstly need to have detailed analyses of the urban fabric and simultaneous adaptation of physical, social, economic and environmental realms.

This paper is focused on regeneration policies in the historical of Beyşehir (Konya) in the future vision. Although Beyşehir is one of the oldest settlements of Anatolia with physical, cultural and human richness, the original function and socio cultural values of the settlement are getting lost in the entire city scale due to urbanization process. Beyşehir, chronologically hosted several governments, is located in the south east of the Lake Beyşehir. Almost most of cultural heritage have concentrated in the historical city center. Some of them have disappeared today. For this reason, culture-led regeneration approach needs to a comprehensive conseravation model. On the other hand, taking into account the wishes and needs of local people, integrated and comprehensive regeneration strategies and policies for historical city texture were studied in "İçeri Sehir" (İnner City Center) Historical District. In this framework, in order to determine social characteristics of local people, a field survey was applied by using a questionnaire and comprehensive interview techniques. SWOT analysis was carried out according to spatial and social data. Finally, the comprehensive urban regenaration policies strategies are developed in the historical city center. In this context, proposed conservation and regeneration policies will guide to existing urban conservation plan regarding revitalizing historical center.

INTRODUCTION

Regeneration of urban areas prevents the decline of economic, environmental, social and cultural processes causing the deterioration of physical built environment (Roberts 1999, Roberts & Sykes 2000). Generally, comprehensive and integrated visions and actions are used in the resolution of urban problems of the European Cities. Because the factors of urban regeneration process are becoming in

a dinamic and complex context. All of renewal actions aim at creating more sustainable and liveable cities. Especially in many historical cities post-industrial renewal related to culture, tourism and technology are developed. Old urban centers area new politics, strategies and funds have been used for re-utilization from this old central district. Cultural led regeneration and socio-economic improvement strategies are needed for restructuring traditional urban pattern. For this reason, this paper focuses on regeneration strategies and policies in Beyşehir historical city centre which is medium-size city in the Central Anatolia. In this framework a field survey was applied by using a questionnaire and comprehensive interview techniques in order to determine social characteristics of local people. Finally, the comprehensive urban regenaration policies and strategies are developed in the historical city center.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

According to literature review, urban regeneration includes various definitions which emphasize on different aspects of urban regeneration. Generally, it is defined as "a comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change" (Roberts, 2000). He determined major aims of urban regeneration under five elements following;

- The relationship between the physical conditions of urban space and social deprivation,

- The need to attend to matters of housing and health in urban areas,

- The attractiveness of linking social improvement with economic progress,

- The containment of urban growth,

- The changing role and nature of policy.

In historical context, first of all, urban transformation activities included 'clearance', 'renewal' and 'redevelopment' strategies until the 1940s. Secondly, urban transformation activities included mainly the 'reconstruction' strategy in the 1950s. Thirdly, in the 1960s, 'revitalization', 'rehabilitation' and 'improvement' strategies are more modest approaches to urban transformation in terms of the efforts trying to keep the existing inhabitants and property ownership pattern in the target area (Günay, 1991 cited in Duzcu, 2006). The strategy of 'urban renewal' has become the major urban transformation strategy with a particular emphasis on the coordination of the separated economic, social and physical aspects of urban policy in the 1970s. Fourthly, 'urban redevelopment' could be seen as the main urban transformation strategy in the 1980s. Private sector, instead of central government, became the major actor in the urban redevelopment projects in this period. Also, many partnerships between public and private sectors were established in this period (Roberts, 2000).

Finally, 'urban regeneration' has become the fundamental urban policy since the 1990s. Also in this period, the strategic and comprehensive planning approach in urban planning has started to be commonly used in regeneration projects of many cities (Healey, 1997; Carter, 2000; Roberts, 2000). These projects have been implemented to revitalize the declining city centres, old-industrial and harbour

sites, and the working-class residential areas and undermined historical heritage sites of cities. Additionally, culture has become an important factor for regeneration. In Turkey urban regeneration has come to agenda especially after the 1980s. During this period, Turkey started to adopt extrovert economic policies with the aim of achieving integration with the global economy (Duzcu, 2006). However, many of urban projects have ignored cultural dimension of urban regeneration.

According to literature review, in recent years, culture and tourism regeneration policies have been evaluated as a regeneration tool and improved as strategic planning approach, like many other urban regeneration projects in historical city centres, such as Ayvalık, Zeyrek, Mudanya and Mersin. These studies focus on the re-use of derelict buildings to highlight the historical character and contribute to the emerging new values after regeneration policies to urban economy. In the regeneration process, the main goal is to increase life quality of local community and to ensure their participation to this process (Aykaç et.al. 2009; Gülersoy et.al, 2009; Galdini, 2005 and Ünlü, 2009).

Culture and Regeneration

Cities have common economic strategy for attracting capital investment and obtaining an international identity and they are important part of the globalization. The cultures of urban spaces including fashion, architecture, media, food and entertainment are affected by cities (Binay, 2007 cited in Yeoh, 2005). The definition of liveable city can be expressed mixed use, liveability, diversity of social, cultural and commercial activities. Cities are the centre of commerce, creativity and culture. At the same time, they represent tradition, identity, nations and continents. Good cities have different character and identity (Montgomery, 1995).

In European cities, cultural policy has become a basic part of economic and physical regeneration strategies. Importance of cultural life has been increasing as an important instrument of city marketing and internationalization strategies to attract mobile global capital and more skilled people (Binay, 2007, cited in Bianchini, 1993b). Additionally, Miles and Paddison (2005) state that culture could be used as an effective urban regeneration tool for successful social policy, environmental renewal, social cohesion, health promotion and strength cultural life. Also, culture can be seen as the source of amelioration of urban problems. "The role of culture has assumed unprecedented significance and that its redefinition as a source has enabled it to be used as the means for resolving political as well as socio-economic problems…" (Binay, 2007, cited in Miles and Paddison 2005).

Gradual changing in the role of culture has begun to be seen since 1980s. Local government, arts organizers, workers, companies and chambers (Chamber of Commerce, etc.), educational institutions, social groups, artists coming together have started to create the informal merger around cultural strategies which aims at revitalization of the city. The role of culture, built environment, economic benefits of the arts and cultural industry is defined as the revitalization of the city at the national and international platform. According to Lovatt and O'Connor (1995), it is important point that creativity and skills of people in the city should not be forgotten.

Cultural strategies have played important role on the both economic development and place marketing. In order to put the cities into the prestigious status among others, cities government should take cultural life of urban areas into account for reimaging city. Also, cultural life is important for governments to attract visitors, investors and specialized workers through mixed-use development and diverse cultural activities (Binay, 2007 cited in Mageean, 2000).

Developed strategies for the revitalization of the city centres and open spaces should respond to the changing needs and demands of people. Therefore, it is necessary to understand these strategies how to make maximum use of space for the broad masses and groups and how to edit cultural production, distribution and consumption in the city with the new local and global interaction (Lovatt and O'Connor, 1995).

Cultural projects are symbols of the cities which increase the national and international image of the city. These projects performed as symbols of the rebirth, modernity and innovations, reconciliation and urban renaissance (Binay, 2007 cited in Bianchini, 1993a). They develop global image providing on the city's interaction between global economy and social network (Yeoh, 2005). The advantage of cultural and social activities has an importance in providing successful result in the competition between cities and also creating stimulated city's image (Binay, 2007).

Culture-related investments and policies are used to diversify economic activities in the cities and increase the quality of urban life and the image of the city from the end of 1980's to the early 1990's (Özdemir, 2003). Therefore, it is understood that in order to revitalize the economical and physical structure of the cities, culture-led strategies and projects have gained importance in the revitalization policies.

Three different relationships involving culture and regeneration are identified. These are:

- *Culture-led* regeneration (e.g. high profile, catalyst/engine of regeneration, building-based/re-branding), in which cultural activity is 'the catalyst and engine of regeneration',

- *Cultural* regeneration (e.g. full integration of cultural activity into planning and development), in which cultural activity is 'fully integrated into an area strategy, together with other activities in the environmental, social and economic sphere' and,

- *Culture and* regeneration (e.g. cultural activity is not fully integrated but contributes to regeneration) in which culture is not integrated into the strategy but merely a tool in reaching other targets (Evans, 2001; Blessi, 2007; IFACCA, 2006; Garcia, 2008).

Cultural regeneration aims are determined by Wansborough and Mageean (2000); the first aim of cultural policies is to create accessible public life for all people under equal socio-economic conditions. The second aim is to encourage people for face to face interaction and community involvement through some organization which promote city's image positively. That means; cultural policies aim at making the city more attractive than before f

CASE STUDY AREA; HISTORICAL CITY CENTER OF BEYŞEHİR-KONYA / TURKEY

Beyşehir is a town which is 75 km far from the city centre of Konya. Beyşehir is located at the south-east of Beyşehir Lake in the Mediterranean region. The settlement lies within the province of Konya but a big part of its boundaries within the Mediterranean region (Figure 1).
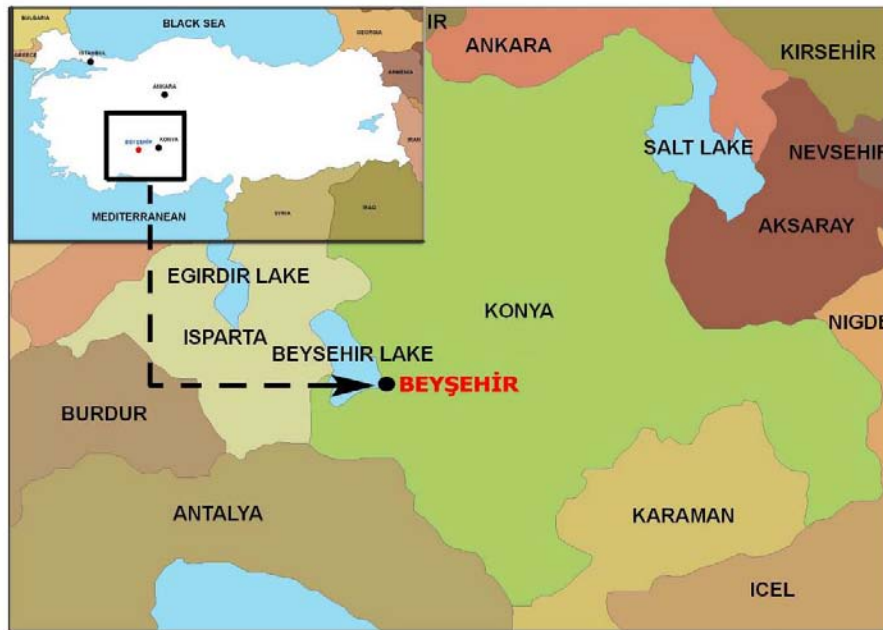
Figure 1. The location of Beyşehir in the Middle Anatolia

HISTORICAL AND SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT OF BEYŞEHİR

Beyşehir has become an important city for ages. The history of Beyşehir settlement is dated to 8. century BC (Gürdal 2006). Being have important natural value, Beyşehir have hosted different cultures and civilizations. The region has Neolithic settlements and the most important of them are Çatalhöyük, Suberde, Erbaba and Çukurkent (Muşmal, 2008).

Studies of the surrounding settlements of Beyşehir have shown that the region has been settled in (during) the Neolithic period. Today, the most of the abandoned settlements dated to the Roman, Byzantine, Seljuk and Ottoman period. Beyşehir entered into a multi-state domination in historical periods, such as Hittite (BC 2000), Phrygian (BC 1200), Lydia (BC 700), Roman (BC 120), Seljuk (1071) and Ottoman Empires (1476) (Gürdal, 2006 and Muşmal, 2008).

The Basin of Beyşehir Lake possesses a rich cultural and historical heritage as a result of being used as a settlement for long years by the different civilizations mentioned above. In the period of Hittite, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, Seljuk and Ottoman Empires the basin has been the scene of the exclusive historical and

cultural artifacts of these civilizations (e.g. Eflatunpinar Memorial, the Monument of Fasıllar, the ancient city of Misthia, etc.). Beyşehir gained its real identity after becoming the summer capital (from where the state was ruled) of the Anatolian Seljuk State and the most important historical and cultural structures at the lakeshore have been built in this period. Kubadabad Palace, Maiden Tower, Beyşehir Castle, Esrefoglu Mosque, Ismail Aka Madrasa, Bazaar, Bath and Kurucesme Han are some of the most important historical artifacts in the zone (Güngör and Arslan, 2003, Gürdal, 2006 and Yavuz Özdemir, 2004). Beyşehir Lake Basin is one of the most important areas of Turkey with its tourism potential.

Settlement Patterns of Beyşehir in Historical Course

Beyşehir town center is the largest residential area at the lake shore. The Residential area is divided into two parts by Çarşamba Canal. İçerişehir quarter is the first settlement part of the town which previously surrounded by walls. Cami, Subaşı and Meydan quarters located in İçerişehir within the city's castle are the city's oldest neighborhoods with respect to their organizations (Erdoğru, 1998).
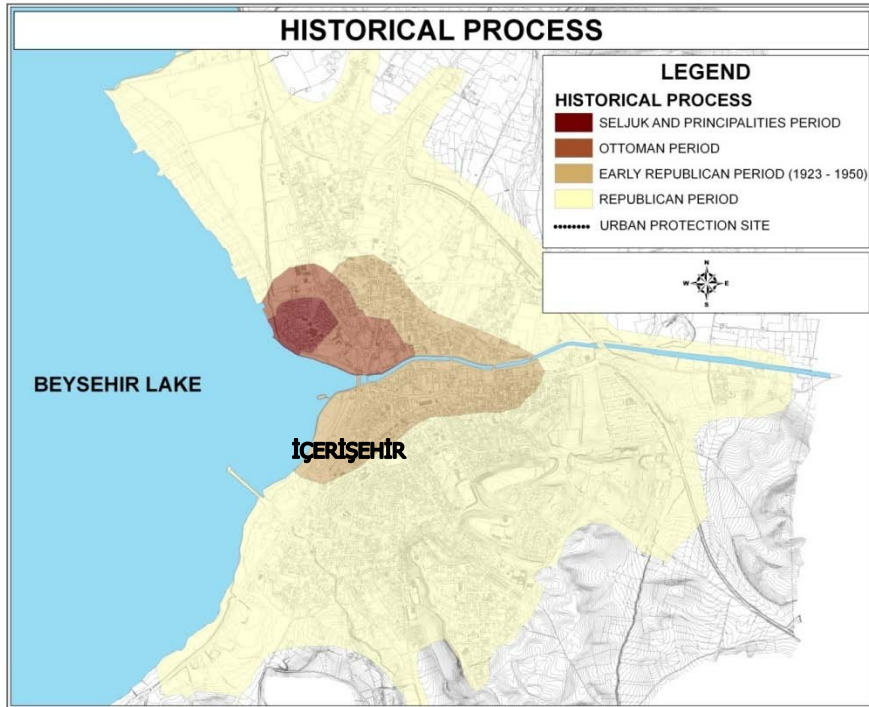
Figure 2. Beyşehir's spatial development in historical process

SOCIAL AND SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF BEYŞEHIR

Urban Plannig Studies

The first development plan in Beyşehir was prepared in 1971 for guiding the development of the city. However, as a result of the rapid development of the city, the plan became insufficient. The second development plan was prepared in 1982. However, this plan was also insufficiant because unplanned developments could not answer to requirements of growing industrial development. The plan was revised in 1997 because of these unpredictable rapid changes. Housing and social facilities in various parts of the city were developed. Finally, in 2006 the plan was revised again because of location of housing estate, reorganization of industrial area and transfering plans-maps to computer.

İçerişehir district, which is the case area in this study, is oldest settlement area of the city. The district is approximately 15 hectares and it was announced as "Urban Conservation Area" in 1988. Boundary of urban conservation area was determined in 1992. İçerişehir district which was surrounded by city walls around was a stronghold city, but these walls could stand alone with only a door. Furthermore, Eşrefoğlu Kulliye, Bedesten, Büyük Hamam and Taş Medrese are the major examples of monumental architecture that have survived until today. There are also civil architecture examples which maintain their original character (Figure 3). in 2006 Beyşehir Conservation Development Plan was prepared to make İçerişehir as a recreational, commercial and tourism centre.
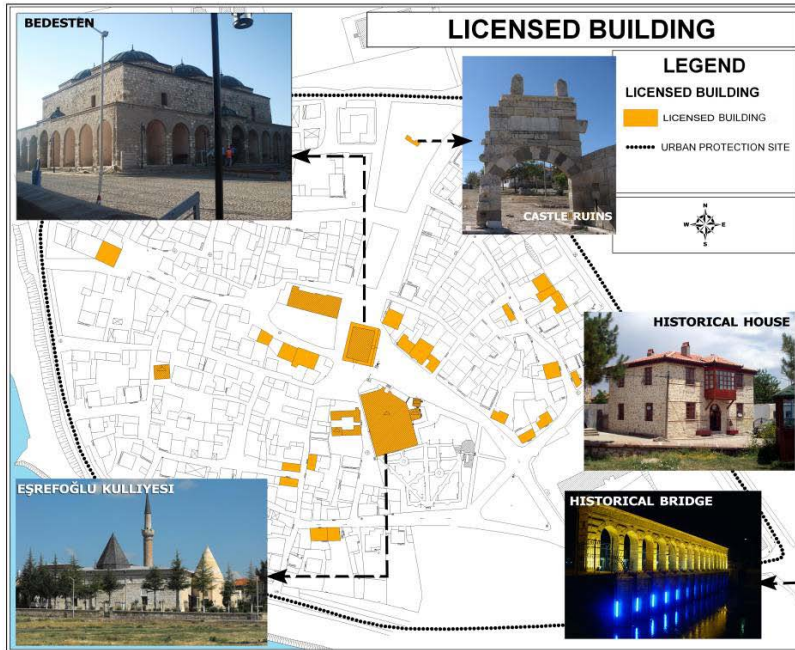
Figure 3. Listed Buildings in İçerişehir District

Eşrefoğlu Kulliye, Bedesten, Büyük Hamam and Taş Medrese is located in the center of the area, the official institutions are situated in the south east of the area. Residential areas were located around the historic center (Figure 4). Urban building fabric usually consists of house and auxiliary builings in the courtyard (Figure 5).
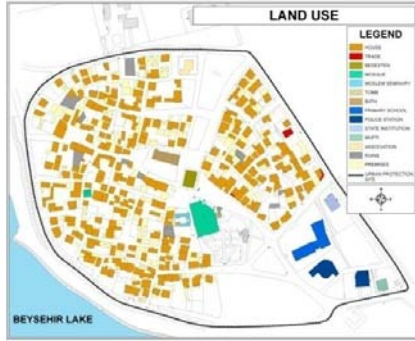
Figure 4 Land Use in İçerişehir District [1]
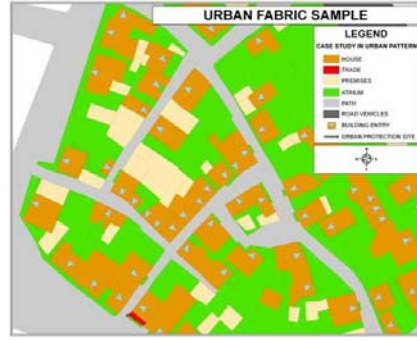
Figure 5 Urban Fabric Sample in İçerişehir District

Ownership pattern of study area consist of central, local governments and private property (Figure 6). As building material stone was used abundantly in this area and reflectes the original architectural character of Beyşehir (Figure 7).

Figure 6 Land Property in İçerişehir District
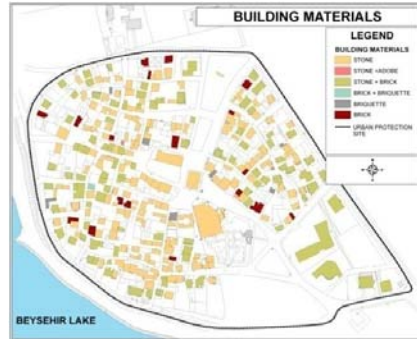
Figure 7 Building Materials in İçerişehir District

Buildings varies in terms of their physical conditions in the area. The physical conditions of buildings in the inner city have been classified as 'poor', 'moderate' and 'good quality' (Figure 8). Also, there are buildings without basement and 1, 2-storey buildings (Figure 9).

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[11] Figures (4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9) are adapted from the report of Conservation Development Plan-2006 prepared by Yılmazkent Planning Office.
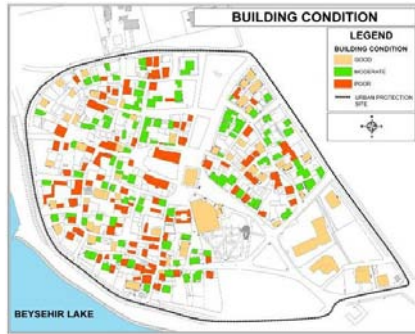
Figure 8 Physical building conditions in İçerişehir District   *Figure 9 Floor number in İçerişehir District*
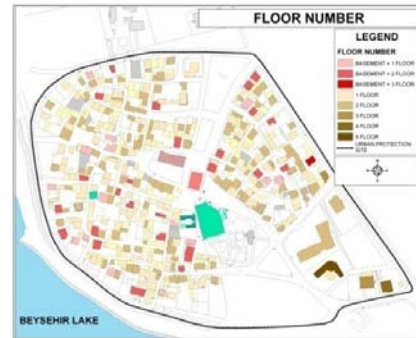
Socio-economic structure of İçerişehir

Interwiews are performed to determine socio-economic positions, living conditions of local people, and also their thoughts and concerns about urban conservation studies.

51 % of residents are men and most of them (54 %) are over 30 age. The private sector (52 %), retired men (11 %), worker (29 %), and civil servant (8 %) compose majority of the householders' occupational groups. Most of the residents (94 %) are from Beyşehir. 42 % of the women is analphabet while 52 % of them are graduated from elementary school. In addition only 5 % of the women residents are graduated from secondary school. The men's educational background is better than the women. The ratio of analphabet men are less than the women (11 %). 27 % of the men is graduated from secondary school, while 59 % of them are graduated from elementary school. The men are three times more university-educated than the women. The ratio of the working women is at a very low rate (5 %). 47 % of the residents' monthly income are 351-5000 TL, while 10 % of them have no income. Most of them work in Beyşehir (96 %) while there are some people working outside of Beyşehir and also in abroad. 25 % of the families participated in questionnaire have private car. Table 1 refers to the İçerişehir residents' individual and demographic characteristics.

91 % of local people live in their own houses. Although the houses quality of İçerişehir distirct are extremely poor, the majority of local people (84 %) are being happy to live there. Most of the residents (84 %) are satisfied with living in Beyşehir. 67 % of residents want to repair and undertake conservation works for their houses, while 33 % of residents do not want these works. 77 % of the residents want to get grant from the central government to restore their houses.

Table 1. İçerişehir residents' individual and demographic characteristics (adapted from Yılmazkent 2006)

Occupation of the householder	Private sector	52 %	Gender Labouring		Male	Female
	Worker	29 %			51 %	49 %
	Civil servant	8 %			5%	85%
	Retired men	11 %	Education	Illiterate	42 %	11 %
Age group	Over 30 age:	54 %		Elementary	52 %	59 %
	Over 50 age:	46 %		Secondary	5 %	27 %
Characteristic of settled population	Local	94%		High school-University	1 %	3 %
	Other	6%	Housing time		1-5 years	12 %
Income of the householder (TL / month)	No income	10 %			6-10 years	13 %
	Less than 350 TL	29 %				
	351-500 TL	47 %			11-20 years	15 %
	501-750 TL	11 %				
	751-1000 TL	1 %			21-30 years	10 %
	More than 1000 TL	2 %				
Residential Property	House Owner	Tenant				
	91 %	9 %				
Genuineness of the private car	Yes	No			Over 31 years	50 %
	25%	75%				
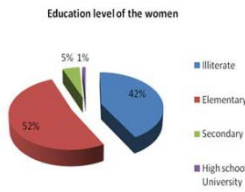
| Figure 10. Education level of the women | Figure 11. Education level of the men | Figure 12. Housing duration |
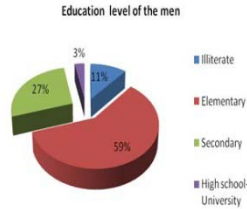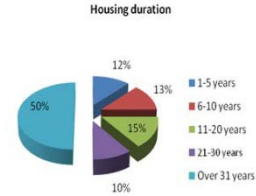
Only 27 % of the house ownership want to move different houses. The ratio of residents who want to live in a house improved its living conditions is 47 %. This ratio goes up to 53 % when conservation works could be supported by a good governmet grant. While 68 % of residents whose houses living conditions are improved prefer to live in the same quarter, very few (10 %) of them are accepted to live in a flat. Moreover, 81 % of the residents have an opinion that the multi-storey housing block (apartment in Turkish) will effect the environment negatively. Although common space in the surrounding is highly insufficient, 86 % of the

residents have strong relationships with their neighboors. Table 2 shows SWOT analysis for İçerişehir historical district.

Table 2. SWOT Analysis of İçerişehir District

STRENGTHS	WEAKNESSES
1. Socio-cultural and Economic Dimension *1.1.* Having a rich cultural heritage *1.2.* The presence of local people in the region *1.3.* Annually festival arrangements *1.4.* Public interest to the tourism activities **2. Spatial Dimension** *2.1.* Being a settlement centre during the different civilization periods *2.2.* Existence of a traditional urban pattern **3. Environmental Dimension** *3.1.* **Locating on the Beyşehir lake waterfront** *3.2.* Existence of the sight and view points *3.3.* Existence of technical infrastructure	**1. Socio-cultural and Economic Dimension** *1.1.* The low level income 　　*1.2.* The low education level 　　*1.3.* The lack of women participation in the labour force 　　*1.4.* The lack of skilled workforce in the labour force *1.5.* The lack of trade promotion *1.6.* Poor evaluation of the tourism potential of cultural heritage **2. Spatial Dimension** *2.1.* Physical depreciation *2.2.* Disfunctional and visual-aesthetic incompatibility *2.3.* Existence of inharmonious building groups in traditional urban fabric in terms of building storey and the characteristics of facade proportion *2.4.* Existence of the main road separating the old and new city centre *2.5.* Lack of the accommodation facilities *2.6.* Lack of the social facilities **3. Environmental Dimension** *3.1.* Deprivation of waterfront landscape *3.2.* Under threatened natural life *3.3.* The proximity to the industries polluting the environment
OPPORTUNITIES	**THREATS**
1. Socio-cultural and Economic Dimension 1.1. The continuity of local people existence in historic centre 1.2. Existence of coastal and culture potential as a tool for economic revival 1.3. Being strong community relations 1.4. Annually festivals arrangements **2. Spatial Dimension** 2.1. Existence of the "Urban Conservation Site" statute in the settlement *3.* **Environmental Dimension** 3.1. Proximity to the areas which have alternative tourism potential 3.2. Proximity to the metropolitan cities such as Konya, Ankara and Antalya	**1. Socio-cultural and Economic Dimension** 1.1. Economic declining and recession 1.2. The raising movement desire of the local people to another area **2. Spatial Dimension** 2.1. Existence of inharmonious building groups in traditional urban fabric in terms of building height and the characteristics of facade proportion 2.2. The lack of comprehensive plan concerning conservation and regeneration **3. Environmental Dimension** 3.1. The lack of coastal arrangements and recreational facilities 3.2. The proximity to the industries polluting the environment

CONCLUSION

Integrated and comprehensive regeneration strategies are needed for revitalization of historical city centre. Urban regeneration projects should contain physical, social, economical and environmental dimensions in the framework strategical plan. Furthermore, all of the stakeholders should be taken into account in regeneration process. However, the social dimension is generally neglected in

these projects like this case study area. For this reason, physical renewal process do not achive aimed targets. Additionally, cultural policies and strategies have been important factors of economic and physical policies in urban regeneration. In the future, with regard to sustainability, culture-led policies need to be adopted new approaches to collaboration between different actors. These policies must be integrated into broader local development plans including local resources, aspirations and needs. Cultural activities should be evaluated as substantial regeneration tool to attract skilled personnel and capital investment. Also, they should be seen as a tool to enhance city's urban image, quality of life and competitiveness among the other cities.
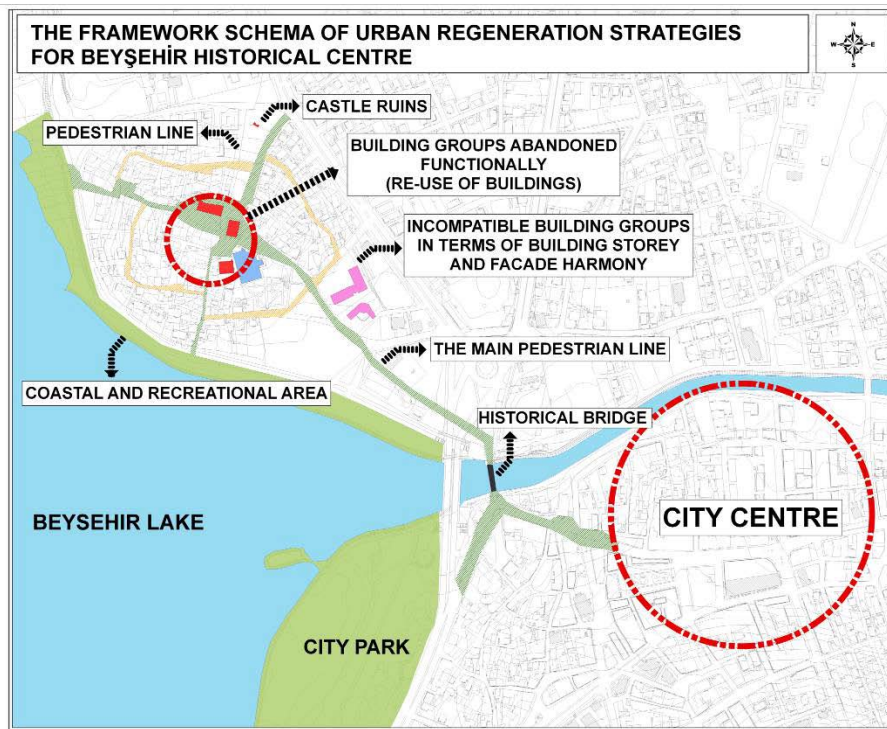
Figure 13. The framework schema of urban regeneration strategies for Beyşehir Historical Centre

The survey area of Beyşehir historical centre has not only physical problems but also social, economic and environmental problems. The solving of these problems could be achieved in a integrated regeneration process together with producing innovative strategies. It is an important point that community should be represented in these processes. Also, participation of community should be supported in the production of these strategy processes.

In the participation-oriented process, general strategies may be summarized as following;

- Culture should be considered in regeneration process (such as a social entrepreneur or a group)

- Culture should be integrated into the comprehensive and strategic planning stage

- A multi-disciplinary project team should be established

- Environmental quality and accessibility should be considered in urban regeneration – design of facilities, public realm and integration with services (e.g. transport, housing)

- The participation of residents/users/local people/other stakeholders should be ensured in all stages of regeneration process.

- The acknowledgement of the contribution of all stakeholders should be obtained.

- As a part of regeneration process, unskilled labour structure should be organized with vocational training programs.

- The historic city awareness should be supported by local community and the other sectors of society.

- Vocational and working programmes should be organized in order to get women to participate into labour market.

- Some of the monumental buildings in historic site have lost their functions or abandoned and also have not been used for their main purpose. These buildings should be transformed functionally in this area which is suggested being oriented to culture and tourism.

- Public buildings which have negative effects on traditional urban fabric should be interfered in terms of building height and the facade proportion.

- Beyşehir Lake waterfront, the historic centre, bridge and new city centre should be evaluated with an integrated approach in urban design process (such as traditional streets could be used as a cultural line-axis).

- Beyşehir wetland is international asset natural heritage and protection area, so the continuity of protection of this area should be ensured in terms of sustainability.

- Beyşehir lake waterfront should be used for recreational facilities.

- The process of urban regeneration which has taken place in Beyşehir should be carried out through social rehabilitation projects which revitalise the study areas (İçerişehir district) both economically and socially by helping small businesses and handcraft.

- The pedestrianization of the old centre should be supported by new parking areas as well as by good public transportation (Figure 13).

To conclude, Beyşehir historic center which losing the original identity will regain it; and also the quality of local people's life will be increased by means of culture-tourism-led regeneration.

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A CRITICAL LOOK AT THE ROLE OF THE PLANNING LEGISLATIONS IN SUSTAINING THE AUTHENTICITY OF TRADITIONAL SETTLEMENTS: AKYAKA & MARDIN CASES

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the role of the planning legislations in sustaining the authenticity of traditional settlements in Turkey through two characteristic examples: Akyaka (Muğla), Mardin.

The first example Akyaka is a small picturesque town located at the west end of Gökova Bay in Muğla. The town is a popular summer destination both for short term visits and summer houses. The development of the settlement was mainly triggered by the Agha Khan Award given in 1983 to a house designed and built in 1971 by Nail Çakırhan who was not an Architect. He later designed and built more than 80 houses and contributed in the planning and building legislations to maintain the identity imposed by his prototype house.

The other example Mardin is a medieval city located at the north end of Mesopotamian plane on the Silk Road in the south east of Turkey. The city had an important role in the history because of this strategic location. The old city has grown from its seed: The Castle that is located on top of a mountain. The old city that used to be surrounded by city walls is located on the southern slopes of the mountain and it remained like that till late 1970's. With the pressure of the population growth that accelerated in the beginning of 80's and the so called "Yenişehir " (New City) was added to absorb this demand using stereotypical planning legislations. This planning approach unfortunately created a stereotypical urban tissue that is not able to reflect on any local reference (natural & cultural) and that can be found all around Turkey.

Both settlements were extensively studied during several professional and academic studies by the author himself and by interdisciplinary teams involving the author in the past years. Domain knowledge acquired during these experiences supported by related literature will form the main source of reference in this study. To examine the relation between the legislation and its product: the settlement in cases maps, satellite images, legislations (plans, plan notes and related documents) photographs, will be used comparatively.

INTRODUCTION

This paper discusses the role of the planning legislations in sustaining the authenticity of traditional settlements in Turkey through two characteristic examples: Akyaka (Muğla), Mardin. The findings of field studies rather than literature will be used as main sources. The aim of this paper is to discuss the role of deterministic planning legislations that strictly defines the borders of the designer (urban & architectural) to control the development of a settlement. The question is: Does this approach really help to preserve the original values of a place that are authentic within the new development…or not?

FIRST CASE: AKYAKA

Figure 1 Left: Akyaka and Gökova Bay, Right: A view from Akyaka: Single houses ornamented with local façade elements. Vegetation is used to create some privacy within the narrow garden strips (Photo: Y. Demir)

The first example Akyaka is a small picturesque town located at the west end of Gökova Bay in Muğla. The town is a popular summer destination both for short term visits and summer houses. The development of the settlement was mainly determined by a house designed and built in 1971 by Nail Çakırhan who was not an Architect. He later in 1983 won the Agha Khan Award with this house. Çakırhan later designed and built more than 80 houses and contributed in the planning and building legislations to maintain the identity imposed by his prototype house. It is known that this house was actually a replication of a traditional Ula house. Ula is the hometown of Nail Çakırhan located in between Muğla and Akyaka on the higher plate of Sakar Mountain.

Figure 2 Çakırhan House (Cantacuzino, 1985) the location of the care taker house is against the legislations. There should be a minimum distance between the block and the border of the lot

Figure 3 Traditional Ula House (Photo: Left Muğla Kültür Turizm İl Müd. Right Ula Municipality)

Figure 4 Left Traditional Muğla House Right Traditional Muğla Street

The similarity between Muğla and Ula house is a known fact. The gens of Ula House were successfully transferred to "Akyaka houses" by Çakırhan House which is a clone of one Ula House type. Actually the view and the ambiance of the town are pleasant but is it genuine? Unfortunately the answer is no. The location of Akyaka town till recently (60's) was mostly agricultural on the slopes, and wetland on the shore. The original Akyaka houses that were present at that time were completely different than the new "Akyaka house". Some of the rare examples of this type of houses can be seen in Akyaka and in the villages along Gökova Bay. One storey high houses made of dry stone walls and a shed roof.

To understand the situation one must look at the history of Nail Çakırhan and his house: In the Agha Khan Award application form filled by Nail Çakırhan the nostalgia feeling he has for his hometown Ula and his life there is obvious (reference). Thus, it is easy to understand his motives behind building a replica Ula House. We also know that the Akyaka was recommended by his doctor for some health reasons. So it is easy to understand why he didn't buy a genuine Ula house in Ula but build one in Akyaka, a totally different place (naturally & culturally).

Figure 5 Typical "original" Gökova-Akyaka House. Two of the very few examples in the town.

But why a whole town should mimic this exclusively personal attitude? During a conversation I've had with the former deputy mayor of the town in 2006 I came across the answer: He Said, they've asked Nail Çakırhan to help them prepare the plan notes in order to preserve the image of the town mainly created by his influence. He also confessed that they've used the bylaws and plan notes of Istanbul as a template! I asked:"But with these legislations it wouldn't be possible to build the Nail Çakırhan House because of the minimum distance you have to leave between the building and the borders of the lot!" He replied:"Yes we noticed that later but it was too late!"

SECOND CASE: MARDİN

Figure 6 Traditional Mardin City (contaminated by recent additions)

The other example Mardin is a medieval city located at the north end of Mesopotamian plane on the Silk Road in the south east of Turkey. The city had an important role in the history because of this strategic location. It was the capital city of Artuqi State. The old city has grown from its seed: The Castle that is located on top of a mountain. The old city that used to be surrounded by city walls is located on the southern slopes of the mountain and it remained like that till late 1970's. With the pressure of the population growth that accelerated in the beginning of 80's and the so called "Yenişehir " (New City) was added to absorb

this demand using stereotypical planning legislations. This planning approach unfortunately created a stereotypical urban tissue that is not able to reflect on any local reference (natural & cultural) and that can be found all around Turkey.

Figure 7 Traditional Mardin. Left:View from Mardin To Mesopotamian Plane, Middle: Courtyard of Kasımiye Medrese, Right Gurs Village (Photos: Y. Demir)

Figure 8 Mardin New City "Yenişehir" (Photos: Y. Demir)

Surprisingly the general frame of the development plans for both Akyaka and Mardin are very similar. The difference is in the rules about the 3.rd dimension and the envelope.

On the other hand the images of both new developments are dramatically different. While the comments on the image of Akyaka can be extremely positive the comments on new Mardin are extremely negative. And there is a consensus about these judgments.

Actually both are not authentic (although Akyaka is pretending to be authentic).

COMPARISON

Figure 9 Fragments form Mardin and Akyaka Development Plans. Left Mardin, right Akyaka.

As it can clearly be seen these plans have a common syntax:

- Grid structure

- Blocks centered in lots with definite garden distances, arrayed on that grid.

- Both plans have nothing to do with the urban space which is an essential element of the traditional settlements in both regions.

Most of the rules in the bylaws and plan notes are similar except the ones regarding the "building height" and the "building envelope".

While Akyaka legislations contain many rules defining the style and the shape of the building, Mardin legislations have no rules for the architecture in terms of style / appearance. Wouldn't it be good to have another Nail Çakırhan in Mardin?

Both in (Mardin and Akyaka) Traditional settlements were located on hills facing mainly south not on planes especially on the seashore (except the small group of buildings used for fishing or agriculture). Looking at both new settlements one can see that the issue of site selection apparently was not much regarded by recent inhabitants

CONCLUSION

After his lecture within Urban Transformation Dynamics course in Politecnico Di Milano in March 2010 Michael Schwarting, Graham Shane raised a question: "What was wrong with Corbusier's City concept?" with the permission of Prof. Schwarting I replied: "Corbusier was designing the city as a mega-structure / building. One can even say a "mega-machine" after reading "Towards a new Architecture" (Corbusier, 1946).
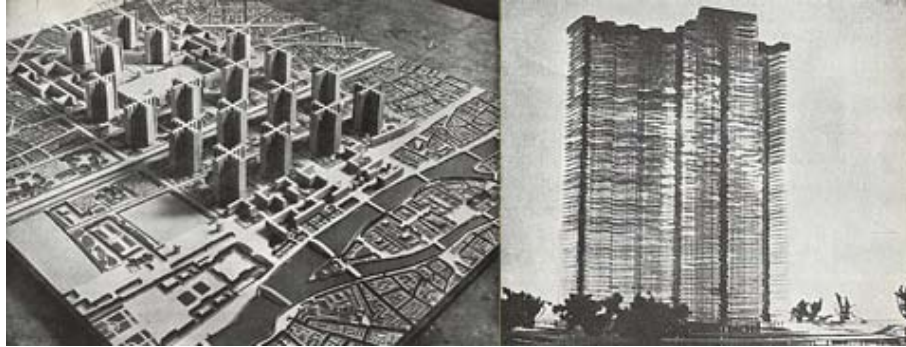
Figure 10 Left The Plan Voisin in Paris: "From right to left, from east to west, you see the 'great East-West throughway of Paris' which embodies the future of Paris and offers the City Council the chance to launch a gigantic financial enterprise, a 'money-making' enterprise = a source of wealth. Since 1922 (for the past 42 years) I have continued to work, in general and in detail, on the problem of Paris. Everything has been made public. The City Council has never contacted me. It calls me 'Barbarian'!" (Le Corbusier, 1967, p. 207)

Right: Le Corbusier's Cartesian skyscraper: "subway; ground level and elevators; raised highways. Then, sixty floors of building. At the top, the armored platform against aerial bombardments." (Le Corbusier, 1967, p. 131)

We all know his admiration for technology. Actually as Corbusier, we all modernists followed the path opened by Descartes: The Cartesian path: define, classify, and systemize…Which is vital and unavoidable during analysis. Yes definitely we need science and technology to understand the reality around us. But is it enough when it comes to planning / design? Apparently not. Looking at the hut Corbusier used for 18 years after 1955.

Figure 11 Left, Le Corbusier's Cabanon in Roquebrune. He designed and built in 1955 and used for 18 years and described as: "I have a château on the French Riviera that measures 3.66 m x 3.66 m". Right Roquebrune and the Mediterranean. Reminds you of Akyaka?(Hagnere, 2009)

One can observe the interesting similarities between the stories of Nail Çakırhan Ula House in Akyaka and Corbusier's' Hut in Roquebrune. The similarity between the houses and the locations is even more amazing. Knowing their socialist / internationalist backgrounds. Not to forget: They are both not educated as architects.

I must confess I had the same feelings as Çakırhan and Corbusier had while designing their ultimate houses, when in 2006 I was asked to design an accommodation unit in Akyaka. At that time I was working with a team that we established with a group of my students called 334.

Naturally we've conducted a research to obtain the necessary information required during the design phase. We've developed a proposal based on local data (natural & cultural) of the region. We've rejected the superficial impositions of the regulations. As you see our proposal does not look like so called "Akyaka House" and is not in compliance with the planning legislations of Akyaka. But

Figure 12 Left: Satellite view of Akyaka and the site (framed) (Google Earth Image), Right: The site plan imposed (and later built) by the legislations. The situation is similar in the surrounding lots, as it is in all Akyaka… (Municipality of Akyaka)
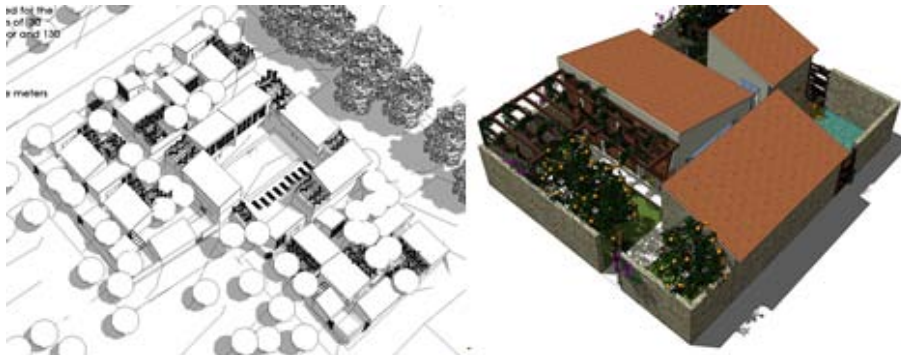
Figure 13 A Proposal Made by 334 Design Team in 2006 for Akyaka: Left Settlement, Right: Typological Study (334 Archive)

As one of our colleagues Martin Schmidt stated in 2005 in International Architects Encounter: "*Architects are designing for convenience, not for love anymore*!" We all know today's' cities / buildings are planned /designed for cars / infrastructure / ease of construction and maintenance not people. The vehicle transportation system is the backbone of the cities. It is legally not possible to suggest a street with a width less than it is stated in the legislations. It is the same for the lot and building sizes. But it is allowed to build houses to kill people slowly by all the psychological and social tortures they constantly cause: lack of a little territory to

enjoy some private time with the family and the friends, a pleasant view, a genuine identity (not cloned from another place.

What an ironic conflict of us planners / architects have between the daily choices and the ultimate personal choice!

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URBAN TRANSFORMATION OF ASIANS' TRADITIONAL CBD AREAS BY LEGAL REDEVELOPMENT PROJECTS: CASE STUDY OF SEOUL AND TOKYO

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ABSTRACT

After World War II, Seoul and Tokyo developed modern planning systems to modernize their urban structures. Seoul and Tokyo had very similar planning schemes for redevelopment, which consisted of legal urban redevelopment projects and subsidies under the Urban Redevelopment Law. They also had similar problems as part of their rapid urbanization. The differences in their government operations system and application of development tools caused differences in their urban structures. This article describes each government's efforts and legal systems to illustrate the spatial transform of central areas in Seoul and Tokyo using documentary research and GIS data.

There were many low-level cozy wooden buildings without 4m-wide roads and public spaces in central areas of Seoul and Tokyo. Since WWII, these two cities have tried to develop planning systems for infrastructure by promoting individual redevelopment projects. The establishment of the Urban Redevelopment Law converted traditional central business districts into modern spaces. Seoul designated the Urban Redevelopment Area(URA), which allowed only large- scale development projects based on the legal redevelopment master plan. In fact, the central government wanted to inhibit URA from constructing commercial buildings that would increase the population. A few large-scale projects were allowed based on a deregulatory policy to improve public spaces according to political issues. On the other hand, the government of Tokyo did not have enough power to control individual redevelopment projects because of the strong power of land-owners. Thus, diverse incentive zoning and subsidies were designed to control individual redevelopment projects as to improvement of public spaces.

Seoul and Tokyo have lost many traditional urban structures under legal redevelopment projects which allow a high floor-area ratio. They have constructed skyscrapers under the legal redevelopment projects. There are still low-level cozy buildings along narrow alleys behind of modern high-rised buildings, though. Fortunately, they added new development tools into the legal system in the late 1990s to gradually improve urban structure. Seoul allows small and mid-size redevelopment projects to conserve traditional urban structures. Tokyo also launched additional measures to deregulate traditional central areas, such as relaxation of set-back rules. It is important to change the planning scheme of Seoul and Tokyo by making them aware of how redevelopment projects should make conserve traditional urban structures.

INTRODUCTION

Most Asian metropolitan areas have been growing at a rapid rate since the 20th century. It is very difficult to control the development pressure in theses Asian cities that are rapidly urbanizing with an explosive increase in population. This is also happening in Seoul and Tokyo. They experienced population explosion and

concentration with rapid economic growth. These caused a severe housing shortage. Squatters have thus emerged where people could get land, no matter how small. The governments of these two big cities have been trying to solve this urbanization problem for decades via redevelopment or new town development at residential areas. Only individual redevelopment has been happening in downtown Seoul and Tokyo for a long time. Thus we often see contrasting views of small and old buildings lined up along narrow alleys behind modern high-rise buildings. The focus of the recent downtown redevelopments is achievement of city competitiveness and urban sustainability.

There are no concentration of immigrants or low-income people, no infrequent crimes in central areas of Seoul and Tokyo. They have physically inferior structures, however, that are represented by narrow and congested street patterns and old wooden houses' concentration that could hardly withstand disasters. They still have economic, social, and cultural potential as central business districts of capital cities, though.

Table 1. Downtown Problems

	Downtowns of Seoul and Tokyo
Depopulation	△
Decrease in Employment Concentration of Immigrants	X
Land use change from Commerce to Residence	X
Decrease in 2nd Industry Activities	o
Decrease in 3rd Industry Activities	X
High Price of Land	o
Insufficiency of Infrastructure	o
Insufficiency of Vitality	X
Concentration of Low-Income People	X
Frequent Occurrence of Social Problem	X
Physical Deterioration (Building)	o
Physical Deterioration (Infrastructure	o
Insufficiency of Public Policy	X

These two Mega cities' urban structures, including their downtown problems, are very similar in many ways. In fact, Seoul was influenced by Tokyo's modern planning system during Korea's Japanese colonial period from 1919 to 1945. With the same legal system, they developed a planning system that included the establishment of the Urban Redevelopment Law to convert the traditional central business district into a modern space. The difference in the applications and management of the system has been causing differences in the urban structures of Seoul and Tokyo since the 1950s. Thus, this article will describe legal schemes and operations to illustrate the spatial transform of central areas in Seoul and Tokyo.

In this article, the institutional development of the redevelopment policy of Seoul and Tokyo will be examined to point out the characteristics of CBD areas and their redevelopment problems via documentary studies. Then the distinguishable features of Seoul and Tokyo will be demonstrated with case studies. Finally, this article is intended to address implications on the downtown redevelopment policies of Seoul and Tokyo.
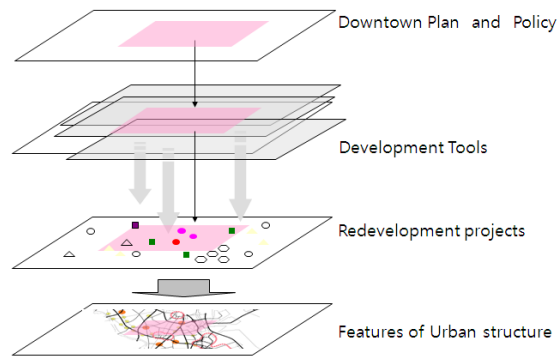
ESTABLISHMENT OF INSTITUTION

The Era of Post-war Urban Reconstruction (1945-1960s)

Seoul and Tokyo were ruined by air raids during the World War II(WWII). Most of their built-up areas were burned and many houses were destroyed during the war. The end of WWII brought Seoul not only independence but also civil war, via the Korean War of 1950-1953.

28 percent of Central Tokyo (23 wards), about 195km^2, was burned in WWII. Thus, the Japanese government enacted its 1946 Plan[125] which allocated about 200 km^2 for land readjustment, much more than the burned area. The government could not help cutting down this area to 1/4 (50 km^2), however due to its reduced budget. Land readjustment created new roads, widened roads, built high-rised concrete buildings, and so on, to the construction of a fireproof city. Most urban commercial and business areas were excluded from the amendment plan, however, because they were assigned principal road developments the under the 1923 plan[126]. Thus, the reconstruction of central business areas happened in the traditional urban structures in the Edo period (1603-1868).

Seoul was one step behind Tokyo in urban structure restoration because of its civil war. Much of the refuse built squatter areas on irregularly occupied lands in Seoul's central areas. There was socio-economic confusion and a conflict and poverty problem until the mid-1960s. Even though Seoul Post Reconstruction Plan(1961) was formulated after the war, the housing shortage was a more urgent issue than the need to restore urban structures.

Ironically, Japan capitalized on the Korean War and achieved rapid economic growth. With such rapid growth, the demand for large-scale commercial and business buildings in downtown also increased. Thus Tokyo enacted its Urban District Remodeling Law (Remodeling Law) in 1961. The Remodeling Law allowed land purchase and land readjustment. It made possible not only the improvement of infrastructure but also the promotion of the construction of modern buildings. Most developments occurred, however, not in central areas but in sub-center areas.

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[125] War Disaster Restoration Plan (1946)
[126] Earthquake Disaster Resoration Plan (1923)

The Era of Institutional Improvement (late 1960~1980s)

In this period Urban Redevelopment Laws were established with the need for collective planning and private-sector participation.

In the 1960s Tokyo maintained and constructed road system, such as its Metropolitan Expressway, to prepare for the 1968 Tokyo Olympics. It did not change its urban framework much, however, because most of the roads were built over the old moats of Edo Castle. The development of highway systems, however, caused suburb development with a rapid urban sprawl. Thus Tokyo enacted its New Urban Planning Law to control unplanned mini-development and urban sprawl. The next year, the Urban Redevelopment Law (Redevelopment Law) was also enacted. Even though Tokyo already had a Remodeling Law for redevelopment projects, a new law was needed to prompt private-sector investments. The Urban Redevelopment Law in 1969 introduced the Urban Redevelopment Project (URP) including its procedure, conditions and incentives. The private sector developed large-scale commercial-business buildings based on URP in the Yamanote area, where there were aristocratic residences or government offices in the Edo era. URP is a large-scale scrap-and-build redevelopment tool with which developers can get FAR incentives and subsidies by building roads and small public spaces. On the other hand there were still traditional urban structures with narrow streets and wooden commercial buildings that had to be improved. For this, developers could not use URP because owners of small lots did not want joint developments with other landowners.

Seoul had no special rules or plans for redevelopment in early periods. In 1971, it introduced an Urban Redevelopment Project into its Urban Planning Law. The project did not have enough prescriptions for redevelopment, though. Seoul still struggled with a housing shortage. When Seoul enacted its Urban Redevelopment Law In 1978, business and commercial area redevelopment was separated from housing redevelopment. The government wanted to redevelop squatter settlements and prompt housing supply. It did not want to redevelop central business and commercial areas, however, which would promote population concentration. Thus broader central business areas were designated as Legal Urban Redevelopment Areas (URAs) regardless of their necessary or potential. All individual redevelopment movements in the URA were strictly prohibited except for large-scale develeopment projects that complied with the Urban Redevelopment Plan.

In the 1970s Seoul and Tokyo formed institutional foundations that consisted of the Urban Redevelopment Law and the Legal Urban Redevelopment Project. Both URPs were scrap-and-build methods in merging lots. Tokyo's legal URP did not consist of restrictions, however, as did Seoul's. The landowners and developers in Tokyo could choose to use the legal URP or not. Those who did not want to use the legal URP were able to rebuild their buildings individually under the Architecture Standard Law or the Urban Planning Law. This was not allowed in Seoul, though.

The Era of Explosive Redevelopment Projects (1980s~1990s)

After the oil shock in the 1979, world market gradually recovered. The business recovery of Korea and Japan was especially amazing, though. The strength of the Japanese economy in the 1980s led the gravity-defying climb of land and stock prices in the late 1980s. Korea's rapid transformation into a wealthy and industrialized economy in this short time was termed "the Miracle on the Han River." It achieved this growth surge through manufacturing-oriented exports.

Seoul successfully hosted the 1988 Summer Olympics and showed how it had changed from a heap of ashes after the civil war.

In Tokyo, many big redevelopment projects were proposed during this period which later caused the country's bad debts. Even the Tokyo metropolitan government rushed into this redevelopment project boom, such as via waterfront development. The Nakasone cabinet also enacted a deregulation policy to promote private-sector investments. It caused the boom and bust in the property prices of Tokyo, called the bubble economy. It also made developers devote themselves to speculating on buying land. It did not matter how small the land was. Developers built office buildings everywhere they could. This almost wiped out housing stocks and brought land price up so high that most families could no longer afford to buy a house in downtown areas. The depopulation of downtown areas was accompanied by an increase in transportation cost, unbalanced daytime and nighttime populations, and a decrease in taxes. The restoration of the population via linkage programs that linked new redevelopment projects with housing supply became one of the most important policies of the municipal government.

With Seoul's economic growth, its population kept increasing to 10 million in 1988. Seoul upheld a redevelopment restriction policy in its central business area due to its housing shortage problem. Policy makers thought downtown redevelopment caused Seoul's population increase. They could not help switching their policy line in the mid-1980s, though. The first reason for this was the great demand for office buildings, because major firms wanted to build their own head offices in central areas. The other reason was that Seoul had to improve its physical environment so that it could host national events, such as the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Olympics. In 1984, Seoul temporary allowed individual developments in central areas and permitted FARs by up to 1,000%. This made possible Seoul's modern urban spaces in its central areas.

The bubble economy of Japan collapsed in the early 1990s, and many big projects that were planned in the late 1980s were postponed or canceled due to socioeconomic instability. Land prices dropped drastically and became an excuse for the mass-production of bad debts. The Japanese economy went into long-term stagnation, called "the lost 10 years." Seoul also experienced stagnation with the bankruptcy of construction companies during its Economic crisis in 1998. It did not take long to recover, however, unlike Tokyo. Both cities enacted a regeneration policy in the 2000s.

The Era of Urban Regeneration with Deregulatory Policy (late 1990s~)

Economic depression pushed policy change from strong land or redevelopment control to emphasis of efficiency in land use. Both Seoul and Tokyo promulgated a deregulation policy that promoted effective land use and the improvement of urban structures to solve economic stagnation.

Many policies were proposed to induce urban redevelopment projects in brown-fields, vacant lands and low-development-status lands in central areas. Deregulation and incentive zoning became key issues in central area redevelopment. Deregulation was supported by a number of urban economists who argued that city planning regulations were responsible for inefficient urban development patterns.

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Prime Minister Koizumi of Japan released 21st-century projects for urban renaissance and founded the Urban Renaissance Headquarter (URH) within the Prime Minister's Cabinet in May 2001 to promote comprehensive urban regeneration. URH formulated guidelines to concentrate the collective efforts of the public sector and designated Priority Urban Redevelopment Areas (PURAs) under the Urban Renaissance Special Measure Law in June 2002. Also, the Mayor of Tokyo supported the urban renaissance policy to reinforce Tokyo's city competitiveness. The deregulation policy, with the decline of land and construction costs, made big projects, which projects were proposed bubble period, feasible in central areas. This happened only in development-possible areas, however, and not in development-necessary areas. Thus, Tokyo also reinforced an incentive zoning system such as a deregulatory district plan for traditional urban structure areas.

Seoul amended its Urban Planning Law and Urban Redevelopment Law (Urban and Residential Environment Improvement Law) in the early 2000s to allow comprehensive planning and effective control of individual redevelopment projects, because Seoul originally realized city competitiveness not only for up-to-date buildings but also for urban environment elements such as landscapes and traditional urban structures. The Cheonggecheon Restoration is a symbolic project that shows the change in the development paradigm of Seoul. Seoul enacted a deregulatory policy to allow individual redevelopment of central business and commercial areas. The government no longer exclusively used the scrap-and-build method; various redevelopment tools were invented to improve central areas. It is still hard work, however, to preserve traditional narrow roads and old wooden houses that are unable to meet the legal standards.

Table 2. Development of Urban Planning System

	Tokyo	Seoul
1919	Enactment of City Planning Law	
1934		Enactment of the Direction for Chosun Urban Area
1945	Post-war Reconstruction Plan	
1952		Seoul Post-war Reconstruction Plan
1961	Enactment of the Urban District Remodeling Law	
1962		Enactment of the Architecture Law and the City Planning Law
1968	Enactment of the New City Planning Law	
1969	Enactment of the Urban Redevelopment Law	
1971		Introduction of the Urban Redevelopment Project
1975	Amendment of the Urban Redevelopment Law	
1976		Enactment of the Urban Redevelopment Law
1978		Seoul Urban Redevelopment Plan (CBD Area)
1982	Nakasone Deregulation Policy	
1984		Deregulation Policy for National Event
2000		Amendment of the Urban Planning Law
2002	Urban Renaissance Special Measure Law	
2003		Enactment of the Urban and Residential Environment Improvement Law
2005		Enactment of the Urban Redevelopment Promotion

	Law

Seoul and Tokyo enacted a deregulatory regeneration policy in the 2000s. Many articles evaluated such policy as being capable of promoting redevelopment projects. There are still doubts, however, as to whether or not it could contribute to the improvement of the quality of urban structures. Thus an attempt will be made in this paper to figure out the features of urban transformation based on a redevelopment policy and legal redevelopment projects using case studies in the next chapter.

REDEVELOPMENT PROJECTS AND URBAN TRANSFORMATION

The following are the three reasons for the amendment of the process of development of the legal redevelopment systems of Seoul and Tokyo; the establishment of urban infrastructure, the reconstruction of inferior buildings, and the improvement of urban landscapes.

Construction of Modern Urban Structure

Seoul and Tokyo were also ruined by war and thus enacted a legal redevelopment system to promote the establishment of urban infrastructure based on modern urban planning standards. Most central areas in Seoul and Tokyo had physically inferior infrastructure such as winding paths, narrow alleys less than 4 meters wide, hardly any parks, wooden buildings, and so on.

The easy and fast way to establish urban infrastructure is scrap-and-build method. Most legal URPS that were carried out under the Urban Redevelopment Law were aimed at the construction of modern buildings packaged with public facilities. This seemed reasonable and efficient way to utilize of urban areas. Tokyo has had more options than Seoul, which had only one option: legal URPs. Whoever wanted to carry out redevelopment projects in central areas in Tokyo were able to choose one or more among URPs under the Urban Redevelopment Law, Special District Zoning under the Urban Planning Law, Comprehensive Design under the Architecture Standard Law, and other methods under various related laws.

To achieve highly efficient land use (high-density development), developers often use legal redevelopment tools such as URPs in building new roads, parks, public spaces, and skyscrapers. The project cost is covered by sale of floors to individual investors. Before the collapse of its bubble economy, Tokyo gave various urban infrastructure equipment grants to individual developers. In recent years, however, the government has preferred indirect subsidies such as FAR incentives. Even though Seoul also has articles on redevelopment grants in its Urban Redevelopment Law, none of its redevelopment projects received direct subsidies from municipal or central governments. Seoul had only approval rights to control individual redevelopment projects.

A large part of redevelopment profits should be used to reduce landowners' allotments in Seoul and Tokyo. The agreement of landowners is the most important element in building up URPs. They want to be guaranteed stability in their business or residence. This system makes it difficult for URPs to be adjusted in lower-potential areas, where no increase in the price of equity after the URPs can be expected. Economical efficiency of scale is at least standard for legal URPs. As a result, infrastructure improvement from legal URPs tends to occur not where they are needed but where they are possible.

Seoul and Tokyo enacted special laws to promote comprehensive redevelopment projects under the theme "Urban Regeneration or Urban Renaissance" in the 2000s. They emphasized the necessity and urgency of urban central areas' redevelopment to achieve city competitiveness. There were also enactments of intensive support programs such as simplification of the urban planning process and financial supports.

Only large-scale redevelopment was carried out in previous aristocratic sites in the Yamanote-areas of the Edo era in Tokyo. Marunouchi is a typical modernized urban area. A private developer, the Mitsubishi group, bought up about 104 ha of the Marunouchi area and built modern urban structures there in the early 1900s. Each site is bigger than 1 ha, and has high-rise modern buildings similar to those in Manhattan, New York. Before the 2000s, landowners who wanted to reconstruct their building could select one of several incentive zoning systems under the Urban Planning Law or the Architecture Standard Law. Now, they frequently use the designation of special zones under the Urban Renaissance Special Measure Law. The government allows FAR of up to 1800%.

Urban structure in the Edo era	Urban structure in recent times	Marunouchi in the 2000s
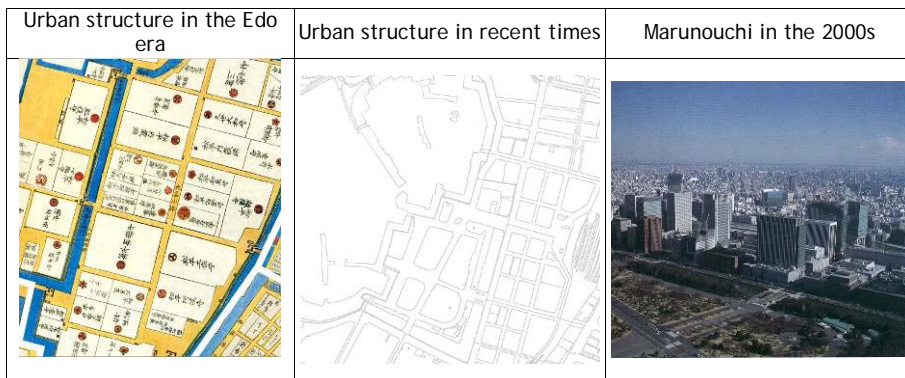
Figure 1. Urban structure and figure in Marunouchi, Tokyo

Urban structure in 1970s	Urban Redevelopment Plan	Mugyo in 2000s
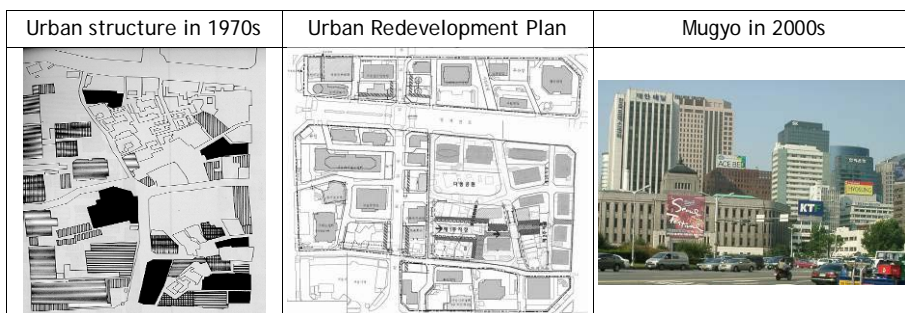
Figure 2. Urban structure and figure of Mugyo in Seoul

On the other hand, Seoul does not have enough land to carry out large-scale redevelopment projects in central business areas. The scrap-and-build method such as slum clearance is only one solution for constructing modern urban structures. This is why Seoul has restricted individual redevelopment projects with its Urban

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Redevelopment Plan under its Urban Redevelopment Law. Land coordination is necessary for redevelopment, to carry out legal URPs. Mugyo, in Seoul's central area, is a successful business redevelopment project implemented under the legal redevelopment system.It is difficult to merge individual lands and to carry out redevelopment in central business and commercial areas because of their high land cost and complicated ownership. Some developers merge small lots in redevelopments for real estate speculation during periods of economic prosperity such as bubble economy. Most of landowners, however, prefer to maintain the status quo rather than to participate in risky projects.

Sometimes, isolated redevelopment projects are allowed to build "towers in space" in a neighborhood. Someone has criticized, however, that this breaks the balance of nature in the region, and causes environmental burdens, destroys landscape, and leads to problems between neighborhood buildings.

Limits of the Legal Redevelopment System

Seoul and Tokyo considered for a long time modern urban structure such as those in Manhattan more desirable than their traditional urban structures. Thus, Seoul and Tokyo longed to reconstruct their inferior urban infrastructure, such as their low-level wooden buildings along narrow alleys. It was not easy to carry out legal URP in these cities, however, due to the difficulty of land coordination. These areas are still unsolved problem spots that are weak against disasters such as fires or earthquakes[127].

Even though they are located in commercial zones with 600% more FARs, they will not be able to use all of those FARs because of the diagonal line restriction under the Architecture Law. The diagonal line restriction based on the front road is related to a building's height. It forbids individual redevelopment projects in small lands that face narrow alleys, which are everywhere in central areas in Seoul and Tokyo. It is easier to use up FARs for lands that border main roads and to get FAR incentives under the current system. That is why small old buildings are seen behind of contemporary buildings at the sides of main roads.

Buildings on lands that border main roads in Tokyo have especially changed from low-level buildings to 10-to-15-story buildings. The change in urban structures in 1980-2001 can be seen in figure3.

| Urban structure in 1980 | Urban structure in 2001 |
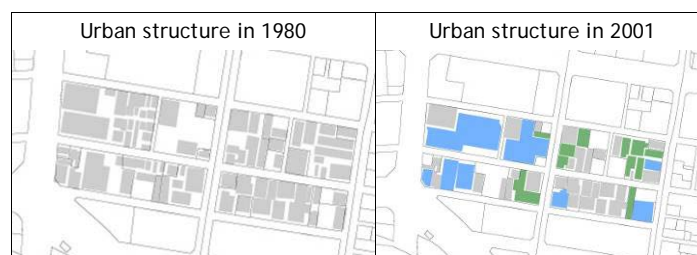
Figure 3. Urban structure in Kanda, Tokyo

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[127] Densely populated wooden housing areas spread due to the rapid growth of the westside of Yamanote Line. Over 6,000 ha of Tokyo 23 wards consist of high-density wooden houses, unsound housing environments, and lack of roads or other infrastructure.

Redevelopment is carried out on lands located at the sides of main roads, even though it is very easy to build high-rise buildings, called pencil buildings, on very small lots that face main roads. It hardly happen in inner blocks
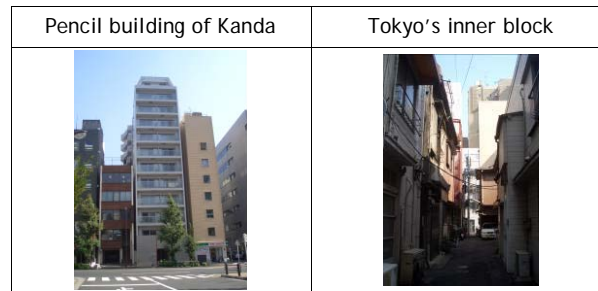
Pencil building of Kanda	Tokyo's inner block

Figure 4. Urban figure in Kanda (roadside and inside block), Tokyo

Seoul's problem is more severe. Even if a piece of land is located beside a main roadside, it is difficult to secure permission for an individual redevelopment there if the land belongs to URPA. In URPA, only large-scale redevelopment projects are allowed under the Urban Redevelopment law. This is why no pencil building can be found in central areas in Seoul. Small and old buildings are located along the main road in URPA. Moreover, landowners prefer to maintain the status quo than to participate in a risky project.

Change in Urban structure in Jongro	Inside block behind skyscrapers	Main roadside buildings

Figure 5. Change in urban structures and figures in Seoul

Improvement of the Urban Redevelopment System

In the late 1990s, Seoul and Tokyo faced the high pressures of globalization and city competition. They thus planned the reconstruction of their central areas based on global standards. They also needed new redevelopment tools, however, that would enable them to simultaneously improve their urban infrastructure and conserve their historical urban structure.

Tokyo launched special laws and policies, such as its Urban Renaissance Special Measure Law (2002), to regenerate urban structure in central business and commercial areas. The law allows redevelopment projects to get high FARs with the improvement of public facilities. It is focused on large-scale redevelopment, as an economy-invigorating policy. It can contribute partly, however, to conserving some historical buildings via FAR transfer from historical buildings to others. The main beneficiaries are the buildings constructed in 1970-80s that had used up their own legal FARs. In the late 1990s, they needed reconstruction because of their physical and functional deterioration. Also, a new policy allows additional FAR

incentive when individual redevelopment projects make commercial use of low-levels, establishment of public spaces, and so on. (Figure 5)

Tokyo also introduced a deregulatory policy to promote individual redevelopment projects by amending its Architecture Standard Law and Urban Planning Law. It eased restriction in architectural forms with diagonal lines via participation in a district plan. A district plan eases the set-back rule and allows narrow alleys as informal daily roads. It was hoped that this would help redevelop inner blocks.

In the 2000s, landowners started to propose their own plan with government organizations to revitalize and improve the image of their area. Thus, area management organizations appeared and became active. The Urban Renaissance Special Measure Law helped certify these movements and plans such as by authorizing private urban regeneration plans. It is a remarkable change that individual redevelopment projects are beginning to pay attention to other projects and to their areas.

Figure 6. Conserved modern building under a redevelopment project in Tokyo

At the same time, Seoul introduced a downtown development plan and restored Cheonggecheon to promote the redevelopment of its central business and commercial areas. They were meaningful events not only because the public sector started to lead redevelopments but also because Seoul changed its policy from restriction to deregulation. Seoul also eased its restrictions by amending its Urban Redevelopment Plan. The new plan introduced various redevelopment methods besides the scrap-and-build method. Seoul reduced its Urban Redevelopment Project Areas. It also allowed medium-scale redevelopment projects and tried to keep old alleys with the traditional urban structures.

Seoul also introduced and expended its district plan for the conservation of traditional urban structures outside its Urban Redevelopment Project Areas. The district plan regulates land use and architecture but it is not as strict as the Urban Redevelopment Plan. It will be able to control individual redevelopment projects for the improvement of the urban landscape.

Original plan of Gongpyong	Amendment plan of Gongpyong
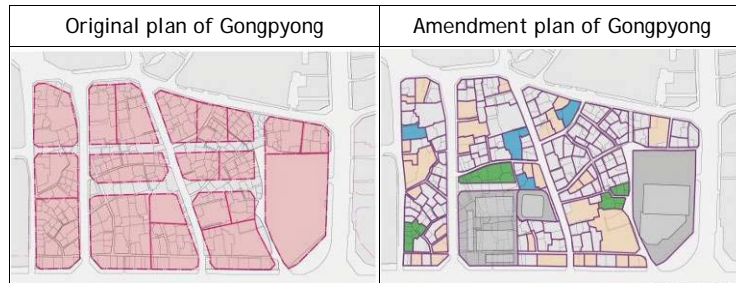
Figure 7. Change in the Urban Redevelopment Plan of Seoul

COMPARISON OF SEOUL AND TOKYO

Seoul and Tokyo started from the same planning system in the early 1900s, and have influenced each with respect to their legal systems based on their similar physical and socioeconomic environments. They have developed different types of urban structures by the differences in their operation of planning system.

Seoul's redevelopment projects have been strongly controlled by the central government's policy of restraining population concentration. It appeared as a strong redevelopment prohibition in the redevelopment direction and method in Seoul for decades [128]. The regulatory system was recently eased partly via decentralization. The Seoul metropolitan government is still formulating powerful legal redevelopment plans, however, for most of its downtown areas. Individual developers have little chance of choosing redevelopment tools.

On the contrary, individual landowners or developers in Tokyo have wider choices among redevelopment tools. After the collapse of the bubble economy, the government cut down direct support via subsidies. It counted on the improvement of public spaces and building reconstruction for whoever wanted to redevelop their land. Thus, redevelopment happened only on a few pieces of land where such projects were possible. Most landowners do not want to carry out risky redevelopment projects in downtown areas.

Both cities formulated an urban regeneration policy to promote private sector redevelopment projects. Although policy makers intended to restructure the urban environment and promote international competitiveness, private developer focused only on more profitable redevelopment projects. Most of these redevelopment projects happened on large seed-lands. This was more profitable and less risky than merging small lots. Most urban central business and commercial areas are behind from redevelopment. This is why various degrees of urban contrast between old and new buildings can be easily seen in Seoul and Tokyo.

Now, Seoul and Tokyo are trying to find alternative redevelopment methods and individual redevelopment inducement tools for. A district plan could be one way to improve inner blocks' deteriorated buildings without destroying traditional urban structures.

Table 3. Comparison of Seoul and Tokyo

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[128] Compared to Seoul, Tokyo's decentralization is advanced. Municipal elections started in 1975 in Tokyo and only in 1995 in Seoul.

	Tokyo	Seoul.
Policy maker	City government → Ward government	Central government → City government
Policy decision	Public basement planning (public= landowners)	Advocacy planning (Planner = public sector = government)
Redevelopment Plan's binding power	Proposals of location and direction Flexible Plan	Detail plan at the district level Strong restriction
Boundary of application	Part of central commercial and business areas	Most central commercial and business areas
Object of redevelopment	Rules for redevelopment purpose Select object by necessity and possibility	Rules for redevelopment direction & methods Select object by policy
Application of legal system	Landowner's decision	Policy maker's decision

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATION

Seoul and Tokyo had very similar planning scheme for redevelopment, which consisted of legal urban redevelopment projects and subsidies under an Urban Redevelopment Law, and they had the same intent to modernize urban structures. The difference in their levels of public participation and application of tools made the characteristic of their urban structures different, though.

For a long time, Seoul and Tokyo had a devoted legal redevelopment system for promote the establishment of modern urban structure in central business and commercial areas. Neither of these two cities has been successful, however, in solving its inner block's decay with a legal system. In recent years, Seoul and Tokyo changed the policy direction of their downtown redevelopment. They realized that modern urban structure such as those in Manhattan were not only solution to solve urban problem and that their traditional urban structures could be attractive with their identities and origins for city competitiveness. It is expected that these changes will help improve inner blocks and conserve old urban structures.

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EVALUATION OF URBAN REGENERATION PRACTICE IN TURKEY IN COMPARISON TO GENERAL FRAMEWORK FOR MANAGING URBAN REGENERATION IN DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

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ABSTRACT

Urban regeneration, having been claimed for the perception of urban decline and reversing the situation by means of social, economic and physical enhancements throughout the 20th century and onwards, is today, still one of the most popular notions of urban planning. It has been continually questioned for years in order to identify its scope by redefining its focal points, policies and priorities put forward. The focus on urban regeneration has evolved from an emerging awareness on enhancing the quality of physical environmental in the 1950's, through an emphasis on social policies in the 1960's and shifted with increasing concern to economic issues in the 1970's and so far. 1980s are especially subjected to the agreement of developing ideas on urban regeneration about stimulation of private investment and creating commercial confidence for managing efficient redevelopment schemes. However, late 1990s and 2000s have witnessed the rise of strategic management of urban regeneration much more concentrating on comprehensive, long-term and action-oriented policies rather than the ad hoc, opportunistic, incremental and locally driven approach to urban regeneration. In contrast to its long process of changing prospects, urban regeneration management has found grounds in national planning agenda of Turkey very soon in late 1990s. Attempts for creating a national policy framework have come out by means of several projects in Istanbul as it is the city leading the development of new approaches to nation's urban planning in response to new policy drivers. But unfortunately, progressive stages and possible future outcomes of those recent projects in Istanbul indicate that urban regeneration practice in Turkey is still experienced as for- profit real estate development and in many aspects as an extension of advocates of 1980s. Many of the central and local planning authorities, politicians and policy makers still consider at present the necessity of manipulating urban land policy drivers and legislative instruments in favoring the property development as a policy action targeted at regeneration of deprived areas. In this respect, the present paper draws on the development of the experience and understanding of urban regeneration practice in Turkey, after giving an insight to its origin, challenges and its purpose in the global scale. It focuses on the need for creating more innovative mechanisms in terms of legislative, organizational and financial aspects of regeneration practices in Turkey through remarks on political uncertainties, economic instability, and available financial mechanisms together with current legislative and institutional capacities. Finally, the paper concludes with recommendations on above aspects that will help promoting opportunities of deprived built environment including all of its social, economic and physical components and finding their best economic use in the future.

CAUSES OF URBAN DECLINE

Urban decline is degeneration of parts of cities usually as the result of structural economic change and its associated effects like depopulation, property abandonment and decrease in property values, increase in social problems and respectively a deprived urban environment. The reasons for urban deprivation are many and varied. The most important factor that gave way to radical restructuring in social, economic and spatial base of urban areas is the rapid industrialization experienced by developed countries in the late 19th and 20th centuries. The economic transition and employment change together with technological improvement were the major consequences that dominated the scale of urban problems. Those problems were part of a broader process of restructuring in which older built-up areas had suffered mostly due to the weaknesses of their economic base and to their inability to adapt to new production technologies and infrastructural requirements.

Parallel to the industrial transition, the rising trend of decentralization, or suburbanization played also important role in shifting of many functions and jobs out from inner city areas to peripheries. A considerable urban expansion has been realized in many Western European countries and especially in U.S. resulting with immense suburban development. As a result of replacement of more prosperous who have moved out to suburbs and invasion of inner built up areas by the poorer, many characteristics of deprivation such as high unemployment and low education levels, low economic base, poor housing conditions, poor environment, congestion and acute social problems became apparent in inner city areas (Dieffendorf 1989, Clark 1989, Couch 1990, Fainstain 1994, Couch, et al. 2003).

Other than changing socio-economic base, the Second World War emerged as another important factor that prepared the conditions for urban decline especially in Europe. "The wartime damage have shaped the spatial restructuring of many cities in Western and Central European countries like Holland, Poland, Germany; the cities which were unfortunately damaged and largely rebuilt after the war" (Yalçıntaş 2008, p.13).

Unlikely, the urban change that gave reason to urban deprivation had followed relatively a different process in underdeveloped and developing countries and for many aspects in Turkey, as well. Urban centers in those countries rather lately experienced economic restructuring caused by the effects of rapid industrialization and globalization. Given the conditions of fragile economic basis, unequal wealth distribution and inadequate reserves and resources, developing countries had much more severely realized undesirable reflections of restructuring and the successive decline. Urban centers during this process experienced a number of characteristics critical for sustainable development like; uneven distribution of wealth, agglomeration of income generating activities on key urban centers (mega cities), demographic pressures caused by rapidly growing population and inner migration; increasing rates of poverty, crime and unemployment; extensive use of natural resources such as land, water, energy; industrial pollution as a result of investments through uncontrolled industrial development, a deteriorating urban built-up environment and high vulnerability to natural and man-made disasters as a result of uneven urban development (Fernandes and Varley 1998, Cordaid 2003, Weiss 2005).

As understood from the urban change historically experienced in different localities above, decline of inner city areas occur as a result of dynamic and inevitable nature of social, economic, environmental, demographic and sometimes political processes. In reality, each locality whatever the scale is has different characteristics and different particular reaction against those restructuring processes.

EVOLUTION OF URBAN REGENERATION AS A RESPONSE TO URBAN DECLINE

The focus on urban regeneration has evolved from an emerging awareness on enhancing the quality of physical environmental in the 1950's, through an emphasis on social policies in the 1960's and shifted with increasing concern to economic issues in the 1970's and so far. 1980s are especially subjected to the agreement of developing ideas on urban regeneration about stimulation of private investment and creating commercial confidence for managing efficient redevelopment schemes. However, late 1990s and 2000s have witnessed the rise of strategic management, the notions of which depict the basis for the intentions of today's urban regeneration as a discipline.

In practice, there is still not a fully worked out set of principles on urban regeneration with a clear ground and proven prospect of success. However, both the theory and the practice of urban regeneration management have been developed by having lessons from what has been done and what has been achieved throughout the history.

The Approach to Urban Regeneration in the Postwar Period - After 1945 & 1950s

The most important response to urban decline evolved in this period was the attempt to renew the urban physical context caused by the wartime damage. The process of reconstruction of the ruins was seen as the national task in many European countries directed with a public-planning investment style. Policy prescriptions were concentrated on reconstruction of old central areas. Especially after realizing the disruptive results of industrialization, central and local governments in Western countries and in US, immediately developed government-led physical renewal schemes, which in many cases occurred within the form of large-scale slum clearances in 1940's and 1950's (Falk 1993, Roberts and Sykes 2000, Couch, et al. 2003).

"On one hand, there was an immense need for physical intervention in order to replace outdated or unsatisfactory residential uses. On the other hand, suburban growth was also essential beside the central redevelopment. Although several urban constraints were adopted like the designation of greenbelts, substantial peripheral expansion within the urban fence continued in 50s" (Yalçıntaş 2008, p.21).

The Approach to Urban Regeneration in 1960s & 1970s

By the mid-1960s it was already recognized that many of the immediate post-war solutions had simply transferred the location temporarily and just altered the expression of urban problems. People learnt by the 60s that a cosmetic or physical revitalization may be a short-term strategy to facilitate deeper community

revitalization in the longer term. Popular planning style had been adopted with joint action of authority and local communities which has later turned to the style of trend planning. The growing dissatisfaction with slum clearance schemes of 50s and continuing shift of population to peripheral areas led to a series of adjustments on policies of government with a more participatory and decentralized approach (E.g.: "Soft Urban Renewal" scheme in Kreuzberg, Germany) with a growing role of private sector in 1970s (Brindley 1996, Kleinman and Whitehead, 1999, Roberts and Sykes 2000, Couch, et al. 2003). Change in priorities in the urban policy field resulted with an increased emphasis on improvement and rehabilitation with a shifting interest from large scale reconstruction to local scale in-situ renewal schemes.

The Approach to Urban Regeneration in 1980s

The period of 80s was a turning point in terms of the change in public response to urban regeneration. The earlier targets; provision of housing, public-amenities and specific emphasis to low-income people have been put aside and aggregate economic growth, measured by concentration of private investment, has become the only criterion of the success for urban revitalization. This was not coincidental, but a general reflection of driving rapid globalization process and liberalization policies. Since market-led processes are geared to economic growth, the redevelopment in distressed inner cities was designed to remove barriers that prevent smooth functioning of markets and discourage inward private investment (Yalçıntaş 2008, p.22).

The major key characteristics of this period, which is also critical in assessing the degree of change in the targets of regeneration and which may help understanding the recent challenges of urban regeneration practice in Turkey as well, can be stated as follows (Healey 1992, Berry, et al. 1993, Brindley 1996, OECD 1998, Roberts and Sykes 2000, Couch, et al. 2003)

- Focus on market-led solutions

- Predominance of public-private partnership arrangements

- Emergence of new key actors (Specialized agencies)

- Focus on incremental prospects

- Concentration on supply-side measures

The Approach to Urban Regeneration in 1990s

The major aspect of the new policy formulation of the 1990s, which is evident both in the politics and in urban policy, is the acceptance of the need to work in accordance with the environmental objectives for sustainable urban development and regeneration. The other significant aspect of policy formulation in 90s is the consensus for building a more holistic and strategic approach to urban regeneration arising from the concerns regarding property-led urban regeneration in 80's which was incremental in style and ad hoc in progress (Healey 1992, Kearns and Philo, 1993, Roberts and Sykes 2000). The emphasis in the late 1990s has shifted to the regional scale and especially to the society more than areas. Public-private consensus have gained importance based on the idea that urban regeneration requires a strategically designed, locally based multi-sector and multi-agency partnership approach (Yalçıntaş 2008, p.24-25).

The Scope, Purpose and Notions of the Present Urban Regeneration Scheme – 2000s

Since 90s, how more effective and more sustainable urban regeneration process could be achieved has become the primary concern to understand wider requirements of a distressed urban locality. This has led to identification a holistic approach that focuses on improving the ways that together reduce social exclusion (society), enhance the economic reintegration of disadvantaged areas (economy) and improve the spatial context (physical environment). Regeneration of deprived urban areas is today expected to provide long-term and wider benefits than ever before. An efficient regeneration process today is expected to:

- Promote smart economic growth

- Increase overall tax revenues

- Provide financial return from under-utilized or abandoned property

- Create new business/new jobs opportunities

- Empower the community

- Address community needs

- Remove blight and increase environmental quality

- Improve quality of life

The major key characteristics of the urban regeneration management in the period of 2000s can be emphasized through the policy drivers stated below:

Strategic Management of Urban Regeneration

General agreement on strategic planning throughout the theories of urban planning in 90s has led to a growing consensus amongst policy makers in the last years about how a system for strategic management of urban regeneration could be managed. A more comprehensive range of long-term policies supported with high quality analyses for policy-making and program development and process-driven decision making has priority today to move towards more sustainable cities (Yalçıntaş 2008, p.27).

A strategic approach is expected to clearly identify the intended outcomes of regeneration, construct a framework within which comprehensive strategies and action plans should be designed and implemented, provide clearly targeted policy instruments and clarify the roles and responsibilities of each actor and organization within regeneration process. A strategically designed regeneration project is expected to have a common purpose and cooperation for most of the actors involved, at the same time, bring added value in the long term (Urban Task Force 1999). Evidently, many of the governments in developed countries as well as the European Commission itself have in recent times revised their urban policies through strategic management of regeneration.

Mixed-use Development

Mixed use development is another common aspect of recent approaches to regeneration. A regenerated derelict site is believed to be more viable when it offers variety of options to enhance the economy and social life at the same time

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which explains the reason why redeveloped residential areas could not achieved success in the long term in many previous cases of 50s or 60s. Enterprise Zones and Simplified Planning Zones in Britain introduced in 80s are typical examples for mixed use development designated differently from the traditional land-use decisions and/or zoning regulations. The underlying reason of encouraging the compact city forms and mixed use cities is the idea of strengthening the local economy to act against long term dereliction and abandonment of land values near central city areas (Yalçıntaş 2008, p.28).

Compact City Form

Compact city form is a lately introduced concept to urban planning literature that emphasizes the need to make the best possible use of urban land and to avoid unnecessary sprawl. The notions of compact city forms which can be stated as increasing the density of development, ensuring a mix of uses, containing urban 'sprawl' and achieving social and economic diversity and vitality in many cases directly correspond with the intentions of urban regeneration. A compact and centralized city provides variety of environmental, social and economic benefits ranging from a more efficient use of energy and reduced pressure on greenfields through more efficient services and increased quality of urban environments. More important, a compact city is economically thought to contribute to profitability and economic growth and also lead to new business formation which attracts new residents to central urban areas, by the way, turn run down urban areas back into beneficial use.

Today, many urban policy prescriptions of member states in European Union such as; "The Urban Exchange Initiative in United Kingdom, Compact City Policy in Netherlands" as well as "The New Re-urbanism Policy in Japan", stress similarly on the need for encouraging both intensified use of existing built-up urban areas in order to contain urban sprawl, preserve the countryside and make inner cities more livable (Yalçıntaş 2008, p.28-29).

Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs)

Most organizations involved in urban regeneration in previous decades have recognized that the issues they face have multiple causes and therefore need a multi-agency approach to plan and implement effective solutions. A model of more balanced partnerships between the public, private and community/voluntary sectors has evolved by drawing on the limitations of single-sector or single-agency approaches experienced in 1970s and 1980s. From the mid-1990s the term of partnership planning has been redefined as private sector still in the leading role and public sector as a regulator, catalyst or enabler rather than a provider. Traditional policy boundaries have been eliminated and multi-level governance has been adapted. Parallel to the agreement on partnerships, devolution of power and resources from central to local governments has been adopted in many European countries and in U.S. (Roberts and Sykes 2000, Beaten 2000, Osborne 2000). But resulting from the emphasis in the new policy on strengthening community organizations outlined within the notions of latest strategic approach, today, more equal partnerships planning is encouraged for successful regeneration projects.

Community Capacity Building

The increasing concern for sustainable regeneration and for equal partnerships by the 90s has also led to seeking methods for active engagement of social capital in

regeneration processes, since the progress on social dimension of regeneration requires extensive 'community capacity building' to ensure active contribution of deprived communities to regeneration projects especially at the local level. More specifically, community capacity building involves; equipping people with skills and competencies; realizing their existing potential; promoting their self-confidence to take responsibility and consequently encouraging them to become involved in their community within a purposed regeneration process (Yalçıntaş 2008, p.30). Although community development programs are long-term goals and although sufficient time must be given for progress, an increasing number of government initiatives today rely heavily on social capital for effective regeneration, since there are significant social and economic returns from investing on community capacity building in the long run.

DEVELOPMENT OF URBAN REGENERATION MANAGEMENT IN TURKEY

Similar to the countries with advanced economies; disappearance of traditional sources of employment, effects of policies that encouraged re-housing of urban residents, impact of infrastructure and commercial property development and physical decay of the built environment have all prepared grounds for urban deprivation in Turkish inner cities, however, their consequences upon the urban fabric have been more threatening. The effects of industrialization were lately, but so rapidly recognized that majority of the urban centers could not adjust their economies, planning policies or political stances to prevent possible future urban problems. Associated with uneven urban growth, older built-up areas were not protected and lately built-up areas lacked the quality considerations as well. Together with relocation of job opportunities and the emerging residential preferences in alternative locations, there became both physical and socio-economic decline in Turkish inner cities, but most dramatically illegal housing development in the periphery conurbations. Since, the scope of problems was quite extensive for central and local governments to cope with, regeneration of inner-city areas and conservation of historical sites that have been inevitably put apart for years.

The Emerging Conditions in Urban Regeneration Processes in Turkish Cities

Distressed urban areas in Turkish cities are more differentiated as to their characteristics and their location when compared with the ones in Western European or U.S. cities. Parallel to the reasonable classification of Göksu (2006, p.1), urban built areas that need to be revitalized in Turkish cities can be stated as; squatter housing areas (Gecekondu) which are generally structured in the peripheral conurbations; illegally developed high density which have been later legalized by legislative arrangements; historical urban areas majority of which area stated as preservation areas; urban areas of under high natural disaster risk; and distressed inner urban areas that have completed their economic life (obsolete areas). Each pattern reflects its own characteristics that may require diverse courses of policy actions. Despite all the past attempts for developing policy actions to cope with for such problem areas in Turkish cities, the results of regeneration practices remained unprogressive when compared with developed countries, because complexity of conditions behind the problem areas have all averted implementation of wide scope urban regeneration projects.

Complex ownership pattern has always been one of the most important problems in preventing implementation of regeneration projects in terms of creating difficulties in assembly of development rights and creation of meaningful sites (land reclamation) for regeneration. The low economic and social profile and attitudes of local people have also created barriers for managing successful regeneration schemes. Local residents of deprived areas which are very low income families and of different ethnic groups have mostly been resistant to actively take part within a regeneration process.

In addition to area-specific problems like ownership and social structure of residents, lack of the necessary legislative framework and regulatory tools have restrained development of efficient projects. Classical urban planning system and the regulatory framework of current Development Act could not cope with complex problems encountered within deteriorated areas. Together with the available legislative structure, the current administrative framework did not enable grounds for creating mechanisms of cooperation of public authorities, professional and non-governmental institutions, non-profit organizations, private dealers and enlightened citizens. Since then, the previous attempts for revitalization in Turkey have generally evolved in the form of property-led redevelopment projects created by private-individual investments except for a few number of cases.

The problem of access to capital for both public and private sectors for inner city regeneration in Turkey creates perhaps the most significant obstacle for managing desirable outcomes through inner city regeneration. While a considerable portion (E.g.:1.3 billion pounds per year in England) of public resources is specifically dedicated to regeneration activities in urban areas every year, fiscal pressures on regular public budgets of both central and local governments in Turkey have restricted shifting urban public spending towards regeneration activities. Moreover, the lack of available funds, credits and other types of financial incentives have not enabled commercial commitment to private sector and even participation of local residents in proposed regeneration schemes.

The Attempts for Managing Urban Regeneration Practices in Turkey

As mentioned, globalization effects and the earthquake disaster in 1999 have been the major driving which accelerated urban regeneration attempts forces in Turkey. The inadequacy of the legal framework was one of the most difficult issues faced in the implementation of regeneration projects for years. Before 1999, the urban renewal, conservation, renovation, rehabilitation activities and works were regulated by the articles and regulations under some general legislations. These are; Conservation Law For Cultural and Natural Heritage (No.2863 and the Altered Version of the Act No.5226), Housing Development Law (No.2985) and Revisions in the Powers and Responsibilities of the Housing Development Administration (No. 5162), Expropriation Law (No. 2942&4650), Gecekondu Law (No.775) together with several Development Amnesties mainly for Gecekondu Areas (No.2981, 6785, 3290, 3366), Coastal Law (No.3621/3830) and Bosporous Law (No.2960). Even though these laws are still valid, a series of new legal arrangements have additionally have been enacted in the recent years. These legal arrangements can be grouped as the "laws concerning local administrations" and "specialized laws concerning urban regeneration".

Special Provincial Administration Act (2005, No.5197), Metropolitan Municipalities Act (2004, No.5216) and Municipalities Act (2005, No.5393) refer to the first group

today which entitle local authorities with the right to designate project areas and undertake projects with redevelopment, restoration, preservation and development purposes. In addition to legislative arrangements brought up with laws concerning administrative units, specialized laws concerning urban regeneration are other important progressive steps made through development of urban regeneration management. Urban Regeneration Project Act for the Northern Entry of Ankara (2004, No.5104) was the pioneering law specialized on regeneration in Turkey, though with a piecemeal approach, prepared and enacted only for specific project area in Ankara. The Law of Preservation by Renovation and Utilization by Revitalizing of Deteriorated Immovable Historical and Cultural Properties (2005, No.5366) was the most important one among all the other Acts, which was immensely criticized in terms of its aims, authorization and driving forces on implementation, especially through Sulukule Neighbourhood Regeneration Project, Süleymaniye Pilot Renewal Project and Tarlabaşı Regeneration Projects announced in 2006. Perhaps, the most critical debate around the Law has been its giving opportunity to the renewal interventions on historical and cultural conservation areas.

Besides, a series of draft laws about urban regeneration (Draft Law of Urban Regeneration-2004, Draft Law of Development -2004, Draft Law for Planning and Development-2005, Draft Law of Urban Regeneration and Development-2005, Draft Law about Regeneration Areas-2006) for providing a comprehensive legal basis have been introduced after 2004 (Sakızlıoğlu, 2007), however they have still not been enacted until now. On the other hand, even the mortgage system which effectively works in majority of the developed countries for years as a credit mechanism in housing provision could hardly be constructed on legislative basis in 2007.

Attempts for creating a national policy framework for urban regeneration İn Turkey have come out by means of several projects held in big cities but especially in Istanbul which is "the city leading the development of new approaches to nation's urban planning in response to new policy drivers". (Kocabaş 2005, p. 29) Not the strategic plans, programs but the market dynamics, ad hoc solutions of different actors, urban coalitions, informalities, political balances between different governmental layers have been significant in shaping the urbanization process of the city (Turel et all, 2005).

Regeneration attempts in Istanbul has started after lately realizing the detrimental effects of unplanned urban growth and unauthorized construction but in fact, the increasing concern for threatening earthquake risk has been the most pioneering issue which accelerated the attempts to construct the lacking national legislative framework for urban regeneration. The overall regeneration practices within the city can be generally classified as to its scope; its process and the main actors participated. In such a classification, mainly three groups can be stated similar to the classification of Gürler (2004) which are: 1) adhoc interventions, 2) interventions with mixed processes and 3) planned interventions for inner city revitalization.

A considerable amount of the projects mentioned in Table.1 have not have chances to realize. Despite all the attempts for developing the legislative and technical basis for urban regeneration in Turkey, the practice has remained primitive when compared with Western European countries and U.S. The major problems behind the previous regeneration schemes but especially the planned

interventions still elude policy makers and local authorities to achieve more progressive phases in implementation of wide scope urban regeneration projects.

Reasons behind the Dilemma of Urban Regeneration Theory and Practice in Turkish Cities

Turkey has already constructed a concerete policy framework and administrative role models for management of urban regeneration. Parallel to the global trends, the national trend today favors democratization, decentralization, world-wide communication and information exchanges, and a steady progress in urban development. In this macro level, policy makers are trying to provide an adequate platform to promote urban growth, openness to international investment and a healthier business environment which will contribute to revitalization. There have been positive reflections of creating this platform on stressing the enabling status of governments, empowerment of local authorities, privatization policies and relevant policy reformulations. Local authorities have recently launched several regeneration schemes. Some of the proposals have been developed in the form of renewal or rehabilitation projects in peripheral squatter neighborhoods, and some have been introduced in the form of speculative flagship projects, while however plenty of the valuable inner city areas have still remained untouched. In effect, each type of the schemes prepares its ground towards the debates on urban regeneration practice in Turkey.

Table 1. Classification of Urban Regenartion Practices in Istanbul according to their aims, legal basis and main actors

	Aims	Legal basis &Main Actors	Implemented or projected examples
Adhoc interventions (1980s)	To restore historical buildings To renovate the outdoor spaces To rehabilitate socio-economic structure To create attraction	Act no:2863 Act no:2960	**Old Inner City Neighbourhood Vision: "Liveable Neighbourhood"** Cihangir Neighbourhood Kuzguncuk Neighbourhood
		Elite Groups in the Neighbourhoods	
Interventions With Mixed Processes (1980s and 1990s)	To make areas commercial, cultural and recreational node. To increase in demand to tourism industry	Act No:2863 Act No:2963	**Urban Historical Sites Vision: "Attractive Neighbourhood"** Ortaköy Neighbourhood Cankurtaran Neighbourhood
		Private enterprisers Central Government	
Planned Interventions For Inner City Revitalization (1990s and 2000s)	To rehabilitate historical buildings To encourage tourism To increase functional use of areas To obtain local economic development To enhance life quality To improve living conditions To create alternative sub-centres and to decrease burden of existing CBD	Act No:2634 Act No:2863 Act No:3621/3830 Act No:5366 Act No:2985 Act No:5262 Act No:5216 Act No:5393 Draft Law About Regeneration Areas	**Urban Historical Sites Vision: "World Culture City"** Fener-Balat Neighbourhood Süleymaniye Pilot Project Tarlabaşı Regeneration Project Sulukule Neighbourhood Project
			Flagship Prestige Projects Vision: "World Culture City" Galataport Projects Haydarpaşa World Trade Centre Project

	Modernization of squatter neighbourhoods. To mitigate earthquake risk	Metropoliten Municipality-IMP District Municipalities TOKI KİPTAŞ	**Squatter Neighbourhood and Neighbourhoods with high earthquake risk** Vision: "Liveable Cities", "Information City" Zeytinburnu Pilot Project Tuzla Urban Renewal project İkitelli-Halkalı Urban Renewal Project Kadıköy Urban Renewal Project… etc
			Old Industrial Sites Vision: "Information City" Kağıthane Centre and Boulevard Connection Spatial Project Kartal High-Level Centre Special Project

First of all, renewal or rehabilitation projects in peripheral squatter neighborhoods do not fit with today's logic of regeneration firstly since those areas are built up in unlivable conditions from the beginning rather having been deprived later in time and since urban regeneration is an aspect of management and planning of existing urban areas rather than planning and development of new urbanization. Secondly, those projects generally reflect the attempts on enhancing the spatial quality as in case of responses to urban deprivation in 50s which neglects wider social and economic problems. The other case is flagship prestigious projects, the progressive stages and possible future outcomes of which indicate that urban regeneration practice in Turkey is unfortunately experienced still as for-real profit real estate development and in many aspects as the extension of advocates of 1980s. Such projects generally take place as in the form of place based regeneration schemes which is categorized by Zielenbach (2000, p.27-30) as an approach that aims to improve property values as a primary goal, and that views bettering conditions for existing residents as a less important outcome.

Many of the central and local planning authorities, politicians and policy makers still consider mainly the necessity of manipulating urban land policy drivers and legislative instruments in favoring the property development as a policy action targeted at regeneration of deprived urban areas. A wide-scope and holistic regeneration process is a capital intensive process and largely involves private capital. Demand for both residential and commercial uses is essentially market driven, since then purposed regeneration activity should meet the test of market efficiency. However, establishing a stable economic base with its employment opportunities and improved revenues at targeted areas should be the primary concern for the long-term success. In fact, today's challenge for the case in Turkey is to promote a shift from the past emphasis on narrowly-focused, relatively isolated and free-standing projects, to more integrated and counterbalanced approaches to ensuring the sustainability of regeneration.

CONCLUDING REMARKS AND RECOMMENDATIONS THROUGH REINFORCING THE EXISTING FRAMEWORK FOR URBAN REGENERATION MANAGEMENT IN TURKEY

The recent notions of urban regeneration in the world have focused on strategic management, enhancing economic integration of disadvantaged areas, reducing

social exclusion, improving life quality, strengthening local economies by mixed-uses and public private partnerships. However, the conceptual framework of urban regeneration in Turkey has been up to date: the reflection of globalization and its impacts on public administration in contrast to the comprehensive social and economic programs and policy actions in Europe.

In fact, traditional urban policy actions do not help addressing the degree of decline in deprived areas since they failed to realize the validity of economic concerns in the past. First of all, a strategic marketing planning is to be encouraged with an emphasis on stimulating private inward investment and creating business friendly and liveable environment to find best economic use of deprived inner city areas. Policy actions reformulated with respect to markets dynamics will indicate how adequate our national and local governments plan the use of urban economic space. (Yalçıntaş 2008, p.261).

Moreover, there is a need to replace the ethos of the statutory and conventional planning system with a more strategic and action orieted planning. A process driven and territorially based decision-making process is to be adopted for carrying upper-scale policies into program and project levels in urban areas. New legislation should be specifically designed to address the urban blight independent from wherever it takes place; within the inner city, within the borders of Preservation Areas or in the peripheries. Area-specific development projects should be generated through strategic planning procedures depending on participatory roles of all the actors together with transparency in the overall processes from the beginning to the end. (Yalçıntaş 2008, p.268). Moreover, detailed inventories for providing comprehensive information about abandoned or vacant land patterns and prizes and new mechanisms and tools are to be developed for strategic land marketing. Rather than classical methods (e.g. expropriation, build-and-sell, land readjustment, directly purchasing or renting) in practice, more flexible and entrepreneurial land management tools should be generated according to the characteristics of the project areas. (Yalçıntaş 2008, p.276).

The evolving management of urban regeneration will also require formulation of PPPs for delivering successful project outcomes. PPPs should refer to both Policy-Program-Project and Public-Private Partnerships. The Policy part of "Policy-Program-Project" should be performed by metropolitan municipalities and the operational level should be under the responsibility of district municipalities in order to obtain effective vertical coordination between the local authorities. Additionally, the horizontal relationship between local and other central governmental entities should also take place in organizing further financial and institutional aspects in the Program stage. (Yalçıntaş 2008, p.264).

On one hand, urban regeneration projects and implementations in Turkey have mostly focused on solving the physical problems of newly urbanizing areas rather than enhancing the overall social, economic and physical conditions of the built-up environment since 1960s. In this context, it is necessary to determine the regeneration areas within the scope of cities through a strategic planning process in order to prevent piecemeal developments which produce cellular zones and cause specific disconnected urban areas. Moreover, a commitment to comprehensive inner city regeneration should be strengthened between both central and local governments rather than allowing greenfield land for real estate development through effective zoning policy ordinances.

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On the other hand, the legislative attempts to fulfill urban regeneration projects have been composed of destroying the dilapidated buildings and reconstructing them through renovation. In the draft laws, the urban areas are considered as investment and rent tools in a way to preclude public interest and participation. However, as it is emphasized in the paper partnership is an instrument of urban governance to realize, among others, regeneration projects. As Van Bowmeer and Van Bechoven (2005, p.13) emphasize, all actors within a partnership should agree that it is the best instrument to reach the common goal and not pursue individual goals. Not the division of power within the partnership, but a shared vision on the regeneration project and agreement on the share of power, will also be important for succesful regeneration outcomes in Turkish cities. Indeed, there is a need to search for the ways of creating innovative approaches, applicable techniques with participatory partnership models to overcome the existing problems in generation of urban regeneration schemes.

Reformulation of policy directions and the regulatory framework in Turkey will especially contribute to the overcoming of the existing controversies and challenges throughout the current national framework for managing urban regeneration in the way that countries with advanced economies have developed by having lessons from intolerable costs of outdated approaches.

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URBAN TRANSFORMATION IN GLOBAL METROPOLISES: THE ROLE OF USER PARTICIPATION IN THE PROCESS – AN EXPANSION FOR ISTANBUL

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ABSTRACT

Globalization became a phenomenon which affects all over the world since 1980s. The impacts of globalization and new life formations with contemporary demands for city-dwellers metamorphose metropolises and mega cities. By these changing processes, the term "metropolis" gains different meanings after globalization. As a result of globalization, new building types have been emerged or some existing building areas have been transformed to different functions in metropolises. These interferences are all defined as urban transformations in metropolises under the context of globalization. This article aims to present an expansion of urban transformation in metropolises after the affects of globalization. The expansion involves the evaluation of urban transformation in metropolises by the view of city-dwellers. The issue will be discussed as how city-dwellers should be participated in urban transformations in metropolises. The term "user participation" and the "methods of user participation" will be introduced. The article is going to be concluded with a proposal and an argument which analyses the urban transformation enterprises in Istanbul related with city-dwellers. Globalization affects all social substructures in cities and city-lives. Social behaviors and psychology concepts in cities gain new meanings after global approaches. In this context, social heritages should be conserved in city-lives. Lifestyle formations distinguish as parallel to changes in cities and city transformations. Because some new living demands occur in global urban lifestyle and recent building types arise as new buildings in metropolises. (Skyscrapers, malls, housing estates etc.) Also, some existing urban areas began to transform to different functions. The term gentrification in cities takes place in city transformation policies. These enterprises are all the reflections of global developments in the world on metropolises. Metropolises are preferred to be lived by people in global world according to features of cities as; new buildings and urban areas, business opportunities, alternative life style formations. This is the main economic aim of global policies on metropolises. In a disparate point of view, the basic reason of transformation in cities is globalization. Under the context of global policies, urban transformation is becoming the preferential method to lead city-dwellers to metropolitan living formation. This perspective has an expansion for city-dwellers; they are the main influenced society cause of the transformations. If the urban transformation in metropolises by globalization continues with its current process, how will the cities and city-lives will be shaped? How will the world look like? These questionnaires can be increased but, the important point is the city-dwellers should participate in urban transformation processes. Citizens should have the opportunity to lead the urban attempts which affect their lifestyle. Cities – Metropolises exist by their dwellers that experience city-life. Cities change in according to changing world disposals. City-dwellers should have the right for participating of these new differing enterprises in metropolises. User participation should be adopted into city policies as a democratic approach. User participation methods in metropolises are in use by urban transformation policies in developed countries all over the world. User

participation techniques should be improved by cities' own unique dynamics. There is not a common user participation methodology which is valid for all metropolis transformation, because each one has its own socio-cultural origin. Every different citizen group could be integrated in user participation system by a specific way. In this paper, user participation models under the context of urban transformation policies will be tendered by socio-cultural and psychological approaches in developed metropolises in the world. This study concludes with a proposal and an evaluation for Istanbul and Istanbul's urban transformation enterprises.

INTERACTION OF GLOBALIZATION AND URBAN TRANSFORMATION

Globalization is a phenomenon which affects all domains in human life since 1980s (1). This is because, the main claim of globalization is; "the world is unique and all people are living in this whole cosmos".

However, last 20 years the discourse "Globalization" has been discussed, the term has a deep historical meaning. Human relations and commerce have international significance since Neanderthal man living (2). Also Rome and Ottoman Empires have developed global systems under the context of world hegemony. The current meaning of global attempts have introduced in 19th century by Pax Britannica in Great Britain (3). Pax Britannica has been based on global policies for British benefits.

There are some factors such as Industrial Revolution, developments in communication conduced rapidness to globalization process and came to current meaning in millennium. The term globalization has different definitions after 2000s as follows:

Globalization is defined by Tomlinson as the fact of modern human life's characteristics and mutual networks increasing day by day (4). These networks are explained as; the developed human and society relations, international data transfers, the connected electronic communication systems etc. (5) These networks are appraised under the context of urban and spatial discourses as "the relativeness of global spatiality".

Social theories maintain that globalization should be defined with clear borders and should present experimental data and should give different possibilities (6). Above all, globalization affects whole social basic facilities and could not be described by definite unique description (7). Urban life styles metamorphosed by social effects of globalization. Especially social behaviors and psychology changed by global discourses (8). By the way, the unique social inputs should be conserved; the disintegration of social stabilities realized by global policies must be averted.

Globalization is a concept which defines a widespread historical development period (9). This development caused a political integration all over the world (10). The integration conduced city-dwellers' commercial communication and culminated the global economic formations.

In the other hand, globalization provided a transparent life-style and an open environment in variant brands such as economy, urban policies etc. (11). Is is discussed that the transparency provides a self control system in global life.

Information technologies carried all people on the world in a unique huge platform (12). Production and working activities are realized on this platform. By this way by globalization integrated the world in a united whole.

After 1980s, a new process for cities and urban-life came into being. The orientation of economic developments made cities attractive and mega cities are constituted after 1990s. The powers of nation-prosperity weakened, the global cities – metropolis gained power after globalization. This causes unbounded city extensions and mega cities came into being.

Globalization gave importance to mega-cities by global politics. The base of global policies is constructed on metropolis and mega-cities.

CAUSAL CONNECTIONS OF GLOBALIZATION IN URBAN-LIFE

Globalization has been determined in different contents by scientists. Lyon, defines globalization as a cause of capitalist period discourses (13). Bell, defends post industrialized events conduced globalization (14). Williams argues that communication technologies triggered global attempts (15). Toffler, determines globalization as the metamorphosed form of western culture (16). All the definitions refer to a new world disposal with global approaches (17). After globalization mankind gained a different life-style. This change in life-styles is continuing with global policies in cities which is called urban transformations (18). In the context of global attempts, urban transformation in cities should be controlled by authorities (19). Because, the revolution of urban spaces in cities can be culminated as negative growth and it causes problems (20). One of the problems of negative growth in globalization is explained by Judd and Parkinson as new becoming elite circle in cities (21). For the countries who bases on democratic policies this elite circle becomes a complicated problem for city authorities.

The definitions in concern globalization can be enriched, but the basic discourse of all is there is no area on the world could be out of global attempts (22). Globalization has been expounded by different views by different societies (23). This caused dissimilar reflections in city-life and urban areas.

When the relation between modern life styles and global conceptions are evaluated, it is realized that social opportunities give a wide expansion in cities (24). In metropolis, it is defended that choosing benefits are more independent in cities with modern life (25). The given opportunities and a wide expansion in life formation in global life make the cities attractive (26). This is the reason that, to be more popular cities compete each other in global life and produce global policies as urban transformations.

URBAN POLICIES UNDER THE CONTEXT OF GLOBALIZATION

18th century is a historical breaking point for cities and metropolis. Globalization concepts introduced cities in a worldwide competition (27). In concern to the competition between metropolises, to be more preferred every city enhanced urban transformation policies (28). This event occurred emigration from country-side to cities (29). In 18th century, city life became preferred life-style for natives and the cities started to grow-up.

After global discourses, Second World War and its extended wars caused the primary cities with the leadership of United States and England (30). Economic developments switched out to primary cities and mega cities started to grow-up (31).

The disclosed diagram shows the increase of working population in cities. The percentage of population mostly increases between 1990s the present day. This references the globalization period affected city population.
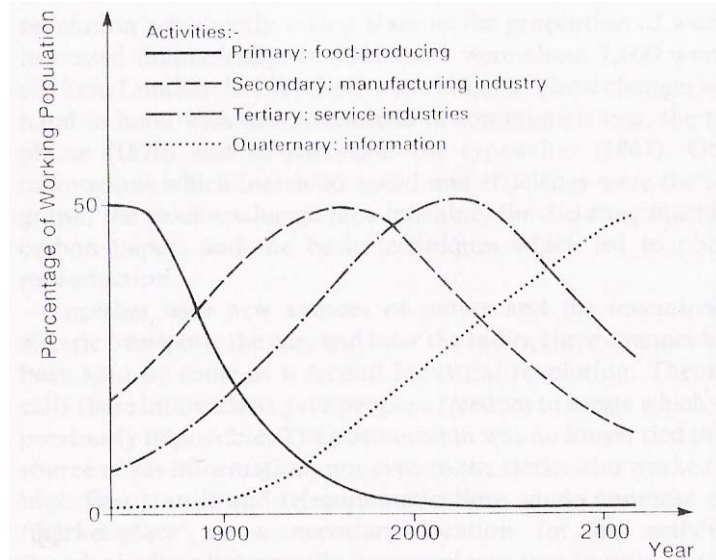
Image 01. The Change of Working Population between the 1900 and 2000s
Jones, E., 1990. Metropolis. Oxford University Press, Oxford, p.92.

The last periods of 20th century, traditional political blocks disappeared by the effects of global discourses and liberal politics gained importance (32). International immigration started and in millennium in some cities it reached to 30% immigrated population in metropolis (33). At the mid of 1990s, approximately for one billion city-dweller started to live in big cities (34). This development has occurred more urban area necessity for new population in cities. At the beginning of millennium, first time in World history more than half of the world population started to live in cities (35). This process motivated in international urban policies in metropolis.

Global developments made an expansion of the definition of city (36). Cities started to exist individually, not with their domains after globalization (37). This makes the metropolis dynamic every time.

Cities experience the impacts of globalization in different processes (38). Every city has its own urban policy in concern urban transformation in global approaches. The units of urban transformation models in cities are; international relations, logistic and transformation instruments, technological developments, industrial organizations, the new building activities, non-governmental organizations, financial organizations, city-dweller participations, environmental impacts etc. (39). The purpose of the units is all to bring up the city in a top degree in global competition.

All the revolutions and developments in global disposal in cities are based on economic relations (40). Economic parameters determine the structuring density of

cities in urban transformation processes (41). According to new necessities in cities new building types started to be built. The new building types provide alternative life styles in urban areas (42). They give variant opportunities and this is the reason that in global life, metropolises are chosen to live in. Also the various opportunities give citizens to choose in every brand. This makes global cities more democratic.

THE MEANING OF "METROPOLIS" AND URBAN TRANSFORMATIONS IN METROPOLIS

Metropolis – big city concept exists since settled mankind's history (43). Economic activities, political reasons always made societies competing each other to control the world. Imperials had some worldwide cities such as Constantinople, Rome etc. At the present day, the term metropolis has different meanings when compared with traditional denotation (44). The impacts of global cities has discrete technological fixtures, economic-politic-social fit outs. This is the reason that, metropolis is not meaning just a big-city; it refers a mega-city which is above its country. So, metropolis is dominated after globalization as Metropolitan Region.

Metropolitan region means the combination of the global cities and their neighborhoods (45). In other words, metropolitan region is the settlement which can dominate other adjacent cities. Metropolitan regions have their influence zones (46). These zones differ not according to their domestic features; they are related with global characteristics.

Global policies have reflection on metropolitan regions as new building type with new citizen approaches. Historical area expounds, conversion of old buildings, gentrification enterprises are the examples of metropolitan region transformation (47). This is the brands of urban transformation of metropolises. Also there are some new buildings such as; big scaled residential, shopping malls, mega cultural centers are the new building types of urban transformation models in metropolitan regions.

The citizens in metropolis and cities are called city-dwellers. The investigations show that city-dwellers prefer to live and experience in the new building types in metropolises (48). These demands to new building types embolden city governments to gain the new buildings to metropolises by urban transformation policies (49). Contemporary administration model is democracy in all metropolises, this makes urgent to participate city-dwellers into the urban transformation processes (50). In the article city-dwellers participation discourses are evaluated under the context of globalization.

USER PARTICIPATION AND CITY-DWELLERS IN URBAN TRANSFORMATION POLICIES

People live in cohabitation with the method of sharing living places. Cities come into existence with telescope of living places people live together (51). In design process, designer and user have to communicate with each other. Yet living places changes in accordance of people's life styles and habits.

Design is an intuitive fact that includes multi dimensional concepts. There is not only one way of design method, but the result should satisfy both designer and user in functional and aesthetic perspective.

Needs of humankind, life styles, requests, requirements, and spatial perceptions change from time to time. Yet the life, in movement, is fact that takes on a shape with changes of age. Designers submit spaces to use of people with appropriate implementation for their changing life styles (52). New environments, building areas should be designed with the target of democratic life styles. Participants should have the right to submit their opinions in this process. Design process can be satisfactory with the versatile interactions of the designer such as environmental, social, economic, and cultural. Interactions will enrich with the participation of the users (53). In these context local authorities in contemporary cities, designers cooperate to citizens with different methods and implement them to design process.

With globalization, city dwellers prefer to live in metropolises for more job opportunities (54). Life styles in metropolises cohabite both local and global values (55). User participation in metropolitan areas should have analyzed with global and local concepts together. In this context, participant policies should be designed with the local and global needs in metropolitan areas.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF USER PARTICIPATION IN CITIES AND METROPOLIS

The term user participation has a theoretical history since 1950s (56). In early 1960s, user participation models in design processes started to develop in academic environments (57). Some local applications are also experienced in these dates.

Urban designer Patrick Geddes discussed the place of citizens in design processes in 1912 (58). Geddes suggested composing a social forum in local governments and city-dwellers should be represented in design process. Geddes' suggestion has considered by government and other governments evaluated user participation.

User participation is a reactional behavior for dominant and non-democratic design processes by citizens (59). The reaction voiced the feelings of the users and architects-urban planner's who are protesting impositive designs. The issue was repercussioned in professional media in 1960s.

In 1971, Manchester Conference held with the issues "Design and Participation". In academic environment the issues are evaluated deeply and first participation models are proposed. After the conference the publications open House and SAR spread user participation models in design processes.

 Article titled "The Agenda 21" in UN Conference in 1992, user participation is embraced in global contexts and concluded with sustainable participation models (60). The conclusion is embraced in some democratic countries. Especially, user participation became law in Scandinavian countries (61). Sweden, Norway and Denmark are the pioneer countries of participation applications.

At the end of 1990s, user participation models became urgent laws in some contemporary metropolitan governments (62). England is the leader of user participation appliances in governments. After England; Holland, United States and some other countries' metropolises made participation as urgent laws. In 1994, the conference "Participatory Design Conference" held by Tom Erickson. The conference concluded that: participation models should be developed unique for

metropolis (63). Today, contemporary metropolises have their own participation models for their own dynamics.

Participation has processes such as; to include city-dwellers' opinions to design and feedback of the results. Both of the processes are active participations and could be separated each other to reach a satisfactory conclusion. Egalitarian approaches are the base of participatory system. Otherwise, the conclusion will not reflect the realistic features of citizens.

City and environment is an organic phenomenon and has dynamic features. Different cities are experienced by different citizens and have unique life style formations (64). This context shows that there cannot be a common participation model valid in every city (65). Every city should have its own participation model for its own heritage.

To develop a participation model for a city, the historical experiences should be used with current parameters (66). The opportunities which can be supplied by city and to analyze the user's profile are the basic factor of user participation model. The model should be flexible for the permutations in years.

Designer can succeed by marrying their professional fit out with user's (citizen's) daily experiences.

AN EVALUATION OF USER PARTICIPATION IN CONCERN URBAN TRANSFORMATION IN ISTANBUL

Istanbul has been an important worldwide city with its historical, cultural, strategic and commercial heritages (67). This is the reason that, Istanbul has been a cosmopolitan and a dynamic city since its existence.

Istanbul's position needs to be evaluated in different approaches in its problematic. Because Istanbul always had a cosmopolitan population and had been in a secretly settlement. This is the reason that Istanbul city has an exceptional position.

The production of urban areas in Istanbul is handled in three epochs (68). Early period (1950-1960): The emigration from countryside to city started and the city center is covered with shanty residences (69). After 1950, industrialization started in Istanbul and manufacturer society came into being and private sector investments realized (70). Intermediate period (1960-1980): National improvement reflected to city settlements. Residential buildings have built in city borders. City started to differ in these years. Global period (1980-2010): In Istanbul global impacts started to be seen in city (71). New building types built in city center, and this process is continuing.

Since 1990s, global building type's construction gained speed. This momentum caused unplanned urban area structuring. For new building construction, any special cautions, laws or strategies could not be formed. Annuity factor is the basic reason of unplanned construction in Istanbul. Global policies trigger construction of mega buildings in Istanbul without any urban planning. These evolutions make difficult the integration of the new buildings to Istanbul.

After 1980, the impacts of globalization triggered new construction areas in Istanbul and this reflects globalization in Istanbul (72). The image above presents

the new view of Istanbul. Urban transformation is consists of the flowing capital data and spatial constitutions. Production of new buildings in Istanbul are realizing in residences, high-rise offices, iconic buildings, shopping malls. These building types are increasing day by day in Istanbul.

The image below (Image 03) shows the new building types in Istanbul center – Levent region. The multi functional high-rise buildings and their integration-disintegration can be seen with individual residential settlements.

Image 02. Istanbul and Its New Buildings After Globalizaiton Onduline AŞ., 2009. Avrupa Kültür Başkenti "İstanbul"- The European Capital of Culture. Doğan Burda Publications, İstanbul, p.86.

Image 03. The Integration-Disintegration of High-Rise Building with Individual Residences in Levent RegionOnduline AŞ., 2009. Avrupa Kültür Başkenti "İstanbul"- The European Capital of Culture. Doğan Burda Publications, İstanbul, p.145.

Image 04. The Photo of Urban Transformation in Levent-Maslak District after Globalization Onduline AŞ., 2009. Avrupa Kültür Başkenti "İstanbul"- The European Capital of Culture. Doğan Burda Publications, İstanbul, p.143.

Image 05. Residential Configurations and Global Constructions together in Levent Region. Onduline AŞ., 2009. Avrupa Kültür Başkenti "İstanbul"- The European Capital of Culture. Doğan Burda Publications, İstanbul, p.136.

Building evolutions in Istanbul has been stated and is still continuing in irregular, rapid formations (73). Lynch introduced that, in Istanbul the urban transformation develops parallel to world's dynamics but the development realized by chaotic ways (74). This caused the annuity problematic in Istanbul. The rapid and irrational constructions in Istanbul damage the genuine structure of Istanbul. The photograph below shows the relations between global construction areas and residential configuration of Levent region in Istanbul.

New constructions built after globalization has been discussed for their effects to Istanbul's historical and natural heritage. This approach gained to global constructions a new dimension in concern urban transformation system in Istanbul. New buildings reflect their contemporary periods and gives new expansions to cities. The problem occurs when they built out of any urban transformation model in metropolises.

CONCLUSION: PROPOSAL OF USER PARTICIPATION IN ISTANBUL WITH GLOBAL CITY-LIFE AND SUGGESTIONS OF USER PARTICIPATION AND URBAN TRANSFORMATION CONCEPTS FOR ISTANBUL

Participating behaviors of city-dwellers are related to their educational, social and cultural level. By the effects of globalization in cities, alienation threat of city dwellers to their environment occurs. The relations of city-dweller and their environment develop weakness by metropolitan life style. To avoid this weakness, local authorities should lay crackdown to citizen relations.

Local governments organize some interactive events with citizens in formal and informal social medium. This events support the possession of city-dweller with their metropolitan area. In contemporary metropolises the participation starts with social activities by the help of non-governmental organizations. In Istanbul, the local authorities should collaborate with non-governmental foundings for user participation in different urban areas.

Istanbul experienced a non-planned structuring process after globalization. In this context city dwellers could not be able to participate in the new structuring processes in Istanbul. This development occurred alienation between city and citizen. To strengthen the relations between city-dweller and Istanbul, citizen's urban concernments should be expanded. Urban transformations in Istanbul and the new structuring processes should be participated with Istanbul citizens. The participating starts in designing, constructing and post-construction operations. This participating will be able to success in Istanbul.

User Participation concepts can gain different meanings according to user's educational, socio-economic and cultural levels (75). To feel the specialty of participation philosophy, user should have some major vital qualities. User participation models in less developed countries cannot work in democratic ways (76). Because, the priority of their life for citizens is to survive or to earn money. They do not mind about their vital qualities and urban areas.

In Istanbul, the report of "Istanbul Metropolitan Region Planning" have approaches for "City-Dweller's Rights and Planning" published in 2006 (77).

The Importance of City-Dweller's rights are highlighted in the report. Some policies are developed to determine user's rights in Istanbul. Also, European Urban Conditions which is accepted by European Council in 1992 have been embraced in Istanbul Metropolitan Planning strategy. European Urban Conditions report is an important document for user's rights (78). The report determines the minimum urban vitalities for every citizen. User participation is a mandatory part of this report index. Report highlights the necessity of every government should have its own user participation model. However, in Istanbul Metropolitan Report does not have any methodology for participating, and did not practice user participations in governmental profiles.

User participation strategy should aim to solve the problematic issues of Istanbul by pluralist democracy (79). Republican government system is the administrative choice of Turkey. This means urban transformation models should be determined by democratic ways in Turkey and also in Istanbul. To realize democratic design processes, the local government system should encourage the citizens to participate in urban problematic.

User participation approaches have approximately 40 years history in context of developed metropolis governments. Istanbul has been a very important metropolis in history, but still has any citizen – user participation models in government mentality. Some local governments in Istanbul tries some primitive participation attempts but could not succeed in entire city (80). Also, non-governmental organization should support the local authorities about user participation practices.

Turkey is a developing country; Istanbul is the biggest metropolis of Turkey. With its 15 million populations, Istanbul has a heterogenic population. This is the reason

to compose a user participation model for whole Istanbul is impossible. Istanbul's participation model should be arranged for each region, each different local area.

Istanbul has a consuming historical, cultural and economic heritage. And like all metropolises in the world, Istanbul is changing in parallel to current developments. This is the reason it needs urban transformations, new buildings and different dynamic in the city. In this context, the transformative processes should be assimilated with its citizens – users of the city. This will make the administration more democratic in Istanbul and the designs will succeed.

Istanbul has always been a worldwide city in its history. With its cosmopolitan structure and heterogenic population the city has dynamic characters. These features make Istanbul a very important metropolis. But because of the administration of the city and urban transformation methodologies, Istanbul is still categorized as a developing metropolis.

After globalization, new building types for new lifestyles started to construct rapidly and uncontrolled ways in Istanbul's city center. The urban transformation systems could not integrate these buildings to metropolitan substructure. The users could not internalize these developments in Istanbul.

Users perceive the fundamentals of participating if they have a vital standard. Otherwise, they do not feel and want to be participated in. Because citizens will have different priorities in their lives. For Istanbul, the citizens should be well educated in concern user participation. Citizens of Istanbul do not know participation and its fundaments which will be proposed.

The main aim of participation model in Istanbul should be to determine the basic problems of Istanbul in citizens' point of view. This determination will lead to organization techniques for participation. The governmental system should be revised as open to user participation. The central and local governments should encourage users to participate in.

User participation in Istanbul can be divided in two parts. The first part is the disclosure policy events; the second part is the feedback gathering. This study introduces the disclosure and feedback methodologies for Istanbul.

Disclosure of City-Dwellers in User Participation Context:

- Exhibiting and announcement of user participation system in public spaces,

- Issuing the feedback forms for citizen opinions and collecting the forms in data repository,

- Information in internet media,

- Presentations of designers in concern the projects to local communities,

- Sending newsletters to city-dwellers prepared by local governments and non-governmental organizations,

- Delivering technical details to citizens about the project,

- Organizing interactive panels for city-dwellers.

Feedback of City-Dwellers Vision in User Participation Context:

- Collaboration with advisors and volunteers for collecting the feedbacks of citizens,

- Questionnaire and user evaluations,

- Feedback methods in internet media,

- Feedback methods by Charette technique,

- Informal invitations with city-dwellers,

- Participating journeys with citizens,

- Feedback by citizen representatives in governmental committee,

Participating policies for Istanbul, must be as local as it can be. Because every different region has different urban dynamics and different kind of populations in Istanbul.

Istanbul should have participation models like the other developed metropolises all over the world. The citizenship of Istanbul should feel that the city is re-shaping with them and their opinions. By citizen's contributions, users will feel to be an Istanbulian, and take pride in to be a member of Istanbul.

Image 06. The new buildings in Istanbul after Globalization
Poster: Ece Ceylan Baba, Photographed by: Duran Ceto-March 2009, Ahmet Tanju-February 2009, Oğuzhan Ardahan-January 2009, Mehmet Yalhi-October 2006.

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SYSTEMIC INSTITUTIONAL TRIANGLE AS URBAN MANAGEMENT MODEL FOR BRAZILIAN CITIES

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ABSTRACT

It is proposed a Planning System theoretical model for Brazilian cities. According to Brazilian laws, municipal planning processes are to be shared between government and active forces of society. For it to occur is recommended to install the Council of the Cities, from municipal do federal scales. Brazilian governmental organs recommend that these councils should be composed by active forces of the society and governmental agents. The council is, as described on the federal law called Statute of the City "a colligated organ of deliberative and consultive nature", whose objective is to "propose directives […], accompany and evaluate its execution". This format, composed by government and council, generates a democratic binary. There are in Brazil cities in which this binary is practiced with success, using the management model called "governance": an example is the city of Porto Alegre. Therefore, despite legal determinations and efforts of the federal government, there are not many examples of success of this binary. It is noted that the biggest difficulty is the lack of comprehension and commitment by all the parties involved towards the discourse agreed on the Municipal Master Plan. This situation generates the opportunity to be proposed, on the composition of municipal planning systems, a third entity responsible for the comprehension and dissemination of the discourse agreed. The third entity is called "school". It is proposed the composition of planning systems in institutional triangles. The first entity is called "government", an organ of the municipal executive power responsible for implementing the master plan assuming the figure of the State and acting on governation principles. The "council", organ of permanent character which represents plural systems and municipal participation through social and governmental agents. Is the one who fiscalizes the implementation of the master plan, also acting following governance principles. The "school", intellectual entity of the system promotes, consolidates and systemizes the discourse generated when elaborating the master plan. The system proposed, composed of an institutional triangle, should work on common principles and objectives, which shall generate unity. On the proposition method, the "school" must possess an organized structure and support teaching institutions or research organs. For the model to be successful, it is proposed the establishment of the institutional triangle on municipal headquarters, and others on rural localities, if necessary. They shall generate a discursive inter-relation of the parts with the whole and vice-versa. The creation, quantity and setting of the local triangles must obey technical criteria defined by the government and must aim, in principle, to work on the spatial totality of the municipality. The action of the institutional triangle presupposes that the network exists and is effective through all the municipal territory. Its existence aims at the legitimate and organized participation of citizens and social groups legally constituted.

INTRODUCTION

According to the Brazilian laws, municipal planning must be a joint venture between government and living forces of society. The recommendation for such to occur is to institute City Councils, from the municipal scale to the federal. Recommendations from Brazilian governmental organs is that these councils must be composed by living forces of society and governmental agents. The council is, according to the federal law called the *Statute of the City* "a collegiate organ of deliberative and consultive nature" whose goal is to "propose directives […], accompany and evaluate its execution".

Such format compose by government and council generates a democratic binary. There are in Brazil cities in which this system is operated successfully through a management model called "governance". An example is the city of Porto Alegre. Therefore, despite legal determinations and efforts of the Brazilian federal government, there are not many other successful examples of governance.

The biggest difficulty is on the lack of comprehension and commitment, by all the parts involved, on the discourse agreed on the Municipal Directive Plan. This situation generates the opportunity to propose on the composition of municipal planning systems a third entity, responsible for the comprehension and multiplication of the discourse agreed. Such entity is called "school".

This research proposes a theoretical model elaborated according to Brazilian laws. The model proposed is possible to be implemented in every Brazilian city. It is proposed the composition of planning systems on institutional triangle, where: "government", organ of municipal executive power, is responsible for implementing the Directive Plan as a part of the State, acting on the principles of governance; "council", collegiate organ of permanent character representing the plural and participative municipal system through social and governmental actors, participates and fiscalizes the implementation of the Directive Plan, also acting on the principles of governance; "school", intellectual entity of the system and composed in a collegiate manner promotes, consolidates and systemizes the discourse generated on the elaboration of the Directive Plan.

BRAZILIAN URBAN HISTORY AND THE CHALLENGES TO BE OVERCOME

The current municipal public management in Brazil is made through popular participation and strategic planning. Those strategies are recommended by the *Ministry of the Cities* when elaborating and implementing Master Plans. For this urban policy to be better understood, it is necessary to recover the history of Brazilian cities. Until the XVIII century, settlements showed little development, being mainly characterized as port cities. In the beginning of the XIX century the Portuguese crown moves to Brazil and invested on urban and intellectual developments. Influences of Haussmann's Parisian plan were considerably spread.

This sort of model lasts, without major changes, until the construction of Brasilia, in 1960. In an approximate period of 100 years the Brazilian bourgeois dreamt with large avenues and social class division. This dream is altered with Brasilia, following Corbusier's conception of the Charter of Athens in separating residential, work and leisure areas, interconnected by roads. The military dictatorship,

initiated in 1964, adopts the urban model of Brasilia and diffuses it throughout the country.

In this period the urban scenery was designed with instruments that were based in models of ideal cities, to be reached with coefficients and other sorts of parameters, which proliferated in urban laws. Many of these documents were mere copies from other cities. From 1980's, following global tendencies, it becomes clear the failure of this urban model. Post modern currents criticize the precedent one, and defend the fact that each city should have its own "image", an identity that would differentiate it from the others. The issue is that this model, when creating local icons, does it following mercantilist ideals, transforming the city into money-capital. On that process, some cities have worked out and some not.

Currently, the urban crisis reaches global levels with its unstoppable growth. In Brazil, urban strategies emphasize social pacts. The perspective that it opens is to considerate the city as a social practice. The new approach is dictated by the Constitution, of 1988; and the *Statute of the City*, from 2001, which part from the assumption that the city possesses many acting agents. The *Ministry of the Cities* recommends the elaboration of Master Plans be made in the most transparent way, constructing effective strategies for public communications of wide range.

DEMOCRATIC MANAGEMENT OF URBAN SYSTEMS

System, to Fenker (2006), is a junction of parts that seek common objectives. For that there is the necessity to understand the dynamic complexity of the relations of cause and effect, of patterns and tendencies, that guide strategic actions (SENGE, 2006). On a system each element depends, interacts with other elements and acts according to its limits, in order to maintain an holistic vision. A living organism is systemic and organizes, renovates and recycles itself continuously (CAPRA, 2006). Organizational systems must be competitive to survive; thus following this bias Cabral and Fleury (2007) propose the systemic competitiveness. Such proposition comes from concepts of the Theory of Restrictions, which considers reaching a specific goal. For this goal to be reached, parts of a determined system must work together, strengthening it. On the other hand, if one of the parts of the system are weakened, it is difficult to reach the goal (GOLDRATT; COX, 2006).

According to Cabral and Fleury (2007), when a system is turbulent, it is essential to define a script of interaction between agents in order to compose a base that supports decisions. Such script (self-organization, renovation and recycling, according to Capra), becomes a competitive advantage of this system in relation to others.

About systemic competitiveness, Esser (2007) affirms that the four levels of the system (meta, macro, meso e micro) must inter-relate for concrete objectives to be reached.

Concerning systemic urban competitiveness, Dinis and Vicentini (2004) state that urban management politics will result in incomplete assimilations or in unfinished scenarios of urban projects if they don't consider the following issues:

a) strategic model of planning global cities;

b) tendency to return to local urbanism;

c) consolidation of urban social exclusion in Latin America;

d) new models of urban management that contemplate social agreements.

DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY

The concepts of deliberative democracy proposed by Jürgen Habermas are presented by Vitale (2006), and presuppose a procedural dimension based on the speech and deliberation, which gives democratic legitimacy to political decisions for the fact that are created from public discussion. In this way the deliberative character comes from the collective process of pondering and analyzing, made possible by the discussing before deciding.

Concerning institutional drawings of the organizational organ that shall practice deliberative democracy, Luchmann (2002) signs three issues to consider:

a) the character of publicity of the participation of a plural subject;

b) the amplification of responsibilities of participation;

c) the importance of the institutionalization of public spheres with effective power of decision.

According to Vizeu and Bin (2008, page 08), "deliberative democracy is a type of understanding of a democratic process centered on discursive practices, where rational arguing and fair proceedings for the discursive and deciding participation are criteria for democratic equality". For such equality to occur, Habermas (1987, apud Vizeu and Bin, 2008) states that is necessary that the act of speech must be capable to establish:

a) truth: what is said must be true;

b) sincerity: the explicit intention must be authentic;

c) rectitude: the social laws to which is referenced must be valid for all participants;

d) intelligibility: it must be clear.

The concept of deliberative democracy is completed by Maia (2000), on the vision that:

a) the actors of the civil society must be competent;

b) the civil society must establish communicative bridges between the actors;

c) they must be convincing so that, on the social co-existence, their demands may be accepted by the group;

d) to establish concrete relations between civil society and the deciding instances and State institutions.

These visions:

a) reference for a reconfiguration of the traditional deciding mechanisms of public organizations;

b) can be framed as reengineering on the process of management of the municipal administration model;

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c) align with the discourse of the Brazilian Government proposed by the *Ministry of the Cities* for municipal planning systems, as disposed on the *Statute of the City* (BRASIL, 2001).

GESPÚBLICA IN BRASIL

In 1990, on the context of the Brazilian Program of Quality and Productivity – PBQP in Portuguese, was created the Sub-Program of Quality and Productivity of Public Administration. The main goal was to implement quality and productivity programs in public organs, more efficient and turned to the demands of society instead than internal bureaucratic processes. On the evolution of the process, and through the Decree n°. 5.378/2005 of February 23rd 2005 (BRASIL, 2005b), is instituted the National Program of Public Management and De-bureaucratization – GESPÚBLICA that, when incorporating the social dimension turned to the citizen on the technical dimension, aims for efficiency and efficacy results.

The principle is that what is possible can become excellent, still being public (BRASIL, 2006a). Ramos (2008) when highlighting the parts of the model, affirms that:

a) the first block (leadership; strategic and plans; citizen and society) is about planning and is made through "strong leadership from the high administration" focused on the other elements of the block;

b) the second block (people and processes) concerns about the execution of the plans, aiming to reach expected results;

c) the third block (results) evaluates the satisfaction of the users;

d) the fourth block (information and knowledge) represents the "intelligence of the organization" and gives it the capacity to correct or improve its management and performance practices.

For what concerns the acting of GESPÚBLICA, it is about a process that, aiming the generation of public value for the citizen, is engraved on the tripod composed by:

a) public policies, defined in legal document generated in a democratic process;

b) public administration, represented by the managing organ of the system;

c) organizations, represented on the Council.

GOVERNANCE

Curado (2005) when referencing the 2003 document of the European Commission, called "Governance and Development", affirms that for that commission: "governance refers to rules, processes and behaviors in which interests are articulated, resources are generated and power is exercised socially". According to Busatto (2005), the concept of governance refers to the 1930's when after the Great Depression a considerable number of North-American companies pulverized their stocks in many actionists.

For Gaventa (2001) governance, which he calls participative, must pass through six steps:

a) reduction of current distance by constructing new relations between people and governmental institutions;

b) construction of new relations, working on both sides of the equation;

c) re-concept participation and citizenship, as something that is more practiced than conceded;

d) learn about governance while it is being practiced;

e) create conditions and pre-requisites necessary for governance to be successful;

f) question the concept of "local" on the global era, practicing governance in two ways: from local reform up and from global reform down.

According to the UNESP (2007), for what concerns the application of governance, it considers necessary the strengthening of relations between public local power and the citizen and proposes, for that, a strategic plan for a sustainable and healthy development – PEDESS. Such plan understands governance as:

a) give conditions for municipal administrations to improve their own raises;

b) better spend their resources of their budget;

c) management transparency. For the PEDESS in order to reach governance goals is necessary, amongst others, to "accompany the formation and development of management groups" (UNESP 2007, page 01).

The program of Local Solidarity Governance – PGSL – is applied and practiced from 2005 on the municipality of Porto Alegre and structured in three bases:

a) plurality;

b) dialogue;

c) consensus.

On the concept, the city-network connects citizens and local networks "engaged with sustainable development of their communities and the city as a whole, aiming common objectives. Its Porto Alegre working united to meet the goals of the Millennium" (PMPA, 2005 page 05). In Porto Alegre public management for governance created the Municipal Secretary of Political Coordination and Local Governance. Such entity is connected to the Program of Local Solidarity Governance, approximating governmental programs to the people.

Porto Alegre has from 2006 the Observatory of Porto Alegre – ObservaPoa. It is a space available on the internet with information, reflections and analysis about the 82 neighborhoods and 16 regions of the Public Budget.

THE COUNCIL OF THE CITIES IN BRAZIL – CONCIDADES

The current focus on Brazilian urban management, promoted by the *Ministry of the Cities,* initiates with the understanding that a city possesses many acting agents that, from a common pact determine through coordinated actions the city that everybody wants. Therefore it must correspond to the interests of the majority. On the concept, the common pact is the Municipal Directive Plan, resulting from a democratic process that presupposes: a) the action of the performance commission

composed by social and governmental actors; b) popular approval through at least three public meetings; c) the transformation of the Directive Plan into municipal law.

Amongst the directives of the Directive Plan, and by recommendation of the *Ministry of the Cities*, it must be established the participative planning structure and process, to implement and monitor the plan (BRASIL, 2005a). The ministry also recommends that the planning structure and process are based on the federal model (BRASIL, 2008a).

On the federal structure, after the creation of the *Ministry of the Cities* in 2003 (BRASIL, 2003), is constituted in 2004 the *Council of the Cities* – ConCidades (BRASIL, 2004). The internal regiment of ConCidades was approved by the Presidential Decree nº. 5.790/2006 (BRASIL, 2006b). Concerning the amplitude, complexity, agility and democratic principles of its acting, after 2006 ConCidades has already emitted some Normative Resolutions that complement the text of the Decree (CONCIDADES, 2008).

If the School of Government of Paraná is turned to public servers, the Program of Formation of National Counselors is focused on the qualification of national counselors, a group that can also have members from the Civil Society. Therefore the field of action of the PFCN is larger than governmental actions.

PROPOSED MODEL

On the proposed model, the following principles must be followed:

a) systemic management;

b) search on the unity of construction, advertisement and application of the discourses;

c) search for continuous improvement;

d) strong management leadership;

e) application of *gespública* and of deliberative governance principles on the system;

f) rational base of thought;

g) try to dismantle vulnerable oppositions and presupposes;

h) solve ideological, socio-economic and identitarian questions;

i) interactive involvement between entities, members and actors that compose the system;

j) elaborate processes implemented by strategic planning;

k) results turned to reaching the goals of the Municipal Directive Plan;

l) make possible regional integration;

m) self correction of the practices made;

n) reduction of the distance between people, institutions and government;

o) public service of quality, executed with efficiency, efficacy and economically;

p) division of tasks in a horizontal way;

q) distribution of power and status on the system;

r) acts that establish truth, sincerity, intelligence, social co-existence, plurality, dialogue and democracy.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE SYSTEMIC MANAGEMENT MODEL

According to the proposed, it is established that the Municipal Planning System contemplates on is composition "council" and "school", concerning the institutionalization on the composition of the system. The role of the municipal government, legally created, is to indicate and/or create an organ that shall represent it and assume its competences and attributions of the entity of the system denominated "government".

The formation of the entity called "council" must occur during the Municipal Conference of the City, event specially organized according to the format and recommendations defined by the Ministry of the Cities (BRASIL, 2008b).

The constitution of the entity "school" occurs through agreements, protocols, or legal alternatives formalized between municipal government and educational and/or research institutions, with the consent of the council.

Being this a system that contains the entities "school", "government" and "council", the Municipal Planning System is no longer a linear binary composed only by the governmental entity and the council. Now it forms an institutional triangle. Such system must work following systemic actions, agreeing in common principles and goals in order to generate unity. For the proposed model, principles and goals are defined to base the entities that compose it in strategic, tactical and operational levels on the network of the system.

GOALS OF THE MUNICIPAL PLANNING SYSTEM

Once the principles are defined, is possible to define the goals for the system. Its main goal, according to Brazilian laws, is to implement, evaluate and monitor the Municipal Directive Plan in its participative processes of planning, citizen education and democratic management.

As for the specific goals of the model:

a) promote citizen education, aiming at the effective participative process of planning, in democratic management and qualifying the citizen for public life;

b) establish the municipal committee on the headquarters of the municipality, and local management committees in urban and rural locations of the municipality;

c) systemize and advertise the knowledge generated when elaborating and implementing the directive plan, promoting the discourse, policies, actions and strategies of the plan;

d) qualify counselors, managers, technicians and representatives of the civil society, from local to municipal scale, for effective and efficient act of the system and its competences;

e) implement and accompany the implementation of directives, strategies and actions predicted on the directive plan suggesting the adoption of corrective measures when needed;

f) create spaces for reflecting, evaluating and revising the directive plan, from local to municipal scale;

g) promote the integration of public sectors, private sectors and society in general, aiming to reach the goals of the plan;

h) accompany the alteration of internal and external scenarios in and to the municipality, advertising strengths and opportunities and proposing corrections to municipal weaknesses;

i) promote permanent debate of the municipal planning and development process, from local to municipal scale;

j) act in order to defend municipal interests for municipal, regional, state, federal and international authorities;

k) promote and diffuse the knowledge generated at the planning system, creating the knowledge system, amplifying and developing the network, system and management of the municipal participative and democratic Brazilian planning;

l) self evaluate, focused on its goals, the practices while system, adopting corrective measurements whenever needed;

m) aim for continuous improvement on its acting;

n) exercise other activities, compatible and adequate with proposed goals.

COMPOSITION AND INSTRUMENTALIZATION OS THE MUNICIPAL PLANNING SYSTEM

For each of the three entities that compose the system, it is described a schematic and descriptive explanation of its composition and functions.

SCHOOL ON THE MUNICIPAL PLANNING SYSTEM

School is the intellectual entity of the system. Institutionalized upon creation of the system, must be composed in a collegiate manner. Must possess and organized structure and its action may occur on the practice of partnerships and Education Institutions and/or research organs, as well as programs of university extension.

Proposed strategic functions of the school are: a) citizen education, qualifying the citizen for public life; b) create, diffuse, improve and correct discursive and knowledge practices on popular participation; c) create, diffuse and propose improvements in practices of participative management of the system.

GOVERNMENT ON THE MUNICIPAL PLANNING SYSTEM

As a integral part of the municipal government, is responsible for articulating and implementing the Municipal Directive Plan. Its strategic functions of government are:

a) promote the integration of public and private sectors, society in general and sector programs, aiming to reach the presupposes of the directive plan;

b) accompany the alteration of internal and external scenarios, divulgating strengths and opportunities and proposing corrections to the fragilities of the municipality;

c) promote permanent debate on the municipal planning and development process, disposed on the directive plan;

d) act in defense of municipal interests before municipal, regional, state, federal and international authorities;

e) articulate understandings with neighbor municipalities.

COUNCIL ON THE MUNICIPAL PLANNING SYSTEM

Is the collegiate organ of permanent character, deliberative and consulting on the planning system, being composed by representatives of the public power and civil society.

The Council must be constituted on the *Conference of the City*, event recommended by the *Statute of the City* (BRASIL, 2001). After the conference and by the composition deliberated by it, the organs that compose the council and the counselors that represent it assume their functions according to a Municipal Decree. Throughout the performance of the functions the counselors, who configure the participative democratic management of the planning system are capacitated on the discourse of the directive plan and planning system by the school.

Are listed as strategic functions of the council: a) represent on the planning system its segments of origin, from local to municipal level; b) act on the integration of diverse public policies constituted on the municipality, as deliberative and consulting organ; c) act as channel for discussions, suggestions and complaints related to the implementing actions of the directive plan from local to municipal level; d) act according to the recommendations of the Federal and State's *Council of the Cities*, for the *Conference of the City*.

STRUCTURE AND MANAGEMENT OF THE MUNICIPAL PLANNING SYSTEM

To better structure the planning system are proposed one municipal directive committee and local management committees in sufficient number according to the municipality in question. The directive committee must be established on the headquarters of the municipality, and the local committees on urban localities (neighborhoods, parishes, *et cetera*) and rural ones (districts, villages, *et cetera*) legally defined in spatial form.

The creation, quantity and locality of the local committees must obey technical criteria defined by the government and must aim, initially, to act on the spatial totality of the municipality. These committees must reproduce on the local scale the provisions of the directive committee.

The action of the planning system presupposes that the network exists, flows and be effective in all the municipal territory. Its existence objectify the participation of all citizens and social groups legally constituted, through the local and directive committees.

On both committees the quantity of participants is made according to its population and degree of organization of the municipality. It is recommended that each official representative holder has a substitute when needed.

Each of the three entities: government, school and council, must have a president whose responsibility is to manage its entity. The three presidents will also preside the directive committee.

On the local committees, the scale of the directive committee is reproduced according to the locality in question. Each of the three entities nominate a coordinator for the local committees.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

On the analysis and reflection of the Brazilian urban history, it is considered that urban planning begins from the 1850's, copying French models and disconsidering local culture. From that time on, Brazilian cities began to have two faces: legal and real; with considerable differences amongst each other. With Brasilia, national plans glorified technicality, as if planning was external to the administration.

The failure of the rationalistic model comes from the absence of popular participation. After the Constitution and the *Statute of the City*, the planning process proposes, in its discourse, a participative and committed way of thinking. In its conclusion it considers that the Brazilian challenge, to be overcome, foresees that government and population seek effective and constant planning processes together, not only rewrite public policies.

By the references presented, it has been acknowledged the existence of proceedings that make possible democratic management of urban systems. It has been perceived that for these system to be successful is needed to have a unique and coherent discourse between the involved.

If the theme is about discursive unity and coherence, which of the three examples is more adequate? Each of the examples reaches the goals proposed to reach, for they were according to a specific target of people. Considering different targets (public servers, counselors, citizens) despite occurring discursive unity and coherence in each of the groups, there is no integration between them, which generates polyphony instead of a broader discursive unity.

Despite the importance of tools such as deliberative democracy, Brazilian Gespública, governance, governation and Municipal Councils, a nucleus of formation and discourse unity is needed; for the experiences presented on the School of Government of Paraná, the Program of Formation of National Counselors and the School of Citizenship answer to the demands of segments of society, and not the whole of social actors.

It is considered that, by serving different targets, the systems make possible the discursive unity and coherence of their determined segments of society, therefore without their integration they generate polyphony. It is concluded that in this

scenario there is space for the proposition of the creation of a discursive-educational entity with amplitude of action.

It is proposed a planning system composed by the entities "government" and "council" according to the principles of governance; and "school", according to the principle of deliberative democracy and internal relation marketing. The system has been structured according to Brazilian laws and normatives.

The focus of the system, on its conception, is the Municipal Directive Plan in process of strategic planning. The proposed model forms an institutional triangle of systemic action.

Once the model is proposed, its practical application is needed for it to be evaluated. Considering the strategic functions proposed for the entities of the model, it is proposed as future work the development of quality and productivity indicators, seeking to evaluate the model not only in its conception but also in its action.

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URBAN TRANSFORMATION LAND USE HOUSING AND SQUATTER

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NEIGHBORING AS AN INDICATOR OF SOCIAL INTEGRATION IN RESIDENTIAL AREAS OF ISTANBUL

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ABSTRACT

Social integration is the degree to which people are integrated to the systems of the social structure. The systems of the society process on different domains, such as political, economic, societal and they also occur on different levels, varying from macro level referring to the core institutions such as labour market, political system, to micro level such as the family or neighbourhood. Neighbouring is regarded as an indicator of social integration, as it is a type of a social system processing at the neighbourhood level. Neighbouring can be defined as social relations, based on spatial borders.

This paper aims to describe neighbouring characteristics in Istanbul's residential areas. With this aim, the motivation of this paper relies on the determination of spatial differentiation of social integration level based on neighbouring relations. The research in this paper is based on a household survey conducted in different groups of residential areas in Istanbul. Structural and functional characteristics of social relations in the residential areas and respondents' evaluations of these issues are considered as neighbouring indicators.

The results indicate that differentiating forms and levels of social integration based on neighbouring relations are accommodated in Istanbul's residential areas those identified with differentiating spatial and socio-economic characteristics. The paper, as evaluated from the framework of social integration concept, clarifies the role of neighbouring in the society and leads us to strategies that would promote in the conditions for improving the effectiveness of neighbouring.

INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Social integration is the harmonious, coherent and complementary processing of the structures of a social system (UNRISD, 1994; Berger-Schmitt, 2002). The level of collectivity, coherence and inclusivity of the social relations among the individual elements those form the social structure is regarded as the social integration level of the society (EUROFOUND, 2006). Social integration levels differentiate due to societies' organization forms, shared values, social rules and distribution of welfare (UNRISD, 1994).

Existence of equal rights and opportunities, shared values and trust among social systems, sense of belonging to the society, social relations and social networks are regarded as main components of social integration (Berger-Schmitt, 2002). Individuals' integration to the core institutions such as labour market, education and qualification, health and housing systems and to the political system is regarded as the structural integration. Social relations among individual elements

and social networks of all forms and level of individuals' participation in these networks refer to the interactive integration (EUROFOUND, 2004).

Social relations which are regarded as the fundamental components of social integration are formed through social networks. Social networks are referred as the structural features of social relations and are defined as the linkages among members of a **society (McNeill ve diğ., 2006; Schwarzer ve diğ., 2004).** Social networks those belong to the political and economic structures of the society and shape the life opportunities of individuals are regarded as the macro level social networks. Social relations such as family relations and neighbouring are regarded as social networks at the micro level and they provide basic support security needs in the society and (UNRISD, 1994).

Size of a social network refer to the number of individual elements in a network and is regarded as one of the determinants for structural characteristics of networks. Frequency of relationships is regarded as another indicator which determines the component linkage characteristics of social networks. Source of acquaintances such as kinship, friendship, neighbour or work acquaintance represents the content of relationships in a network. Social support is referred as a functional outcome of social relations that contributes in social integration and is defined as the resources which members of a network provide for each other. Social support is formed due to social networks' structural characteristics and is operationalized in 4 categories; instrumental support, informational support, emotional support and economic support. Instrumental support refers to exchange of material resources; informational support refers to exchange of information and assistance; emotional support refers to sharing of feelings and economic support refers to exchange of economic resources. Levels of received and perceived social support and demand for it depends on the socio-economic characteristics of the society and individuals' needs, expectations and attitudes (Due et al., 1999; McNeill et al., 2006).

In today's modern world, as networks are formed beyond spatial borders and provide spatially independent social relations, researchers and philosophers still make an emphasis on the importance of local networks and specify networks those based on neighbourhoods as fundamental components of social integration, especially for the disadvantaged groups of the society (Campbell and Lee, 1992; Forrest and Kearns, 2001). In this sense, neighbourhood regarded as is a series of social networks those perform an important role in everyday life practices and a social arena (Forrest and Kearns, 2001).

Main functions served by neighbouring are regarded as instrumental and emotional types of social support (Campbell and Lee, 1992). On the other hand, social pressure which occurs due to conflicts and expectations formed within the framework of social values, is regarded as a negative function of neighbouring (Due et al., 1999). As neighbouring relations are formed and developed beyond spatial and financial limitations, their functions are regarded as crucial, particularly for women, children, elder and low income groups (Campbell and Lee, 1992; Forrest and Kearns, 2001). In addition to this, the role of neighbouring in disadvantaged neighbourhoods is also emphasized noting that the quality of neighbouring contributes in residents' ability to cope with deprived neighbourhood environments (Forrest and Kearns, 2001).

This paper aims to describe neighbouring characteristics in Istanbul's residential areas. With this aim, the motivation of this paper relies on the determination of the spatial differentiation of social integration level and forms based on neighbouring relations. Comprehension of different social groups' social integration forms at the neighbourhood level processing in different locations of the city, would contribute in addressing strategies in order to promote in the integration process and particularly those would be taken into consideration during urban transformation processes in Istanbul.

METHODOLOGY

Data for this study was obtained from PhD dissertation titled as "A Model Proposal to Develop Green Areas' Efficiency in the Context of Improving Quality of Life" (Kısar-Koramaz, 2010) which analyzes quality of life in Istanbul through urban green areas, residential quality, social relations and health issues and their interactions. Data is collected through a questionnaire survey held in Istanbul's residential areas during July-June 2009 and is consisted of 474 face-to-face interviews. In this study, in order to depict the neighbouring characteristics in Istanbul's residential areas, among the overall survey data, data concerning to behavioural attributes and user evaluations for social relations in neighbourhoods is utilized.

Sampling

The principal aim of the sampling process was to reflect the differentiation of residential quality according to residential areas' spatial characteristics and development processes. For the construction of the sample, a database formed by Bölen et al (2005) covering Istanbul's residential areas' characteristics was utilized. From the database, *building coverage ratio on parcel (BCR)* indicator was used as a determinant of spatial characteristics, while *tax value of streets* indicator was used as a determinant of socio-economic status and development process of the residential area. Based on these indicators, residential areas were categorized into 4 groups and by using random sampling method 20 residential units within each group (80 in total) were filtered. Subsequently a survey study was held in these residential areas. Within the survey study, around each residential unit, 6 face-to-face interviews were held with adults over 18 years, by using a systematic filtering method. Overall, 474 interviews were completed among 4 residential groups.

In Figure 1, spatial distribution of the sample is given. As seen in Figure 1, "Group1; Informally developed-Low density Residential Areas" is represented with 118 respondents, "Group3; Formally developed-Low density Residential Areas" is represented with 116 respondents and "Group2; Informally developed-High density Residential Areas" and "Group4; Formally developed-High density Residential Areas" are represented with 120 respondents, for each.

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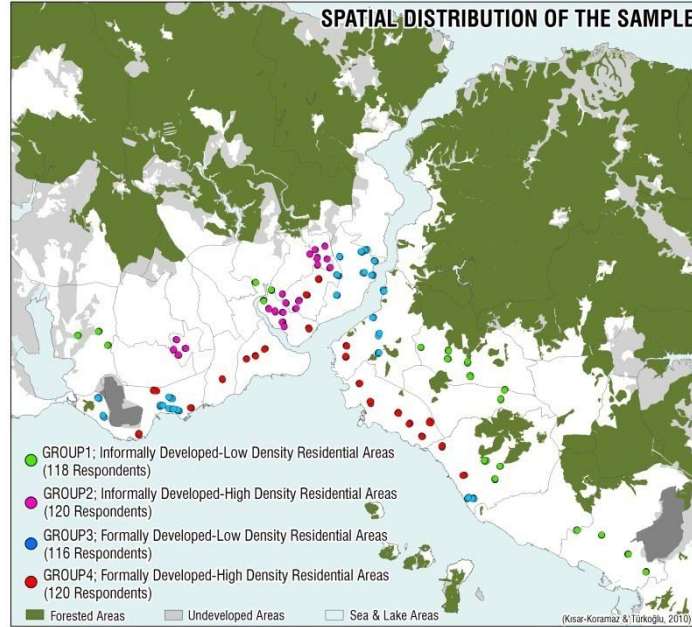
Figure 1. Spatial distribution of the sample

Definition of the Sample

Development process of informally developed residential areas (Group1 and Group2) had started as squatter areas and most of them were converted into legal settlements while planning efforts were made in order to rehabilitate them through rehabilitation plans. Among the informally developed residential areas, those with low densities (Group1) (population density:50-280 person/ha ; BCR:0,5-1,5) are located on the outskirts of the city, especially on the Anatolian side. On the other hand, informally developed-high density residential areas (Group2) comprise densely constructed settlements (300-840 person/ha and 1,8-3,3 BCR), surrounding the city centre and sub-centres on the European side (Figure 1). Both of the informally developed residential areas have low land values (5.500-40.000 TL or Group1 and 10.000-50.000 TL for Group2). It should be noted that, due to unplanned and rapid development processes, these areas confront with problems concerning to building and environmental quality and lack of public facilities while they also stand out with the requirement of urban transformation processes in order to improve quality of life.

Formally developed residential areas (Group3 and Group4) comprise traditional neighbourhoods developed in the earlier periods through planning regulations or mass housing settlements those developed within specific plans. Among the formally developed residential areas, Group3 has low density values (30-120 person/ha; 0,3-1,6 BCR) (Figure 2) and are located among Bosporus as traditional settlements and in Besiktas and Bakirkoy as mass housing areas located (Figure 1). Formally developed high density residential areas (Group4) (110-630 person/ha; 1,6-2,8 BRC) comprises traditional housing and mass housing areas located among Marmara sea, on both sides of the city (Figure 1). Both of the formally developed

residential areas have high land values (63.000-490.000 TL for Group3 and 80.000-450.000 TL for Group4).
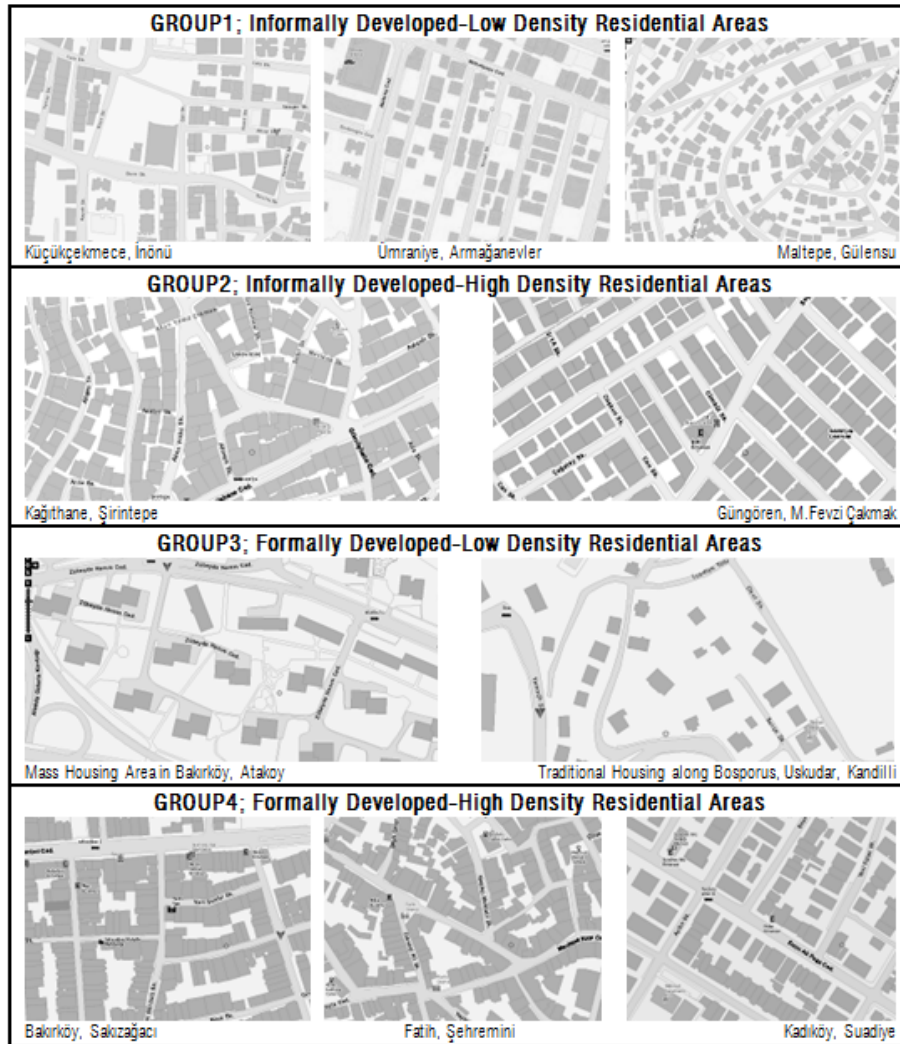
Figure 2. Examples of structuring patterns of residential areas

For both of the informally developed residential areas (Group1 and Group2) the prominent reason for preference of living in the neighbourhood is low accommodation prices and closeness to relatives and friends. In informally developed-low density residential areas (Group1) located on the outskirts of the city, the proportion of residents those moved to the neighbourhood from another city is higher when compared to other residential area groups. For Group3, residency period in the neighbourhood has the lowest value among all residential area groups and prominent reasons for preference of living in the neighbourhood

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for Group3 are availability of green areas and recreational facilities and attractiveness of the neighbourhood. Among all residential area groups, Group4 has the highest residency period for length of residency in the neighbourhood.

Informally developed residential area groups (Group1 and Group2) indicate low socio-economic profiles due to low integration to the education system and labour market. More than 50% of the respondents of informally developed residential area groups have only completed primary education. Likewise in Group1 65% of the respondents and in Group2 63% of the respondents are in low income group which refers to a monthly household income less than 1000 TL. Assessments for employment status indicators indicate that in informally developed residential areas (Group1 and Group2), higher proportions of house-women and lower proportions of employees are observed. Especially relatively low numbers of students and retirees and high numbers of unemployed are accommodated in informally developed-low density residential areas those located on the outskirts of the city.

Formally developed-high density residential areas (Group4) indicate a heterogenic social character which may be considered as the middle class. In Group4, middle income group comprises approximately the majority with a proportion of 48% and proportions of low income and high income groups converge. Similarly proportions of high school graduates (40%) and university graduates (41%) converge while comprising the majority in Group4. Likewise, in Group4, proportions of employees, house-women and retirees converge. On the other hand, the majority of formally developed-low density residential area group (Group3) is graduated from university (67%) and is in high income group (65%) and Group3 has higher proportions of employees (%35). In other words, Group3 represents the highest social profile among all residential area groups.

DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

In order to investigate the differentiation of neighbouring characteristics in Istanbul's residential areas, characteristics of spatially based relations in neighbourhoods is analyzed. The unit of measurement regarded as "neighbourhood" is expressed by using the phrase "near where you live" during interviews.

As the first step of this analysis, using SPSS Statistics (17.0) Program, 24 variables concerning to objective characteristics of neighbour relations and respondents' perceptual evaluations for them are submitted to Principal Component Analysis (using Varimax Rotation Method), in order to cluster the variables and establish reliable factors. Through the analysis, 6 factors emerged explaining 69,57% of the variance (eigenvalue: 0,944).

The factors emerged through the analysis and the variables those comprise the factors are given in Table 1. Among the factors, "F1. Actual Size of Social Environment in Neighbourhood" indicates structural characteristics of neighbouring network and comprises numbers of "friends/relatives" and "people known by name" in the neighbourhood. Factors "F2. Actual Level of Social Support and Social Relations in Neighbourhood" and "F3. Actual Level of Collective Attendance in Socio-Cultural Facilities" represent functional characteristics and frequencies of relationships with neighbours. Factor coded as F2 comprises frequencies of instrumental, emotional and informational types of social support provided among

neighbours and frequencies of spatially based facilities performed with neighbours such as making visits to each other, shopping and going to a neighbourhood park. On the other hand, factor coded as F3 comprises collective facilities those require socio-cultural infrastructure and socio-economic freedom, such as going to a cinema, concert, café, restaurant etc. and making visits in Istanbul's other places with neighbours.

Table 1. Neighbouring Indicators Emerged through Principal Component Analysis

FACTORS	VARIABLES
F1. ACTUAL SIZE OF SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT IN NEIGHBOURHOOD	*Number of friends in the neighbourhood* *Number of people known by name in the neighbourhood* *Number of relatives in the neighbourhood*
F2. ACTUAL LEVEL OF SOCIAL SUPPORT AND SOCIAL RELATIONS IN NEIGHBOURHOOD	*Frequency of emotional support among neighbours* *Frequency of informational support among neighbours* *Frequency of going out for shopping with neighbours* *Frequency of making visits to each other among neighbours* *Frequency of instrumental support among neighbours* *Frequency going to a park with neighbours*
F3. ACTUAL LEVEL OF COLLECTIVE ATTENDANCE IN SOCIO-CULTURAL FACILITIES WITH NEIGHBOURS	*Frequency going to a cinema, concert etc. with neighbours* *Frequency of making visits in Istanbul with neighbours* *Frequency of going to a café, restaurant etc. with neighbours*
F4. PERCEIVED SOCIO-RELATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS IN NEIGHBOURHOOD	*I have neighbours that I can share my troubles* *I have neighbours that give me advisory support* *I have neighbours that I can get help whenever I need* *Frequency of my contacts with my neighbours satisfy me* *Number of my neighbours/friends in the neighbourhood satisfy me* *I feel I can support my neighbours* *My social relations in my neighbourhood make me feel relived* *I know a lot of people in my neighbourhood*
F5. PERCEIVED SOCIAL PRESSURE	*I pay attention on my neighbours' considerations about me* *I sometimes feel I am precluded by my neighbours*
F6. SENSE OF BELONGING TO NEIGHBOURHOOD	*I feel I belong to this neighbourhood*

Note: Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy: 0,905 and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity sig.: 0,000.

Factors coded as F4, F5 and F6 comprise variables measured through subjective evaluations of respondents. "F4.Perceived Socio-Relational Characteristics in Neighbourhood" refers to respondent's perceptions and evaluations for the size of their neighbouring network and functions and frequencies of relationships with their neighbours. Factor coded as F5 refers to the level of perception of social pressure originated by neighbours and its effect on individuals' personal choices. Lastly, factor coded as F6 refers to the level of individuals' sense of belonging to the neighbourhood (Table 1).

One-Way ANOVA and Tukey tests were performed in order to determine the spatial differentiation of neighbouring indicators. When assessing the actual levels of neighbouring indicators, One-way ANOVA results indicate significant differences among residential area groups for all of the 3 factors (for F1, F2, F3; sig<0,05). A comparison of F values of the three factors notes that among the other factors, Actual Size of Social Environment in Neighbourhood is a more effective discriminator (F:19,065) between the residential area groups. Tukey tests results indicate that informally developed-high density residential area group (Group2) and

informally developed-low density residential area group (Group1) significantly differ from all the other groups. With the highest mean score (0,48) for factor F1, informally developed-high density residential area group (Group2) stands out among the other residential areas, indicating a wider social environment based on spatially based acquaintances. For factor F1, informally developed-low density residential area group (Group1) significantly differs from other groups, with a mean score (0,11) lower than Group2 but higher than formally developed residential area groups (Group3 and Group4). On the other hand, no significant difference is observed among the two pairs of formally developed residential area groups (Group3 and Group4). The results indicate that, in informally developed residential areas where socio-economic profile is low and relations produced through institutional networks are limited, local neighbourhood networks are wider. In addition to this, it should be noted that the size of the neighbouring network widens as the population density of the residential area increases in informally residential areas (Table 2).

Table 2. Actual Characteristics of Neighbouring among Residential Area Groups - One-way ANOVA and Tukey Test Results

F1. ACTUAL SIZE OF SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT IN NEIGHBOURHOOD	df	Sum of Squares		Mean Square
Between groups	3	51,316		17,105
Within groups	470	421,684		,897
TOTAL	473	473,000	F:19,065	Sig.:,000
MEAN 1.GROUP: 0,11 ▪▪ 2.GROUP: 0,48 ** 3.GROUP: -0,27 4.GROUP: -0,33 TOTAL:0,00				
n: 118 n: 120 n: 116 n:120 N:474				
F2. ACTUAL LEVEL OF SOCIAL SUPPORT AND SOCIAL RELATIONS IN NEIGHBOURHOOD	df	Sum of Squares		Mean Square
Between groups	3	16,948		5,649
Within groups	470	456,052		,970
TOTAL	473	473,000	F:5,822	Sig.:0,001
MEAN 1.GROUP: 0,29* ▪ 2.GROUP: -0,18* 3.GROUP: -0,15 ▪ 4.GROUP: 0,04 TOTAL:0,00				
n: 118 n:120 n:116 n:120 N:474				
F3. ACTUAL LEVEL OF COLLECTIVE ATTENDANCE IN SOCIO-CULTURAL FACILITIES	df	Sum of Squares		Mean Square
Between groups	3	29,838		9,946
Within groups	470	443,162		,943
TOTAL	473	473,000	F:10,548	Sig.:0,000
MEAN 1.GROUP: -0,12 * 2.GROUP: -0,31▪○ 3.GROUP: 0,37*▪ 4.GROUP: 0,07○ TOTAL:0,00				
n: 118 n: 120 n: 116 n:120 N:474				

*Note: * ▪ ○ ▢ signs indicate groups significantly differing from each other; ** and ▪▪ signs indicate the groups differing from the rest of the groups (95% confidence interval; sig<0,05)*

As One-way ANOVA results indicate significant differences for factor F2 (Actual Level of Social Support and Social Relations in the Neighbourhood), Tukey tests results indicate that informally developed-low density residential area group (Group1) significantly differs from informally developed-low density residential area group (Group2) and formally developed-low density residential area group (Group3) with a higher mean score (Group1 mean: 0,29). Interpretation of this result obviously indicates that, neighbouring networks in Group1 residential areas which are located on the outskirts of the city and showing worsening levels of socio-economic profile, produce more functional relationships providing higher

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levels of social support and higher frequency of performing collective spatially based facilities (Table 2).

On the other hand, as One-way ANOVA results indicate significant differences for factor F3 (Actual Level of Collective Attendance in Socio-Cultural Facilities), the significant differences indicated by Tukey tests results and mean scores perform an altered scene. For informally developed residential area groups (Group1 and Group2) level of collective attendance in socio-cultural facilities with neighbours differ from formally developed residential area groups (Group3 and Group4) and perform lower mean scores indicating lower frequencies. For the explanation of this result, it should be emphasized that attendance in socio-cultural facilities requires related infrastructure and economic and physical access to this infrastructure (Table 2).

When assessing subjective perceptions and evaluations of neighbouring characteristics (F4), One-way ANOVA results indicate no significant differences among residential area groups (F:1,809; sig.:0,145). In other words, while spatially and socio-economically differentiating residential areas' neighbouring characteristics differ from each other, residents' perceptions and evaluations for neighbouring characteristics do not differentiate. This result should be supported by the fact that subjective evaluations for objective conditions are effected by personal needs, expectations and attitudes. Similarly, One-way ANOVA results indicate no significant differences among residential area groups for sense of belonging to the neighbourhood (F:1,039; sig.:0,375) (Table 3).

Table 3. Subjective Evaluations for Neighbouring Characteristics among Residential Area Groups - One-way ANOVA and Tukey Test Results

F4. PERCEIVED SOCIO-RELATIONAL FEATURES IN NEIGHBOURHOOD			df	Sum of Squares		Mean Square
Between groups			3	5,398		1,799
Within groups			470	467,602		,995
TOTAL			473	473,000	F: 1,809	Sig.:0,145
MEAN	1.GROUP:0,00 *n:* 118	2.GROUP:-0,16 *n:120*	3.GROUP:0,14 *n:116*	4.GROUP:0,03 *n:120*	TOTAL:0,00 *N:474*	
F5. PERCEIVED SOCIAL PRESSURE			df	Sum of Squares		Mean Square
Between groups			3	9,019		3,006
Within groups			470	463,981		,987
TOTAL			473	473,000	F:3,045	Sig.:0,029
MEAN	1.GROUP:0,21* *n: 118*	2.GROUP:0,00 *n: 120*	3.GROUP:-0,04 *n: 116*	4.GROUP:-0,17* *n:120*	TOTAL:0,00 *N:474*	
F6. SENSE OF BELONGING TO NEIGHBOURHOOD			df	Sum of Squares		Mean Square
Between groups			3	3,116		1,039
Within groups			470	469,884		1,000
TOTAL			473	473,000	F:1,039	Sig.:0,375
MEAN	1.GROUP:-0,12 *n: 118*	2.GROUP:0,02 *n: 120*	3.GROUP:0,11 *n: 116*	4.GROUP:-0,01 *n:120*	TOTAL:0,00 *N:474*	

*Note: * sign indicates groups significantly differing from each other (95% confidence interval; sig<0,05)*

On the other hand, One-way ANOVA results indicate significant differentiation for perceived social pressure (F:3,045; sig.:0,029). Tukey tests results indicate that informally developed-low density residential area group (Group1) with the highest

mean score (0,21) significantly differs from formally developed-high density residential area group (Group4). In other words, in Group1, while through a considerably wide neighbouring network the most functional relationships are provided, high levels of social pressure is also produced among its members. In addition to this, it may also be noted that perceptions of social pressure lessens in formally developed high density residential areas where the social structure is heterogeneous (Table 3).

CONCLUSION

This study made a description of neighbouring characteristics and addressed the spatial differentiations of these characteristics among residential areas of Istanbul. In conclusion it should be noted that, social groups which are weakly integrated to the macro structures such as educational and economic systems and labour market, tend to develop spatially dependent relationships. In addition to this, since different social groups are located on different parts of the city with differentiating environmental quality levels, neighbouring characteristics as micro level social integration forms and levels also differentiate. In informally developed residential areas, which are generally areas of deprivation in terms of public services and environmental quality, social integration level through neighbouring is higher when compared to formally developed residential areas those accommodate higher socio-economic profiles in more qualified environments.

Size of neighbourhood networks is wider in informally developed residential areas and neighbourhood networks widen as residential area's density increases. Spatially based daily activities performed with neighbours and social support which is a function served by neighbouring, reach the highest levels in informally developed residential areas those located on the outskirts of the city with low densities. In other words, the most disadvantaged social groups in terms of geographic location in the city, deprived neighbourhood environment and integration to macro structures, seem to produce more functional relations through neighbouring and socially integrate within their spatial borders

However, in formally developed residential areas, distinct from low levels of spatially based activities and social support, level of attendance in socio-cultural activities with neighbours is high. Here, it should be noted that, attendance in socio-cultural facilities requires related infrastructure, individuals' economic and physical access to this infrastructure as well as personal demand.

Despite of the differentiating pattern of neighbouring characteristics among residential areas, it is determined that individuals' subjective evaluations for these characteristics do not differentiate. This finding indicates that social relations depend on individuals' expectations and demands. Finally, it should be noted that, informally developed low density residential areas, where social integration through neighbouring reaches the highest levels, also seem to be the places where highest levels of social pressure is perceived. On the other hand, formally developed high density residential areas which have heterogeneous social structure, are places where perceived social pressure reaches lowest values.

The findings of the study, lead us to question strategies particularly those should be taken into consideration in urban transformation processes. First of all, probable transformation processes concerning to informally developed residential areas which face with environmental and building quality problems, should

particularly take the effectiveness of spatially based relations into consideration in order to sustain relations among residents. Through transformation processes, interventions for improvement of environmental quality of the informally developed residential areas and provision of interaction places such as recreation facilities and socio-cultural infrastructure to these areas would contribute in quality of life of the vulnerable social groups accommodating in these areas. It should also be noted that, provision of public areas such as green areas and socio-cultural facilities in deprived residential areas would play a crucial role in terms of lessening social pressure among these social groups.

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FROM UTOPIA TO TOURISM: HOW THE FINNISH UTOPIAN COLONY OF PENEDO, BRAZIL, TURNED INTO A TOURIST PLACE

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ABSTRACT

This paper shows how an ancient Finnish utopian colony founded in 1929 in the Brazilian rural area found tourism as an alternative for its own sustainability. Tourism activities began in the colony in the 1940s after the end of the vegetarian utopian experiment. This vegetarian and naturalist Finnish colony was part of an utopian project created in the tropics by Toivo Uuskallio and some young idealistic followers in 1929. This new business was a successful way to maintain the pioneers and their families. Penedo maintained its local culture and grew as a place where Finnish pioneers and their descendants had their own culture as an additional attraction for tourism. After the end of this experience, tourism became its main economic activity as hospitality had its beginning in the Finnish immigrants' houses in the 1930s. Those activities were based on contemplation tourism, as the place is near a National Park and impressive surrounding nature, and on the attractions of Finnish culture such as the handicraft, food, and dance. Between 1940 and the 1970s there was a huge growth in the number of hotels and small inns. During the 1980s and 1990s the contemporary tourism industry process brought many changes to Penedo. Staged authenticity, as MacCannell (1999) writes, was reflected on some activities, such as the Finnish dance groups, created to show traditional dancing to tourists, and also with the architectural changes, with buildings constructed in Finnish vernacular style, in a way to show tourists that Penedo was a Finnish colony. This process included the creation of a Santa Claus House as found in Lapland, Finland, as a link between Penedo and its motherland, in a process Hobsbawn (1997) called 'invention of traditions'. Other authors such as Urry (2001), Shields (1992), and Judd and Fainstein (1999) helped to understand the process of tourism in this place, showing how such a global process in contemporary times is close to image-making, and its importance for the history and urbanism of a place. This paper studies local history through many of the pioneers' writings and some studies of its planning history and the utopian formation of Penedo, studied in a MSc thesis (FAGERLANDE, 2007). Many Finnish immigrants such as Ampula (1997), Valtonen (1998), and Hildén (1989) wrote their memoirs, an important element to understand the entirety of this process. Local foundation and the beginning of the tourism process was reported by Alva Fagerlande (1996;1998), Melkas (1999), Hottola (2006), Mascarenhas (2005), and is part of a PhD thesis on local history and the process of local place-image and its relation to tourism in small Brazilian villages.

INTRODUCTION

Tourism became an important activity for many places in the world, and some small towns boosted their economies with ethnical tourism based on their heritages. This happened in many Brazilian towns, in places originally founded by European immigrants. This paper studies the transformation that took place in Penedo, an ancient Finnish utopian colony founded in 1929 in a Brazilian rural area that saw tourism as an alternative to its own sustainability, especially based on the

Finnish heritage. Originally am utopian agricultural project, Penedo constructed its landscape to satisfy the tourist gaze, based on its ethnical heritage. How this happened, and the importance of this heritage for tourism-related activities is discussed here, in an attempt to understand how this reinvention of small towns based on a controversial process of transforming themselves into themed environments can help local traditions to survive.

Tourism activities began in the colony in the 1940s after the end of the vegetarian utopian experiment. This vegetarian and naturalist Finnish colony was part of an utopian project created in the tropics by Toivo Uuskallio and some young idealistic followers in 1929. This new business was a successful way to maintain the pioneers and their families. Penedo maintained its local culture and grew as a place where Finnish pioneers and their descendants had their own culture as an attraction for tourists. After the end of this experience, tourism became its first economic activity, as hospitality had its beginning in the Finnish immigrants'houses in the 1930s. Those activities were based on contemplation tourism, as the place is near a National Park and lovely nature, and on the attraction of Finnish culture, handicraft, culinary and dance. Between 1940 and the 1970s there was a huge growth in the number of hotels and small inns. During the 1980s and 1990s, the contemporary tourism process brought many changes to Penedo. Staged authenticity, as MacCannell (1999) writes, was reflected on some activities, such as the Finnish dance groups created to show traditional dance to tourists, and also with the changes in the architecture, with buildings constructed in Finnish vernacular style, in a way to show tourists that Penedo was a Finnish colony. It is part of what Gottdiener (2001) calls the construction of themed environments when many elements of Finnish vernacular architecture, cuisine and folk dance were used to attract visitors to Penedo. This process included the creation of a Santa Claus House, as in Lapland, Finland, as a link between Penedo and its 'motherland', in a process Hobsbawn (1996) called 'invention of traditions'. Other authors such as Urry (2007), Shields (1992), Judd, and Fainstein (1999) helped to understand the tourism process in this place, showing how such a global process in contemporary times is close to image-making, and its importance for the history and urbanism of a place.

This paper is part of a research work on how the local heritage can be used as part of a process to reinvent a place´s image, and how Penedo successfully changed from a rural community to a tourist place, using its cultural Finnish heritage to become an attraction to new visitors. Penedo tourism´ history can be compared to that of New Glarus, Wisconsin, USA, described by Hoelscher (1998) as an important example of how local history can contribute to the economy of small towns and to maintain cultural identity. Hoelscher studied this ancient Swiss colony that is said to be 'more Swiss than Switzerland' (PARADIS, 2004, p.195), where ethnicity-based tourism helped the place to recreate its urban landscape and become a tourist attraction.

Local tourism history is understood through many pioneers'writings and some studies on its planning history and the utopian formation of Penedo, studied in a MSc thesis (FAGERLANDE, 2007). Many Finnish immigrants such as Ampula (1997), Valtonen (1998) and Hildén (1989) wrote their memories, an important element to understand all this process. Local foundations and the beginning of the tourism industry process was reported by Alva Fagerlande (1996; 1998), Melkas (1999), Hottola (2006), Mascarenhas (2005), and is part of a PhD thesis on the local history

and the process of local place-image and its relation to tourism in small Brazilian villages.

The History of the Finnish vegetarian colony of Penedo: the utopian period – 1929/1942

Penedo was founded in 1929 by Toivo Uuskallio and a vegetarian Finnish young idealistic group. It was part of a religious and naturalistic movement in Finland that wanted to promote equality among people, and create a new society in the tropics. Uuskallio thought God was in Nature and Brazil would be a perfect land to turn his ideals into reality, far from great centres and in a tropical country.

Fig. 01 – Location of the Penedo Map Source: SOUSA; FAGERLANDE; HONKALA, 2002.

Fig. 02 –Group in front of farm in Brazilian residence [1931]. Source: Author's collection

The group bought an old farm and started a community there. There was a Housing Project, and opening roads and building houses was the first part of the project that was done. The architectural project was the same for all houses, as a model to show men's equal condition in the new land (FAGERLANDE, 2008).

Agriculture was the main economical activity in the beginning, despite the fact of the land being very poor as a result of the previous intense coffee farming that had ruined the place. There were no trees and the soil was depleted. No animals were admitted as they were all hard-core vegetarians. Uuskallio's ideas prohibited even coffee and milk, and people could eat only grains, fruits, and vegetables.

After trying to grow many types of grain, only orange tree plantations succeeded. This was the main activity during those days in the 1930s. Penedo was then a rural community with many houses and plantations, albeit with many difficulties (FAGERLANDE, 2007).

One economic alternative was to house guests in their own homes. They were simple places, although many other European people were interested in going there in search of some traditional European food, in line with their own traditions.

Tourism in the colony

The first place to receive guests was Reiman's house in 1932. The Finnish Consul's family travelled from Rio de Janeiro to stay there and it was the beginning of a continuous process of receiving people in the colony (FAGERLANDE, 1996). That is how tourism began, and after a while many other homes were receiving guests and had to be enlarged. Later on, the ancient farm house also started to work as an

inn, helping the Finnish pioneers to earn some money during those difficult first years of the colony.

With the beginning of Second World War the orange business collapsed and the vegetarian utopia ended in 1942, with the bankruptcy of Fazenda Penedo. Part of it was sold to a Swiss company that grew medicinal plants, Plamed. As it did not work very well, they sold it again and all the place was split into lots as a summer vacation place called Cidade de Ferias Itatiaia (Itatiaia Holidays Village) in the 1950s. That was how Penedo got many streets, as it is until nowadays.

With the end of Fazenda Penedo, agriculture was no longer the local business and tourism became the new main economic activity. With the money paid by the Swiss company, many families expanded their small inns which became hotels. They were still small, but with better structure to receive their guests, many of them foreign.

Fig. 03: Hotel Bertell [195-]
Source: Author's collection

After this incipient beginning, tourism helped the colony very much. Many other families had the so-called pension ('pensões'), guesthouses where visitors stayed with their families. They were known for their ladies'names as women were the ones responsible for the business when men were working on the land.

Many Finnish women, such as Liisa Uuskallio, Siiri Bertell, Hilja Hannonen, and Ms. Ikkelä had their small inns where guests were offered traditional Finnish food, such as bread, cakes, biscuits, and strawberry jams. There were also many walks to the mountains and rivers, and the Finnish dances.

Fig. 04: Reiman Guest House [195-]

Fig. 05: Pousada Penedo, 1951

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As many visitors travelled to stay in Penedo, local inhabitants began many other activities, such as the production of handicrafts to sell to tourists as another income activity. At first clothes, tissues, hats, carpets and even jam were produced for local consumption but then it became interesting for tourism. Toivo Asikainen was one of the pioneers, producing 'smooth luffa'[129] hats, used by the pioneers to protect the skin from the strong tropical sun. There was also an initial production of strawberry jam and liquors in 1934 as an experiment to create some kind of economic production in the colony. Later, carpets initially produced for local use were bought by the inns' guests. They were produced by Matti Toro, Maija Valtonen and also by Eila Ampula, who started to produce them not only for domestic use but as artistic products. There were also painted tissues and embroidery work created by Eva Hildén, T-shirts and other clothing items made by Helkka and Maarit, and handmade candles by Martti Aaltonen. All those artisans were old local inhabitants who tried to maintain Penedo's traditions, and used them as a way to survive economically.

Fig. 06: Smooth luffa handicraft
Source: Author's collection

Fig. 07: Ball at Clube Finlandia [195-]
Source: Author's collection

Another important activity brought to Brazil by the Finnish pioneers, also important to maintain their traditions was the sauna. This typical Finnish bath was more than a hygienic activity for Finns. It was a true cultural habit, a place for social meetings, and also very important to the initial project that was related to a naturalistic way of living. The first sauna in Brazil was one built near the river, close to the farmhouse, in 1929.

At that point, the community created the Clube Finlândia, a commercial and social association, in 1943, where all pioneers met and helped each other with their agricultural business. It was a cooperative association and also a place for social and cultural meetings. The Saturday dance, with Finnish and Brazilian music, became a regional place of interest receiving people from other towns around

[129] A plant from Cucurbitaceae family, named 'bucha'in Portuguese, intensively used before the invention of plastic.

Penedo. Not only Finnish people, but also Brazilians and the tourists were invited to come to the Club and enjoy many traditional Finnish dances, very different from Brazilian music and dance. During this period, the Finnish culture and nature were the main attractions for tourism. It was present in Penedo's daily life, as nearly all inhabitants were Finnish, and the natural difference from Brazilian daily life was what attracted those first visitors. Nobody needed to do anything about that or to create attractions. There was the sauna, the Finnish balls and dances, handicraft, food, everything quite different, inspiring Brazilian visitors or other Europeans to go there.

Staged authenticity in Penedo

As tourism became a major business in Penedo and people no longer had agriculture as their main business, it was important to have media showing what happened in Penedo. An important occasion was during Penedo's 50th Anniversary in 1979. It is possible to see that occasion as a turning point in Penedo's life. There was good media showing the colony, the local people, their traditional activities and customs, handicraft, and dance (HILDÉN, 1989).

The presence of an organized folk dance group was very important, as it can be seen from many photos in magazines. Since 1974, this group was created at Clube Finlândia by Anneli Turunen to dance on special occasions, helping to maintain this important tradition. During the 50th Anniversary, not only the veterans, but also many young descendants joined the group. They wore traditional clothes, called national clothes that represented many parts of Finland, and were always worn by the pioneers on special social events. After that event, it turned into a *dance show*, no longer only a cultural representation of traditional social meetings, but to show visitors that Penedo was different and Finnish. Those activities were part of a starting process of using Finnish culture to attract tourists to Penedo. The presence alone of Finnish pioneers was no longer the element responsible for that, but new activities programmed for that. That is what Shields (1992, p.6) calls the construction of place-image, when local history is very important. That occurred in Penedo, which began to be known as the 'Brazilian Finland'.

From the beginning of the colony, in 1929, it was possible to see photos of weddings, parties of all kinds, with people wearing those clothes. After the dance group was created, those clothes were used in a way to show how Finn Penedo was, as a tourist attraction. The group began to make presentations every Saturday and was one of the first experiments to stimulate tourism and maintain Finnish traditions. It was something programmed for visitors and showed how the local culture could be important to local tourism business. It was what Urry (2007) said about how the tradition industry in Europe was important to tourism in many countries, helping to maintain local traditions, while linking it to the travel trade. It was a great change for the local tourism scenario. A place where tourism began quite 'naturally' was trying to follow the global needs of tourism.

Those activities were what MacCannell (1999) calls staged authenticity, something re-created for tourism consumption, which existed as a cultural trace, but became a spectacle, with a specified place and time to happen. It is no longer something existing only as local culture, but something used as a commercial activity, to sell the local image, selling the place as a Finnish Colony, helping other local commercial activities such as hotels, restaurants, and small shops to sell their

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products to many visitors. It is not only a commemoration of local culture, but something to be shown on magazines, television, and other media.

Figure 08: Dance group, on the 50th Anniversary
Source: Manchete Magazine, 1979.

Penedo has changed much during in recent years, with a large number of new inns, small hotels, restaurants, and all kinds of small shops. There was the traditional handicraft and also many Brazilian people that opened all sorts of small shops. Tourism boosted many of its activities, and there was much support to Finnish activities, especially at Clube Finlândia. The local commercial association always helped the Finnish and their descendants with cultural activities, helping to maintain Finnish culture, and also as an attraction to tourists. Many events, such as gastronomic festivals (Festival das Trutas), and also the Pikkujoulu (Small Christmas), the traditional Advent commemoration, were occasions when the community joined together the Finnish, their descendants, and many Brazilians.

As a result of this need to find new tourist attractions linked to Finnish culture and traditions, those Brazilian merchants had the idea to build a Santa Claus House in Penedo, inspired by Finland's original one. That was thought as a way to preserve the Finnish character of Penedo and create a new attraction for the place (FAGERLANDE, 1999). The initial idea evolved into something bigger, where the Finnish culture could be represented; its image would be more strongly associated to the traditional vernacular architecture, beyond the Santa Claus House. The whole place was called *Pequena Finlândia e Casa de Papai Noel de Penedo* (Little Finland and Santa Claus House), opened in November 1998, with a Finnish Santa Claus visiting directly from that country.

The place was a new landmark in Penedo and very important for its image. The place was a real Finnish colony, but nothing looked very "Finnish" there. The pioneers did not have that on mind when they built their houses and it was not important, until that moment, to have places similar to those in Finland. Urry (2007, p.18) describes about how important it is to create places to be contemplated through dreams and fantasies, different from all we are used to live with, and this expectation is made by many non-tourist activities, such as the cinema, television, literature, magazines, music, and video, that are important for the tourist gaze.

Fig. 09: Santa Claus House / Little Finland
Source: Author's collection, 1998

Fig. 10: Dance group at Santa Claus Square
Source: Author's collection, 1999

The enterprise has many handicraft shops, restaurants, coffee shops and a theatre[130], and looks like a traditional small Finnish village, inspired by Rauma, Naantali, Turku, and Porvoo[131]. Architecture, as in a thematic park, is the inductor of its image, and helps to show the concept of the project, showing how an ideal Finnish village looks like. Masonry houses simulate wooden houses and all colours are authentic, copied from Finnish catalogues, giving truth to the place. Some details, such as wooden fences and the name of the shops, initially required to have Finnish names, gave a more realistic Finnish image to the 'village'. There was stimulus to sell Finnish products or handicraft with some connection to the local production, and also shopkeepers should use traditional Finnish clothes as part of the 'staged authenticity'.

Fig. 11: Little Finland pond
Source: BRANDÃO, 2001

Fig. 12: Little Finland's inner street
Source: Author's collection, 1999

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[130] The theatre was named Sibelius but is not in use at this moment.
[131] Small historical villages on the coastal region of Finland.

The project includes a small pond, typical in Finland, separating the village from the part that would represent a forest, where Santa Claus House is located with its toy factory and a traditional Finnish sauna. All the buildings, even those made with bricks, looked like traditional log houses, covered with parts of logs. This is very traditional in old houses in Northern Europe, and a Santa Claus House should be like that (FAGERLANDE, 1999). Inside the house there is Santa Claus receiving kids all year long. The house is similar to an old traditional Finnish house with many handcrafted objects brought from Finland. Fantasy and history were mixed to entertain and give an idea of how far the country Penedo's pioneers came from is.

Figure 13: Santa Claus home – interior
Source: Author's collection, 1999

The main idea for the project was to build an attraction for local tourism, but also something close to Finnish traditions. A Santa Claus house is an invented tradition, even in Finland, and it seems like what Hobsbawn (1997) says about the way traditions are invented and how people use those ideas to their benefit, especially in tourism. The image of Santa Claus is a good attraction for local tourism, and also something linking Penedo to Finland and its culture.

Another point of this project, apart from tradition, was the issue of authenticity. MacCannell (1999) discusses the importance of authentic or non-authentic attractions and whether tourists want to see them or not. Mac Cannell calls those places as *staged authenticity*, something that is produced for tourists, based on local history or tradition, but not exactly an original fact. The most important is what tourists want to see, their gaze upon it (URRY, 2007).

Santa Claus House and Little Finland is a thematic shopping mall, with many references to a park. Sorkin's (1992) analysis about idealized spaces seems to make sense in a place like that. In the 1990's, Penedo needed some new tourist attractions, based on what MacCannell (1999) calls staged authenticity, as part of the architecture of spectacle (DEBORD, 2007). This experiment of having Finnish architecture there, even if as a copy of something that never existed there, is linked to the idea of some thematic parks, creating a perfect scenario for many traditional activities such as dances and gastronomy, facilitating a revival of those Finnish activities that were disappearing in Penedo.

The way many activities, such as the Clube Finlândia dances and traditional handicraft, tapestry and food were maintained was possible only with all that process that brought attention to Penedo's Finnish character, attracting more tourists and showing people, even Finnish families, that it was possible to sell

Finnish products to tourists. The media attained by this process was important, appearing in magazines and on television in Brazil and in Finland.

All those activities show how the Finnish heritage was important to transform Penedo into an important tourist attraction, helping the local economy to survive, and also the use of themes in the village became itself the attraction, as it happened in New Glarus and other small villages in the US (HOELSCHER, 1998; PARADIS, 2004). The construction of a themed environment, as Gottdiener (2001) describes, was very important for Penedo, including ethnic architecture as built in the Santa Claus House and Small Finland. Using its Finnish heritage to attract new visitors helped to preserve many traditional elements of local culture, and not to destroy them. This paper wants to show how it is possible to use themes to preserve local culture, as it is turned into a commodity, and this process helps to maintain it.

Urban changes – a new central area

There were many changes in Penedo as a result of the construction of Santa Claus and Little Finland. It became a tourist attraction and as in 1999 there was the 60th Anniversary of the colony foundation, a Festival promoted by Clube Finlândia and Santa Claus House and Little Finland had the attention of many Brazilian newspapers and television. Also, there was a group of Finnish visitors, including dance and music groups. The opportunity of having a place representing Finland so well was very interesting to all Finnish visitors, including journalists, that had news published in that country about Penedo and its new enterprise. Penedo began to have more attention from Finland, stimulating links between the two countries.

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Fig. 14: Penedo's 70th anniversary in a Finnish newspaper
Source: Uutislehti 100, 1999

Fig. 15: Vale dos Duendes Shopping Centre.
Source: Author's collection, 2007

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Another important consequence of the project was an urban change. Penedo did not have its centrality defined before, as all restaurants, hotels and shops were not concentrated in just one place, but along the main road in the valley. When the new complex was inaugurated, as it is at the corner of two streets, Rua das Velas and Avenida das Mangueiras, it became the area where new shops, restaurants and shopping centres were built. Many traditional shops and restaurants were there before, but many others were built around them, and it has been Penedo's central area since 1999. Many of those new places were also tourist places, as the Shopping

dos Duendes (Dwarves Shopping Centre), following the same fantasy idea of the Santa Claus House, and also something reminding the Nordic origins of the place.

Apart from the architecture, the creation of folk dance groups, such as the Penedon Pippurit, and later the PKY - Penedon Kansantanssin Ystävät (Friends of Penedo folk dance group) were stimulated. Those groups dance not only at the Clube Finlândia Saturday dance, but also in the Santa Claus House and Little Finland amphitheatre. Recently, Clube Finlândia promoted a Finland Festival to celebrate Penedo's 80th Anniversary, with the participation of a good number of local people to promote Finnish culture, with good results. There were dance and music groups from Finland, lectures on culture and history, and sports events. This festival was part of the community participation in the redemption of history and memory of the place, and had no participation of public or governmental authorities. It showed how that process of turning it into a spectacle is sometimes important to preserve local traditions and how tourism is part of this process.

CONCLUSION

After a period of decline in its tourism, and also with the end of many traditional Finnish activities in Penedo, the local commerce is now developing a process of revitalization. After the inauguration of the Santa Claus House and Little Finland, many changes took place in Penedo, not only in the urban domain but also in recreating the local image. The success of the new place stimulated new enterprises such as other shopping centres, all of them thematic. It also increased the number of places using Finnish names, even without any link to Finland or with their owners without any kind of relation with the country. It became a strong sales attraction to have a Finnish name or some relation to that architecture.

Although some Finnish-like attractions were created, the presence of actual Finnish-origin attractions also increased. Shops like *Kielo*, selling traditional Finnish handicraft created by Helena Hildén de Souza and the Finnish Martti Vartia's restaurant *Koskenkorva*, that existed before in Rio de Janeiro, are some examples of how Penedo came to be a place where many traditions could be rediscovered, with commercial acceptance. Other old shops such as Eeva Hohenthal's shop specialized in jams, liquors and handicraft, began to produce and sell more Finnish products, such as pulla, korvapuusti and piparkakku, traditional breads and biscuits.

There was also interest in the commemoration of Penedo's 70th, 75th and 80th anniversaries. Those events attracted visitors not only from Brazil, but also from Finland. The Finland Festival, commemorating Penedo's 80th anniversary was important to rally the local community around Finnish cultural events. That was important to publicize Penedo in the local and regional media, helping tourist activities. All those events were important to increase local identity, and part of the population began to understand the importance of its own local culture, not only as something abstract, but as another way to earn income.

Penedo is still an important tourist attraction, receiving visitors from Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and many other places from this important Brazilian region. Nature continues as an important reason for tourists to go there, but also the continuity of Finnish culture and activities is important and is reinforced by actions that help preserve both its culture and image.

The presence of local traditions, as Clube Finlândia and its museum and dances is important, and also new enterprises such as Santa Claus and Little Finland, commercial places reinforcing Finnish image of the place. These activities help preserve not only local jobs, but especially maintain a Finnish presence in Penedo.

Penedo is an example in Brazil of what Hoelscher points that happened in New Glarus, USA. A small place with not many attractions has a great number of hotels, restaurants and is an important regional leisure place because the local community could use its local Finnish culture to attract visitors, and was successful in the process of becoming a themed environment, an important way to stand out from other small villages, and be an attraction amongst many other places in Brazil. Even without many other great attractions, Penedo survives being a themed place, using its Finnish character to attract visitors, proving that it is possible to combine local history, even that which is sometimes recreated, and some traditions, with what tourists want to see, as fantasy and new attractions prepared for them.

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TRANSFORMATION OF OTTOMAN NEIGHBORHOODS INTO MODERN ONES IN EDİRNE

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ABSTRACT

The concept of neighborhood has changed significantly from the Ottoman to modern periods. During the Ottoman period, the mahalle, the neighborhood, was an economic and social identity which, as far as the daily lives of its inhabitants were concerned, delineated their primary cultural milieu (families, religious communities, etc.). However, in modern times the mahalles have been defined only by the administrative boundaries. The purpose of this paper is to illustrate the characteristic differences between Ottoman and modern neighborhoods in Edirne.

Today the city of Edirne is divided into eleven districts. These districts are further broken down administratively into 24 neighborhoods (mahalle) that are overseen by neighborhood administrators called "Muhtar." The neighborhood is generally classified according to three separate grouping: 1. The former outer neighborhoods of Edirne proper (Karaağaç, Yıldırım, Yeniimaret) 2. Edirne's central neighborhoods (Kaleiçi, Ayşekadın, Kıyık, Çavuşbey, Sabuni, Taşlık) 3. Edirne's new neighborhoods (Hacılarezanı, İstasyon).

During the Ottoman period, the mahalle was both a basic urban administrative unit and a social and economic entity. However, these two meanings never completely overlapped. The centrally determined administrative network of Ottoman Edirne and the web of local identities did not necessarily coincide. This situation was the same in the 15th and 16th centuries as it was in the modernizing 19th century. The perception of social environment and its self-definition in relation to their immediate surrounding were always more important than the religious/administrative network imposed upon the cityscape for purposes of control or collection of taxes.

Up until the Tanzimat reforms of the 19th century, the imam of the local mosque in the residential quarters of the Ottoman city was considered to be both a religious leader and the local headman, holding both administrative and religious powers and duties. He also acted as a guarantor for every local inhabitant. Any newcomer who wanted to build a house in the mahalle had to have the imam's approval, provide a guarantor, and also produce proof of his solvency. Therefore, the mosque was the social core of the mahalle.

The early "19th century saw the first trends towards westernization and after the 1830s, as a result of this movement movement, muhtars, administrators who did not have religious duties, were appointed as local headmen. The process of transformation of authority was generally smooth and a good example of this transfer can be observed in the historical neighborhoods of Edirne.

Following the establishment of the secular republic in the early twentieth century, the concept of mahalle changed totally due to the reorganization of public

administration, suburbanization and rural migration. Resident identification with the neighborhoods weakened due to these neighborhood's more heterogeneous characteristics and the resulting lack of social interaction. The increase in population increase and the advent of multi-storey buildings served to break down the traditions of social interaction among neighbors. Modern living conditions, heavy working hours, cultural differences of the people coming from different provinces and the increasing gap between the different socio-economic groups interrupted the social interaction among individuals. Thus, changes in physical, social, economic, cultural and demographic conditions have contributed to the transformation of neighborhoods in Edirne.

INTRODUCTION

Edirne is important as a border city as well as a cultural and university center. It also has historic importance since it served as one of the Ottoman Empires's three historical capital cities (along with Bursa and Istanbul). As an historical city, Edirne has undergone substantial changes to fit to the lifestyles of different cultures, administrative regimes and spatial demand of its growing population. Thus, this paper investigates the transformation of Ottoman neighborhoods into modern ones in Edirne with respect to social and physical characteristics.

Edirne was established by the Romans and despite the extensive renovations during the Byzantine period, the city had not lost its Roman character at the time of the Ottoman conquest in 1361 (Kuran, 1996). Moreover, it retained its classical features until the middle of the 19th century. The historical part of the city was surrounded by walls and this walled city was the home of administrators and artisans. Lower class people lived in the periphery of the city within orchards and fields. In the middle of the 19th century the walls were torn down, with the stones used for the new constructions.

As was true for the other Ottoman cities, during the Ottoman period the city consisted of many small, self-governing neighborhoods (Behar, 2003). The 19th century Tanzimat Reforms (1839), however, implemented a transition from informal administration whereby the imam of a neighborhood mosque would register marriages and supervise property governed by religious endowments to one where a civil servant, the muhtar who was appointed by the municipal government, would keep a more detailed reckoning of people moving in and out of the quarter, marriages, births, property transfers, and so on (Behar, 2003). Today, from these records it is possible to learn about the population of the neighborhoods, as well as changes in their economic situations.

The meanings of an Ottoman neighborhood were described comprehensively by Kivrim (2009). According to him, (i) it was a place where people with the same features lived together; (ii) it was a community of people praying in the same mosque or other religious institution and trying to solve their problems on their own; and (iii) it was a community responsible for paying taxes.

In the wake of the 15th century Ottoman conquest, the population of the certain settlements increased and Muslim neighborhoods started to develop around religious complexes which also included social facilities (Aksoy, 1968; Aktüre, 1978; Al-Hemaidi, 2001). Religious buildings have always been one of the integral components of the urban layout of the Ottoman settlement (Cerasi, 1999). A typical feature of the Ottoman neighborhood was that it comprised people of

varying socio-economic backgrounds. Cybriwsky (1978) described the general characteristics of the social aspects of neighborhood change.

This characteristic of mixed backgrounds also gradually changed during the modern period. In Edirne, it was observed that the more wealthy families moved away from their poorer neighbors, choosing to move into modern housing projects that were built in the city suburbs (Erdoğan, et al, 2007). This paper investigates the changes in the physical, demographic and social conditions of Edirne and the cultural and economic development that have contributed to the transformations of neighborhoods and their adjustment to the modernization of lifestyles in this city.

The organization of this paper is as follows. Section two describes the physical, social and administrative characteristics of the historical neighborhoods of Edirne, while section three is devoted to a description of the urban structure, social, administrative and demographic characteristics of the modern neighborhoods of Edirne. The final section includes a conclusion and suggestions for further research.

EDIRNE'S OLD NEIGHBORHOODS

In Ottoman settlement patterns, the city and towns are based on clusters of neighborhood units. When the Ottomans first moved into the former Roman lands of European Thrace, the religious leaders-sheiks, dervishes, and canonists – who accompanied the conquerors founded neighborhoods bearing their own names in Edirne. It was in these neighborhoods that various personages established religious lodges and other religious institutions. In addition, the development of the Ottoman city was significantly boosted by construction and improvements ordered by the successive sultans, who ranked in the city's first-degree position, and by high-ranking state officials of second and third degree positions.

The primary method of development was a direct result of the construction of charitable institution administered by a charitable foundation. *"Wakfs (charitable foundations) played an important role in the process of transition to stable settlement both in Anatolia and Rumelia. This highly organized institution of the Ottoman Turks was not found in other Islamic countries"* (Yenen,1992). These charitable institutions played major roles in the establishment and development of Edirne. Kazancıgil (1991) tells us that during the first two hundred years following the conquest of the city by the Turks, the city took on the appearance of a highly developed city with new neighborhoods and districts occupied by Ottoman civil servants.

The neighborhood constituted the smallest unit in the highly organized Ottoman Empire, but while it was small, it also provided its residents with religious, social, cultural, and medical benefits and served as a source of identity. *Neighborhoods constitute the basic settlement units in urban and small towns in the Turkish traditional housing pattern. There is a mosque in the centre of each neighborhood, functioning as a social unit as well as physical unit (Kuban, 1978).* A neighborhood usually developed either with residents belonging to the same religious opinion or sect, or a nomadic tribe gathering around the vicinity of the mosque or hospice. The neighborhood generally was homogenous in its reflection of religious belief and ethnic roots.

Most of Edirne's earliest residents of Edirne were villagers who had migrated to the city but who were still involved in agricultural pursuits. These villagers settled in the far corners of the city where they built their houses on large sized lots. The settlement patterns in the city center were organized and generally made up of row-houses with blank side walls.   Because each ethnic group had its own neighborhood, the Turkish Moslems lived in the Turkish neighborhood while the non-Moslems lived in their own separate neighborhoods.

At its founding, Edirne reflected two basic types of core plans. The first was the grid plan that came from the West. Dating from the Hadrian period, this grid plan (Hippopotamas, Hadrian Plan) had been used as a form of urban architecture in Roman colonial settlements and this plan was also utilized in the sixth century in Edirne's Kaleiçi (inner citadel) and its Karaağaç districts. The second urban plan conception was borrowed from the East and constitutes a plan where distinct neighborhoods formulate the core of the urban space. This form was utilized in the city's districts of Yeniimaret, Yıldırım, Kıyık, Taşlık, Sabuni, Ayşekadın, and Çavuşbey.

Today the old neighborhoods of each district have merged together to form new neighborhoods.   The cores of the old neighborhoods in the nine districts, cores made up of soup kitchen, mosque, bathhouse, foundation, streets and homes, still exist in some form in various neighborhoods while they have completely disappeared in others.

As stated earlier, Edirne was established according to the norm of having a mosque in the center of the neighborhood and with the neighborhood functioning as both a physical, as well as a social unit; this type of settlement was implemented in practically all neighborhoods.   Thus, in this work original foundation-based complexes (mosque, bath, fountain, soup kitchens, etc) and settlement layout were plotted on maps. Original establishments and houses shown on maps were used to determine the positions of such places whose remains can be found; further detail was provided by photographs taken. For the purpose of this article, the map covering the districts of Kıyık, Taşlık, and Sabuni was taken as an example with original establishments and neighborhood displayed on it.

MODERN NEIGHBORHOODS OF EDIRNE

Today the city of Edirne is divided into eleven districts (Figure 1). These districts are further broken down administratively into 24 neighborhoods (mahalle) that are overseen by neighborhood administrators called "Muhtar." The neighborhood is generally classified according to three separate grouping: 1. The former outer neighborhoods of Edirne proper (Karaağaç, Yıldırım, Yeniimaret) 2. Edirne's central neighborhoods (Kaleiçi, Ayşekadın, Kıyık, Çavuşbey, Sabuni, Taşlık) 3. Edirne's new neighborhoods (Hacılarezanı, İstasyon).

During the Republican period (which began in the first quarter of the 20th century), Edirne lost considerable population due to the impacts of the earlier wars and the growing influence of the cold war and the neighboring Eastern Bloc. However, in the late 1960s, its population started to increase due to rural migration, refugees pouring in from Balkan countries, and the impact of the university and the international highway on development (Table-1). During this period, the surface area of Edirne totaled 600 hectares with a population density of 77 persons/ h.

While Edirne's population growth rate lagged behind Turkey's overall growth rate until 1960, after that date, it increased to 3.7%, which was greater than Turkey's average population growth rate.

Today Edirne's wealth of historical and cultural legacy makes it a center for tourism, while its university and high number of educational facilities also make it a center of knowledge.

Table-1 Population Growth according to the years

Year	Population	Growth rate %
1960	39.410	3.7
1965	46.091	3.4
1970	53.806	3.4
1975	63.001	3.4
1980	71.914	2.8
1985	86.909	4.2
1990	102.000	3.8
1997	108.000	0.8
2008	153.199	3.1

In the 1970s, the rapid population growth of Edirne propelled the construction activities in the vicinity of the city center and in the periphery, as well as in the citadel area, which constituted the most prestigious neighborhood at that time.

The destructive elements that were inherent in the 1967 zoning plan had an impact on many areas of the city, especially that of the inner citadel, while the decisions of this same zoning plan led to the development of multi-storied structures along the Istanbul direction corridor of what was then the trans-European highway, E-5. This multi-storied development changed the silhouette of the cityscape and the view of the exquisite Selimiye Mosque was altogether blocked on the approach from Istanbul.

Hundreds of examples of civil architecture in the citadel disappeared altogether as they were replaced by multi-storied structures that reflected modern architectural styles and materials. In an effort to prevent further destruction, the High Board of Valuable Structures and Monuments began registering those structures that needed preservation within the city and began efforts to prepare a new zoning plan that would replace the plan in force at the time, but despite these efforts they were not able to halt the construction of multi-story buildings (Sanrı, 1987).

In the early 1980s the construction along the Istanbul road in Edirne's westernmost side gradually began to grow in a planned fashion that was parallel to the city's linear development scheme. Witnessed in those years was a very rapid construction that developed from the outer limits of the city's inner commercial center and the core of the old city and then spread out to the district of Ayşekadin and as far as the campus of the medical school. In the new millennium the city's linear development came to a halt at the campus of the University of Thrace and then began to spread in a northerly fashion towards the New Trans-European Highway (TEM). During the 2006-2007 period, TOKI (Housing Development Administration of Turkey) built 784 low-income housing units in an area lying north of the district of Kıyık.

This area had been included in the zoning plan, which determined the building features to be allowed. The allowance was for buildings of 3-5 stories. While the original plan called for no more than three stories, over time the city changed the zoning law and increased the limits to five stories. The plan was designed on a single parcel basis or a parcel as large as 3-5 dönüm (1 dönüm = approximately 1000 m2), a plan that caused quite a bit of confusion. The restrictions on the construction were based on the distances of front and side yards. The permits were far from being interested in the kind of construction and took no heed of spatial configurations. The architecture design was based on the kinds of lots on which the 10-apartment buildings were to be built. The property designs that resulted from Article 18 (referred to as the "dough law" as it permitted various mutations of the zoning laws) strongly affected the construction, resulting in a disorganization of housing plan and, instead of obtaining urban areas that are conducive to providing solutions, the end result was 3-5 story blocks of buildings that completely ignored basic elements of city planning rules that affect how we live, such as direction, topography and view.

Parallel to the increase in population in Edirne's new neighborhoods and the resulting need for housing, the new districts listed below gradually began to be opened for construction (Figure 2):

Binevler (1000 Houses): Established in 1975, this settlement was planned as Edirne's first cooperative housing site (Figure 3, 3a,3b,3c,3d). Because the number of members was so great, and thus the number of housing to be built also significant, and because this large a project needed careful planning and organization and also represented the first of such projects to be undertaken in Edirne, the cooperative took a long time to complete and it was only in 1986 that the residents began to obtain their inhabitation permits. Known as the "1000 House Project," during the first stage of the construction some construction and spatial conceptualizations that accorded with a certain aesthetic were imposed. The plan called for narrow pedestrian paths and did not permit vehicle traffic to approach the housing. The 2nd and 3rd stages of the settlement were adjacent to the E-5 Highway and parallel roads were built in the classic style. While the total site provides shelter to approximately 5000 persons, only the 1st stage was planned and constructed in a manner that considered community interrelationships. Also, while the settlement is large enough to support a primary school of its own, there is no school in the settlement. The need for schools is met with schools that were built on plots suggested in the city zoning plan. In addition, in terms of these schools' relationships with the settlement itself and other housing in the district, no claims of safe passage to and from the settlement to the schools can be made.

Kooperatif evleri (Cooperative Housing): This district is comprised of buildings built by various housing cooperatives. This new settlement is not only closest to Edirne's city center, it also benefits from the utility and transportation lines that extend from the environs of the Ayşekadın Neighborhood and the old inter-city bus terminal and go as far as the campus of Trakya University (Figure 4, 4a).

Beşyüzevler (500 Houses): The bulk of this new neighborhood consists of housing planned and provided for government workers from various state agencies.

Fatih Sultan Mehmet Kooperatifler Birliği (Union of Cooperatives) (EFAS): This large cooperative was formed in 1985 on a single large parcel of land. Comprised of 740 housing units, the cooperative began to receive its inhabitation permits in

1989. Known by the acronym EFAS, the 11,000 m2 housing settlement consists of 27 different registered cooperatives of 20-50 members each that have united into one formal entity, but with each maintaining their own construction and contractors. The land was re-subdivided into "islands," making it perhaps the first of its kind in Turkey to solve a mass organization with "island divisions." In its original form, the design was based on known principles, with vehicle traffic kept at a certain distance and pedestrian lanes separated from the streets. Adequate land was reserved for various functions, including a primary school, mosque, post office, park, and children's playground. The housing clusters are of various dimensions, but retain inter-relationships with outer spaces that adjoin one another. While these are positive elements, unfortunately the needs for commercial spaces were ignored and no provisions were made for the shopping needs of the 3750-4000 people who reside in the settlement. Because of this, some of the ground/basement floors of housing in the settlement have begun to be transformed into "informal" shops. On the other hand, once the housing began to be used, the shape of the original utilization plans also began to change. When the residents assumed the basic costs, the tampon areas that separated vehicle and pedestrian traffic began to be misused and the "island organization" was ignored such that vehicles began to freely move between all of the buildings.

Avrupa   Kent kooperatifi yerleşmeleri (Europe City Cooperative Settlement): Ranking as Edirne's latest large housing project, this 150 housing unit settlement is located quite far away from the city center and the construction permit was granted according to the out-of-city zoning plan. The principle of the settlement is based on individual houses built on separate lots. Located ten kilometers from the city center, the settlement does not benefit from city utility lines and services. The plan also does not take into account such basic needs as a primary school.

CONCLUSION

According to DIE (Government Statistics Institute) figures how that the population growth rate of Edirne, 3.7 % annually, is higer than the county average. This growth is not due to inter-city migration as in the rest of the country, but rather due to population shifting from the rural areas to the iner city districts. This can be observed in all districts of the city. As it is, this fact is not resulting from demand on jobs, rather it stems from the desire to be a city dweller.people who stil live in their village houses usually a second house in the city. Thus the number of multi-story buildings in the city increased, and having a house in the city has come to mean having a flat in an apartment building. As a result, multi story buildings are being constructed on narrow pieces of land and urban textures have meshe dwith one another. This has undermined the existing traditional fabric and has led to chaotic urbanization.

To evaluate and implement this process in the field of design and planning it is evident that the continued viability of the historic fabric requires many mutually reinforcing activities that can help stimulate economic growth, alleviate poverty, and improve the urban environment. The city's historic fabric is stil disappearing because the historic fabrics of districts of the Edirne iner city have not been taken into consideration in the preparation of Edirne' master plan. The preservation of historic fabric should be considered in such a way as to protect and preserve. The cultural heritage approach can thus be of value in this context.

As a result, in order to preserve the cultural heritage of the city center, new settlements have to be developed and thus ensure that the historical center does not become overly populated. Without damaging the current fabric of the city center, the number of districts in this area may be increased to more than six and a new multi-storied residential district could be established in the northern area of the city. New neighborhoods could be established in the old city at a determined distance from the European Transit Express Highway (TEM) that passes through the northern end of the city. The author proposes that a model settlement based on plans such as these that would attract such residents as writers and students to a new settlement within the old city (Erdoğan, 2002).

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Figure 1. City of Edirne (Sourace:Google Eart)

Figure 2.Edirne's new neighborhoods

Figure 3. Binevler (Fatih District)from Modern Neighborhoods of Edirne (Source:Google Earth)

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Figure 3a. View from 1 number of Binevler

Figure 3b. View from 2 number of Binevler

Figure 3c. View from 3 number of Binevler

Figure 3d. View from 4 number of Binevler

Figure 4. Kooperatif evleri (I.Murat   District) from Modern Neighborhoods of Edirne (Google Earth)

Figure 4a. View of Koopertifevleri (Google Earth)

DESIGN - INTENSIVE INDUSTRIES AND URBAN TRANSFORMATION: THE CASE STUDY OF AUCKLAND

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ABSTRACT

In this creativity age, abundant with relentless branding campaigns, bombastic slogans, breathtaking landmarks, inspiring cultural icons and heart-touching identity crises, the global competition for recognition is taken to new heights. Auckland has a magnificent natural setting between two large harbours – the Waitemata Harbour and the Manukau Harbour, a setting that can be rivalled only by few cities in the world. The ultimate challenge would be to create prosperous and memorable urban places as a vital component of the city's vision and growth.

The aim of this paper is to examine the intersection between the concept of creative industries and urban design and planning focusing, in particular, on the relationship between the design sector of the creative industries and their impact on urban life in Auckland.

This paper focuses on Auckland-based creative professionals employed in small, medium and large-sized architecture and design firms, representing the largest creative sub-sector. Mapping techniques are employed to plot the exact locations of these design sub-sector firms in Auckland's CBD (Central Business District) and CBD fringe areas in order to identify possible patterns and trends. The resulting 2010 snapshot maps illustrate well defined areas of creative clusters in the fabric of the city. Further to the mapping techniques, a case study of Parnell, a trendy suburb adjacent to the Central Business District of Auckland, is presented to exemplify a trend of urban renewal.

The paper concludes that whilst considering the specifics of Auckland's urban planning policies, the potential impact on the urban environment is on a micro level – transforming live-work-leisure spaces and on a macro level – transforming the urban environment and ultimately changing the city's image.

INTRODUCTION

The nature of the creative economy, we live in, is characteristic of high levels of flexibility, job market volatility, and technological advancements enabling unprecedented levels of business collaboration. The new weightless economy of ideas gives new meaning to work-live-leisure choices integrating these everyday core activities and resulting in huge urban transformation. CBD (Central Business District) fringe areas start to flourish and become increasingly popular among creative professionals attracting talent with cheaper rents, exciting business opportunities, easy access for customers and abundant high-quality amenities and experiences. The clustering and concentration of talented and creative people in such areas fosters idea generation and an increase in productivity leading ultimately to a significant economic growth. Parnell, a trendy suburb adjacent to the Central Business District of Auckland with high concentrations of design creative clusters, is presented in this study to exemplify a trend of urban renewal.

This paper focuses on Auckland-based creative professionals employed in small, medium and large-sized architecture and design firms, representing the largest creative sub-sector. Mapping techniques are employed to plot the exact locations of these design sub-sector firms in Auckland's CBD (Central Business District) and CBD fringe areas in order to identify possible patterns and trends. The resulting 2010 snapshot maps illustrate well defined areas of creative clusters in the fabric of the city. Further to the mapping techniques, a case study of Parnell, which is a trendy mixed-use creative precinct adjacent to the Central Business District of Auckland, is presented to illustrate a trend of urban renewal.

NEW ZEALAND'S CREATIVE INDUSTRIES: DEFINITION, CLASSIFICATION MODEL AND MAIN CHARACTERISTICS

Starkwhite's report for the Auckland City Council (2002) emphasizes the important role of creativity and innovation in the global knowledge economy. "Industries of the mind" (Starkwhite, 2002, p.4) whose main commodity are ideas are the ones having a central place and leading the way in a thriving economy. The report recognizes the value of the arts whose nature is anchored in the concepts of creativity and innovation and realizes the contribution they can potentially make to create a culturally vibrant environment in Auckland. The potential impact of art and culture and the associated creative industries on the economy is discussed in the context of creative Auckland: "governments are seeing the social, cultural and economic value of the creative industries" (Starkwhite, 2002, p.9).

The New Zealand Government "has identified the creative industries as a business sector that is capable of generating a transformational change in New Zealand's economic performance as part of the Growth and Innovation Framework" (Auckland City Council, 2005, p.4). The report acknowledges the economic potential of the creative industries admitting that this concept is relatively new and has not been fully explored in the context of the knowledge economy.

The Snapshot: Auckland's creative industries document (Auckland City Council, 2005) defines the creative industries as "those industries that have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property" (p.5). This definition is largely based on the one produced by the UK Department for Culture, Media and Sport in their Creative Industries Mapping Document from 2001. The New Zealand creative industries fall into six sub-sectors:

- **Design** (architecture, graphic design and advertising). It is the largest source of employment in the creative industries with 5 400 jobs in Auckland City.

- **Screen Production and Radio** (film, television, video and radio). This is the second largest sub-sector with 3 480 jobs in Auckland City.

- **Publishing** (newspaper, book and periodical publishing). It is the smallest of the three sub-sectors with 2 785 jobs in Auckland City.

- **Visual Arts, Crafts and Photography** – 893 jobs in Auckland City.

- **Performing Arts** – 806 jobs in Auckland City.

- **Music** – 252 jobs in Auckland City.

The creative sector employment is concentrated in the first three sub-sectors and the total creative sector employment is 13 616 (Auckland City Council, 2005, p.18). This classification is based on industry groupings from the Australia and New Zealand Standard Industrial Classification (ANZSIC) system. Design makes up 40 per cent of employment in the creative sector in Auckland city. The breakdown within the design sub-sector demonstrates that out of a total of 5 400 employees in Auckland City the largest number of employees is in advertising services – 2 510, followed by architectural services – 1 590 and graphic design – 1 300 (Auckland City Council, 2005, p.25).

The majority of the creative industries in New Zealand are concentrated in the Auckland region with 18 730 full-time employees out of the estimated 36 540 creative sector full-time employees in New Zealand (Auckland City Council, 2005). Auckland is undoubtedly the centre of television and radio, music, performing and visual arts, publishing, advertising and architecture industries. The main attraction to Auckland is due to a number of related factors, such as great business opportunities, enjoyable lifestyle, cosmopolitan environment, cultural diversity, local networks, the size of the city's market and proximity to key industries and clients. The Snapshot: Auckland's creative industries document (Auckland City Council, 2005) emphasizes the importance of a quality urban environment, which creates a "buzzy, magnet city" (Handy, 1999, November 24). In terms of a location, most of the creative industries in the Auckland region are concentrated in Auckland City, which is one of seven Councils in the Auckland Region, and provides 73 per cent of the region's jobs and 37 per cent of the nation's jobs in the creative industries (Auckland City Council, 2005).

In terms of location choices, the highest concentration of the creative industries is in Auckland's CBD (31 per cent) and CBD fringe areas (36 per cent), which represent approximately two-thirds of Auckland City's creative sector employment. As CBD problems seem to deepen at an alarming rate in terms of high and unaffordable rents, lack of spaces suitable for creative businesses at the expense of traditional office buildings, and traffic congestion contributing to poor access for clients and customers, the CBD fringe areas seem to grow in popularity (Auckland City Council, 2005). A mix of factors contribute to the appeal of these areas, such as the availability of relatively affordable spaces, suitable for creative businesses; less intense traffic offering parking possibilities and easier access for clients; and a variety of local cafes and restaurants that can be used for business meetings in a less formal environment. often establishing such creative businesses in the CBD fringe areas involves the conversion of light commercial buildings and warehouses into artistic spaces and reviving the surrounding areas.

AUCKLAND'S ARCHITECTURAL FIRMS: A SNAPSHOT OF 2010

The study of the architectural creative industries in New Zealand as a whole and in Auckland in particular, is based on data gathered through the Directories of NZIA (New Zealand Institute of Architects) Practices. These Directories are published annually in the March/April issue of Architecture New Zealand.

The practices are listed alphabetically according to geographic regions: ten in the North Island - Northland & Rodney, Auckland, Waikato/Bay of Plenty, Gisborne, Hawkes Bay, Taranaki, Wanganui & Rangitikei, Manawatu, Wairarapa and Wellington; and five in the South Island - Marlborough, West Coast, Canterbury,

Otago and Southland. The list of practices includes architectural firms whose principals or partners are registered architects and architect members of NZIA.

The Directories do not provide any numerical data, such as a total number of firms in New Zealand, a breakdown of the North and South Islands, or the number of firms in the three main cities - Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch. The only way I could generate such data was through counting individual firms and categorizing them. The overall number of architectural firms in New Zealand in 2010 is 642. Based on the ten geographic regions in the North Island and the five regions in the South Island, I arrived at a figure of 503 architectural firms in the North Island or 78.3 percent and 139 in the South Island or 21.6 percent, which emphasizes the dominant position of the North Island.

On a city level Auckland proved to be the leader with 265 firms, or 41.3 percent of all architectural firms in New Zealand, followed by Wellington with 123 firms, or 19.2 percent and Christchurch with 64 firms or 9.9 percent of all NZ architectural firms. The next step of my study elaborated on a more detailed breakdown within Auckland city: the number of architectural firms in the CBD, in the CBD fringe areas and in the suburban areas of Auckland. The pie chart in Fig 1 demonstrates the dominance of the CBD fringe areas with 102 firms as opposed to the CBD with 41 firms.
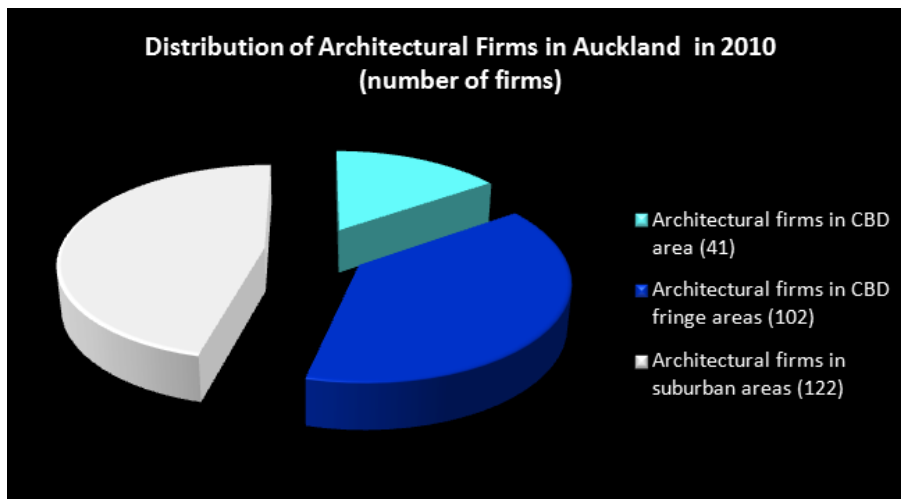
Figure 1 Architectural firms in Auckland's CBD, CBD fringe and suburban areas (Kiroff, L., 2010)

The Directories provide not only the practice names, but also their physical addresses and contact details. This information proved valuable for producing location maps through plotting the firms on Auckland's CBD and CBD fringe maps. (Fig 2 & 3). The aim of these architectural location maps is to establish whether there are any concentrations and clusters of practices in Auckland's CBD and CBD fringe areas that are the primary focus of my study. To be able to successfully categorize 265 firms in Auckland, I introduced a coding system depending on their physical addresses. The first broad filter that I applied to the total number of Auckland firms, 265, was to exclude the firms located in the suburban areas that

were 122. For the remaining 143 firms located in the CBD and CBD fringe areas, I applied the following nine location codes in alphabetical order:

CBD – Central Business District, ET – Eden Terrace, FB&SMB – Freemans Bay & St Mary's Bay, GR – Grafton, GL – Grey Lynn, N – Newmarket, NTON – Newton, PAR – Parnell, PO – Ponsonby.

After assigning a location code to each one of the 143 centrally located firms, I got the following breakdown:

CBD – Central Business District – 41 firms; ET – Eden Terrace – 14 firms; FB&SMB – Freemans Bay & St Mary's Bay – 11 firms; GR – Grafton – 2 firms; GL – Grey Lynn – 14 firms; N – Newmarket – 18 firms; NTON – Newton – 9 firms; PAR – Parnell – 25 firms; PO – Ponsonby – 9 firms

Based on the eight identified CBD fringe areas, the total number of firms located in these areas is 102 as opposed to the number of firms in the CBD 41. I then plotted these firms on the two Auckland maps using the exact street addresses (Fig 2 & 3).
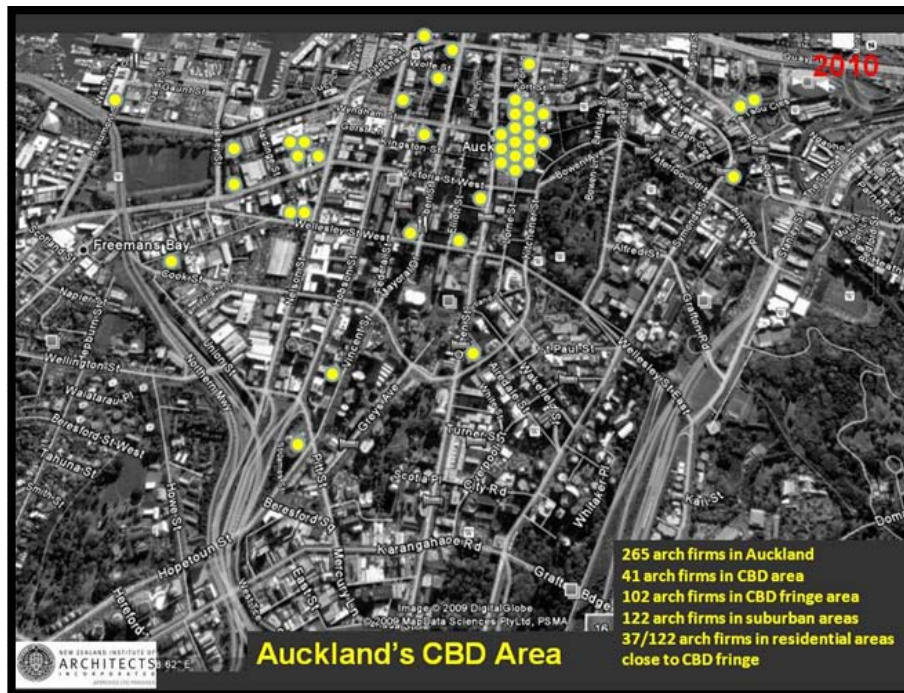
Figure 2: Distribution of architectural firms in Auckland's CBD area (Kiroff, L., 2010)

Auckland's CBD map (Fig 2) shows a well defined architectural cluster in one particular area of the CBD, which is along High Street.

Auckland's CBD fringe areas map (Fig 3) demonstrates the existence of well defined architectural clusters in areas such as Parnell (25 firms), Newmarket (18 firms) and Eden Terrace (14 firms).
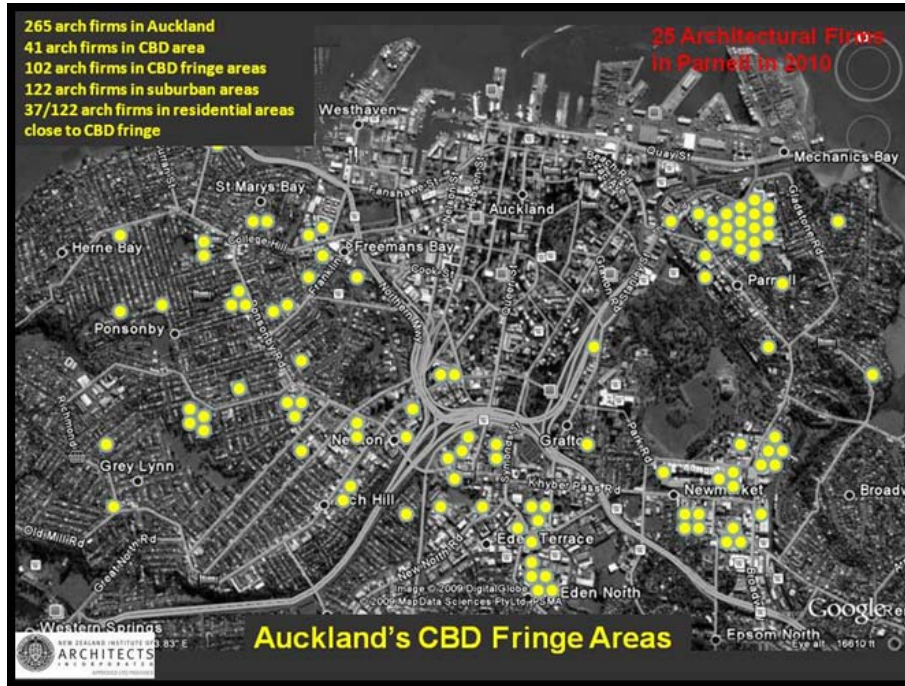
Figure 3 Distribution of architectural firms in Auckland's CBD fringe areas (Kiroff, L., 2010)

I considered the use of the official Directories of NZIA Practices as the most reliable source of data upon which I based my study of the architectural creative industries in New Zealand. This choice limits the sample to registered architectural practices only and excludes, for example, architectural designers, holding a Diploma in Architectural Technology or a Certificate in Architectural Drafting. Most of them belong to a professional organization, ADNZ, Architectural Designers New Zealand. The majority of professionals in this group either work for themselves from home as sole practitioners or employ between one and three draftsmen in their offices.

In comparison, the Auckland Yellow Pages from 2010 provide four different sections, all concerned with architectural design in its broad definition: Architects, Architectural Designers, Building Plans & Specifications and Draughting Services. These four broad sections include professionals at a Degree, Diploma and Certificate level. There are significant discrepancies between the data provided through the official Directories of NZIA Practices and the data contained in the Yellow Pages. While the 2010 Directory of NZIA Practices lists 265 firms in Auckland, the 2010 Yellow Pages list 309 in the "Architects" category only. A large number of these 309 firms do not have NZIA endorsement and do not fall under the registered practices category. This is due to the fact that the Yellow Pages are less concerned with the stringent registration requirements that govern the architectural profession. In summary, the data provided by the 2010 Yellow Pages per category are: Architects – 309; Architectural Designers – 210; Draughting Services – 63; Building Plans & Specifications – 2; Grand Total – 584.

This grand total of 584 is more than twice the number of architectural firms listed in the 2010 Directory of NZIA Practices, which are 265. Another problem with the listings in the Yellow Pages, which jeopardizes the reliability of data obtained from them, is the numerous duplications of entries. For example, Predefine Ltd appears in three out of the four categories: Architects, Draughting Services and Building Plans & Specifications. Similarly, Visual Designs and Concepts Ltd appear also in three out of the four categories: Architectural Designers, Draughting Services and Building Plans & Specifications. The multiple entries of some firms in more than one category make the figure of 584 highly unrealistic and unsuitable for a research to be based upon. As a consequence the potential sample derived from such a figure has the potential to be skewed and unrepresentative of the current market situation.

AUCKLAND'S DESIGN FIRMS: A SNAPSHOT OF 2010

The study of the design creative industries in Auckland is based on data gathered through the DINZ (Design Institute of New Zealand) Directory. My approach was similar to the study of the architectural practices that I based on the official data supplied by NZIA through their Directories of registered architectural practices. Unlike the data provided in the NZIA Directories supplying the physical addresses of the architectural firms, the DINZ Directory exists only on their web site and gets updated regularly.

Due to the complex organization of the online data, I applied two filters to these data to be able to extract the necessary information: firstly, the general location distribution filter (Fig 4) and secondly, the design firms' distribution filter (Fig 5 & 6). DINZ represents seven primary design sectors: Craft/Object; Design Management; Education; Graphic Sector; Interactive; Product; Spatial.

The online membership list consists of 970 individuals in New Zealand that belong to one or two of the above primary sectors. This online directory is made of individuals registered in a specific sector/sectors rather than registered firms as is the case with the architectural firms in New Zealand. The designers on the DINZ membership list in Auckland are 478 as opposed to 492 for the rest of the country and represent almost a half of all designers in New Zealand that are 970. This ratio demonstrates Auckland's dominance on the design market, which is a similar trend to the architectural one, placing Auckland at the forefront of the architectural and design market in the country.

The next step of the primary data collection involved the preparation of a design firms' list to establish the broad distribution of firms in the CBD, CBD fringe and the suburban areas (Fig 4). As each one of the 478 individual design members on the DINZ list has the firm they work for against their name, I was able to group members and generate a design firms' list with a total number of 202.

After applying the general location distribution filter to the total number of design firms, 202, I then applied the design firms' distribution filter to be able to locate accurately the design firms on Auckland's CBD and CBD fringe maps. The difficulty that I encountered was due to the fact that the DINZ online membership list does not contain any physical addresses for these firms. I applied three strategies to be able to find them: using the phone numbers provided, researching their company web sites and using the Yellow Pages. I was then able to locate them accurately on

Auckland's CBD and CBD fringe maps and to compare with the location of the architectural firms to identify potential clusters.
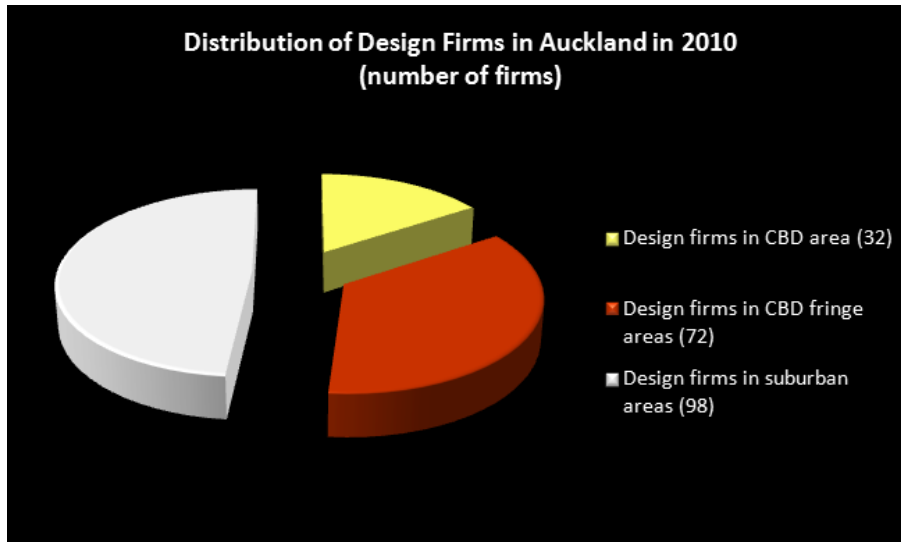
Figure 4: Design firms in Auckland's CBD, CBD fringe and suburban areas (Kiroff, L., 2010)

To be able to successfully categorize 202 firms in Auckland, I introduced the same coding system depending on their physical addresses. The first broad filter that I applied to all 202 Auckland design firms was to extract the firms that were in the suburban areas that were 98. For the remaining 104 firms, located in the CBD and CBD fringe areas, I applied the following nine location codes in alphabetical order:

CBD – Central Business District, ET – Eden Terrace, FB&SMB – Freemans Bay & St Mary's Bay, GR – Grafton, GL – Grey Lynn, N – Newmarket, NTON – Newton, PAR – Parnell, PO – Ponsonby.

After assigning a location code to each one of the 104 centrally located firms, I got the following breakdown:

CBD – Central Business District – 32 firms; ET – Eden Terrace – 14 firms; FB&SMB – Freemans Bay & St Mary's Bay – 4 firms; GR – Grafton – 0 firms; GL – Grey Lynn – 10 firms; N – Newmarket – 15 firms; NTON – Newton – 2 firms; PAR – Parnell – 21 firms; PO – Ponsonby – 6 firms

Based on the eight identified CBD fringe areas, the total number of firms located in these areas is 72 as opposed to the number of firms in the CBD 32. I then plotted these firms on the two Auckland maps using the exact street addresses (Fig 5 & 6).

As the figures show, there are two distinct design clusters, one in Parnell with 21 firms and the other one in Newmarket with 15 firms. Compared with the results for the architectural firms, the same areas, Parnell and Newmarket had the highest numbers of architectural firms standing at 25 and 18 respectively. In the two mapping exercises Parnell establishes itself as the CBD fringe area with the highest number of both architectural and design firms. I considered the use of the official online DINZ membership list as the most reliable source of data upon which I based

my study of the design creative industries in New Zealand. This choice limits the sample to design firms that are on the DINZ register and under which design professionals are listed.

Figure 5: Distribution of design firms in Auckland's CBD area (Kiroff, L., 2010)

Similarly to the architectural firms' quantitative data collection, I compared the information gathered through DINZ with the information contained in the 2010 Yellow Pages. The discrepancies were obvious starting with the four areas of designers that the Yellow Pages list:

Design Management – 25; Graphic Designers – 369; Interior Designers – 208 entries; Product Designers – 23.

The total number of designers in the Yellow Pages in Auckland is 625 as opposed to 478 on the DINZ membership list. There were many instances of duplications between the "Architects" category and the "Design Management" category, such as RCG (Retail Consulting Group), as well as between the "Architects" category and the "Interior Designers" category, such as Peddle Thorp Aitken, Ignite, Tse Architects, Woodham Meikle Zhan and others. Such duplications in the Yellow Pages produce unrealistic numbers that cannot be used as a starting point for an analysis.
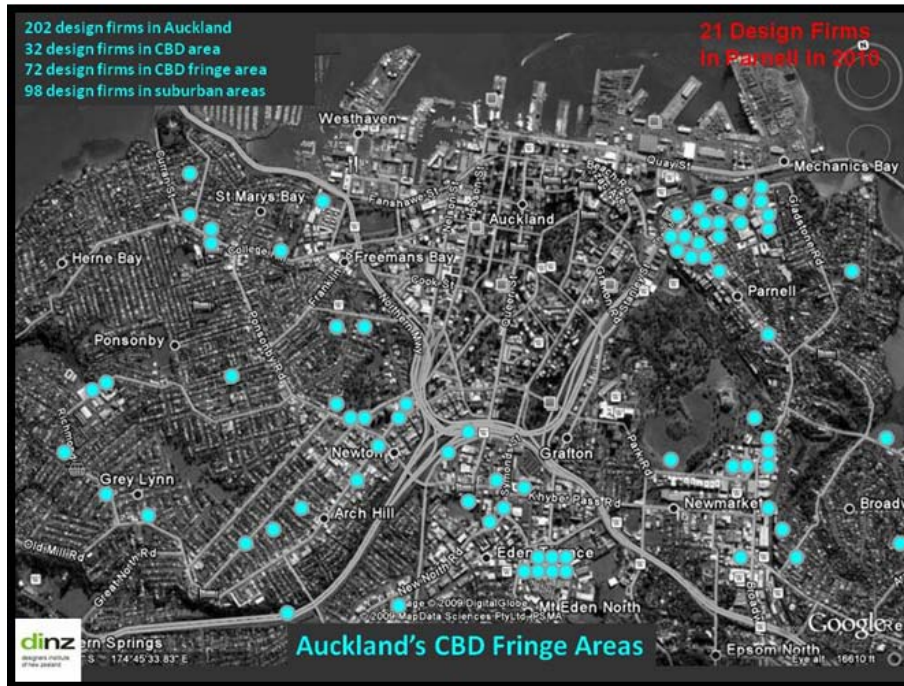
Figure 6: Distribution of design firms in Auckland's CBD fringe areas (Kiroff, L., 2010)

EVALUATION OF THE PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

The study of the architectural and design firms in Auckland that I undertook and the resulting 2010 snapshot maps reveal a propensity for clustering. My research covered nine areas in Auckland: the CBD and eight CBD fringe areas. The selection of these areas was determined by the fact that the primary subject of my study were the design creative industries in Auckland in the context of urban regeneration. Auckland City Council's own data show that the highest concentration of the creative industries (including all six sub-sectors) is in Auckland's CBD (31 per cent) and CBD fringe areas (36 per cent), which represent approximately two-thirds of Auckland City's creative sector employment (Auckland City Council, 2005). The architectural and design location maps show clearly well defined clusters in areas such as Parnell, Newmarket and Eden Terrace, as well as High Street in the CBD.

The next step of my research focuses on the role that local government policies play in the formation of these business clusters within the fabric of the city and their role in the process of urban transformation. The vital role of good urban design is well realized and supported by Auckland City Council through its Urban Design Framework and City Centre Urban Design Framework reflected in two key documents: "*Designing great places for our people: A framework for achieving high quality urban design in Auckland*" (2007) and "*Designing a great city centre for our people: A framework for achieving high quality urban design in Auckland's city centre*" (2008). To transform its vision into reality "Auckland City Council has

embarked on a bold journey to transform the shape, form, function and feel of our city through a commitment to high-quality urban design" (Auckland City Council, 2007, p.i). The Urban Design Framework designed by Auckland City Council to achieve its vision of Auckland as first city of the Pacific consists of six urban design goals described through the aid of adjectives: distinctive, compact, connected, sustainable, beautiful, and human. The ultimate goal of the City Centre Urban Design Framework is to turn Auckland's city centre into an attractive urban environment where people will choose to live, work and play. Although comprehensive these local government documents focus primarily on general good urban design principles failing to make the connection with the flourishing business clusters in the city.

On a city level, The Mayoral Taskforce on Urban Design was set up in early 2005 to improve the quality of urban design and to identify "all possible impediments to good urban design in Auckland" (The Mayoral Taskforce on Urban Design, 2005, p.i). The report concludes that many of the recommendations require a "mindset change" and a "cultural change" (p.i) first and foremost, setting the ambitious goal of turning Auckland not just into "a world-class city but also a world-leading city in bold and imaginative urban design" (The Mayoral Taskforce on Urban Design, 2005, p.i). The report acknowledges the mismatch between aspirations and reality, substantiating its arguments with inadequate planning and Building Act controls. "Auckland's role as the nation's economic engine cannot be compromised by urban development that does not function well, nor inspire creativity and well-being in its people and businesses" (The Mayoral Taskforce on Urban Design, 2005, p.4). The report produced by the Taskforce reiterates the importance of good urban design in a similar fashion to the local government documents and lacks the business focus in the context of potential urban regeneration.

On a national level, The Ministry for the Environment (2002) introduces a set of good urban design principles in their *Design guide for urban New Zealand* that are applicable at any level of development, from regions and towns to the design of specific places. The prescription guide consists of five very general principles: consolodation and dispersal; integration and connectivity; diversity and adaptability; legibility and identity; and environmental responsiveness (Ministry for the Environment, 2002). The document is not specific about business clusters and precincts of any kind, a trend that has already been demonstrated in local government documents.

Successful urban development is linked to economic growth and social prosperity. The clustering of businesses leads to a subsequent potential for knowledge, resources, customer base and marketing sharing. The higher concentrations of workers in dense locations increase skills diversity, idea exchange and innovation generation leading to economic wealth, which in turn stimulates businesses further. Therefore the need for urban intensification starts to play a critical role. The complexities of urban intensification necessitated the establishment of the Urban Intensification Taskforce whose objective is "to oversee the development of a strategy and action plan for achieving better urban intensification outcomes for New Zealand and, in particular, the Auckland region" (Building and Construction Sector Taskforce, 2008, p.3). Specific areas that become a target for urban intensification are Auckland's CBD and selected town centres with higher density. The type of comprehensive re-development outlined in the document is a major component of the Auckland Regional Growth Strategy 2050 and a significant

progress in that respect has been made in Auckland's CBD and CBD fringe areas in the past decade and a half. The report focuses primarily on the issue of higher density housing proposing a major shift from stand-alone residential dwellings in generous sections to increased density options including low and high-rise apartments, town houses and semi-detached housing units. Fostering the formation of business clusters and facilitating the establishment of networked creative precincts does not seem to be a main goal of the document. The Urban Taskforce is of the opinion that "larger and more complex projects such as regeneration invariably require an intricate coordination of central government infrastructure, local government infrastructure and amenities, and the commercial and development skills provided by the private sector" (Building and Construction Sector, 2009, p.14).

On a global scale, internationally, urban regeneration is often linked to the renewal and conversion of abandoned warehouses and factories in the fabric of the city. The New Zealand context is quite different as these conditions are non-existent within the urban borders of Auckland which necessitates an alternative approach. "The problem in the New Zealand context is how to amalgamate small parcels of valuable urban land, into larger blocks that permit meaningful redevelopment" (R Neil Gray Strategic Projects, 2006, p.5). The lack of large areas of Crown owned land or leasehold land further exacerbates the land problem available for regeneration. The scarcity of land for conventional density development within Auckland is so severe that it is predicted that there will be none available in certain areas of the city, such as Auckland City, by 2016 (Building and Construction Sector Taskforce, 2008). This suggested "meaningful redevelopment" presents a challenge as the evidence for proper and adequate initial urban design is arguable. Auckland is a sprawling, car-dominated city with large low-density suburban areas appealing to families and a rather unmemorable CBD that lacks pedestrian-friendly areas.

Existing local and central government documents and policies do not seem to address the important issues of forming business clusters and precincts and fail to see the potential role that they can play in the process of urban regeneration. The challenge that lies ahead is for specific recommendations to be made that will reflect the reality of existing business clusters in the central parts of Auckland. On a more specific level, although there are local government documents dedicated to the creative industries and recognising their potential to boost the economy, their impact on urban regeneration remains neglected and undervalued.

CASE STUDY PARNELL

The quantitative analysis and the 2010 architectural and design location maps of Auckland's CBD fringe areas suggest that Parnell establishes itself as an area with well defined clusters of design creative industries. This area has the highest number of both architectural and design firms, 25 and 21 respectively.

Historical background

Parnell is considered as one of Auckland's creative quarters located on the CBD fringe between the harbour and Auckland Domain. It is one of Auckland's oldest suburbs rich with history that dates back to 1841 when blocks of 3-5 acres were sold and quickly subdivided into thirty-six allotments thus establishing the suburb of Parnell (Wild, 2010). The profile of the early settlers living in Parnell at the

time, mechanics and tradesmen, is quite different from the profile of the professionals inhabiting today's modern Parnell. These early settlers established themselves primarily in Mechanics Bay, where the first European suburban and industrial development took place. From the 1870s large industrial, railway and port developments took place in Mechanics Bay and St Georges Bay (Wild, 2010).

Tamaki Drive, which has direct contact with the open harbour, was formed in 1919 as a result of cutting off land from Parnell. The once thriving suburb lost some of its attractiveness and charm due to the lost connection to the harbour. New office and industrial developments as well as temporary housing stock took place until a local property developer Les Harvey started revitalizing many of the old buildings along Parnell Road (Wild, 2010). The new iconic Parnell Village that was created was considered as the catalyst for regeneration of Parnell, a process that turned it into a desirable business location and also a prime residential area. Nowadays around 1000 businesses in retailing, jewellery, law, accountancy, finance, health, engineering, architecture and design, ranging in size from small to large, have chosen Parnell as a preferred location for their business activities (Parnell Inc, 2010). Parnell has unique ambience due to the successful blend of old traditions from the early settlement years with the commercial realities of modern life.

Parnell people's profile

The profile of the people living in Parnell is based on data produced by Statistics New Zealand though their 2006 Census. Statistics NZ divides Parnell into Parnell East and Parnell West. Parnell East is the area east of Parnell Road/St Stephens Avenue, from Cowie Street in the south to Point Resolution and running down to the sea and Bloodworth Park. Parnell West is the rest of Parnell, from George Street in the south and bounded by Stanley Street and The Strand in the west.

Table 1 below that I adapted from Statistics NZ is based on the 2006 Census data. It reveals the general profile of the people living in Parnell. While the number of dwellings in Parnell West is almost double than the one in Parnell East, the average household is almost similar – 2.2% and 2.4% respectively. The home ownership statistics in both parts of Parnell are significantly lower than the Auckland average of 50.7%. At the same time Parnell "renters" are more educated than the Auckland average of 42.5% and command a much higher income a year, which is almost double than the Auckland average of 21.6%.

Table 1: 2006 Census for Parnell East and Parnell West (adapted from Statistics NZ)

2006 CENSUS	PARNELL EAST	PARNELL WEST	NOTES
Total people	2166	4354	Total 6520
Dwellings	897	1941	
Post school qualification	63.4%	62.7%	Auckland average 42.5%
Income +$50,000 a year	45.9%	44.1%	Auckland average 21.6%
Average household	2.4 people	2.2 people	

House ownership	33.2%	29.3%	Auckland average 50.7%

The population in Parnell East is 2166 people, which represents 0.2 % of Auckland Region's population. The majority are in the 15 to 64 age bracket. The population in Parnell West is almost double at 4353 people or 0.3% of Auckland Region's population. Similarly to Parnell East the majority of this population is in the 15 to 64 age bracket. Both Parnell East and West have a similar age group and sex profile as the Auckland Region.

The occupational profile of employed people in the same age bracket, 15-64, in Parnell East illustrates a definite dominance of the "Professionals" category, far outnumbering the professionals in Auckland Region. As a whole the "Professionals" group is the most common occupational group in both Parnell East and Auckland Region.

Figure 7 Occupation for employed people aged 15 years and over, Parnell East and Auckland region, 2006 Census (Statistics NZ)

The same analysis applies to Parnell West and Auckland Region where the most common occupational group is "Professionals".
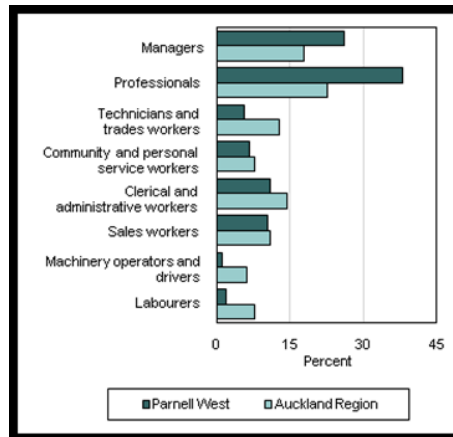
Figure 8 Occupation for employed people aged 15 years and over, Parnell West and Auckland Region, 2006 Census (Statistics NZ)

CONCLUSION

The 2010 architectural and design snapshot maps of Auckland's CBD and CBD fringe areas show clearly that certain areas in the CBD fringe have well defined creative industries clusters. Parnell has the highest number of architectural firms, 25 and also the highest number of design firms, 21 in comparison with the other seven CBD fringe areas. Parnell's urban renewal that was started in the 70s is continuing at present turning Auckland's oldest suburb into a desirable business location and a prime residential area. The potential impact of such regeneration could be on a micro level – transforming live-work-leisure spaces and on a macro level – transforming the urban environment and ultimately changing the city's image.

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AGRIBUSINESS, URBANIZATION AND SOCIAL-SPATIAL INEQUALITIES

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INTRODUCTION

The acceleration of urbanization and numeric and territorial growth of cities are among the more incisive impacts of the process of economic globalization. In Brazil under the aegis of the technological revolution, an intense urbanization process takes place, transforming its geographical space, the organization, dynamic and landscape of which contrast with those existing before the current transient system, which according to the denomination which Santos gave (1985, 1988, 1996), we classify it as the technical-scientific-informational era.

The expansion of modern systems of objects (SANTOS, 1994, 1996), especially those associated with transport, communication, electrification, and sanitation has equipped the national territory for agricultural and industrial modernization. This expansion has also intensified commercial exchanges, allowing for the territorial integration of the country, connecting areas which were thereto not connected. The result was a significant spatial dispersion of production and consumption, with a consequent process of specialization of production. This refined the relationship between different areas of the country and multiplied the amount of 'fixtures and streams'[132] (SANTOS, 1988), of materials and information, throughout the national territory, spreading different productive patterns.

All this has made contemporary Brazilian urbanization a complex and distinct phenomenon, given the multiplicity of variables which interfere with it. The greater the division of work becomes, the more intense and complex the urbanization process becomes. Parallel to that, great population growth is taking place, culminating in a new territorial and social division of labor and thus a new allocation of the instruments of labor, jobs and the allocation of men and women in the country.

In fifty years, a true inversion of population distribution has occurred in Brazil, with a generalized urbanization of society and of the territory. Globalization as led to the re-structuring of the pre-existing territory and production patterns, which has disrupted the former structures, functions and forms. Every time the territory is re-elaborated to meet globalized production, new artificial 'fixtures' are superimposed, which increase the complexity of their technical systems and of their rugosity. (SANTOS, 1988)

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[132] The term 'fixtures and streams' is used by Santos to discuss things which include facilities, infra-structure and public works while streams includes ways of distribution, flow of products.

The dynamism of the production in Brazilian territory in the last decades can be revealed in many ways: through the restructuring of production in agriculture and cattle raising and that of industry; by the expansion of specialized commerce and services; through the new locations for industry which are party due to the struggle to find locations for productive investments. The dynamism is also revealed by the expansion of technologically based industries; by the increase of quantity and quality of intellectual work; by the expansion of new forms of consumption; by intense migratory movements, among other factors.

One of the means of recognition of current Brazilian society and territory is the study of the restructuring of the production of agriculture and cattle raising which has been taken place over the last three decades in a special way. Since that time, a new economic model of production of agriculture and cattle raising has been organized and has spread, which is called 'agribusiness,' when many new agricultural spaces are made available for this production[133].

Using Milton Santos' (1996) nomenclature, we could say that in this context, that the semi-arid and drylands in the Northeast of Brazil, which in a certain way compose part of the legions of places of reserve are becoming attractive and were or are being incorporated in agribusiness. This is especially true in the humid valleys (São Francisco, Açu, and Jaguaribe), associated with horticulture and in the drylands (south of the states of Maranhão, Piauí and the west of Bahia), associated with the expansion of soy bean production, which are expanding due to intensive production methods.

Among the characteristics of globalized agribusiness is its strong integration with urban economy, which develops into an extensive gamut of new country-city relationships. This, in part, dilutes the classic dichotomy between the two sub-spaces. The cities which are close to areas where agribusiness is realized become responsible for the supply of their main demands, whether it be for labor, financial resources, legal issues, raw materials, machines, technical assistance, etc. This, thus increases the urban economy and promotes urban, regional restructuring

These cities should be seen as the materialization of the general conditions of the reproduction of capital of globalized agribusiness. Its main functions are associated to the increase in demand for new, specialized products and services. This promotes growth in the number and size of the cities in the new productive agricultural regions in Brazil, in which the restructuring of agricultural and cattle raising production takes place.

Thus, the more capitalism is intensified in the country, the more urban the regulation, management and normalization of agriculture and cattle raising become. The more dynamic the restructuring of the agricultural/ cattle raising production becomes, the more globalized its spatial circuits of production and cooperation become (Santos, 1986a, 1988; Elias, 2003), and the greater and more complex the country-city relationships become. This results in a significant remodeling of the territory and organization of the new urban system, bringing the multiplication of small and average sized cities which hold important places for the realization of globalized agribusiness. In the same way, considering that the spread of this agribusiness occurs in a socially and spatially exclusive manner, its spread

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[133] Although the issues discussed in this article could be also observed in other countries, we are focused on the Brazilian case.

promotes the incitement of social and spatial inequalities in the cities of the agriculturally productive regions as well.

Thus this article has as its main objective to discuss some of the principal social and spatial inequalities which are being reproduced in urban, non-metropolitan spaces in the new agricultural, productive regions of the Brazilian Northeast. These regions have experienced, starting with the new tendencies of Brazilian urbanization, a process of urban restructuring, with the expansion of new economic agents. In this text, as an object of analysis, the city of Mossoro was chosen. It is an average sized city, located in the state of Rio Grande do Norte (RN), which has agribusiness in horticulture. It has been one of the main vectors of economic growth and the urban restructuring in the last three decades.

It is well to note that Mossoro polarizes a sizeable region, assuming a place of leadership in the networks of cities which have already been consolidated. It brings together those cities associated with agribusiness, such as the extraction of salt, of petroleum and of natural gas, as well as others which continue with traditional ways of production. This creates intense intra-regional disparities. Housing is the principal variable chosen for analysis, presenting a group of adjacent processes and showing specific details which distinguish it from other urban situations.

NEW ECONOMIC AGENTS AND THE URBAN DISPERSION

In Brazil, the intense urbanization process over the last three decades contrasts with the country of the pre-technical-scientific informational period, having been essentially agrarian. The phenomenon of metropolization was implanted from the 1950's and has greatly supersedes the initial classification of nine metropolitan regions.

At the beginning of the Brazilian urban acceleration there was an increase in the concentration of economic activities and of the population in a few cities. These grew in an unorderly fashion. The new forms of production and consumption associated with the new economic and cultural standards could only establish themselves in the larger cities, which became metropolises as a result of the acceleration of the modernization and urbanization process. This process attributed the role of being macro organizers of the economy and of the territory to these cities.

Between 1950 and 1980, an increase in the concentration of the economic activities and of the population took place in a few cities. A quite substantial part of the demographic increment of the country took place exactly in these metropolitan areas, to which large groups of migrants headed. This was especially true in the 60's and 70's, since the agglomeration of the economy had reinforced the role of these metropolises as the main focus of economic activity in the country.

Considering the predominant tendency in capitalism of some areas, they accumulated the largest part of technical and economic resources, which is the current base of organization of Brazilian production. It resulted from historical inheritance and the speed of the spread of innovations. One can see that the productive restructuring occurred more intensively in the southeast and southern regions. There, the spread of innovations was faster and more complex, with a

continual renovation of the productive forces and of the territory. These responded quickly to the needs put forth by the economic agents.

In these two regions, from the first moment of the mechanization of the territory, a progressive, efficient adaptation took place in the interests of hegemonic capital. This reconstituted the image of the present, making it into the area with the largest expression of artificial 'fixtures and streams' of all kinds. This would be the area of the country where the technical-scientific-informational field (Santos, 1988, 1996) is seen in a more consistent form. But, even in these areas, there is an accumulation of resources in certain ones.

However, since the 1980's, according to Santos (1993), in his book, Brazilian Urbanization, true urban transformations take place in Brazil, when average sized and local cities grow. Since that time, urbanization is not only a coastal process but moves into the interior of the region, with a strong tendency of occupying the outskirts of the territory. This thus generalizes the process of urbanization for society as well as the territory and unfolds an incommensurable number of metamorphoses in the most distant areas of the country. Concomitantly to the processes of urbanization and metropolization, with the construction of large cities, medium sized and small cities also developed, making the Brazilian urban network even more complex, since they increased the concentration factors, as well as those of dispersion. The resulting division of labor, which was more intense and more extensive, ended up confirming the tendency of occupation of the outlying areas of national territory. Some authors call these phenomena 'dispersed urbanization,' others 'diffused urbanization' or 'extensive urbanization' and still others 'diffused city' and 'dispersed urbanization.'

In light of all this, during the process of acceleration of the spread of innovation, the migrations began to occupy not only the metropolitan regions but also the smaller cities, especially in the areas which more quickly reorganized production and territory

The productive restructuring of agriculture and cattle raising and the organization of the agro-industrial networks forced the spread of the technical-scientific-information field into the agricultural space. This partly explains the move of urbanization to the interior (away from the coast). Thus, there is an increase of urbanized areas in the new productive agricultural regions as well. This was due to, among other reasons, the fact that the management of globalized agribusiness needs sociability and urban spaces. (ELIAS, 2003, 2006).

Although the large cities find themselves at the heart of the globalized economic dynamic, other agents begin to arise with strength to receive and issue flows of various types and intensities. This resulted in the creation of a gamut of new relationships about territory. Today a series of activities is known, including agricultural and cattle raising activities and agro-industrial activities. These have created relationships which slip out of their immediate surroundings and seek more distant links, forming a true web of globalized spatial circuits of production and circles of cooperation (Santos, 1986a; Elias, 2003). Many of the "stitches and knots" of this tapestry of circuits and circles are found in the productive agricultural regions spread throughout the entire Brazilian territory.

This is how Brazil enters the XXI century, with a generalization of the phenomenon of urbanization of the society and the territory. The consequence is the generation of a territory which is highly differentiated and much more complex in its

definition than it was in the pre-technical-scientific-informational period. Practically makes the continuation of the traditional separation between urban Brazil and rural Brazil unfeasible. It also creates the downfall of the classic schemes of analysis of the urban network, the definition of metropolitan regions and the regional division in the country. This shows the need for a revision of a series of criteria, which in part, are still greatly used today and which open the understanding of the complexity of the current situation. In light of the above, we agree with Santos (1993) when he highlights that a division between urban Brazil with agricultural areas and an agricultural Brazil with urban areas would better reflect the contemporary situation of the country.

In all of Brazil, it is possible to identify various areas in which urbanization is directly due to the achievement of globalized urbanization. The restructuring of these activities accelerates the process of urbanization and of the production of urban, non-metropolitan space. Their important links are due to the ever increasing inter-relationships between the countryside and the city. They developed links to agricultural activities in the surrounding countryside and depend, to different degrees, on these activities. Their production and consumption take place in a globalized manner (ELIAS, 2003, 2006, 2007).

In this way, the productive restructuring of Brazilian agriculture and cattle raising is among the processes which promote the deepening of social division and territorial division of labor, contributing to a complete re-making of the territory. This takes place through the regional and urban restructuring which results in the organization of a new urban system. The new country-city relationships imposed by globalized agribusiness represent a fundamental role for the expansion of urbanization and for the increase of the medium sized and local cities. These relationships are strengthen whether in demographic terms or economic terms. Their structural elements can be found in the expansion of the new relationships of agriculture and cattle raising work. These promote the rural exodus (ascendant migration) and the descendent migration of specialized professions in agribusiness. It promotes the spread of the consumption of agricultural production, stimulating out-sourcing and consequently, the urban economy. It shows that it is the city which regulates, manages and normalizes the transformations which occur in the countryside, which spread agribusiness participation throughout the spatial circuits of the globalized agricultural economy (ELIAS, 2003, 2006, 2007).

The success of this agribusiness is due to the formation of globalized agro-industrial networks which bring together the following: agricultural and cattle raising companies, suppliers of chemical raw materials and mechanical implements; biotechnological research labs; service providers; agro-industries; commercial distribution companies; agricultural and cattle raising research companies; marketing companies; supermarket chains; fast food companies, etc. This results in the intensification of the division of labor, in the inter-sectorial exchanges, in the specialization of production and in different productive agricultural territorial organization, including the rural areas and cities which are nearby. This shows the deepening of the territorialization of the capital in the countryside and of the olygopolization of agricultural space.

The impact of all these transformations on the dynamic of the population and on the demographic structure has been intense. Concomitantly to the productive restructuring of agricultural and cattle raising and agro-industry there is a demographic and urban revolution marked by large population increases. A

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characteristic of the process of modernization of the agricultural and cattle raising activities in Brazil is the development of a more extensive gamut of new relationships between the countryside and the city, given the increasing integration of agriculture and cattle raising in the circuit of the urban economy. This is mainly due to the fact that the globalized agribusiness has the power to impose territorial specializations which are ever deeper.

In this way, the more globalized agribusiness is spread to agro-industrial networks, the more urban its regulation becomes. It produces urban restructuring in the new productive agricultural regions and the cities there begin to take on new functions, being transformed in places, in every way, of cooperation which was raised by globalized agribusiness, resulting in many new territorial groupings.

Many cities in the productive agricultural regions of Brazil have developed links to the agricultural and agro-industrial activities of the surrounding countryside and depend, in varying degrees, on these activities. Their production and consumption are by and large carried out in a globalized manner. Throughout the country there are various examples of cites which have agribusiness at the heart of their economies. (ELIAS, 2006, 2007). (map 1)

We could site some inherent examples of a recent occupation of restricted areas in the northeast region, whether associated to the expansion of horticulture in the humid valleys or the expansion of soy bean in the drylands. These are in unison with the implantation of international, hegemonic companies in the field, de-structuring the former social and spatial formation, bringing new territorial, political and socio-cultural dynamics to the surrounding areas. Examples are cities such as Barreiras (BA), Luis Eduardo Magalhães (BA), Petrolina (PE), Balsas (MA), Mossoro (RN), Limoeiro do Norte (CE), among others.

Some examples of Brazilian Cities of Agribusiness
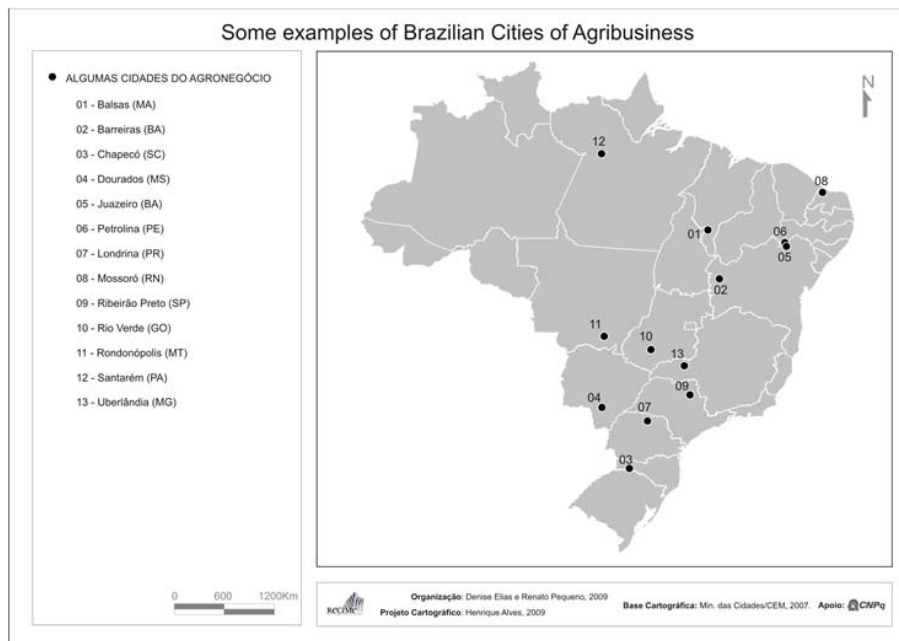
Map 01 – Some examples of Brazilian Cities of Agribusiness

THE NEW FRONT OF SOCIAL – SPATIAL INEQUALITIES

The diffusion of globalized agribusiness in the Brazilian northeast, be it tropical fruit or soy bean, which has expanded the process of territorialization of capital in the countryside, has been promoting innumerable types of metamorphoses. The new territorialities are visible in the countryside and in the cities. These are points of transformation of nature, of the creation of a new horizontality and verticality (SANTOS, 1988) and articulation between the local scale and the global scale of things.

But the productive restructuring of agriculture and cattle raising accents the historical social and spatial inequalities, besides creating many new points of inequality. In this way, production which regulated by the market associated with the new patterns of food consumption is taking place. It is commanded by the large hegemonic groups of the food system, resulting from a change in the function of agricultural and urban spaces. This restructuring spreads specialized production, which maintains structural, traces of the region, unassociated with any goals of a fairer, and more well-balanced and sustainable society.

Among the negative impacts of this process, we highlight the following: an increase in the disintegration of subsistence agriculture as well as an increase in the participation of agricultural-cattle raising companies in the total agricultural-cattle raising production of the region; the expansion of monoculture and consequently the decrease of biodiversity thus speeding the process of genetic erosion; the change in agriculture technical systems with the diffusion of a technological packages dominated by oligopolistic production which is often inappropriate for the regional environmental conditions and destroys knowledge and methods which have been historically created; the increase of the concentration of land, with a expropriation of farmers who do not detain ownership of the land; the incitement of the land market where prices are increased which even further contradicts any aspirations of Agrarian Reform; the incitement of the privatization of water with the new forms of normalization of its use which forms a hydro-business scenario; the formation of a formal agricultural labor market with the expansion of salaried workers, whether manual work or specialized jobs; the fragmentation of agrarian space which differentiates even more, the spaces for production, composing distinct productive agricultural territorial setups, among other negative factors (ELIAS, 2006. PEQUENO, 2006).

All of this has been reflected in the main non-metropolitan, urban spaces which are inserted in the new productive agricultural region in the northeast region. The analysis of the research which gave birth to this study took place in the cities of Barreiras (BA), Petrolina (PE), Balsas (MA), Mossoro (RN), and Limoeiro do Norte (CE), among other. These cities are going through regional and urban restructuring processes, reproducing the same urban problems of larger cities.

In spite of the diversity of the economic, social-environmental and cultural situations present in the semi-arid and drylands, various processes which are repeated were identified. We can cite the unorderly growth of some cities, increasing the population on the outskirts of the urban areas as well as the lack of infra-structure; the absence or insufficiency of public facilities (daycares, schools, health centers) in the areas inhabited by the lower income population; areas at environmental risk being occupied; growth of shanty towns in spaces designated for institutional use or green spaces; dissemination of urban empty spaces which

promotes real estate speculation, illegal lots on the outskirts having no infra-structure; congestion of downtown areas with the movement of loading and unloading products, among others.

These factors are found to be directly related to the intense, rapid demographic growth, which the municipalities have gone through. This also relates to the spatial redistribution of the population in their respective regions, thus accelerating an intra-regional migration. Besides this, it is well to note that the greater migratory flow coming from neighboring regions and other states incites, in this way, unorderly urban growth. This is visible in the way the cities expand along their regional road systems or even following the intra-municipal arteries of access to district headquarters and rural localities. Out of this a series of problems linked to urban and regional circulation and mobility arise, which touches the downtown areas of the cities as well as the outskirts, the transition spaces and the most distant rural localities

The fact is that unequal access to public facilities and the networks of infra-structure between populations in the urban and rural areas, as well as the centralization of public institutions and services in the central offices of the municipalities polo, reflect an urban growth which is predominantly excluding and is associated to the unequal form by which access is granted to the benefits which urbanization brings. They also bring conflicts and incompatibleness of use and occupation of land, leading to the rise of compromising marks of environmental degradation on housing conditions at different scales.

However it is in the construction of residential space, whether those be formal or informal, legal or illegal, stimulated by public authority of by the private sector, whether they are have proper technical assistance or are self-built that one can perceive the more predatory form which urban expansion takes on. This is true in the central areas as well as the middles areas, surrounding areas or even in the transition zones between urban-rural. We chose the city of Mossoró (RN) for the detailed analysis. (Map 02)
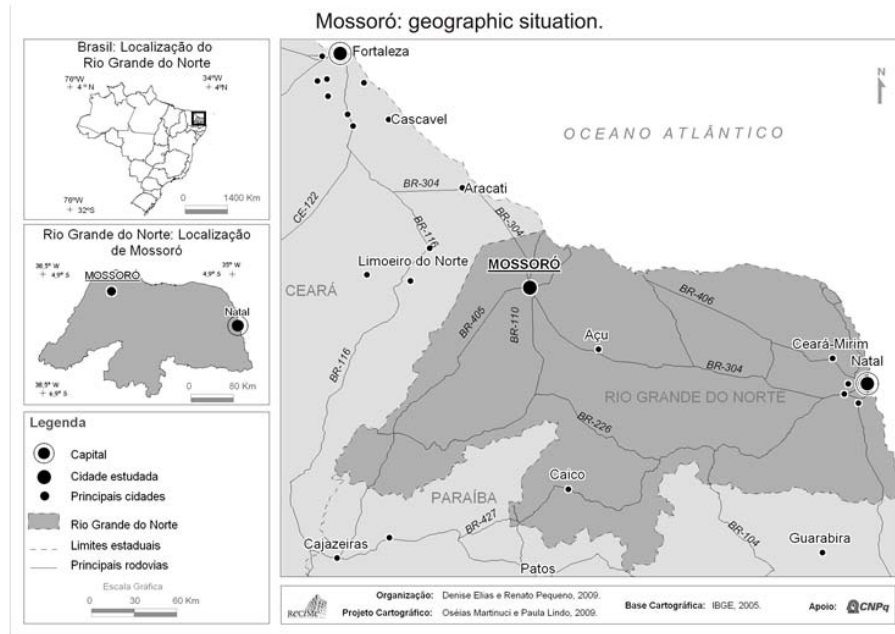
Map 02 – Mossoró: Geographic situation

It is possible to recognize a worsening in the social and spatial inequalities in Mossoró on the regional and intra-urban scales, using an analysis of variables associated with housing conditions. The processes herein dealt with, with the intent of showing these disparities, are directly associated to the transformations taking place in the economic structure of the municipality and in its region of influence. An understanding is evident that the urban space, in the manner that it is produced, reflects the historical changes in productive processes (CORRÊA, 1995).

Aiming to identify the main processes associated with the social and spatial inequalities present in the intra-urban space in Mossoró, we sought to associate them, in the first analysis, to the agents which produce urban space, notably those working in the production of residences. In this sense we analyzed the different 'cities' which super-impose themselves on the intra-urban space of this city. They were distinguished in the following manner: a) the city of public policy where the localization of social interest housing groups prevails; b) the spontaneous and informal city which corresponds to the forms of housing which are predominantly precarious; c) the city of the real estate market, grouping the areas under the influences of the real estate market which target those with greater buying power.

However, it is well to note that we clearly recognize the presence of intersections derived from the associations between the various agents producing space, some of which are not always explicit. These sometimes become visible through the analysis of instruments of planning and management of urban land, formulated by local authorities.

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The city of policies for social interest housing

When we analyze the process of urban growth in Mossoró, in its various phases, it is possible to verify its strong link to spatial distribution of the economic activities of greater importance in the region, throughout the period. Thus, each change in the productive structure brings alterations in the city's morphology, historically defining the fragments which represent the unequal process as well as the intra-urban space in Mossoró which has been being produced.

Mossoró is consolidated as an urban nucleus due to its location as the crossroads of roads coming from the drylands where commercial relationships associated to cattle raising, cotton and the extracting of natural resources from the drylands grass are established. The city had a salt culture as the driving force, capable of attracting large population contingents and gained a place of prominence in the regional urban network. Considering the large number of jobs originating from the artisanal phase of the extraction of salt which caused progressive migratory flow, residential areas formed which were recognized as homogeneous to their socio-occupational content, and were found mainly to the north of the central area. This established, during the urban evolution, a differential between one part which encompassed the commercial downtown area and the surrounding districts which had access to better public services and the other part to the North, where the salt workers lived. This area was filled with predominantly inadequate housing and urban precariousness.

The decade of the 1970's was a mark in the history of Mossoró. The population movement from the countryside to the city intensified, driven by the recurrent problems in subsistent agriculture, which was the predominant activity in the semi-arid northeast up until that time together with the substitution of the manual labor force by machines in the salt extraction. Beside this there was the decrease in these opportunities due to the decline of agro-industries in benefit of oleaginous companies principally from the crisis in the production of cotton caused by pests in the crops. This brought a not very encouraging scenario to the city and increased the space occupied by poverty.

However, in this same decade due to its position as the second largest city in the state, being half way between Fortaleza (the state capital of Ceará) and Natal (the state capital of Rio Grande do Norte), it became a consolidated regional center. Mossoró became the target for national programs of urban development, and was included in the National Program of Urban Development for Medium sized Cities in the 1970's.

During this period, public authority began to intervene in the area of housing production at the different levels: a) federal - granting funds from the Financial System for Housing (SFH), which were obtained through the National Bank for Housing (BNH); b) state level - through the State Campaign for Housing (Cohab-RN), which built thousands of homes and implemented networks of urban infra-structure; c) municipal - through the approval of the use of public lands for the implantation of housing complexes, as well as through the formulation of the Master Plan of the Organization of Urban Space in Mossoro in 1975. This plan began to define, in zoning, which uses were compatible given the possibilities brought with the policy for national urban development which had been established by the federal government.

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One can observe the location of these housing complexes being on the outskirts of the city. This occurred all over Brazil and took place in Mossoro from the first complex built in the 1960's. In this case, the first complex was built in the district of Alto São Manoel to the east, on the other bank of the Mossoró River, which runs through the city. Cheap land was the justification which was given for these choices. With this, authorities wanted to induce the expansion of the city to the southeast, towards Natal, the state capital.

In the middle of the 70's, due to the State Housing Program, City Hall began to interfere more directly in the urban expansion of Mossoro by defining which areas would be given up, by decree, which were situated to the northeast and the southeast. Housing complexes were implanted in these areas.

It is possible to affirm that this choice of lands for social interest residential areas began to favor the owners of neighboring feudal lands which were between the downtown area of the city and these outlying areas where the housing complexes were implanted. The benefit came in that these areas now had access to networks of urban intra-structure and services. Besides this, the Master Plan of Mossoro contributed as a factor of choice of these outlying areas especially to the northeast, the location of the industrial district which was being implanted at the time, next to the Interstate highway BR304 following the logic of the binomial: the location of the industry and the policies for public housing projects.

Although they were distant from the downtown area and urban services, factors such as the presence of basic infra-structure and the motivation of 'owning one's own home' made these complexes attractive to the local housing demand, especially to those associated with the lower middle income classes. It is well to note that in this period funds coming from the state were used not only for lower income classes but also for middle class housing, by obtaining financing for building one's own home. These loans used interest rates which were below the market, as well as giving a long time to pay them off.

With this, one can observe that in Mossoro, as in the majority of Brazilian cities, the population in social exclusion is only not complete forgotten by housing policies because of their inclusion in the labor force needed to build houses and infra-structure networks.

Upon analyzing the urbanization process in Mossoró , Pinheiro (2006) highlights that the housing production with funds from the Financial System for Housing through the BNH programs, executed by Cohab-RN and Inocoop represented the main urban interventions in the 1970's and 80's. They directly influenced the configuration of a new axis for expansion of the city towards Fortaleza to the northeast and towards Natal to the southeast.

Please note that the differences of the target public of Cohab-RN and Inocoop influenced the definition of the location of each. The lower income complexes were farther away, sponsored by Cohab-RN, aiming at the social segments of lower middle income class, situated to the northeast, while the other linked to Inocoop, sheltered segments which were quite superior. These were closer to the areas of interest of the real estate market, to the west of the downtown area. Later this would be the place of the formation of a residential segregation axis.

In the 1990's, other complexes were built. In part, the new residential nuclei reinforced the northeast sector, but were on land even farther away from the

downtown area. Others were implemented to the east and southeast, but having as a target public the lower middle income sectors associated with the neighboring uses of land, such as public universities and Petrobras (Fuel Company) along the BR304 highway. (Map 03)
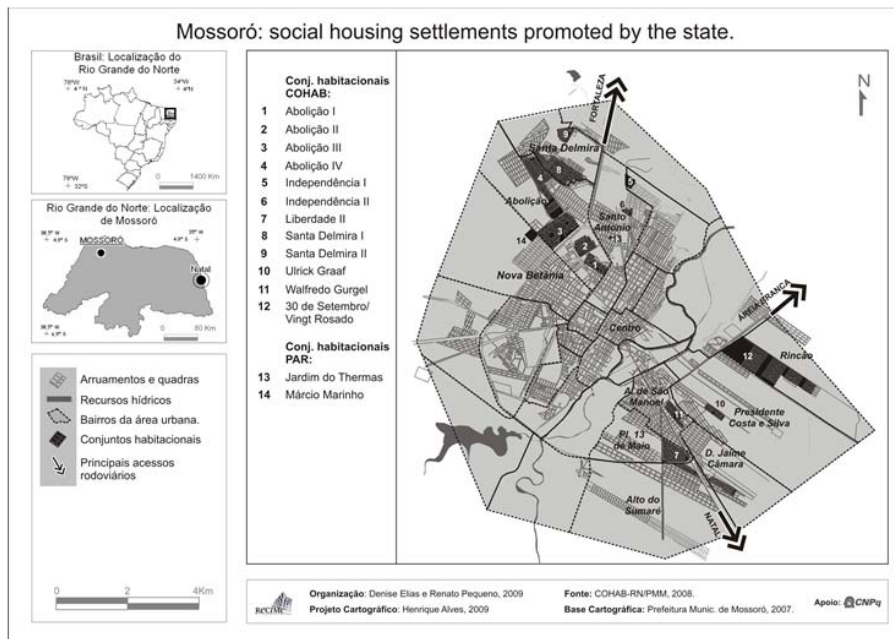
Map 03 – Social housing settlements promoted by the State

Due to the implantation of these housing complexes, the city began to experience a process of unstable growth. However, we should highlight the fact that the location of the majority on the outskirts of the city led to a situation of social and spatial disparities concerning the access to social facilities, which were concentrated mainly in downtown and neighboring districts. As we are dealing with a medium sized city where public transport is not present, inhabitants of these new sectors faced daily problems with urban mobility which echo still today as challenges for municipal administrators.

More recently, public works of social interest housing have become means for inferior housing, such as shanty towns and in risk areas. The main indicator for quantification of demand is this. It shows the process of fragmentation of housing provision which is proven by the reduced numbers of housing units in each intervention.

The informal, spontaneous city

In the way in which they were implemented, the social interest housing policies in the 1970's and 80's led to the consolidation of pre-existing areas of social exclusion where the manual labor workers from the salt extraction plants lived. They also led to the rise of dozens of areas being illegally occupied, bringing new sectors to the

city marked by unequal access to the urban infra-structure networks, directly associated to the distribution of public facilities.

With the extinction of the BHN in 1986 and the consequent reduction in public authority intervention in the production of popular housing, shanty towns become the predominant alternative to provide housing for the more needy social classes. From then on the shanty town areas began to be more densely populated. At first there was an expansion into empty lands of the surrounding areas which were still available for occupation. Then these illegal settlement lots were completely full and began to grow up through self-built upper floors. Tile roofs were substituted by slabs on which new compartments could be built. However, these spontaneous settlings have been more numerous and more precarious on the southern edges and places close to strips of environmental protected lands. This has made the shanty towns, the preferred target of public housing policy recently.

Concerning the location of the shanty town areas in the urban space of Mossoró it is possible to perceive the presence of two groups: a) first, north of the downtown area to the northeast, agglutinating itself on the edges of the low income districts to the north of the city center (which before were poverty stricken districts) towards the northeast, where housing complexes were placed in a later phase of BNH programs; b) another group gathers in the areas close to environmentally protected strips of land to the south and others to the southeast, serving as the lintels to the low income lots and housing complexes situated in that direction.

The presence of the illegal city, which is exactly the most unequal, unites, however, the housing projects of different agents which produce urban space. Data from the Municipal Secretary for Territorial Development for City Hall, obtained in 2008 show the presence of fifteen illegal allotments, stimulated by the private real estate sector and designated for low income families, ever since the 1990's. It forms a perfect arch between the northeast and the southeast, going through the most distant parts of the districts to the north and to the east of the city.

The irregularity of these low income settlements relates to the lack of urban infra-structure as well as a non-definition of institutional public lands, which, are included although, in the federal law for the division of land, Law 6766/1979 as obligatory, were not complete taken into consideration.

With the intent of reducing costs and maximizing profits, businessmen see this model of production of the city as a way of meeting demands of the common people which were not met by public policy. However, due to the precarious and inappropriate manner that these settlements are implanted, there is consequently the production of outlying fragments which do not have basic sanitation. The open areas end up sheltering shanty towns, uniting the poorest groups.

Paradoxically in the case of Mossoró, the illegal production of housing is also confirmed caused by the housing production of the state, which joins fifty low income settlements. Part of these represent small housing groups aimed at areas which were shanty towns and have been urbanized or removed, but where the conditions of relocation did not meet legal requirements. We are dealing with emergency measures to meet the social demands or even the use of pulverized resources in the years after the extinction of the BHN and Cohab-RN. These more recent nuclei of low income housing ended up not meeting the minimum parameters of municipal urbanistic legislation which, itself did not change in light of new situations. As the municipality is its own controller and inspector, ways

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opened or the implantation of illegal ways with the acquiescence of municipal organs.

The process of the growth of shanty towns, which is recognized in blocks, however disperse and fragmented by the outlying edges of the city, has represented a principal demand for the most recent public policies. When dealing with small shanty towns, with a small number of families, the local authorities have sought to make their removal feasible especially in two situations: a) those strategically located associated with future investments of public-private partnerships; b) those in areas of environmental preservation.

In other cases, it is observed that the alternative has been urbanization of the area with a minimum of permanent removal of houses. This gives preference to the implantation of networks of infra-structure, to the reorganization of parts of some of the houses in order to open streets and install basic sanitation systems. As a cheaper measure and progressively adopted in administrations ever since the middle of the 1990's, urbanization practices allowed the municipality to establish a horizontal future in which shanty towns would not exist. The question of the land ownership after urbanization still remains in most cases. This requires a program to supplement and make the sustainable legalization of these areas viable. (Map 04)

Field studies done in 2008, when we visited outlying areas of the city, made us conclude that the situation of urban inequality in relation to the expansion of areas of settlements is in geometric proportions, which broadens the challenge for local authority to face the housing issue. Even though there was the attempt to eradicate houses made of mud and sticks, every day new houses are built using this material. This reflects the situation of modernization which excludes and which is predominant in the city. The opportunities of the city attract many, but effectively few can take advantage of them. The majority of these new houses have been built in high risk areas, whether on the banks of water resources or along the high voltage transmission lines.

One should note the importance that the housing issue has been having to local authorities, who have shown an understanding concerning the actions which must be taken in this sector from the municipal point of view. In spite of the extinction of Cohab-RN, the municipality has sought out funds to execute interventions which aim at minimizing the housing situation; even elaborating in 2003 a Strategic Plan for Housing is subnormal settlements (PEMAS). It aims at the formulation of a municipal housing policy tougher with Program Habitar Brasil, with funds from the Caixa Economica Federal (CEF – federal bank) and the Inter-American Bank for Development (BID)

However, we find that to date there has not been a planning process to conduct these actions which are but 'one off' interventions executed using resources obtained from various sources, showing what Cardoso (2001) calls a perverse logic of the putting housing policy in municipal hands.
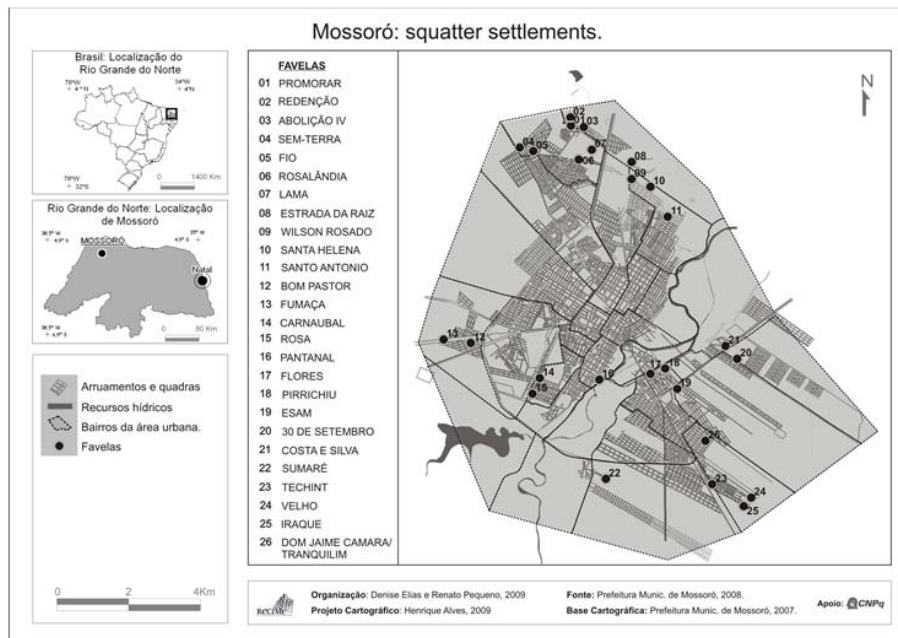
Map 04 - Mossoró: Squatter Settlements

The city of the real estate market

The understanding of the social, housing inequalities in Mossoró becomes clearer when one seeks to identify the areas in which there have been large investments by the formal real estate sector. Although the companies in the real estate sector are few and have only recently arrived, the dynamism of the sector is perceptible in the city. There has even been room for companies coming from Fortaleza (CE), Natal (RN) and João Pessoa (PB). The dynamic is notable through the concentration of projects to the west of the traditional downtown area towards the new center which is forming. There is already a shopping center, a large department store which brings international capital (Atacadão), a private university and some private residential estates. Among others the most recently released estate is Alphaville Mossoró, part of the famous chain of real estate projects which originated in São Paulo.

The vertical growth of the city is mainly found from the traditional downtown area going west, where the private residential estates have been implanted. The vertical apartment complexes are aimed at upper middle class families. They are on lots which are remnants of the first phase of occupation in the district Nova Betânia, which was marked by single family homes built on large lots.

Here we highlight the growing presence of horizontal complexes as a different form of private estates. Most are located in the same district as the concentration of tall apartment buildings. These residential estates cover approximately a city block but with fewer houses which are similar in their layout. Leisure areas are pubic for those living in the estate and services are shared (use and costs).

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More recently, the real estate market began releasing some private estates which are larger and have private streets all within the walls. It is observed that they are located for the most part in two sectors of the city, to the west of the city close to areas which have not been built up and to the east towards Areia Branca.

Added to the tall apartment buildings and private estates present in the district Nova Betânia, these forms of dividing the land are presented as great targets for real estate speculation, inducing the implantation of urban infra-structure such as waterworks and sewer and road systems in those directions, all this in detriment to the vast number of people on the outskirts without adequate urban living conditions.

If one begins from the spatial point of view of the process of housing production for families with greater buying power, such as the verticalization of that and the production of horizontal estates and private estates, it is possible to identify the intense presence of the real estate sector, beginning in the downtown area moving towards the west. This forms a real axis of residential segregation where, as Villaça affirms (1998), the logic of appropriation by the dominating elite through public investments made in infra-structure.

Other districts to the southeast were the target for private real estate investments aiming at building single family homes, however, in light of the existing conditions of urban infra-structures, they ended up not 'catching on' with the public with the same intensity and the implantation of more inexpensive lots began to prevail.

Having the best locations in the city, with the best situation of mobility and access to urban services, this axis is divided into three distinct parts: a) the initial part with high rise buildings closer to the downtown area, together with traditional housing which still remain close to the downtown area; b) the middle part where one can see larger, better quality, single family homes next to the new high rise apartment buildings and the horizontal housing estates, and which stretches to the BR304 highway; c) the last part, from the BR304 highway going west where the new wave of the real estate market expansion is found forming a triple group trinomial: private housing estates, the shopping center and a private university. It is well to mention, however, the complementariness between this new center and the traditional downtown area in light of the easy access road system between the two by the structural avenue of the segregation axis. Both become accessible to the more privileged sectors which appropriated the best locations in the urban space.

An analysis done of the classified ads contained in local, daily periodicals in 2007 and 2008[134] proves the above. One can see the presence of residential property for rent or for sale which are located in these districts at prices which are lower when compared to property with similar characteristics in the districts through which the axis of residential segregation runs.

We believe that in light of the local situation, similar to that which occurs in the majority of Brazilian cities, there is no demand with sufficient buying power for the two distinct areas to be the target of real estate investments, which leaves some real estate projects to the southeast with many empty lots and with urban infra-structure which is unfinished, even though they were built for the middle class market.

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[134] Data collected from archives of local periodicals: *Gazeta do Oeste* and *O Mossoroense*, studied between the second semester of 2007 and the first semester of 2009.

The oligarchy which runs city hall has for decades opted to make huge investments in the construction of some facilities in order to hold large events. This has been done by clearly following a path of polarization and making some traditional festivals a spectacle in the city and region as a way of legitimizing its power. In a society in which culture acquires market value, this process has fed the reorganization of urban space (BEZERRA, 2007).

Thus, Mossoro has been able to count on large public investments in the downtown area. These have formed a process of beautifying public areas, restoring some socio-cultural facilities and even the implantation of new buildings and facilities to hold large events. All of these are located in the downtown area. It is well to mention an urbanistic intervention along the downtown part of the train lines, which has brought new life to this sector of the city. It joins, in one complex, a museum, theater, memorial, children's park, food court among other things.

We found that there is a bipolarization of the main centers of the city which has been consolidated. These points are connected by an avenue which constitutes an axis of residential segregation where, on one end, the traditional downtown area was supplemented with public investment with this new facility and at the other end a new center of activity is consolidated with each new residential real estate project, whether inherent or tertiary. The ease of access using regional roads, such as the BR304 highway also confirms this hypothesis, since the two centers of activity, when connected assume a regional nature, meeting the demands of various other neighboring municipalities. (Map 05)

One can also perceive that on the edge of this urbanistic intervention in the downtown area, the outline of future real estate investments in high rise buildings is present. This is due to the new residential buildings which have been built or are under construction. This accumulation can be associated to the increase of land prices in the real estate market, which leads to the intensification of the use of urban land, the progressive homogenization of the population and to residential segregation. With this situation, the path is open for speculation projects in this sector, which could mean the slowing of the implantation of public investments in infra-structure and public works in outlying, low income districts. This then widens the gap between the different social groups which are present in the city.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

It is important to mention that the restructuring of agriculture and cattle raising did not make production or agricultural space, or the urban spaces which have grown from the process homogenous. What occurs in counter point to the globalization of production and agricultural/cattle raising consumption is the intense process of fragmentation of production and of agricultural space. Thus, as a resource for a way of understanding Brazilian urbanization, agricultural space and the cities which have strong inherent functions in agribusiness, one must consider this fragmentation which makes the agricultural spaces and the cities in agricultural producing regions more and more distinct.
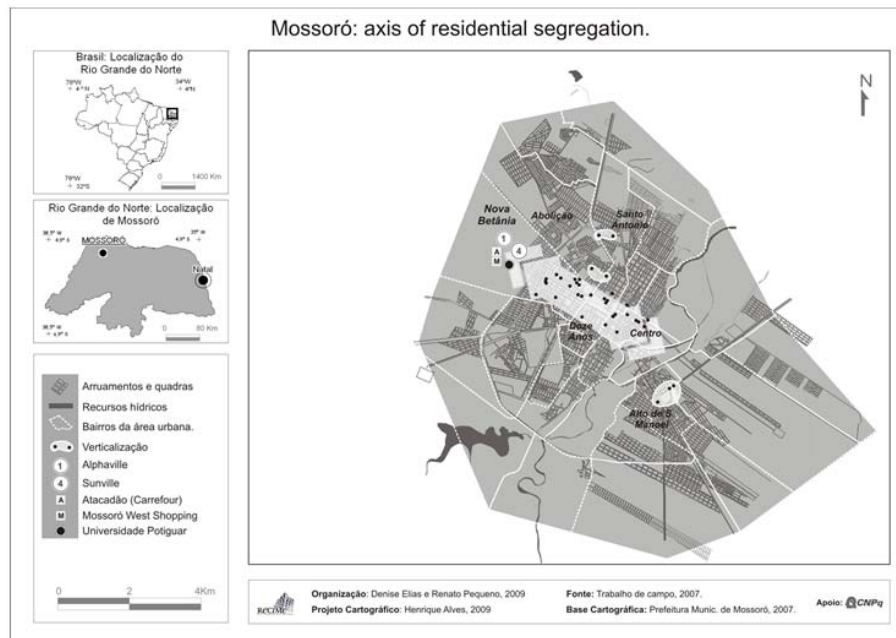
Map 05 – Axis of residential segregation

In light of the identified processes and the elements associated to the problem of lack of housing and the inadequate housing conditions in the cities and regions of agriculture production, one can affirm the need to adopt measures which deal with the housing problem. Years ago, the problem of shanty towns springing up was associated with large urban centers. But in these regions it is not only present but is measurable, being directly associated with the migratory flow into the middle sized cities in the productive agricultural regions. In the same way, these cities become the target of real estate projects due to the wealth generated by the restructuring of productive activities of agriculture and cattle raising. This makes construction a potential investment

Local authorities, in turn, dependent on resources coming from state and federal governments, continue with sporadic actions which are not connected to any housing policy of municipal public interest, non-existent on the various scales. It is observed that due to the magnitude of the problem there are already actions emerging from civil society and non-governmental organizations to present sample projects as alternatives capable of generating positive impacts on public policies.

 In a deeper study on the available data concerning the housing deficit and inadequate housing conditions, it was possible to affirm the contradiction between the housing deficit and the existence of empty residences being nearly similar in quantitative terms. However, if one considers the data on inadequate housing, it is perceived that the lack of a public housing policy, whether on a national scale, in the formulation of programs, providing viable, designated funds, or whether on a state or local level in the promotion of its implementation and execution in the

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way it was planned, the problem herein shown tends to grow and thus compromises the capability of providing housing in urban areas.

The problems associated with land irregularities, the concentration of ownership of urban land and the unequal manner in which the infra-structure networks are implemented, beside the unevenness of the production of housing, concerning the balance of supply to demand, leads us to believe that the housing issue will not be resolved through sectorial housing policies, but rather through the integration of policies concerning urban and rural development territorially. So, considering that the housing problem is linked to the conflicts of the use and occupation of the land, once the needs for transport and mobility are articulated and connected to the demands for networks of infra-structure and public services, we believe in the need to take up urban planning once again as a strategy to improve the current situation.

Having the available legal means in mind, given by the Statute of the City, and the value given by the Statute to the Master Plan as an instrument of urban policy, including broadening its reach to the entire municipality, not only the urban area. The hypothesis that the middle sized cities in the productive agricultural regions be an appropriate context for the formulation of new propositions seeking solutions in the city for the issues in the countryside, and in the countryside the answers for urban problems.

There is the interest that the research we are doing now offer consistent elements for analyzing urban, non-metropolitan spaces in the productive agricultural regions, verifying to what extent they establish identities with other cities of the same size, with distinct functions. This, since the movement for the expansion of capitalism tends to promote homogeneities. On the other hand, we know that the same variable has different impacts according to the place where is it shown, and thus depending on the group of relationships between the most different possible dialectic pairs (Santos, 1988) for the analysis of space and society. This finding stimulates the study and analysis of the role of the various actors which alter the processes of urban and regional structuring in different ways.

In this way, this study reflects, on one hand a path which has been opened and is being used, while at the same time it shows that these is much work to be done so that the changes can be understood. These changes have been taking place in the roles played by the urban, non-metropolitan spaces, in the new productive agricultural regions in Brazil. This will occur as the movement of inhabiting Brazilian territory widens and as it is integrated in a deeper way to the globalized economy.

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IMPLEMENTATIONS OF MUSEUMS AS AGENTS IN THE RENEWAL OF OLD BELO HORIZONTE CENTER – MINAS GERAIS

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ABSTRACT

In a relatively short period of time, it has been noticed that the implementation of museums in cities around the world has become a strategic element in the processes of urban regeneration and also an important tool for creating and socio-economic innovations in their cultural landscape. In Belo Horizonte, third larger brazilian metropolis, some of these museums are already are well established and consolidated, while others have been programmed for short term implantations, mostly in its traditional city center. This study examines the significance of these initiatives in the light of the increase in the services economy, the impacts of urban renewal and the valorization of the cultural image of the oldest part of the city. It intends also to verify the increase of the attention given by public and private sectors in these investments related to the implantation and concentration of the museums and its consequences in urban society. The following equipments will be regarded as study subjects: the Mineiro Museum, the Inimá de Paula Museum, the Museum of Arts and Crafts, the Museum of Mineralogy, the Museum Abilio Barreto and the other museums and cultural centers integrated in the new cultural circuit planned for the Liberty Square.

FOUNDATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEW CAPITAL OF MINAS GERAIS STATE

Belo Horizonte is a city that was designed in late 1890s to be the new capital of Minas Gerais state, replacing Ouro Preto. In its plan were used a large number of pre-modern urban parameters, symbolizing the new republican order. Throughout its first decades of life, sought to consolidate itself as a locus of modern experience, which is specifically urban. Pointing Belo Horizonte as a modern city means to guarantee her some of the main urban functions, making it a center of cultural exchanges. Their commercial, industrial and intellectual experiences, intertwined, are the ones responsible for that transformation of the city life into urban cultural experience. In this sense it is translated at the same time, as "the center of the existing social order and the boundary-creating growth and transformation" (Bradbury, 1989:77).

At the time of the city foundation, despite the planned space, cultural life, yet distant from modern experience, brought itself very different feelings, often

conflicting. On the one hand, the imposition of the layout of streets, with all its immensity, created a deep embarrassment to the civil servants, so used to the organic urban spread of Ouro Preto. The marks, references, exchanges and appropriations, which could make the city a livable one, would only come with time. Therefore the temporal process arose as a key condition for building the sense and the experimentation of the Belo-Horizonte's space. In this atmosphere, there was a gap in Belo Horizonte identity, as a result of its no-condensation of space and time.

The Liberty Square, built to house the state administration, received in the city's plan a privileged topographical position. At the beginning of the century, this locus was a space inducer of sociability, being itself a major urban life stage. Its space involved both the public and political activities, and acted as important urban leisure equipment. Surrounded by the Government Palace and the Secretariats, the square was quickly adopted by the sparse population meant for Belo Horizonte.

While Liberty Square centered extraordinary activities, the Avenue Afonso Pena, the largest in town with width similar to the Champs Elysées in Paris, sought to reaffirm its original function: a privileged place of exchange. Linking the north and south areas, the baroque avenue functioned as a concentrator space, conditioning the urban mobility. This led those who came by train to the main points of the city. As an obligatory path, the avenue had that function reaffirmed by the concentration of special activities and services in that urban context. But while the Avenue Afonso Pena and the Station Square centered the urban mobility and the still embryonic concentration of services, the Bahia Street, in their quarters near the Avenue, became the scene and the sense of city culture. The decade of the 1920 began with innovations in the local economy and in the transportation system. The economic redefinition and the revitalization of the railway system led to architectural and urban renewal in the city. The Liberty Square had also been remodeled since the government, to incorporate the criticisms of his former project, while driven by the need for renovation, considered ideal to create a new landscape for the plaza. And in that way the life of Belo Horizonte works in its first decades. of the red dust that tinged the city with its eclectic and neoclassical architecture, the space began to acquire a real urban feature. In the 1930s the row houses and bungalows will start to make room for the skyscrapers. The trams, which shortened the distances and propitiated the meeting, started to share the streets with cars and later with the buses.

The local modernist group became part of a real archeological urban experience, through narrative and artistic creations were rediscovered places and figured times. Other art manifestations took place in Belo Horizonte, which "embodied both modernity and tradition. The delay and the vanguard tangled up in contradictions and paradoxes "(Werneck, 1992:30). In turn, events like the "Hall of Fine Arts," held in Rio de Janeiro in 1931 directed by Lucio Costa, and two shows at Belo Horizonte in 1936 represented the tone of this difficult dilemma. The first of those two shows - XII Art Salon of Minas Gerais - was considered the official exhibition of the academy, the second one called "Exposition Bar Brazil," reached success in exposing the artistic and architectural creations consistent with the "spirit of time" itself of international modernism (Ribeiro, 1998).

The local scene also showed the changes registered predominantly in the city center, a significant portion of the original design of the Capital which, with its neoclassical principles of the late nineteenth century, offered already in this

period, the air of the metropolis defined by the renewal of the landscape. To the extent that expanded exchanges between Belo Horizonte and the larger centers, new living styles, new cultural and artistic visions as well as new building techniques and materials, began to arrive more quickly. These aspects suggest the pace of change and transience so characteristic of the modernization process, especially boosted by the arrival of Juscelino Kubitschek at local administration in the role of mayor in 1940. Beside the great architectural legacy, the Complex of Pampulha created by Brazilian architect Oscar Niemeyer left recorded in the city a rich and unique relationship between a succession of transformations of the national and international architecture and the architectural design developed in Minas Gerais.

The creation of the "Industrial City" and the outbreak of World War II will accelerate the local and state industrialization processes. In urban terms Belo Horizonte has its limits changed, as indicating its tendency to expand. The Center absorbed much of the urban life, being simultaneously a place of meeting, partying and, of course, working. The city offered a rich cultural life, confirming its tendency to becoming a metropolis. This fact was also conditioned by the industrial development that generated a population increase, driving the growth of the service sector. The activities that required large fields such as industrial and wholesalers that had settled in the central region near the station had during the 1950s suffered a great expansion of its network.

With the urban growth in Belo Horizonte, any traditional style of living built since its foundation was being adapted to new times and changes. Much of their everyday experiences should, or be rearticulated with time or disappear in the process of the development of this new urban metropolis. In this sense, the footing at the end of the decade had its days numbered. The socio-cultural life of the early 1960s accounted for a significant change in the context of the urban imagination. The spatial segregation and the uncontrolled spread materialized the growth of capital. As this growth developed, the first signs of saturation appeared in the Center, the main urban centrality, stage of all social practices. Because of its primacy, these years came to reaffirm its cultural and political tradition of other decades, however, it is noticed a spatial shift in the way of how these meetings happened. With an industrial diversification implemented by the State, in the 1960s Belo Horizonte must face all the typical phenomenon of the metropolis. The growth and diversification of the third sector indicated a renewal of the use of space, especially in central area, where the high-rise process was gaining a new force.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE CAPITAL AND THE FIRST MUSEUMS

Having been spurred its growth in the 1960s and 1970s; the contemporary capital seeks to consolidate itself as a state pole. The phenomenon of its metropolization has resulted into significant changes in its space. The city, in defiance of its geometric order, has "a past, a decentralized history, and a sum of personal experiences of everyday practices" (Matos, 1989:79). The policy of industrial diversification in the metropolitan area, already conceived as such in the late 1970s, has also contributed to the expansion of the third sector, defining a new profile in the capital. Despite the growth in the period, one can assert that its non-productive structure has been reinforced, characterizing it definitely as a dormitory town (LEMOS, 1993). If, within urban, the city as a planned area already

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has its originality represented, its economic profile achieved the same feature in the 1980s,, which helped to reinforce that characteristic. The city began to play the role of "major urban center" and, at the same time, could not rid itself of its peripheral condition, since it was still subjected to an export base.

The 1980s left very clear marks on the Minas Gerais and on Brazil's economy due to crisis that took place at the beginning of the decade. Belo Horizonte has achieved a population of over one million inhabitants, reaching the status of third most populous city in the country. Despite the crisis of the Brazilian economy, the old town and the Central Area where it is inserted became consolidated as articulators' poles, presenting a significant development of the tertiary sector. The available data indicated the trend of that last decade, as of the primacy of the activities to provide services such as offices, financial services and residential sector. The tertiary has increased its number, has gained a variety and high level of expertise, belonging to the so-called "superior tertiary" (LEMOS, 1988).

In Belo Horizonte, actions on behalf of social memory and heritage were incipient between 1960s and 1980s, since it had not been created in that time state and local agencies focused on the protection of built heritage. The creation of the Abilio Barreto Museum has its genesis from a special group of researchers of the social memory of Belo Horizonte who created an alternative way of its safeguarding. In 1941 the collection was composed of over 1,100 objects organized by different kinds of media - real estate, textual, iconographic, and bibliographic - entered into two sections, an archive and a museum. In 1943, to guard this valuable collection it was necessary to create a museum that was finally housed in the eighteenth century residential building of the ancient farmland, probably the only remaining property of the Curral Del Rey. Based on an approach more dynamic and modern, the museum has become a cultural institution dedicated to the memory and history of the city, with wider resources and powers, being more consistent in responding to the demands of contemporary society. These characteristics were attuned to the new museum concepts, which set a process of architectural revitalization and institutional rehabilitation. Due to the increase of its powers, that now include research activities, information, education and recreation, bringing together more than 7,000 objects and artifacts, it was necessary to create a new building that has been located in the garden of the same eighteenth century mansion, which was entirely restructured. By 1998, the new building became the seat of this institution, that seeks to enable a sustainable management capable of ensure the preservation, research and communication of city memory within local urban society (CITY HALL, 2009).

When it comes to transformations of Abilio Barreto Historic Museum, the first building was preserved and remains the main symbolic reference. Besides, its innovation has created conditions to attract a greater number of patrons with different profiles. However, as is situated between the Garden City district and the Luxembourg district, characterized by distinct processes of occupation, the museum is somehow connected to these regions. At the same time, it has been consolidated as a reference for research due to the existence of relevant collections that allow a deeper knowledge of the history of the county. Besides, the museum demarcates a possible break with the classical museum idea. According to Jeudy (1990:35), in a study conducted in the 1980s, this break advocates the emergence of new programs and museum concepts who value a new form of museums approach when it comes to recent heritage. This is based on

cultural and scientific animation and in a different way of transmitting knowledge, aspects that are adopted by new Abilio Barreto Museum, which due to its commitment to historical research has achieved a successful *mis-à-jour*.

The first seat of the Djalma Guimarães Museum of Mineralogy, opened in 1974, occurred in the neo-Gothic building built in 1914 and remained there until 1992. Its collection was initially formed by a set of over three thousand samples from the expositions held on the old Permanent Samples Fair, being only a small part of them prepared for public exhibition. The museum houses a collection of books related to mining engineering and metals. Despite its good location, which perpetuated a cultural tradition of the Bahia Street, the museum was closed in 1992. As a complement of these goals there is the character of heritage education to highlight the importance of mineral resources - matter included in the content taught in guided tours - and to promote the contact with products originating from raw materials. One should register that the location change of the museum, although it caused a significant cultural loss to the old town, provided an institutional and technical dynamic, increasing its importance in civil society and acquiring modern characteristics. One can surely consider that the setting up of a Cultural Centre at the ancient seat of the Bahia Street did not meet the gap left with the transfer of the museum. The building could have made in programmatic terms both the museum with its innovations and held also the Cultural Centre. Therefore, its output has weakened further the cultural activity of the neighborhood, so worshiped in the first decades of the capital existence.

Differs from previous ones, the Museum of Minas Gerais, opened in 1977 and located at João Pinheiro Avenue, parallel to the Bahia Street, who represents is also a connection of the Old Town with the Liberty Square. The eclectic building was constructed with neoclassical details by the Capital Construction Commission, to serve as a residence of the Ministry of Agriculture. The Museum joins an impressive number of objects that document, in practical or symbolic ways, the different times of the formation of the state culture (SECRETARIA, 2009). Its collection was increased of thirty-six collections from donations from institutions and individuals sources. Currently the museum is closed to undergo rehabilitation and expansion. When full restored and adapted, it will form with the adjacent buildings, the cultural Archive included, a rich conglomerate part in the Museums Complex of the Liberty Square. The museum and its existing expansion are being renovated for an upgrading and modernization of its spaces. With its permanent collection so important to the cultural experience of the citizens, this space was frequented mostly by researchers from various scientific centers, and by the individuals that came from specific social sectors that possess a high degree of cultural information. However, it became a larger cultural reference because of the monumentality of the building, as it has always given priority to heritage education and has always received the students of public schools. According to the new project, that will promote the upgrading and restructuring of the ensemble of the Museum and of the Archive, and its integration with the Cultural Circuit of the Liberty Square, the main goal is, in addition to modernization, to guarantee an increase in the number and in diversification of its public.

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THE NEW MUSEUMS AND THE COSMOPOLITAN METROPOLIS REALITY

The contemporary Belo Horizonte has multiplied its cultural life, and in its fragments we can find the ultimate expression of its spatial memory. It is based in a society constantly subjected to innovations that are incorporated in a fragmented cultural capital, transmitted and administered by local institutions. Besides the school and the family, the media, the forms of organization of space / time, they all will compose the "institutions and material structures through which circulate the senses [...]" (CANCLINI, 1986:38). While the population enjoys these structures in different ways, the cultural assets accumulated over time are distributed unevenly where a great part of the population has no access to these resources. Likewise, urban development took place on the basis of segregation and consequent prioritization of areas. The social and economic differences end up conditioning practices, where some groups, more than others, have the means to take ownership of cultural property. The habits that promote the practices and schemes of perception and appreciation of the city define the different lifestyles that exist in everyday experience.

From the urban growth and the consequent proliferation of centers, Belo Horizonte and its Central Area are polarizing different kind of centralities. This fact is embodied in a wide range of services, in different forms of consumption and in the creation of a variety of symbolic goods, which also has a great effect in the mobility dynamics.. As this space shows signs of saturation, especially in its old center, it loses its sociability inducers in consolidating itself as a place of passage, business and consume. The forms of leisure and cultural expression follow the decentralization of services, having to adapt themselves to these new spaces or to transform them according to their needs. One must clearly note that there has been a decline in the supply of public spaces intended for leisure and cultural activities as the city evolved into a metropolis. At the same time, the city received the implantation of a variety of private places for the same purpose. Despite this quantitative reduction in proportion to the first decades of the Capital, these collective spaces have become references in everyday life. This dynamic are embedded differences and distinctions, which denotes social practices of the cosmopolitan city" (ALBANO, LEMOS, 1990:18).

of all the features above, one can indicate that most part of sociability spaces are initially consumption spaces. Therefore the accessibility to cultural and leisure activities is conditioned by the economic and cultural powers of the local groups. This condition creates fragments of socio-cultural manifestations that are obviously resonated in the different urban spaces. While the government abandons the role of the ruler of the future of the city, the appropriation of public places show the public thirst for a new citizenship. It's no rare that spaces with reduced functionality are used as meeting points, as places of sociability. Furthermore the number of cultural centers and museums is insufficient and does not meet the social and cultural diversity alive in the metropolis.

The development process of Belo Horizonte, alongside its urban transformations, presents an innovation in the social and cultural life driven by a "new modernity". The circuits that were more visible reach today information technology, enabling the communication of the metropolis with the world. The growth has occurred in a discontinuous way, with regional mismatches. An ambiguous urban picture ranges

between the experience and technical sophistication of the tertiary and the mediocrity of some areas. Being the city run by bureaucratic and often unjust politics, problems such as housing, transportation and the precariousness of urban facilities create negative highlights in the urban landscape. Combined with this picture, there are the business dynamics, the intelligent buildings and the sophisticated commercial malls, producing a heterogeneous image that obscures the references and the production of meanings. Sociability conditioned by cultural fashions results in fragmented and differentiated conditions by which people experience the whole metropolis.

It can be said that the city, despite the difficulties faced throughout its one hundred years of existence, found a profile more in tune with the major international urban centers. "Belo Horizonte banished the large factories to the peripheral regions, opening doors to a wide range of lighter economic activities, creating an intensive use of urban space, activities which are the only ones compatible with its status as a metropolis that does not have a lot of available spaces" (LEMOS , 1993). The spaces of encounter and sociability of the streets and corners of the old center of Belo Horizonte have been reduced while the process of conurbation goes on. Similarly, other smaller centers, in the process of their transformation, lose their spaces of sociability, since there isn't a policy of preservation of urban structures. In the case of the old center and its surrounding areas, the concentration of services and activities coexist with the process of degradation in the local streets. The public spaces lose their roles as meeting points, and as places of enjoyment and leisure, becoming often alternative sites for the survival of marginal population. These privileged spaces, currently devoid of references, used to be traditional public places of permanence and of enjoy of urban experience. The city and its many possibilities for leisure and culture largely justify the creation of cultural centers and museums as agents of urban renewal.

The process of concentration of art and culture centers follows naturally the third sector in general and is unevenly distribution in the city, with the prevalence of such places in the South Central Region- where lies the Central Area - and the Pampulha Region. This feature is a result of the history of occupation and expansion of Belo Horizonte, regions that have registered scenarios that combine the presence of a cultural heritage of historical and artistic value and preponderance of initiatives that provide, promote and disseminate culture, art and other means and devices for training, education and meetings. A significant portion of the sectors targeted for art and culture is owned and operated by municipal and state governments, and is distributed in an asymmetric sequence in the regions. Despite the hegemony of the South Central Region, the cultural centers and libraries are distributed in a more homogeneous way. Such equipments are part of the state and local educational system, and contribute strongly to constitute medium and small cultural centralities. With regard to the museum and the arts centers, and their importance to the vast majority of the population, they are scarce or almost nonexistent in other regions besides the South Central and the Pampulha. Beside public initiatives for the regain of the value of symbolic goods, in general, a set of activities is associated with the services offered by the private sector, as the leisure and entertainment ones. These private actors promote events and concerts bound to market interests, with the participation or not of the public power. Mostly, they create and promote cultural and artistic opportunities that are developed in accordance with the economic capital of the Belo Horizonte society. Recently, and showing intentions to expand and diversify their offerings focused on

the cultural and leisure initiatives emerged the public and private partnerships. This agenda of interventions, which brings together the two sectors, has represented in the later decades innovative proposals, boosting the enjoyment of cultural, educational, meeting and permanence places. Despite the existence of market interest in those partnerships, public actions associated with the private enterprise sector help to create new urban centralities. It is according to the incorporation of these sectors that one reaffirms the importance of social and cultural policies located in the Central Area, and in the metropolitan area. Such reflections lead to a just demand of the Belo Horizonte metropolitan citizens for an expansion of areas and establishments offering leisure and culture. In response to this lack of meeting and permanence places, the public sectors have made relevant proposals for urban renewal capable of changing this scenario. The seek for an urban renewal of the old center started in the 1990s, caused by the proximity of its centenary festivities, when emerged important initiatives such as adapting the building of the former School of Engineering to implement the Cultural Center of the Federal University of Minas Gerais, the use of the house of Count of Santa Maria for the realization of artistic and cultural events; the rehabilitation of the traditional building of the Sawmill Souza Pinto for the deployment of an event center capable to operate as a multifunction building. The latter was re-opened in 1997, in the celebration of the centennial of Belo Horizonte, inaugurating the program of rehabilitation of its older centrality.

The "Programa Centro Vivo" (Living Centre Program), launched in 2003 by the municipal administration, represents an important event, and aims to reclassify the urban heritage of that area. The program provides, among other things, the upgrading and revitalization of streets, squares and parks, the implementation of various measures and actions for social and cultural inclusion, reorganization of the informal economy, recovery of cultural heritage of urban buildings and study of unoccupied or under-used buildings. Among these propositions, there are the interventions in the Sete de Setembro, Raul Soares, and Rui Barbosa Squares. In the latter, besides the environmental and landscaping rehabilitation of the area, the former Central Station was restored and adapted for housing the Museum of Arts and Crafts. The works of the museum began in 2001 and in 2005 the city received its new cultural space. The museum houses a collection that exposes the elusive world of work, arts and crafts included in the social and economic history of Brazil. This is an initiative of the Cultural Institute Flavio Gutierrez in partnership with the Ministry of Culture and the Brazilian Urban Train Company. The center's goal is the preservation of objects, instruments and tools adopted by workers during the pre-industrial Brazilian era.

So, besides the temporary exhibitions, the museum is expected to reveal the wealth of popular production, chores, crafts and arts that gave rise to contemporary professions. The building of the Central Station was restored, adapted and expanded to receive the new functions, as also was the square. The exhibition design is authored by the specialist Pierre Catel, and it unites the two buildings through a tunnel and creates in the outdoor spaces exhibition galleries. The program consists of spaces for permanent and temporary exhibitions, a garden-museum, a permanence area which is linked to the coffee shop and the arts shop. The concept prioritizes the reflection on history and social relations of work in Brazil. The Museum of Arts and Crafts is an important initiative of public private partnership, being the most complete and technological building of its kind in the city. Its presence in the Old Town has stimulated the regeneration of the area and

it is setting up a symbolic reference in the landscape (INSTITUTO. .., 2008) The new space has been specially frequented by students of public and private schools and it appears that despite being a well known cultural equipment, capable of maintaining the social memory of this people, the museum is truly legitimized and identified by residents of more distant regions, with little integration with the traditional user of the old center. The choice of its implantation place is more justified for its aesthetic quality and the need to preserve the building than the real demand of these local groups, which doesn't reduce its importance. Rather, it consolidates the purpose of urban renewal and simultaneously has creating a new a meaning and a new scene desired for the region.

The Inimá de Paula Museum, established in 2008, registers a second initiative that legitimizes and promotes the urban regeneration of the Old Center. Result of a partnership between the Inimá de Paula Foundation and the Ministry of Culture, the museum is implanted in Bahia Street, in the old Art Deco buildings of the Club Belo Horizonte and of the Cine Guarani, built in 1932 by Italian architect Raffaello Berti. The restoration of the buildings and the museum design were made by local architect Saul Vilela. Integrated to the salons of the permanent collection, the cultural area is formed by a virtual showroom, a movie theater, a bookstore, a gift shop, a coffee shop and some living rooms. The collection defined by the Inimá de Paula Foundation itself gathers around one hundred works of the painter, some donated and other borrowed on loan. Thus the space seeks to disseminate the work of this artist and simultaneously provide venues for cultural events such as seminars, courses, among other initiatives (INIMÁ FOUNDATION ..., 2008). The Inimá de Paula Museum and its galleries reaffirm the Old Center renewal and features, as in the Museum of Arts and Crafts, an educational purpose that adds to the specialized look of its users. In the specific case of a museum showing the work of an important painter it is observed that the building is fully adapted to the new programmatic points, marking the symbolic revival of an enjoyment that signifies more than the exposure of the screens themselves. This, as in the previous museum, searches through its curatorial and museum interior space, to create a dynamic where interact architecture, interiors and the works themselves (CRIMP, 2005). In this sense, considering the different social groups who attend the Centre, the new centers of art dissemination show in its museum principles and exhibition design projects that the same symbolic goods can be enjoyed by different sectors of society. As it is, one must consider, as shown Canclini (1986), that the difference is established beyond the goods that each class has, but how they use them in their daily practices.

The Liberty Square Architectural and Landscape Area is another region of relevance to the history of Belo Horizonte and of Minas Gerais to be rehabilitated. She polarizes three sub-regions structured by Savassi, formerly part of the civil servants district, the João Pinheiro Avenue and its adjacencies and the neighborhood of Lourdes. After the recovery of the Square, in the last decade of the twentieth century, it was again recognized as a place of primacy of the activities of rest and recreation. During the mornings and afternoons of the week, its spaces receive patrons from the closest neighborhoods, as the Savassi, Lourdes, St. Peter, Central and St. Anthony regions. But at night and on weekends, the space is occupied by families, teenagers, children and youth, all in search of leisure and symbolic value of the site. The richness and diversity of their cultural heritage, the quality of landscape design and the possibilities of encounters and enjoyable permanence have led to some over use of its pleasant spaces.

The growing appreciation of the place and its constant visitation points to a revaluation and expansion of its uses. The interests showed by the square attendees to transpose the boundaries the square and the facades of the old palaces and buildings as testimonies of the capital architecture. They envision uncovering the historical and sophisticated aesthetics of these spaces that housed decisions about the future of the Minas Gerais state. This urge coincides with a special vision of the State Administrative Sector adopted that the sophisticated and revered palaces do not provide adequate conditions for the dynamic and full exercise of their responsibilities. It was also considered that any initiative to adapt them to the contemporary demands could compromise their artistic and architectural features. Along with a thorough technical evaluation, it was also considered that in the past years there were undertaken some intervention projects that much endangered the artistic details and elements of the interiors of the buildings. Complementing this analysis, the administrative sector showed that the areas available for use of the secretaries are not sufficient to absorb the demands of modern program proposed by the current state management.

According to the above considerations and based on comprehensive research consultation in all city regions where were proposed on the conversion of the mansions into cultural spaces, came the proposed Cultural Circuit of Liberty Square. The rehabilitation of the square and its buildings aims to implement innovative activities programs, which aims to promote culture, art, education and recreation for the city and state. This action allows the preservation of the cultural heritage for present and future generations, while giving priority to production and promotion of artistic and cultural goods (SECRETARIA, 2005).

The first project announced in 2005 was the Square of Science which is a partnership between the State Government, the Federal University of Minas Gerais and the company Telecom Italia America Latina. This is being implemented in the side building of the Department of Education, built in 1968. The Square's program is formed by interactive labs, a planetarium and astronomical observatory equipped with the latest technology. With features of the duo's science and technology, the square prioritizes the expansion of this knowledge to the residents of Belo Horizonte to tourists, enhancing its educational and playful character. Besides offering the experience of technical excellence and scientific, its design adds to these artistic activities, which are imposed in the context of the mainstreaming of culture. According to its creators, culture is linked to various events and activities that take place in the square of science, such as education, technology, environment, science and experience within the society itself (SECRETARIA, 2005). The project provides almost complete remodeling of the modernist building, preserving its structure and constructive parts of their external walls. There will be five floors that will house the following main program: lobby, cafeteria, souvenirs shop, showroom, laboratory and interactive digital planetarium. In the building of the Department of Education is scheduled the installation of the Museum of Mines and Metals. Much of the materials used to construct the building; the iron structure and metal roof were imported from Belgium. The staircase structure with metal body and stores incorporates the artistic experience of the Art Nouveau style, creating a certain contrast with the very eclecticism that defines part of their originality. In all three floors of the building are provided a variety of environments that intend to present a virtual trip to the world of mines and metals. The first floor will have reception, administration, cafeteria, room for temporary exhibitions, and an addition to the

Professor's Virtual Reference Center. The Mines museum space occupies the second floor and is divided into three rooms: the Mines, the Mirage and the Earth Star. The collections of the Museum of Mineralogy Djalma Guimarães also occupy this floor. The third floor space is proposed for the Museum of Metal and is composed of rooms equipped with several proposals like the "Periodic Table", the "Sharp Tongue", the "Window to the World" and the "Map of the Mines" (SECRETARIA. .., 2008). The project gives priority to the quasi-total preservation of the former secretary and simultaneously enhances the architecture of Paulo Mendes da Rocha. In its points of view, there were conceived interactive environments, equipped with innovative technologies and it has stipulated the priority to create a dialogue with the visitor. An almost poetic way, the technology, instead of putting up distances, close them, engaging the viewer (SECRETARIA,2008). Therefore, the museum added uses of technology resources and artistic entertainment to convey knowledge about the universe of rocks, the processing of metals and the social, economic and cultural development importance of the state.

In the Department of Finance will be implanted the Minas Gerais Memorial, which creates a synthesis place of history, culture, art and memory of the state. At the time of the inauguration of the Capital, was still being finished. The Memorial is designed to function as a central reception to the Cultural Circuit, being linked to public-private partnership with the mining company Vale, formerly known as Vale do Rio Doce Company. His program is based on the idea of showing the diversity, originality and boldness that characterize the territory historical background, cultural, social and political. The architectural design consists of three floors and a basement, and advocates preserving the interior architecture of the secretariat. The program is distributed in the building according to the museum project, with three core modules: the Visionary Minas, Unforgettable Minas and Minas Polyphonic. Beside the areas of thematic exhibitions, the floors incorporated functions such as management, technical resources, multipurpose room, auditorium, and a coffee shop. By advocating an interdisciplinary reach the main feature space defines the relationship between the experiences of culture, education and research, to be transmitted according to various kinds of media and technology.

The Ministry of Social Defense building is being adopted by the Bank of Brazil Cultural Center, representing a partnership of the bank with the State Government. The building had its works started in 1929. With it were completed all the administrative palaces of the state government. Linked to an eclectic revivalist, the building is characterized by a monumental architecture, based on the incidence of sober volumes. Valuing the symmetry, the front facade is marked by two sets of colonnades of Ionic style. The main windows are arched and are fully articulated with other smaller area, carrying only a functional role. The building's interior shows a detail of *Art Nouveau*, especially the stair rail, the colored glass and the presence of a simplified skylight. The area of the building is much larger than that of the others; even so, it was subsequently increased by one floor. The program proposed by the Bank of Brazil to implement the center brings together activities such as theater space for 280 attendants, multi-stage space, exhibition halls, space for educational programs, video-café, permanence rooms, in addition to other administrative and support activities. The program is distributed in six floors, a basement as a locus of culture that incorporates numerous activities, establishing itself as a discussion forum. Seek, therefore, to create a living museum that allows, at the same time, revision and recycling of artistic events, exposing

products, integrating events and questioning the cultural production, with as many spaces working together, with free passage for the art, which is permanently on display (SECRETARIA. .., 2008). In this context, it calls for all public, facilitating its access, production and participation, consistent with the symbolic goods in general.

The proposed Cultural Circuit, aligned with the contemporary world, presents itself as an initiative that enables visitation and enjoyment of these exquisite interiors and endowed by a rich material and immaterial contact with the history, art and culture experienced in Minas Gerais integrated to the national and global levels. Considering the objectives, the implementation of the museums stands as an important conquest of the population. The condition of the contemporary metropolis requires that Belo Horizonte meets the current demands of our time. Thus, it is critical that corporate and institutional sectors have in traditional spaces and identified by the population, the ideal place for the promotion of their activities. Moreover, the ratification of the proposed renovation of traditional areas translates into a contribution to Belo Horizonte to find new talent and to renew - or even rediscover - them who demonstrated their relevance throughout its history.

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AIRPORTS, OFFICE PROPERTY-LED DEVELOPMENT & THE RESTRUCTRING OF THE URBAN LANDSCAPE – THE EXAMPLE OF AMSTERDAM-SCHIPHOL

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ABSTRACT

Formerly planned as stand-alone facilities in the cities' periphery airports – particularly those with hub function – have gone through a morphogenesis into urban-like entities. Processes like globalization for example or changed location requirements especially of the service and knowledge economy have given rise to new types of airports far more complex and interactive in their urban or metropolitan setting. In recent years, airports have not only made a contribution to a process variously referred to as "postmodern urban restructuring", but also in reshaping real estate markets. Especially, the airports' impacts on office property markets seems to be an under-studied area.

This paper provides an overview of the developmental status of new multimodal and multifunctional office quarters that have been emerged at and around Schiphol airport. For this purpose, an extensive desktop research was carried out, followed by a series of interviews with key personnel including experts from academia and practice.

INTRODUCTION

The Canadian sociologist Marshall McLuhan once stated, "any technology gradually creates a totally new human environment" (Gordon 2004: 1). In the face of a complex convergence of simultaneous processes of globalization, digitalization and technological innovations spatial structure and form of cities has been reconfigured. At the same time, globalization and the emergence of new time-sensitive business environments have led to an increased demand for aviation services especially among information and knowledge-intensive business services. Particularly for those kinds of globally-oriented enterprises, business success is distinguished by speed, flexibility, agility, global reach and the ability to provide information and knowledge as fast as possible.

Despite of all new kinds of efficient communication technologies and virtual connections, there still remains a variety of information and knowledge that cannot be articulated or codified either verbally, visually or symbolically. Opposed to codified or explicit knowledge, that is to say knowledge that can be transmitted via a certain media, tacit knowledge is embedded in a person, a firm, a network or local context. The effective transfer of tacit knowledge necessitates trust and very often extensive face-to-face congregations (Läpple 2001: 23).

Under the general framework of the global (time-based) competition, the potentiality and the locational advantages of airports as network-infrastructure have become more integral than ever to business models and location decisions of an array of industries. Like no other infrastructure facility, airports integrate two

locational qualities: worldwide connectivity by air and a multimodal landside accessibility on a local, regional and national scale.

For cities, especially those exposed to global competition, urban competitiveness is highly determined by connectivity and networks (Jones Land Lasalle, 2002: 1). Increasingly, cities set out to regard their airports not only as a "foyer or entree" to their urban area but as a competitive advantage within the global competition for future-oriented enterprises and highly skilled employees especially of the knowledge and information economy. In order to increase the attractiveness of airports and their hinterland as office sites for service companies, many cities, airport authorities and other actors have started to develop the locations at and around airports strategically.

In the recent past, an intelligent, comprehensive and innovative spatial development strategy of different actors as well as the new locational requirements of many economic sectors have contributed to the emergence of new office quarters at and around international airports. In Amsterdam for example, the developmental status has made considerable progress due to the airports' early opening of airport premises to office real estate projects. Today, the office submarket of Amsterdam Schiphol is ranked as top office location in the whole Netherlands realizing the highest rents nationwide.

INTENTION AND STRUCTURE OF THE PAPER

Despite its increasing importance, contemporary debates on the urban transformation process indicate that the changed role of airports and their impacts on the urban fabric in general and on (office) real estate markets in particular is still an under-studied area.

The intention of the paper is to analyze the emergence of new office quarters at and around Amsterdam's Schiphol Airport and the spatial relationship to other, more "traditional" office locations within the core city. Moreover, the developmental strategy, issues concerning success and limiting factors as well as the future potential of such locations will be discussed.

The paper is subdivided into two main parts. The first part of the paper provides a general discussion on the background of the transformation process airports have gone through over the last years and various issues related to the airports' new business environment. The second part of the paper aims to delve deeper into the new locational pattern of offices that has emerged at and around Schiphol airport.

THE PROLIFERATION OF A NEW METROPOLITAN FORM

As mentioned above, globalization plays a key role in the current process of spatial transformation. Today, most cities are not self-sufficient anymore but rather part of a metropolitan area with several cities and sub centres. These new peripheral sub centers are characterized by a high concentration of commercial land uses formerly localized in the traditional urban cores. In many cases, this restructuring process of urban activities has led to an erosion of the original monocentric spatial structure with a core city dominating its urban hinterland. At the same time, less compact and less balanced polycentric spatial configurations have been established. Generally, the term polycentricity describes a scale-less spatial phenomenon which refers to multiple (sub)

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centers within a given area (Kloosterman, Mustered 2001). Polycentric spatial structures can evolve on the European, national, regional or urban scale.

In recent years, an array of neologisms have been created to denote the identified new metropolitan form (Lang 2003: 30). They are labelled for example as Exopolis (Soja), Technourbs (Fishman), Urban Village (Leinberger), Edgeless Cities (Lang) but the most influencial and most prominent term is Garreau's Edge City (e.g. Lang 2003: 32). Garreau established a five-part definition according to which an Edge City has: (I) five million square feet or more of leasable office space – the workplace of the Information Age; (II) 600,000 square feet of leasable retail space; (III) more jobs than bedrooms; (IV) is perceived by the population as one place; (V) has not been anything like "city" as recently as thirty years ago (Garreau 1991: 6-7). Very often, the centralization of urban functions happens to areas of high accessibility like for example airports.

THE AIRPORT AS NEW SPATIAL ENTITY

Airports – formerly planned as unimodal solitaires at the cities' edge – have gone through an evolutionary process from small terminal facilities into complex urban-like entities. International airports, particularly those with hub function, have emerged as new powerful nucleis of spatial development, altering decisively the spatial structure and the spatial economic organization.

The Aerotropolis Concept

By the year 2000, Kasarda coined for the first time the expression of "aerotropolis" – a "specific version of the edge city or center within a polycentric spatial structure" (Prosperi, 2007: 216). By definition, the classic Kasardian aerotropolis is a new urban form of aviation-oriented business cluster radiating up to 15 miles (25 kilometers) from airports and along major transportation corridors (Kasarda, 2004: 92). Under certain circumstances, aerotropolii may extend up to 20 miles (35 kilometers), "including a number of activities and infrastructure such as retail and distributions centers, light industrial parks, office and research parks, district zoned for specific purpose, foreign trade zones, entertainment and conference facilities and even residential development that contributes substantially to the competitiveness of firms belonging to this area" (Flores-Fillol et.al, 2006: 1). Similar to a traditional city, which is centered around a city core, the aerotropolis is anchored by the airport city (see below).

According to Kasarda, an aerotropolis is the response to the realities of an increasingly speed-driven and globally networked world economy and the way people work in the 21st century (Kasarda 2004). When the demand for speed, flexibility, and networking takes center stages, as it presently does, businesses operating in time-sensitive working environments are forced to settle their location in the vicinity of airports in order to benefit from the airports' services and networks and thus access to global markets (Conventz, 2008).

Excursus: The Airport City and the Underlying Drivers

Supposedly, the term of "Airport City" occurred for the first time in 1960 when the TIME magazine ran a five-page feature called "Airport Cities, Gateway to the Jet Age" (Time, 1960). Today, the term of airport city principally refers to "the more or less dense cluster of operational, airport-related activities, plus other commercial and business corners, on and around the airport platform" (Güller,

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2003: 70). Although airport space has been extremely commercialized, one has to understand that this development is primarily a new business strategy to open up new sources of revenues in addition to revenues generated from air traffic. Facing an intensified competition within the aviation industry as a result of globalization, liberalization and deregulation, airport operators are forced to identify and implement innovative business models in order to generate additional non-aviation revenues. The main objective is to reduce the business risk resulting from one-sided dependencies and to supplement the traditional airport core business revenues (e.g. landing fees, gate leases, passenger service charges). According to the Boston Consulting Group (BCG), the non-aviation sector will be a key factor in terms of future growth and profit (BCG, 2004: 10). In many cases, non-aviation revenues already contribute more than 50 % to the airport operators' profit (ATKearny, 2007: 11). In this context, especially retail activities and office real estate developments have become important for the airports' financial sustainability (Conventz 2008).

Airports as Multimodal Hubs

With respect to the urbanization of airports and their surroundings landside infrastructure investments have become vitally important. Once planned as simple airport train station or terminal stop of a single rail or metro line, the airport rail stations have become interchanges with key positions within the national and international High Speed train systems, railway, and light rail networks. According to Güller, the airport interchange can be defined as follows: "Airport interchange is the airport railway station's function as node in landside traffic networks: it not only serves air traffic passengers and airport employees, but also uses to interchange between regional and national public transport networks (rail-rail, rail-subway, rail-bus, bus-bus...etc.)" (Güller, 2003: 131). The presence of efficient ground transportation increases the site's potential as location for conferences, business, recreation or shopping.

THE CASE STUDY AMSTERDAM SCHIPHOL

The Urban Context of Amsterdam and the Role of Schiphol Airport

Under the conditions of globalization, the urban shape of Amsterdam has been reconfigured. The urban system of Amsterdam and its growth pattern were perceived as "prototypical expansion of the monocentric city" (Salet, Majoor 2005: 19). From the early 1960s onwards, the historical inner city, characterized by channels, listed buildings etc., has not been able to fulfill the increased demand of large- scale leasings on the part of the rising service and knowledge economy. As a consequence, companies started to settle in the surroundings of the urban ring road or sometimes further away. Initiated by this, the spatial formation of Amsterdam has gradually been transformed into a polycentric urban landscape. New concentrations of urban activities appeared for example at the southern edge of Amsterdam transforming the area into a dynamic growth zone (Bontje, 2005). In this context, Schiphol has become "the most prominent growth engine [...] and the largest employment concentration in the metropolitan area [...]" (Bontje, 2009).

Schiphol Airport

Amsterdam-Schiphol, located 17.5 km south-west of Amsterdam, is the Netherlands' main airport, Europe's 4th biggest airport and one of the world's

major hubs in international air traffic. Moreover, Schiphol is home base of AirFrance-KLM. Although considered as Amsterdams-Schiphol, the airport is actually located in the neighboring municipality of Haarlemmermeer and not on the city of Amsterdam's ground. Through the different airline networks, virtually every major city or economic market in the world is reachable. This integration of the airport into international air traffic is supplemented by an ideal landside connection by all means of transportation. By road, Schiphol is linked by two major highways (A4 and A9) to downtown Amsterdam and the broader metropolitan area. By rail, Schiphol is directly connected to Amsterdam and to important western European business centers such as Brussels, Paris, Frankfurt or Cologne / Dusseldorf.

Schiphol and its Vicinity: The Nascency of an new office Landscape

Today, the airport respectively its operator and owner – the Schiphol Group – have a world-wide reputation as pioneer in the field of airport-linked spatial development. According to Schaafsma, "two organizational decisions [...] formed the framework for the development of airport-related real estate" (Schaafsma, 2008: 71):

- the foundation of the Schiphol Area Development Company (SADC) a public private partnership between the Province of North Holland, the City of Amsterdam, the municipality of Harlemmermeer, the Nationale Investeringsbank (NIB) and Schiphol Airport and

- the foundation of Schiphol Real Estate, a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Schiphol Group.

While SADC's main purpose is to develop the land in the airport's vicinity in accordance with the "mainport strategy"[135], the purpose of Schiphol Real Estate is to develop the airport-owned land "by constructing and renting out buildings, and by leasing land to other developers" (Schaafsma, 2008: 71). In contrast to other airports or airport operators in the world, Schiphol benefits from the circumstance that the commercial land on the airport territory and most of the land in the airport's vicinity is in its ownership (Schaafsma, 2008: 71).

Since the 1990s, the company's strategy has focused on a new commercially oriented approach, which has not only radically altered the passenger terminal but also the airport's hinterland. In the early 1990s, one of the first large retail real estate developments was the "Schiphol Plaza" – a shopping center designed as indoor urban square – on the top of the railway station. Through its commercial oriented approach, the Schiphol Group has substantially increased revenues through rents and passengers' purchase. In fact, the airport regularly attracts many Amsterdam residents who come here in order to shop or to relax in the airport's public section especially on Sundays and at night when most retail stores are closed (Conventz 2008).

Another important component in the context of airport-centric spatial development is the property-led development of offices. At the end of the 1980s, the masterplan for Schiphol proposed for the first time the idea to realize office projects in the central area within the loop of the access roads (Kloss and de Maar, 1996: 82). Today, the strip is known as Schiphol-Center. Since the beginning of the

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[135] Mainport strategy: the land should be available for airport related European distribution facilities, combined with European head offices.

1990s, new office sites have gradually been built up (Schiphol Group, 2010; Kloss and de Maar, 1996). Currently, the total stock comprises nearly 200.000 m² of office space (Jones Lang Lasalle, 2010: 9). In the future, the office stock at Schiphol-Center will grow by another 8 – 15 percent due to a number of projects in the pipeline such as the extension of the Outlook Building (Jones Lang Lasalle, 2009a: 11).

The construction activities of the office complexes were accompanied by a simultaneously grown number of high-quality facilities such as hotels of different categories or meeting and conference centers. Similar to the office buildings, most of these premises are either directly linked to the terminal via walkway or promenade. All this helped to transform the location of Schiphol-Center into a multifunctional and multimodal premium business site at the periphery of Amsterdam that is today considered to be one of the top office locations of the whole Netherlands.

The high value of the airport sites is reflected in the office rents. In recent years, Schiphol-Center has become the country's top office location achieving the highest office rents countrywide. From 2004 – 2007, the measured prime rents at Schiphol-Center were at 350 € / m² per year (Jones Lang Lasalle, 2009b, 2010: 10). At the end of 2009, the annual top rent was around 365 € / m² (Jones Lang Lasalle, 2010: 10). That was a decrease by 3 percent compared with 2008 where a maximum of around 375 € / m² was reached (Jones Lang Lasalle, 2010: 10). Recently, contractual agreements with maximum rents of 390 € / m² per year or even above have been registered (DTZ Zadelhoff, 2009). In comparison to this, the South-Axis (Zuidas), the actual central business district of Amsterdam halfway between city center and Schiphol Airport, came up with approximately 335 € / m² per year in 2009. In the city center itself, a prime rental value of around 255 Euro /m was realized at the end of the fourth quarter of 2009 compared to 280 € / m² in 2008 (Jones Lang Lasalle, 2009b, 2010: 10).

Accordingly, two results can be summarized: Firstly, in the Amsterdam office market, contrary to what one might initially presume, it is not the city center which is the most expensive office location, but Schiphol-Center at the city's edge. That is a unique finding as the comparison with other selected European top office locations such as London, Paris or Frankfurt plainly shows.
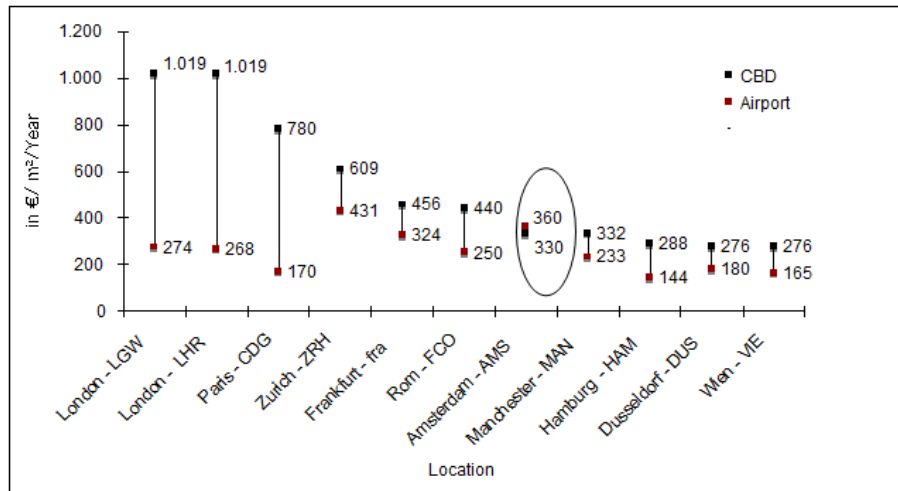
Figure 1: Selected prime rents airport vs. CBD
Source: own illustration, modified according to CB Richard Ellis, 2009

Secondly, despite the considerable turbulences which have affected the real estate markets over the recent years, the prime rents at Schiphol-Center remained relatively stable. The same applies to Amsterdam South (Zuidas). From an international perspective, the corridor Schiphol-Zuidas is perceived as an international top location within an otherwise modestly priced Dutch office market. Nevertheless, one has to understand that the Dutch prime locations are moderate in size, market dynamics and rents compared to other European top locations such as London and Paris. This especially applies to Schiphol-Center, which is classified as small and relatively rigid by experts (Jones Lang Lasalle, 2009: 16).

From the very beginning, the main strategy of the Schiphol Group was to attract companies that are either airport-related or have a strong affinity to the aviation business. However, scientific literature does not offer a standard definition for neither of these terms. One approach defines airport-related companies as companies "that have their business at the airport (such as airlines) or use the airport intensively (such as the head offices of international companies)" (Schaafsma, 2008: 71). Indeed, Schiphol has been very successful in attracting internationally oriented companies offering superior business services which located their international or European headquarters at the airport. Today, the demand for office space is recruited from a broad spectrum of business sectors such as finance, consultancy, traffic and transportation, government or healthcare (Conventz, 2008). Among the office space occupiers are prominent companies or institutions like for example the American Chamber of Commerce, AXA Investment Managers, Citibank International, the Dutch infrastructure Fund or Delta Hydrocarbons (WTC Schiphol, 2010). Hence, the demand comes from enterprises that are not directly related to the aviation business.

In summary, over the years the developmental status at Schiphol Center has made considerable progress due to the airports' early opening of airport premises to office real estate projects and other real estate developers. Today, the submarket

has reached a certain level of maturity characterized by a manageable amount of high quality office properties with different locational qualities and price ranges. Basically, the closer the office is to the passenger terminal, the higher is the office rent. Future prospects expect a further densification of the strip and new office constructions like for example the Gateway building (Conventz, 2008).

office Property Developments around Schiphol

Apart from the office property related activities at Schiphol-Center, ambitious and high-end office developments have also taken place at other locations in the airport's vicinity. This particularly includes locations in the municipality of Harlemmermeer like Schiphol (East, South and Rijk), Hoofddrop-Beukenhorst or -De Hoek and Lijnden (Real Estate Handdbook, 2008; DTZ Zadelhoff, 2009). Moreover, ambitious office developments are taking place in Beukenhorst, Badhoevedorp-Zuid and Schiphol-Elzenhof (SADC, 2010). The last years have shown that the location has become a favored place for a wide range of international companies from a variety of sectors such as finance, consultancy, IT & telecommunications, retail, governmental institutions, community & social services, traffic & transportation or healthcare (cf. Amsterdam Airport Area 2009). In contrast to Schiphol-Center with its top rents, the office landscape around Schiphol is characterized by its differently specialized subzones and a broad spectrum of rental ranges. The rents in the first half of 2009 were between 90 € / m² / Y. in Hoofddorp and 220 € / m² / Y. as maximum in Beukenhorst South (DTZ Zadelhoff, 2009).

The enormous success of Schiphol and its surrounding as office location can be attributed to a succession of long-term and innovative policies aiming to enhance the business environment especially for those companies that can be assigned to the so called "mobile industries". Such industries are generally marked by their integration into international networks, their desk sharing practice, low transaction costs, their high need of frequent (face-to-face) contacts to clients and their time-sensitive working environment (Conventz, 2008).

The Submarket's Advantages and Shortcomings

Especially for the above-mentioned industries, locations at and around Schiphol provide a wide range of advantages. The most important locational advantage enterprises can benefit from is owed to the airport's multimodal transportation links and its double hub function. While the airport integrates the location into the airlines' networks, the airport's train station covers this function for terrestrial transportation modes. This newly defined intermodality and connectivity at the intersection of local, regional and international transportation networks facilitates the accessibility of companies by markets and clients as well as the flexibility of their employees concerning the mode of transportation. The centralization of urban activities formerly localized in the CBD such as conference and meeting facilities or hotels has moreover formulated a multifunctional office location. Together with the close proximity to locations with a strong international orientation like for example Amsterdam Zuid the spatial concentration of different high-quality business facilities helps businessmen to reduce time consuming journeys.

Beside the array of advantages described above, a number of shortcomings has to be addressed. Apart from high lease prices, shortcomings may arise from the extreme noise pollution, the traffic congestions during peak traffic periods or the difficult situation regarding parking and parking fees at Schiphol airport (Conventz,

2008). The Amsterdam office market is characterized by an extensive office supply (Conventz, 2008). The close proximity and the good transport connections to the city center of Amsterdam or to Amsterdam South increase the competitive pressure. The airport submarkets have to face this market environment. In addition to this, the low urban design quality (of for example public spaces) or the currently not fully developed infrastructure, particularly the local supply of food for employees during lunch breack, could negatively impact the demand for office space and accordingly the future development of the office locations at and around the airport (Conventz, 2008).

The following table summarizes again the location's advantages and shortcomings.

Table.1: Submarket's advantages and shortcoming

Advantages	Shortcomings
Higher flexibility through multimodality	High lease prices
Round-the-clock productivity	Difficult local supply
Multifunctional and high quality Business infrastructure	Extreme noise pollution / emissions
Short distances (e.g. other office locations)	Weakly developed walkability
High quality office space and sophisticated architecture	Low urban design qualities
Availability of office space to let	Difficult car accessibility during rush hours

Source: Own illustration, 2009

Perceptions

To date it still remains unclear whether office space at Schiphol is to be perceived as an additional part of a local office market or as a competitive submarket. In terms of space, the Amsterdam office market is characterized by an extensive office supply. The submarket has to deal with this market environment. Based on the spatial circumstances, most experts perceive the submarket as a new supply of high quality office space and thus as an addition to the overall market. It has been frequently labeled as a new spatial entity of postmodern urban development. Airports are not primarily perceived as a transportation node but as an advantageous business location. Multimodality combined with an extensive business infrastructure is understood as a crucial competitive and developmental advantage within the global time-based competition (Conventz, 2008).

As a result of this, many experts expect a division of labor between the locations of the inner city areas and the airport. While the traditional districts or the traditional city center will still accommodate the local elements of a community, the airport and its surroundings will be chiefly in demand among mobile industries (Conventz, 2008).

Another reason for the positive perception of office space at Amsterdam-Schiphol and its surroundings results from the scarcity of high quality properties in the city's prime submarkets. The new offer has a share in compensating this deficit (Conventz, 2008).

In contrast to this, only a minority of experts observes a competitive relationship to more "traditional" business locations for example within the core city or the suburban office locations such as Zuidas (Conventz, 2008).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

As much as people were attracted to ports, rail stations or motorway intersections in the past centuries, airports have rapidly become new urban growth generators, hubs of information and knowledge exchange and business centers. As the example of Amsterdam Schiphol clarifies, airports are not primarily perceived as a transportation node but as an advantageous business location. Multimodality combined with an extensive business infrastructure is understood as a crucial competitive and developmental advantage within the international time-based competition. With the expanding floor space for office uses at and around Schiphol airport, a new urban locational pattern is evolving. This kind of locational quality is exactly tailored to the locational requirements of the so-called mobile industries or companies belonging to the information and knowledge economy. The willingness of those customer groups to pay top rental prices far beyond the average reflects the demand for such locations.

In contrast to many other examples from around the world, Schiphol is very far in its developmental progress. Nevertheless there are still deficits especially concerning the urban design qualities. For the future it is expected that prospective improvements of the design quality will further contribute to fostering the business estates' attractiveness at Schiphol and its surroundings.

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